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Chapter VI

Towards Emancipation

The outbreak of the Civil War had severe repercussions upon the Abolitionist internationale. There is in fact an interesting analogy between the impact of the Civil War on the Scottish and American Abolitionists and that of the First World War on the Socialist movement of that time. In both cases an international band of idealists were set at loggerheads by the eruption of chauvinist passions which they had fondly believed themselves to have outgrown. There were of course significant differences between the two cases and the analogy can be pressed too far. Nevertheless it does help us to understand in particular the behaviour of the Garrisonian Abolitionists during the first half of the Civil War.

We have recounted in Chapter III the activities of the Scottish Abolitionists during the first days of the war, at which time there was an intense campaign by both sections of the movement to prevent the immediate recognition of the Confederates. Public rallies were held and anti-Confederate addresses sent to Lord Russell. After that the Abolitionists settled down to watch the progress of the war and attempt to discern the drift of American policy /
policy in regard to slavery. They continued to insert anti-slavery information in the newspapers and to circulate such books as Redpath's biography of John Brown. (1)

The Emancipationists were thunderstruck when the American Anti-slavery Society, with Garrison at the head, came out unanimously in support of the Federal cause. The dismay of the Scottish body at Garrison's apparent volte face in regard to his former Secessionist and pacifist views was the more intense because of George Thompson's emphatic restatement of the orthodox Garrisonian creed during his clash with Douglass only the year before. The letters of Eliza Wigham to Samuel May of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society give some idea of the recriminations which passed across the Atlantic as the rift widened between the former comrades on either side. The Americans were indignant that the Scots withheld their support from the Federals, while the Scots were equally annoyed at the desertion by the Americans of their former principles. Samuel May and Eliza Wigham tried desperately to justify to each other the position of their respective organisations, but for a time they failed completely to re-establish their old.

(1) See Scotaman, 22 March 1862 for the resume of the annual report of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society; also GES Minute Books for the same period.
old rapport. The passions aroused during the Trent affair widened the breach still further as both sides became infected to some degree with the prevailing national ill-feeling. Provoked by the outpourings of Blackwood's and other pro-Confederate publications, even the American Anti-Slavery Standard, as well as the New York Tribune, gave vent to extreme hostility to Britain and denunciations of British Abolitionists for failing to sympathise with the Federal cause. Eliza Wigham's reference to "your guilty nation" did little to soothe the bitterness of her American colleagues. "I really think we have as much to complain of you as you of us," she retorted to May's complaints. "I hope you will speak more gently of us in the future."

The complaints of the Scottish Garrisonians at the policy of the American body were, however, certainly understandable. As Eliza Wigham put it:

"Surely we have been bad scholars if we have not learned that the slave holders have ruled your Union and Government till a seeming anti-slavery victory was gained, and then they could brook it no longer and went off. We were glad to be released from such association and thought that /

(1) e.g., Wigham-May, 24 January 1862.

(2) e.g., Ibid, 12 February.

(3) Ibid, 24 January.
that you, too, would in consistency only regret that all the slave states had not gone.... To our intense surprise our abolitionist friends went with the current and gave a cheer to those who went forth to battle for the Union and joined the cry of denunciation against us who still occupied the high ground on which they had placed us!" (1)

These developments, together with the clever use of the old Garrisonian doctrines by James Spence and other propagandists to support the Confederate cause, resulted in a serious disintegration of the Edinburgh Garrisonian body, which seriously impaired their work. Although the Edinburgh Society sent its usual annual contribution to the American body, the amount was only a fraction of what it had been in previous years. Many pacifists fell away because of the American Abolitionists' support of the war, while others were alienated by the latter's anti-British feeling. However, a common opposition to slavery still kept a tenuous link between the Edinburgh and the Massachussetts body. Eliza Wigham assured the Americans /

(1) Wigham-May, 24 January.
(2) e.g., see Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 549-94 (October 1862).
(3) Eliza Wigham complained to the English pro-Federal Abolitionist John Epps, "Our funds are very low this year, and there are few helpers." - Diary of John Epps, ed. Mrs. Epps, London, n.d., pp. 594-5.
(4) The exact amount was £38/6s. - Wigham-May, 12 February.
(5) Wigham-May, 12 February.
Americans of the continued support of her society for the common effort against slavery and urged: "The more we keep to the one point that has allied us, independent of our national feelings, the better it will be. 'Our country is the world; our countrymen all mankind', said Garrison long ago, and we shall find that the truest wisdom now."  

At the same time, in spite of their shortage of money and active helpers, the Edinburgh Abolitionists were continuing their anti-slavery propaganda as best as they could. Eliza Wigham collaborated with John Epps, the English Abolitionist, in collecting anti-slavery material from the accounts of slaves who had escaped to the Federal armies bringing graphic details of the evils of slavery. At the beginning of March a public demonstration was held against the slave trade. The principal speaker, the Reverend Nisbet, took the occasion to expound Garrison's old teaching that the disruption of the union was the best means towards abolishing slavery in America.  

In the following month, two crowded anti-slavery rallies were addressed by Javez Inwards, a London Abolitionist. The Glasgow Emancipation Society was less active during this period. Although Chamerazov /  

(1) Scotsman, 4 March 1862.  
(2) Scotsman, 3 April 1862.  
(3) Wigham-May, 12 February.
Chamerazov, the secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, urged them to hold a rally against the Spanish slave trade, the Glasgow committee declined because of the serious economic depression prevailing in Glasgow. They did, however, circulate placards and tracts on the subject.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society followed a policy differing significantly from that of the Edinburgh body. We have seen that the former took an active part in the initial campaign against recognition. After this they adopted a policy of watchful waiting to see whether the Federal Government would take up a definite anti-slavery position. However, during the Trent crisis, in contrast to the Edinburgh Society, they swung over to a position much closer to the Federal point of view. At the large rally which they staged on December 12, the principal speaker, Peter Sinclair, endorsed the Federals wholeheartedly and resolutions of sympathy with America were passed. This was in striking contrast to the situation in the previous year when the Glasgow group had been the principal backers /

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(1) GES Minute Books, 4 March 1862.
(2) E.g., GES Minute Books, 29 April 1861.
(3) E.g., GES Minute Books, 7 October 1861.
(4) Ibid, 12 December; NBDM, 13 December.
backers of George Thompson in attacks on Douglass and the pro-Union New Abolitionists, in which controversy the Edinburgh Society had taken no active part. We can account for this by the fact that Glasgow was economically and otherwise more sensitive to American developments and also because of the close contact between the Glasgow body and George Thompson, who, unlike most of the British Abolitionists, had followed Garrison from the start of the war in completely reversing his previous position and supporting the war for the Union. The Glasgow Society was also closely associated with Peter Sinclair, one of the earliest and most enthusiastic pro-Federal propagandists.

In January 1862 a prominent Scottish religious periodical carried an article from the American Theological Review giving the Federal point of view. The article stigmatised slavery as the basic cause of the war and showed from the speeches of such Confederate leaders as Vice-President Stephens and Dr. Palmer, a leader of the schismatic Presbyterians in the South, that slavery was the principal raison d'être of the Confederacy. On the other hand the writer admitted freely that the Federals were /

(1) See GES Minute Books, 1861-65, passim.
were fighting for Union, not for Abolition, although the slave system might well collapse in the course of the struggle. Although criticising some of the Abolitionists as fanatics, the author stated categorically that slavery was incompatible with Christian doctrines concerning marriage and the family. No matter how critical they were of the Federals, anti-slavery convictions prevented most if not all Scottish church leaders from supporting any move in favour of the Confederacy. Although strongly hostile toward America after the Trent affair, the Free Church North British Review was strongly opposed, on anti-slavery grounds, to fighting in behalf of the Confederacy.

After the settlement of the Trent affair, the bitter feelings between the Edinburgh and Massachusetts Abolitionists began to subside as the leaders of both groups began to feel their way back toward a common ground by patiently explaining their respective points of view. Upon hearing of the financial straits of the Edinburgh body, the Americans offered to send them money to tide them over their difficulties. The Anti-Slavery periodicals on both sides (the Anti-Slavery Advocate in London and the Standard in Boston) adopted a more amicable tone, and Eliza Wigham professed /

(2) N.B. Review, XXXVI, 233-72 (February 1862).
professed to be more satisfied with the long explanatory letters which she was receiving from Samuel May and his colleagues. The Edinburgh group were still not converted to the Federal cause, and were dubious of Lincoln's anti-slavery intentions, but they began to see signs of anti-slavery developments in Washington. Relief extended by the Federal Government for the refugee slaves, and Lincoln's proposal to emancipate the slaves by purchase were welcomed in Edinburgh as signs that slavery was recognised as the cause of the rebellion and that emancipation was coming to be accepted as the ultimate solution.

During this period, anti-slavery and anti-Confederate opinions were being widely disseminated by Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, the popular literary monthly, which carried a number of articles and stories on America. We have already pointed out that William Chambers was a staunch Radical and Abolitionist, and a keen student of American affairs upon which he had written two books. Like most Liberals and Abolitionists during the early part of the war, Chambers, although strongly opposed to the Confederacy, would not give his wholehearted support to the Federals so long as they were fighting only for the Union. In reviewing Trollope's North America, Chambers stated that: "those who /

(1) Wigham-May, 28 March 1862.
who in their crusade for the preservation of the Union, propose to make an end to slavery at what ever cost seem to us alone to have a true logical position." He added the widely held opinion that if the Federals were not going to adopt emancipation as a war aim, they should give up the attempt to regain the South.

Within the Government, the Duke of Argyll was watching the struggle with the same hope that emancipation might soon be added to reunion as a Federal war aim. Observing the increasing advance of the anti-slavery cause in America during the first part of 1862, Argyll concluded that slavery was doomed, although he was dubious of the possibility of reunion. The Duke congratulated Charles Sumner "for giving consciously and intentionally to the struggle that one great aim and object for which more than any other it will be memorable in the history of the world."

On the other hand the Edinburgh Radical party under the leadership of Duncan M'Laren, had from the start espoused the Federal cause unreservedly, despite the early disavowals of Abolitionism by the American Government. However, the organ of this group, the Caledonian Mercury, continued /

(1) Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, XVII, 408-9, (June, 1862).
(2) Argyll-Sumner, 12 June 1862, (JPMHA, XLVII, 98-9).
continued to keep the anti-slavery idea in the forefront of its treatment of American development and repeatedly urged the Washington Government to adopt the cause, if not from idealistic reasons, at least as a practical military measure.

Early in 1862, a belligerent and eccentric individual named J. R. Balme visited Scotland and gave rise to further conflicts among the already divided Abolitionists. Balme, an English born clergyman who had been an active Abolitionist in the American West, had developed a violent hostility toward all of the leading American anti-slavery figures, and indeed toward America in general. It is apparent from his speeches and writing that he had become mentally deranged and was suffering from delusions of persecution.

Julia Crofts described Balme as "a man 'off whose roof (some of his friends say) there is a slate'.....He seems a kind of Ishmaelite; no Balme of Gilead falls from his lips, but he plentifully distils wormwood and gall...."; and expressed the hope that British Abolitionists would make enquiries before rendering him assistance. Frederick Douglas was a particular object of Balme's hostility, and

(1) e.g., Cal. Mer., 18, 19 June 1862.

(2) e.g., see J. R. Balme, American Churches, States, and Slavery, Edinburgh, 1862.

(3) Julia Crofts-Frederick Douglass, 27 April 1861 - quoted in Balme, op.cit., 214.
Julia Crofts warned Douglass that Balme, "whose hatred of you is most intense, is carrying on his alleged intention to 'injure you as much as possible wherever he goes." Balme was ostensibly engaged in reimbursing himself for losses incurred as a result of his Abolitionist activities in America, although according to Douglass, "his losses at Chicago were more the result of his temper and spirit than of his fidelity to the slave". Fearing that Balme would cause further damage to the Abolitionist movement, Julia Crofts expressed the hope that "the anti-slavery friends will make enquiries before they give aid to anyone who presents himself, recommended by himself".

By the time Balme arrived in Edinburgh in February 1862 he had managed to arm himself with recommendations from a number of leading Scottish ministers, including Dr. Guthrie, and also received the endorsement of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society. He proceeded to address several public meetings, at which he attacked all of the prominent figures /

(1) Julia Crofts—Frederick Douglass, 27 April 1861.

(2) Frederick Douglass' Monthly, June 1861; quoted in Balme, op.cit., 216-17. In this issue of his paper, Douglass was forced to deny Balme's charges that he was engaged in attacking the Christian faith.

(3) Crofts-Douglass, loc.cit.

(4) Scotsman, 5 February 1862.

(5) E. Wigham-S. May, Jr., 12 February 1862.
figures in the American Abolitionist movement and in the
Federal Government. He attacked Lincoln as a hypocrite
on the slavery question and a "prison keeper for the South",
and pictured America as totally corrupted and given over to
evil. He asserted, for example, that colour prejudice
was not only rampant in the North, but was prevalent even
among American Abolitionists.

Dr. Cheever was a principal target for Balme's attacks,
and the much maligned American minister again became the
centre of heated controversy in Edinburgh. A few days
before Balme's arrival in Edinburgh the campaign against
Dr. Cheever had been reopened, when a letter appeared in
the Scotsman accusing Cheever of making anti-British state-
ments during the Trent affair. Speaking in the Rose
Street U.P. Church, Balme took up the theme and accused
Cheever of "Anglophobia in the case of the Trent".
Balme's accusations aroused Cheever's many friends in the
capital, one of whom declared that the American minister's
statement on the Trent affair had been twisted by both the
N.Y. Herald and the Morning Chronicle. Quoting a number
of pro-British statements by Cheever, the latter's supporters
explained /

(1) e.g., Scotsman, 5, 8 February.
(2) e.g., Ibid, 8 February.
(3) Scotsman, 24 January, 1862.
(4) Ibid, 5 February.
explained that the minister was led to make strong statements by his anxiety over the possibility of British recognition of the Confederacy, which Cheever felt would prevent the destruction of slavery. The Ladies' Emancipation Society, after hearing Balme's intemperate outbursts, also began to have second thoughts about him. Eliza Wigham reported that the visitor "disgusts us by displaying the faults of all abolitionists in the most vivid manner. It seems his chief business is to traduce Abolitionists." The Society accordingly withdrew its endorsement of Balme on the ground of his attack on Dr. Cheever, and Eliza Wigham accused the visitor of "taking advantage of intensely British feeling." Balme retorted that the press reports of Cheever's speech had been accurate and averred that to endorse Cheever would violate his own loyalty to Britain.

Balme's sensational tactics managed to arouse wide interest and at his next meeting, held at the Augustine Church, was packed "in every corner". The chairman, the Reverend Dr. Alexander, announced at the outset that he was not committed to Balme's opinions but felt that they should /

(1) Scotsman, 4 February, letter signed "Fair Play".
(2) Wigham-May, 12 February.
(3) Scotsman, 12, 27 February, letters to the Editor.
should be heard. Balme then conducted a further harangue against American churchmen and abolitionists, accusing the former of being pro-slavery and the latter (including Ward Beecher) of adhering to "anti-slavery made easy". Balme asserted that the only true Abolitionists were persecuted, as he himself was, and attacked the Ladies' Emancipation Society for withdrawing their support. When Balme had finished, a pro-Federal Scot, Mr. Fullarton, who had just returned from a visit to New York, arose and spoke at length in rebuttal. Fullarton asserted that, contrary to Balme's statements, anti-slavery feeling was growing steadily in the North, and pointed out that Lincoln had been elected because of his opposition to the extension of slavery. Defending the integrity of Beecher, he admitted that Cheever had used "ill judged language" but protested against "wholesale denunciations of Americans". He concluded by asserting that the election of Lincoln represented a victory for the Christian forces in America.

Dr. Cheever had meanwhile sent a letter to the Edinburgh Abolitionists explaining his stand on the Trent affair, and William Duncan, of the Emancipation Society, wrote to the Scotsman countering Balme's accusations. He asserted that Balme had drawn upon a completely false report from /

(1) Scotsman, 13 March.
from the N.Y. Herald, and assured the Abolitionists in his explanatory letter that he had spoken nothing but good of Britain. Duncan went on to point to the encouraging progress of anti-slavery in America, illustrated by Lincoln's pronouncement against slavery in March and his plan to emancipate by purchase the slaves in the Border States. Balme replied by questioning Duncan's source of information, and attacked him for not publishing Cheever's letter. Asserting that Cheever should have apologised for his anti-British statements, Balme went on to describe how his criticism of Cheever and his defence of Britain had resulted in a campaign of persecution against him led by the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, which he alleged had joined with the pro-slavery forces in "raising the mad dog cry" against him. He continued his accusations against Cheever and the Ladies' Emancipation Society, which he continued to maintain was carrying out a campaign of persecution against him. Balme's book, American Churches, States, and Slavery, was published in Edinburgh some weeks later. The book was a long diatribe against the American Abolitionists, Republicans, and Federal sympathisers in general. Lincoln was characterised as a hypocrite and a /

(1) Scotsman, 15 April.
(2) In this case the American publication Principia, edited by the Reverend William Goodall, which Balme accused of being anti-British.
(3) Scotsman, 19 April. Letter to the editor.
a militaristic despot who had no intention of abolishing slavery; Douglass was accused of supporting servile insurrection and of leaving John Brown in the lurch at Harper's Ferry after promising to come to his aid; Garrison and his school were accused of "pantheist leanings"; and the Scottish Free Church, including Candlish and Guthrie, were attacked for their aid to American foreign missions during the war. Attacking the war against the Confederates, Balme reiterated Garrison's former arguments in favour of secession and accused the Garrisonians of betraying their principles by supporting the Union cause.

In spite of the censure of the Emancipation Society, Balme undoubtedly gained some support for a time among the Scottish Abolitionists and added to the uncertainty of many more. His book, with its contention that an independent Southern Confederacy was the best hope for the slave, received considerable attention, and added grist to the mill of the interventionist movement as it gathered force in the latter part of the year.

As 1862 advanced the Scottish Radicals and Abolitionists watched the American scene closely to discern the intentions.

(1) The Saturday Review of Literature declared that it knocked down all the idols of American enthusiasm... The Jesuitical cunning of Everett, the Pharaoh's hardheartedness of Lincoln, the hypocrisy of the Beechers and Mrs. Stowe, the unblushing sophistry of Seward, the impious inconsistency of most of the negro-hating emancipationists, who are still clamouring to reduce the South by war, are held unto universal loathing and contempt. (Sat.Rev.of Lit., 8 Nov. 1862)
intentions of the Federal Government in regard to slavery.
Eliza Wigham assured May that the Scottish Abolitionists
had no hostile feeling toward the North—"All we wish is
to see the cause of the slave triumph—and if the cause
is the cause of the North, it will command our sympathy."

The Confederate reverses in the summer stimulated hopes
that the Federals would be encouraged by defeat to turn to
Abolition. After the Second Battle of Bull Run, for
instance, the Caledonian Mercury called upon Lincoln to
adopt emancipation as the only means of redressing the
military balance in favour of the Federals, and assuring
a final victory over the Rebellion. "The South with
slavery," asserted the Mercury, "fighting the North without
freedom, does so on terms very unequal for the North; but
the North with freedom proclaimed, fighting the South with
slavery menaced, the inequality would then be all with the
South....We would urge the people of the Free States to
take to their aid the best ally they can obtain and not
permit their cause and so many valiant lives to be lost
without striking the one blow that can save all."

On the other hand the Confederate sympathisers viewed the

(1) Wigham-May, 12 February 1862.
(2) e.g., Cal. Mer., 18,19 June (after the Seven Days
Campaign).
(3) Ibid, 17 September.
the trend toward Abolition with evident concern and did their best to combat it. A number of articles in Blackwood's concentrated on describing the beneficent aspects of slavery. Writing in the Maga on his Southern experiences, Baron Bourke described the southern planters as benevolent aristocrats and the slaves as "happy, contented, and anxious to help against the Yankees. Their physical condition is as good, if not better than that of any labouring class in the world." Hamley declared that: "The condition of the slave has been painted in ridiculously exaggerated colours," with the result that even those who did not believe the Abolitionists still had ideas "which are unjust to the slaveholders". He wrote that he had been assured by a "Georgia gentleman" of the falsity of Abolitionist charges that slave families were broken up; and the same authority had explained that the fact that negroes were no longer allowed to be educated was the fault of the Abolitionists who persisted in circulating "incendiary books". Hamley urged the Confederates to issue a statement in favour of slavery to counteract the effect of Abolitionist propaganda in Europe - "European opinion on the subject is of such importance we do not see how an able /

(1) Blackwood's, XC, 758, (Dec.1861).
(2) Ibid, XCI, 523.
able Southerner could do better service to his country." (1)

At the same time, Hamley maintained that slavery was not an issue of the war and that Lincoln's proposal to purchase the freedom of the slaves in the Border States was a hypocritical attempt to unite the political factions in the North and win sympathy in Europe. (2)

The Courant warned that emancipation would lead to a further diminution of the cotton supply, (3) and accused the American Government of planning Abolition with the purpose of protecting the cotton and mercantile interests in the eastern cities, which were dependent on the cotton and tobacco trade and would be ruined if the South became independent. (4)

The spectre of "servile war" was a favourite topic of the pro-Confederates as the approach of emancipation became increasingly clear. For years before the war there had been a widespread belief that a large scale slave insurrection was possible along the line of the servile wars of Roman times and the negro risings in the Caribbean. A number of visitors to America, including William Chambers of /

(1) Blackwood's, XOI, 524.
(3) Courant, 5 May 1862.
(4) Ibid, 5 September.
of Edinburgh, had emphasised this danger. The pro-
Confederates now tried desperately to link the idea of
emancipation with that of servile war. The Courant
predicted at first that emancipation would lead to a
massacre of the slaves, and later expanded with gory
detail upon the probability of a slave rising resulting
from emancipation policy. Describing the latter as
"utterly unjustifiable, thoroughly unchristian, and
diabolical," the Courant declared that: "if successful in
exciting such an insurrection it would afford to the world
a spectacle of unexampled horror and atrocity. On one
side a race ignorant, oppressed, full of savage instincts,
maddened as with strong wine with the feeling and sense
of the new found liberty which they are unable to appreciate.
On the other the white man of the South, at bay before his
own insurgent slaves backed by all the force of the Federal
arms, indignant at the overthrow of his whole social system
and the loss of his most valuable property, with all his
fiery passions aroused to the utmost, burning with the
sense of injury, stimulated by the hope of revenge, and
resolved to fight to the last rather than yield to those
who /

(1) e.g., W. Chambers, op.cit.; Captain Marryat, *Diary in

(2) Courant, 30 July.
who, not content with fighting him fairly, have tried
to compass his ruin by means of his own domestic institu-
tions and social relations. What could result from such
a terrible rising but misery unspeakable and cruelties
and suffering which the mind shrinks from contemplating."(1)

At the height of the intervention drive another
influential article by a pro-Confederate visitor to the
South was published in Blackwood's. The aristocratic
author, Lord Edward St. Maur, described the Federals as
cowardly and incompetent, the Rebels as united and heroic;
the latter were led by superior men, the former by incom-
petents. St. Maur was favourably inclined toward McLellan,
whose hostility toward Lincoln and whose lukewarm prosecu-
tion of the war endeared him to many Confederate sympath-
isers. St. Maur insisted that the Union party in the South
had evaporated and that even the women and children were
fighting against the advancing Federals. He accused the
Federals of committing atrocities — although those he
mentioned were of a rather innocuous nature, consisting of
firing on planters' houses and living off the land. St.
Maur described Maryland as pro-Confederate, and drew a
romantic picture of Confederate soldiers singing "Maryland".

(1) Courant, 22 September 1862.
He concluded by asserting that the militaristic and oppressive spirit of the Federals had consolidated the South against the North, and was driving the Border States into the Confederacy.

When the Proclamation was issued, it was received with hostility by most of the Scottish press. The Courant led the pack with its fierce denunciations of Lincoln and interpreted his new measure as a sign of weakness in the Federal position. Predicting that the proclamation would prove ineffective, the Courant declared: "If this fails it should be remembered that all has failed."

Sensing the growth of popular reaction in favour of Lincoln as the date neared for the enforcement of the Proclamation, the Scottish Tories clamoured still more vociferously for intervention. In an interventionist article for the December issue of Blackwood's, R. H. Patterson predicted that once the Confederacy established its independence, further revolts and secessions would occur in America, and the Union would eventually split up into a number of small states. "A dismemberment of the American /

(1) Blackwood's, XCII, 391-402 (October 1862).
(2) Courant, 6, 7 October.
(3) Ibid, 8 October.
American Union is regarded as certain by every impartial observer in this country," Patterson asserted, and went on to urge that the British Empire should profit from this development by annexing parts of America. He concluded by urging that Britain adopt a stronger Imperial policy and repudiate the "Doctrinaires" who wished to grant independence to the colonies.

Admitting that the expense of a war with America would be considerable, the Courant declared that it would end the Cotton Famine and make the Confederacy an ally of Britain. "It is more for our maritime and commercial interests," the Courant maintained, "to have two separate states occupying the territories of the former American Union than one great nation. Two such states would serve to counterbalance and check one another; and neither would ever become so powerful and dangerous as if both had remained united....It would be the height of folly to lend any support, physical or moral (to the Federals)....It appears to us that if it can be made out that we have more to gain by the acknowledgement of the South as a separate nation, than by the preservation of our present attitude of neutrality, the sooner we abandon that neutrality and assume /

(1) Blackwood's, XCL, 696-713 (Dec. 1862).
assume a more distinct and unequivocal line of policy, the better."

A few days later the paper returned again to the theme of intervention, declaring that the Federals were becoming more brutal towards the South and more hostile to Britain. The Courant expressed indignation over the alleged outrages of General Butler and other Federal commanders, and called for aid to the Confederates before the Federals persuaded the former to unite with them in an attack on Britain as a solution to the Civil War. The paper referred to a suggestion in favour of intervention made by the Times as "very sensibly speaking". The American War," stated the Courant, "is fast becoming a scene of awful and yet vulgar horrors; - a chaos of crime; - a Donnybrook on a Titanic scale; - which threatens to require putting down by other nations as a scandal to the planet which they inhabit in common." The Federal reverse at Fredericksburg further encouraged the interventionist efforts of the Courant. "It is the old story," the paper declared in parody of the Mercury's leader on Antietam. "The Southern men not only know their work best /

(1) Courant, 5 December.
(2) Times, 9 December.
(3) Courant, 11 December.
best, but they do it best. They excel the Northerners at once in skill and in pluck. We do not conceal our satisfaction with the news. We have long held that the North cannot subdue the South, and it is only by decisive victories that this can be so clearly shown as to make peace and compromise possible." The Courant blamed the defeat on the American Cabinet for dismissing McLellan and ordering an advance. We have observed that McLellan had become a minor Tory hero, and the Courant expressed considerable sympathy for the ousted commander as well as for the Democratic opposition in general. "We cannot wonder that an Opposition should be furious which sees its Government spoiling the common cause by adding a wicked and hypocritical abolitionism to it." Describing the Federal Government as being controlled by "democratic scum" and the "imported scoundrelism of half Europe", the paper declared that the longer the war continued with Federal repulses, "the stronger the case for a European recognition of the South becomes."

The Courant declared: "Mr. Lincoln would never have thought /

(1) Henry Greville recorded on December 9 that Edward Ellice, the Aberdeenshire M.P., had just interviewed both Adams and Mason, and that the American Ambassador had admitted that "the officers of the Federal Army were sick of the war". - (Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville, 87-8). This story, however, does not sound probable, and Greville is of course unreliable on other points.
thought of Abolition if he had not found the war going so un成功fully....He cannot put the Southern men down by fair means so he will try foul. He cannot conquer them himself so he will attempt to get the negro for an ally. It would be difficult to point to any historic action baser or meaner than that which the President has thus resolved upon. In the first place it is a gross piece of hypocrisy; for he has not even the miserable excuse of fanaticism. The politician who would suddenly set free negroes without reference to their fitness for freedom and when tumult and bloodshed certainly must ensue — may in some degree be excused as a fanatic, if also content to pass as a fool. But we don't hesitate to say, that if he who does such a thing honestly is a bigot, he who does it dishonestly is a scoundrel. He is trifling with the most awful of human interests and the most awful of human passions for political gain; mocking God by what he pretends and injuring man by what he achieves. Fortunately there are solid grounds for hoping that Mr. Lincoln's inhuman malignity will prove as ineffectual as his mental imbecility has hitherto done. The South is not governed by 'rail-splitters', but has men of culture and capability at the head of its affairs." The Courant predicted that most of the slaves would either not hear of or ignore the Proclamation, and that any who revolted /
revolted would be quickly disposed of - "and the blood of these unhappy wretches will be upon Mr. Lincoln's head first of all. It is to be hoped, however, by the friends of the blacks as well as of the whites, that the firebrand which the President has thrown, will go out without doing any mischief.... Lincoln has evidently taken the step because he felt himself getting politically weaker - not merely as head of the North against the South, but in his own relations to the North. He hopes to secure the devotion of at least one party - rather than to be successfully the pet, the tool, and then the target of two or three. He is a poor creature, this choice of the people; and may possibly provoke a revolution in the North itself to put him down. In his new capacity of Abolitionist he will be no stronger; he will only continue to toss about on the popular wave like a bottle, with a tract inside of it by way of a change. Who does not remember Punch's seaman applying the corkscrew to a bottle which has been washed up on the beach? 'Rum, I hopes; brandy, I thinks; tracts, by jingo!' Just such a bottle have the Yankees found Mr. Lincoln - whom they once believed to have something good in him!"

The /

(1) Courant, 7 October 1862.
The Courant continued to accuse the Federals of hypocrisy on the question of Abolition, and pointed to discrimination against the negroes in the Northern States. The Courant also rejected the Republican contention that slave labour injured free labour, "a notion once very common among our own colonists". The paper expressed the belief that the Rebels might reply to the Proclamation by offering emancipation to all slaves willing to join the Confederate army.

The Proclamation was greeted by renewed cries of "servile war" and demands for intervention from the Scottish Tories. In Blackwood's, R. H. Patterson raged against the measure as "monstrous, reckless, devilish". "The President," asserted Patterson, "has at length owned the impossibility of success in warfare and seeks to paralyse the victorious armies of the South by letting loose upon their hearths and homes the lust and savagery of four million negroes. The die is cast....The North seeks to make the South a desert - a wilderness of bloodshed and misery." According to the writer, the Proclamation showed that the Federals preferred to exterminate the Confederates rather /

(1) e.g., Courant, 20 October.
rather than to recognise them, and that the latter were now justified in "hoisting the black flag" and give no quarter to the Federals. Asserting that the war was being continued by New York financiers who feared that they would otherwise lose control of the Southern trade, Patterson called for joint European intervention in favour of the Confederates, on the principle of the Holy Alliance, in order to prevent a slave rising. Patterson drew a horrific picture of the servile insurrection which was inevitably to follow the Emancipation Proclamation. "To employ such a means as a negro insurrection is simply infamous," he declared, and averred that the measure "would make the Union doubly impossible" by encouraging secession in the Border states.

The reaction to the Proclamation in some prominent Liberal quarters was almost as hostile as that of the Tories. The Edinburgh Review for example roundly condemned the measure as "a cry of despair and a confession that after all their boasting it is impossible to subdue the South by the accumulated force of the Northern States... The spirit of the measure itself is one of vengeance - not of a wish to free the slave....That it is utterly worthless as /

(1) Blackwood's, XCII, 391-402 (October 1862).
as the basis of future rights to any portion of the coloured population we have not the slightest doubt." The Edinburgh argued that it had no legal basis and would not be enforced by the courts even if the South were conquered, and also that it had no value as a moral pledge. However, the review believed that it would have disastrous political consequences for the Federals in that it would turn the majority of the North against the government and solidify the South still further. The Edinburgh predicted that in any case reunion would not lead to emancipation since the Northern capitalists would agree to protect slavery to keep order, making a ready labour force, and appease the South.

The Scotsman also interpreted the measure as one of hypocritical expediency and as having no constitutional basis - "The President issues these words now, not because he is stronger and therefore more able to render them effective, but because he has become weaker.... It is not because he can now do more for the negroes, but because he needs to do more for himself, not because he has come more to love the slave, but because he has come more to fear their masters. It is not philanthropy - it is not even political policy."

(1) Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 549-99 (October 1862).
policy - it is only military tactics." The Scotsman asserted that the slaves had no interest in emancipation in any case since they had made no attempt to assert their freedom during the war.

Even the Free Church Daily Review was completely unsympathetic to the Proclamation. The paper maintained that if it had been made at the beginning of the war it might have had some effect, but that it was now too late; it would have no influence on the slaves to whom "liberty is only an abstraction". The paper predicted that the Proclamation might help to end the war by turning a large part of the North against Lincoln, although the President might manage to hold on with the suspension of habeas corpus and the establishment of martial law.

On the other hand the pro-Federal Radicals greeted emancipation with enthusiasm, and their organ, the Caledonian Mercury, was one of the few papers to express unreserved approval of the Proclamation. "Henceforth," declared the Mercury, "the war is one for absolute and thorough emancipation." In its analysis of the Proclamation the Mercury showed a thorough grasp of the significance /

(1) Scotsman, 7 October.
(2) Daily Review, 7 October.
(3) Cal. Mer., 6 October.
significance of the measure, which was in striking contrast to the rest of the Scottish press, but in line with its own consistent prescience in regard to American affairs. The Mercury hailed the Proclamation as proof that the Federals were fighting for a principle and were more deserving of support than the Rebels, and denounced the attempts to explain away the Proclamation as a sinister political manoeuvre. "We do not disguise our feelings of cordial satisfaction that the step which we long have contemplated as probable, has at length been taken, and that out of the blood and treasure sacrificed in an appalling internecine war, four millions of human beings, created in God's image, are about to rise invigorated, refreshed, and emancipated to reap the blessings Providence has called upon them to enjoy."

The paper pointed out that although the Proclamation did not free slaves in Federal-held territory, it did offer a plan of emancipation by compensation. "More than this could not be desired....." the Mercury declared. "The truth is it is an immense stride in advance, and one for which the President deserves and will get immortal thanks. Hitherto, it has been extremely difficult to convince the British public that the North was fighting against slavery and /
and for freedom. The evidences of their doing so were not clear and certainly not conclusive."

Taking up the usual arguments used against the Federals, such as that Lincoln had asserted that he was fighting only for the Union, and the existence of pro-slavery and anti-negro sentiment in the North, the Mercury continued: "Well now, admitting the truth of all that, and we do not say there is not much truth in it, is not the conduct of the President in the step he has just taken, the more magnanimous and the more to be admired? If he has had to contend with a pro-slavery feeling in the North, and if that pro-slavery feeling has been strong enough heretofore to distract his councils and impede his work, is he not worthy of all the more honour and entitled to all the more credit now that he has resolved, let the consequences be what they may, to signalise his Presidentship by proclaiming the complete and total emancipation of all the slaves?" The Mercury added further that the critics of Lincoln in Britain failed to consider that the President was bound to a large extent by constitutional limitations and by the pressure of public opinion; Lincoln would act against slavery as much as public opinion would allow, and the realisation of this induced /
induced the slave holders to rebel. "Had President Lincoln been like President Buchanan the South never would have taken up arms against the North. . . . It was in consequence of the general conviction that the slave owners and slave breeders of the South would be checked in their nefarious and inhuman traffic in the bodies and souls of their fellow human beings, that the planters and their dependants resolved to secede. They knew that Lincoln was a man who, although desirous of acting in accordance with the laws of and Constitution of the United States would refuse any further sop to the Southern Cerberus and it was this knowledge, though the people of our country have been reluctant to be influenced by it, that led them to assert, and to the loss of tens of thousands of men and millions of money, to vindicate their right to 'wallop their own niggers' in the approved and popular way. Lincoln has now done more than probably he ever would have been able to accomplish, had the Southern States maintained their connection with the North; and he has done it sooner than most thoughtful people who know the difficulties and dangers which beset the question could have imagined, though not so soon, it must be acknowledged, as the crowds of wiseacres, who have never studied an hour seriously on the subject, would /
would have him do." Referring to the anger and fear aroused by the Proclamation both among the Confederates and the pro-slavery elements in the North, the Mercury stated: "We care not a straw about the feelings of the one party or the other; we regard the Proclamation as the knell of slavery; we hold it to be the rightful and necessary consequence of a prolonged and bloody war, we see poor John Brown's death avenged by a righteous Heaven; and though we have no hope that the slaves will be able in considerable numbers to take advantage of the change in their favour, we contemplate the time when completely emancipated from their bondage and unitedly rejoicing in their freedom, they will, looking back as the tribes of Israel did upon their drowning persecutors, take up a song of thanks-giving to the Great Being who over mountains of difficulties and seas of affliction, brought them within sight of a Christian home and a happy Land."

However, in spite of these intensive efforts on the part of the Rebel sympathisers, the tide of opinion in Scotland began to turn further in favour of the Federals from the time of the Emancipation Proclamation. One of the

(1) Cal. Mer., 7 October.
the first of the new converts to the Federal cause was Dr. Guthrie, to whom the Proclamation sounded as the Biblical injunction, "Let my people go". Dropping his former interventionist stand, the great preacher offered up prayers in his church for the Federal cause and urged his congregation, "Let us not taunt them because they have been driven to this policy - because the President's proclamation was forced upon them by necessity. Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's home?" Many Scottish Presbyterians were undoubtedly moved by seeing in the emancipation of the American slaves a re-enactment of the Israelites' passage out of Egypt.

Pro-Confederate circles made frantic attempts to counter the public reaction in favour of the Federals. At the same time the Scotsman insisted that the public were bored with the American struggle. This alleged indifference did not prevent the Scotsman from publishing a leading article on the Civil War at least two or three times every week. In fact, on the same day that the latter editorial appeared, the Scotsman reprinted an anti-slavery and anti-Confederate article by Frederick Douglass, in /

(1) Duchess of Argyll-Sumner, 3 December 1862. (JPMHA, XLVII p. 100.
(2) Scotsman, 27 November.
in which the latter made an eloquent attack on slavery and on the Confederates. Douglass argued that the pro-
Confederate efforts of Delane, Gladstone, and others were bolstering the morale of the Confederacy and thus keeping it alive. The American Abolitionist went on at-length to demonstrate that slavery was the basic issue of the war and urged Britain not to intervene or recognise the Rebels, but to concentrate on the cultivation of cotton by free labour.

Douglass' resentment of the pro-Confederate attitude maintained by many prominent Britons was shared by many Americans, including Charles Sumner. The Duchess of Argyll set herself to mollify the Radical Senator by agreeing with his strictures on the pro-Confederate party, but she added with pointed reference to the previous vacillations of the Federals toward slavery, "You will make, I know, due allowance - the issue had not been clear. Those who should have made it clear have often done their best to darken it."

The Mercury also continued to resist the efforts of the interventionists.

In /

(1) Scotaman, 27 November 1862.

(2) Duchess of Argyll-Sumner, 3 December 1862. (JRMHA, loc. cit., 100).
In the ensuing weeks the Mercury continued to engage vigorously and single-handedly in the fierce controversy which raged around the Proclamation. In a series of leading articles, the Radical organ attempted to show the significance of the Proclamation, and of the phase of the conflict which it gave birth to, for domestic issues such as the cotton famine, the aspirations of the working class, and the future of democracy and free institutions. The fact that a bitterly contested municipal election was being held in Edinburgh at the beginning of October was a further incitement to the partisan press. The Mercury redoubled its efforts to rally Radical and working class support for Lincoln and the Republicans. In the editorials of the Radical organ at this time we can see the beginning of that great campaign of mass agitation in support of the Federals which developed during the following months. On 17 October, in the course of an analysis of the party struggle in America, the Mercury declared: "If the Republican party in the United States has taken a long time in learning lessons in the science of human freedom, they seem at length to have learned them most effectually." Explaining the conflicting positions of the two parties, the Mercury described the Republicans as being now anti-slavery, whereas the Democrats supported the war but were still willing to /
to compromise on the slavery question. "If the people of this country," the Mercury went on, "fairly understood the condition of those parties, we know that they would sympathise with the opponents of slavery and not with its supporters, with the Republicans and not with the Democrats, for while deploiring the war and its sacrifices, they would deplore it still more if no good was to be the ultimate result in the shape of extended freedom for the human race." Warning the Government of the disastrous economic consequences which would result from a clash with America, the Radical organ asserted that the Radicals and workers would not permit a war in behalf of the Confederacy. The paper pointed out that recognition of the Confederates alone, without the use of force, would not procure cotton and agreed with Cobden that it would be cheaper for the country to feed and clothe the unemployed workers than to conduct a war against America. The Mercury also observed that a large part of the territory claimed by the Rebels was now reoccupied by the Union forces, following recent Federal victories in the West, and that these territories could not therefore be logically recognised as part of the Confederacy. "The unripeness of the state of affairs for recognition is sufficient to assure us that the Cabinet will /

(1) Cal. Mer., 17 October 1862.
will attempt nothing of the kind."

"The aristocracy might favour a war on behalf of Southern interests," the Mercury asserted, "the whole class seems at present to be bitten with a slavery mania - but the people would prevent it. If any Ministry were to propose to go to war with the Free States of America on such a question, with France or without her, they would be out of office in a week. The middle classes know all too well what the effects of a war with America would be. The country would become one huge Lancashire, business would be at a standstill, and the operatives idle, hungry and menacing. The great, original question of how the millions are going to be fed would come up with an ugly threatening look about it which quiet, wealthy middle class men would especially dislike. The working classes themselves know too well what war with America would include to permit of any such interference. If they must starve it will not be for the sake of the slaveholders, or to recognise any people striving to form an empire upon the unholy basis of slavery. If they fight, or permit the nation to fight - and in a question of peace or war the working classes have a most potent voice - it shall not be against the free men of the Free States."

Attacking /
Attacking the war party, the *Mercury* warned that the destruction caused by American raiders in the war of 1812, and the damage being caused by the *Alabama*, indicated what might happen to British commerce in the case of war with America.

The *Mercury* appealed to the masses not only to oppose the interventionist policy contemplated in ruling circles but to support openly the Federal war effort as a crusade for emancipation and democracy and pictured Lincoln's new policy as signalising a revival of Radicalism from the nadir which the movement had reached in 1862. At the same time the *Mercury* attempted to awaken the Scottish public to the true stature of Lincoln himself and in its efforts in this respect it began to create the Lincoln myth which was such a potent factor in the revival of the forces of democracy. The paper's penetrating comment on Lincoln's annual message to Congress in December shows an understanding of Lincoln's character and historical significance which was not shared by most of the rest of the Scottish press until after the President's death. The figure of the Great Emancipator soon became a principal rallying point for the pro-Federal movement.


(2) Ibid, 22 December 1862.
Chapter VII.

Democracy as an Issue!

Agitation and Propaganda during 1863.

During the first months of the war it became evident that the future of democratic government was to be a paramount issue in the Civil War. To the Scottish Tories, who for the generation following the First Reform Act had suffered the humiliation of being in a permanent minority, the sudden disruption of the American Union came as an unexpected confirmation of their gloomy prophecies concerning the democratic trends of the nineteenth century. They were quick to seize upon the discomfiture of America as definitive proof that the doctrines of their Liberal opponents were fallacious. The debate over the Civil War thus became intimately linked with the political and religious controversies then in progress in Scotland.

*Blackwood's Magazine*, the leading proponent of the extreme Tory view in Scotland, gave the fullest statement to the argument that democracy was proved bankrupt by the developments in America. The *Magazine*, aided vociferously by the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, repeated this theme, with numerous variations, and linked it closely with their attack on the Radical movement. Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, army officer /
officer, military commentator, and a chief contributor to Blackwood's, took the lead in this campaign. Hamley argued that democracy had had every chance to succeed in America, but had led to moral and intellectual decay in spite of the material progress of the country. Predicting that in the near future the tenets of democracy would appear as absurd as the doctrines of divine right and Papal Infallibility, he pointed the moral that the British Constitution had been proved to be the best of all possible ones. Hamley maintained that the democratic tendencies in Britain had been halted by "the tattered and insolvent guise in which republicanism appears in America, although the right instinct and good sense of the country had already preserved it from following the Reform leaders in their downward strides to the declivity that overhangs chaos and left those miscalculating chieftains in the ridiculous position of heading an imaginary enterprise — a crusade in which they were the only crusaders — to escape from which the most indefatigable and unscrupulous among them took refuge in the House of Lords." Hamley went on to argue that the democratic movement at home had been halted by /

(1) Blackwood's, XCI, 516.
(2) Ibid, 514.
by American developments, (1) which "showed an example which might be very injurious to England." (2) The Courant enthusiastically took up the idea that American developments had discredited the Radical leaders, even in the eyes of the working class. Although hastening to assert that the workers lacked sufficient intelligence to be allowed to vote, the Courant maintained that they had sufficient sense to realise that the American crisis had shown the value of traditional institutions and discredited the democratic theories of John Bright. "The reign of this gentleman is over," rejoiced the Courant. "The writing on the wall is even now being interpreted; and his kingdom is taken from him and given unto the Whigs and Tories." (3)

Each of the principal events in the war, particularly in its first half, were seized upon by either the Tories or the Radicals in Scotland as proof of the validity of their respective doctrines. The American exultations at the time of the Trent affair, for example, were held by the Courant to be proof that democracy led to mob rule and the rejection of law and order. (4) Arguing that Lincoln, even if

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(1) e.g., Blackwood's, XCI, 521-22.
(2) Ibid, XCII, 372-90.
(3) Courant, 7 December 1861.
(4) Ibid, 14 December 1861.
if he wished to, would not be able to return the Commissioners in the face of "the blatant mob. Destiny will provide the means of putting down mobs in America in time; but the time has not yet come, nor has the man (its necessary accompaniment) shown himself." When the American Government eventually complied with the British demand, the Courant consoled itself by comparing Seward's note with the writings of Jefferson: "Jefferson was educated under the good old colonial system before the ascendancy of that democracy which - with equal impartiality - debases politics, degrades manners, and vulgarises style." The Courant continued to hammer at democracy during this period, arguing that the state of "Mr. Bright's Model Republic" showed what would have happened to Britain had the Chartist movement succeeded.

The alleged tyranny of General Benjamin Butler in New Orleans provided a text for further sermons by the Scottish Tories, once the Trent affair had been settled. "No where," declared the Courant, "has the exposure of revolutionary nonsense been so complete as in America.

(1) Courant, 20 December, 1861.
(2) Ibid, 16 January, 1862.
(3) e.g., Ibid, 16 January.
The hereditary landed system gave her Washington. Democracy has plunged her into war and given her Butler... He is a representative man; his government supports him; democracy is proud of him. Why call him brute, coward, tyrant—words which irritate yourself and don't excite a sensation in the Lion of the North? The more sensible plan is to thank God that one is not an American and to do one's best to prevent Britain from becoming what America has become. From time to time in the following months, the Tory press returned to denouncing Butler's activities as the evil end product of democracy.

The issue of democracy was also closely related by both political camps to the ebb and flow of military fortunes in America. The Federal victories in the spring of 1862 were widely hailed by the pro-Federal Radicals as showing that the Southern landholders were incapable of standing up to the commoners of the North. The Scottish Radicals identified themselves closely with the advancing Union armies, and their chief organ declared: "We look upon their victories in much the same light as if our own armies had fought and won them."

When /

(1) Courant, 4 July.
(2) e.g., Ibid, 16 October.
(3) e.g., Cal. Mer., 5 April 1862.
(4) Ibid, 27 May.
When it appeared that McLellan was about to take Richmond and suppress the Rebellion, the Courant took the line that the public was losing interest in the war, on the grounds that its leading figures were mean and vulgar — except for one or two of the Southern heroes. However, when the tide turned in the summer and the Rebels began advancing, the Tory paper showed a sudden renewal of interest, as it poured scorn and abuse on the retreating Federals. "We owe some of our finest words," declared the Courant after the Second Battle of Bull Run, "to the taste and ingenuity of our Yankee cousins, such as locomote, location, caucus, bunkum, stockdologer, and last but not least, skedaddle — a delicious word, so expressive, so euphonious, so admirably fitted to describe the movements of the Federal army. They advanced from Washington to Richmond and they have now skedaddled from Richmond back to Washington. We do not know exactly which of the Federal generals is entitled to the honour of having invented this new term in strategy, but if we were to hazard a guess, we should say General McLellan, who has shown himself beyond all question the greatest proficient in the art of skedaddling."

(1) Courant, 22 April 1862.
(2) Ibid, 16 September.
The Scottish Tories were particularly anxious that the current disillusionment with American democracy should directly benefit themselves and lead to a reinvigorated Conservatism in Scotland. When a bye-election occurred in Kirkcaldy, the Courant deplored the withdrawal of the Conservative candidate, who left two Liberals to fight for the seat. Calling for a more vigorous Conservative effort in Scotland, the paper asserted: "The younger generation - who read more than their fathers did - see that democracy is a huge illusion, and that Liberalism, which is sham Democracy, is delusion and imposture together." (1) The Courant insisted that the war had discredited the Liberal faith in the civilising influence of education and a high standard of living - "The same Civil War that has deprived Manchester of its cotton has also refuted Manchester's whole philosophy." (2) The Courant made the most of the divisions in the Liberal ranks over the American question, pointing out that the pro-Confederate Liberals were applauding the disruption of "the most prosperous embodiment of Liberal doctrines the world ever saw..... Such a spectacle might be exulted over, if exultation were decent in /

(1) Courant, 24 July.
(2) Ibid, 13 June.
(3) e.g., Ibid, 20 October 1862.
in such a case, by the enemies of Liberalism. But for Liberalism itself to laugh at it is mean and servile ingratitude. Yet this is a spectacle we see every day. The intoxication of the patriarch of Liberalism by the Liberal Ham."

Dickens' scathing indictments of American society were also dragged up to emphasise the basic split in Liberal thinking over America. The Courant, for example, rejoiced that Dickens had described the degeneration of American democracy and had thus prevented many Liberals from giving uncritical admiration to America. Pointing out that during the Trent affair, America had conformed closely to the picture drawn in Martin Chuzzlewit, the Tory paper advised Dickens to stop propagating Radical views and to pay more respect to the aristocracy.

The Scottish Tories were particularly afraid that the conservative reaction aroused by the Civil War might be exploited by the more flexible Whigs for their own purposes. During /

(1) Courant, 30 July.

(2) Courant, 11 March 1862. "The Civil War," declared the Courant, "has not only justified his vague feeling that things were tending to some catastrophe in America, but it has thrown a lurid light on the grotesque, but not unreal figures of his animated caricature. The scream of Brick's voice has been heard through the din of battle; and Pogram's defiance of Great Britain was never louder than when our demand for the peremptory return of Mason and Slidell was within a few hours sail of New York."
During the period of Union successes in the spring of 1862, the Courant accused the Timun of attempting to hedge on the question of whether democracy was actually the cause of America's tribulations. The Courant expressed the fear that: "A period when it would be convenient for journals following the public cry to talk Democracy might come around again, and at such a period the example of America might be an awkward subject to be committed about."

This approach was closely connected with the feud, at the local level, between the Edinburgh Whigs (represented by the Scotsman) and Tories. An interesting sidelight of this conflict occurred in April 1862, when the Whigs accused the leaders of the Edinburgh University Conservative Club of persistent drunkenness, to which the Courant responded by declaring that the Whigs were politically bankrupt and describing the Edinburgh Whig as "only a Radical in a clean shirt".

Another favourite tactic of the Scottish Tories was to hint darkly that the patriotism of the pro-American Radicals was not what it should be. Bright, and his followers in England and Scotland, were frequently accused of putting American interests before British /

(1) Courant, 30 April, 1862.
(2) Ibid, 7 April, 1862.
British, either because of their alleged investments in American securities or because of their desire to undermine the British Constitution by introducing an American type of democracy. At the beginning of the Trent affair, for example, the Courant blamed the influence of "the commercial and democratic faction" for causing Britain to be excessively subservient to America, and the Radicals were frequently described as "the Americanising party in Britain". Professor Goldwin Smith of Oxford, one of the first prominent figures in Britain to take up the Federal cause, was a favourite target of abuse; the Courant demanded that he stop his agitation in favour of the Federals and accused him of being a bad influence on the minds of youth, in that his teaching tended to undermine faith in the Empire. The Tories also focused much attention on the arbitrary measures adopted by the Federal Government to deal with the war situation and argued that these measures showed the inevitable tendency of democracy to develop into tyranny. The vast size of the armies in America, the arbitrary arrests of Southern sympathisers, and the suspension of habeas /

(1) Courant, 29 November, 1861.
(2) e.g., 7 April 1862, in the article on Dickens, referred to above.
(3) Courant, 25 September 1862.
habeas corpus were diagnosed as incipient military despotism. As the Courant put it: "The change of the whole political creed and constitution of Mr. Bright's model Republic is scarcely more striking than if that eloquent and respectable Quaker should challenge Jem Mace for the champion's belt and go into training for the struggle as soon as Parliament rose."

One point which dominated Scottish discussion of the lessons of the American war was the question of whether democracy could produce adequate leadership, particularly in times of crisis. Carlyle's doctrines concerning Great Men had already permeated Scottish thinking to a large extent and thus helped to focus attention on to this particular aspect of the American crisis. We have already observed that the Scottish Tories were talking, quite early in the war, of Destiny providing America with a Great Man to put down the mob. Towards the end of 1862 there were hopes /

(1) e.g., see Blackwood's XV, 768-9.
(2) Heavyweight boxing champion at the time.
(3) Courant, 16 July 1862. At times the Courant interpreted these repressive measures as a healthy development and a transitional phase between democracy and authoritarian government. "The best symptom of the American mind," declared the paper, "is the good sense with which it has reconciled itself to such measures - and it is as well, perhaps, that the Northern people should be made gradually familiar with the principle that order is more important than freedom." (Ibid, 18 March).
(4) The Courant hailed Carlyle as "by far the greatest living Scotsman," and contrasted him with the Free Church Radicals, whom the paper described as ignorant and uneducated.
hopes that M'Lellan was the Man of Destiny who would overthrow Lincoln's administration and pave the way for an aristocratic form of government in the North, which would bring about peace and the suppression of the mob. These hopes were soon blasted when Lincoln suddenly removed the obstreporous general from his command at the end of the year.

One of the chief contentions of Scottish conservative organs was that democracy could only produce unscrupulous demagogues or mere puppets, who reflected the fluctuating passions of the mob. This argument was reinforced by pointing to the decline in the quality of American leadership since the period of the Revolution. The Founding Fathers were held to be the product of colonial aristocracy, while the "dark horses" and relative nonentities who followed in the wake of the Jacksonian Revolution were held to be the inevitable products of the rise of democracy. (1) The Courant, for example, blamed Washington and Jefferson for introducing eighteenth century "notions" about democracy and thus beginning the decline of their country toward catastrophe. Inviting the local Radicals to study the American situation, the Courant declared:

"They /

(1) See the Courant and Blackwood's passim, and particularly the articles of Hamley in the latter which are cited above.
"They will see dolts and vulgarians dragging their countrymen under fire and getting them shot with a stupidity worthy of the lower animals. The railsplitting statesmen and pettifogging generals have been proved blockheads or brutes. America has proved that democracy not only does not produce genius but that its tendency is to ripen mediocrity and place it in the ascendant.\(1\)

The Courant continued to expound Carlyle's theory that the Great Man was of a different order from the masses, and that, since the latter could never understand or accept the former, "inferior talent is at a kind of premium in Democracies. It is the marked and decided lack of Individuality - the want of Great Men - the poverty in Heroic and Brilliant Characters - about our modern Democratic Societies, which we think the most offensive, but yet most instructive phenomenon of these times."\(2\)

The question of Lincoln's stature soon became a crucial one for both camps in Scotland. We have already noted that the Caledonian Mercury hailed Lincoln from the start as a great leader, able to guide America through the crisis. The conservative elements, however, at least during the first/

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\(1\) Courant, 23 September 1862.

\(2\) Ibid, 12 February 1862.
first half of the war, pictured Lincoln as ignorant, plebeian and incompetent puppet of the Northern mob. Hamley summed up the Tory attitude when he wrote in Blackwood's:

"The great achievement in self-government of this vaunted democracy which we have been so loudly and arrogantly called upon to admire, is to drag from his proper obscurity an ex-rail-splitter and country attorney and to place what it calls its liberties at his august disposal......An imbecile executive above, a restless, purposeless multitude below, linked together like a kite tied to a balloon......such is the spectacle presented in the first storm by the Model Republic......His (Lincoln's) antecedents are respectable, tho' not illustrious. He is said to have displayed considerable dexterity and muscular powers in the splitting of rails."

In contrast to this dismal picture of political degeneration in the North, the Tories described the Southern planters and their leaders as an heroic race of aristocrats whose prowess and abilities in their struggle against the democratic mob were vindicating traditional conservative values. Romantic Rebels had a particular attraction for Scots /

(1) Blackwood's, XGI, 131-22.
Scots in the middle part of the nineteenth century. The influence of Scott undoubtedly contributed a great deal to this tendency, while at the same time the rigid social conventions imposed on most of society during the period probably encouraged many to identify themselves in imagination with rebels in distant lands. The great enthusiasm expressed for such figures as Kosouth and Garibaldi are examples of this tendency, but these had been heroes of the Left. Now the Tories were able to enter the field by idolising the dashing Cavaliers of the South, such as Stonewall Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart. During 1862 a concerted attempt was made by Scottish conservatives to build up Jefferson Davis as the chief hero of the war and as the antithesis of the contemptible Lincoln. This effort came to a head after the Confederate victories in the summer, when it appeared to the Confederates and their sympathisers that Davis was about to emerge "as the master spirit of the American Continent". (1) Inspired by Dudley Mann, who predicted that Lincoln was in a state of panic and would flee from Washington before the first of October, Baron Bourke wrote an article for Blackwood's in which the Rebel /

(1) Dudley Mann-Baron Bourke, 13 July 1862 (Blackwood Papers; (2) Ibid; see also Bourke-Blackwood, 29 March, 16 July, 8,16, 22 August. Mason, the Confederate Commissioner in London, supplied much of the material for the article.
Rebel President was eulogised in the most exalted terms as a refined, educated, patriotic Southern aristocrat leading a glorious revolt against mob rule. The Baron asserted that the Southern people were solidly behind Davis in his struggle against the tyranny of Lincoln and that they could not be defeated. Although Blackwood's, with the aid of other Tory organs, did their best to lay the foundation for a Davis myth, the attempt never quite succeeded; Davis somehow lacked the positive qualities needed to rouse enthusiasm, even in most pro-Confederate circles. Although Blackwood's was somewhat more successful in popularising General Lee, it was Lincoln who gradually emerged for the great mass of Scots as the most significant figure of the war.

Scottish Liberals who espoused the Confederate cause found somewhat more difficulty than the Tories in developing a rationale for their stand. They were all concerned to demonstrate that Liberal principles were not the reason for the disintegration of the Union, although they tended to give divergent reasons for the calamity. The Whig and Palmerstonian wings of the party argued, along lines very similar /

(1) Blackwood's, XCII, 343 et seq. (September 1862).
(2) e.g., see Courant, 4, 5 September.
(3) e.g., Blackwood's, CXIII, 364-94; J.D. Long, "Wolseley and the Confederate Army", JPMHA, XLVIII, 9-24.
similar to the Tories, that extreme democracy was at fault. The Scotsman, for example, described America as being ruled "by a mobocracy consisting greatly of the scum of society vomited by Europe on America," and warned of "the mistake of confounding freedom itself with the most democratic institutions hitherto devised for securing it." Others argued that the war was a revolt in favour of free trade against the obnoxious tariff policy of the Republicans. To others, especially those elements among the Free Church who sided with the Confederates, the war was one of national self-determination waged against the Federals who were identified as the imperialist party in America. The Free Church North British Review, although a supporter of Gladstonian Liberalism, concluded that the War demonstrated the unfortunate consequences of extreme democracy - "The experiment has been tried for us and we shall be the wiser for it." The Edinburgh Review, however, strongly contested the Tory argument that democracy was the cause of the apparent disintegration of America and put forward the theory /

(1) Scotsman, 23 October 1862.
(2) e.g., see Tait's Review, 1861, passim.
(3) This theory is developed to its greatest extent in the North British Review, XXXVIII, 257-303; see also Ibid, passim, and the Free Church Daily Review, passim.
(4) N.B. Review, LXV, 134.
theory that the real cause was the inherent instability of a Federal system, and that the precipitating factor was the rise of Abolitionism in the North. (1) The repressive measures undertaken by the Federals, such as the suspension of habeas corpus, were taken as proof that the Federals were fighting for imperialism and despotism. (2)

Probably the most prominent figure among the Scottish Liberals who openly supported the Confederates was Lord Brougham, who took his stand in the course of the annual meeting of the Social Science Association in June 1862. To the intense disappointment of Federal sympathisers, the veteran Liberal denounced democracy and argued that the American crisis showed that the system led inevitably to war. The Mercury replied indignantly that: "The people of this country - the vast multitude of whose influence the old popular leader now feigns a fear - are as true to Abolition today as they were when Henry Brougham and Joseph Sturge led them into battle." The Mercury pointed out further that the democratic elements in America had shrunk from the conflict until the very last moment when the war was finally precipitated by the aggression of the slaveholders /

(1) e.g., Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 590-3 (October 1862).
(2) Ibid, 586.
"Never were the best fruits of Democracy so gloriously displayed," declared the Mercury, "than in the enthusiastic rallying of the Northern people to the defence of their flag and Constitution. The heart of the hero of a thousand fights for the enlargement of popular privileges may now have become so cold in the Upper House... that he can no longer sympathise with what is noble and great even when done by a kindred people; but the events of these days will be spoken of by the great of after times with admiration and delight, when even the fame of a Brougham may have become dim and faint."

The Mercury also countered energetically the arguments of Brougham, Gladstone and other Liberals that the Confederates were fighting for freedom and national self-determination. The paper repeatedly denied that the Confederates constituted a nation and argued that they were fighting the war to defend and extend slavery. Lashing out with bitter irony at Liberals who were supporting the drive for recognition of the South, the Radical paper declared: "We are not astonished at statesmen desiring to aid /

(1) Cal. Mer., 9 June 1862.
(2) Ibid, 19 June.
(3) Ibid, 1862, passim.
aid the South so struggling to preserve an institution (i.e. slavery) so needful to the human race; above all we can see why the statesmen of free countries, such as Mr. Gladstone, should so keenly wish to extend recognition to the new slave empire. The labouring population in free countries are getting out of all bounds in their demands, and the influence of a slave empire would be a wholesome check on their pretensions." (1) The Mercury dealt out similar sarcasm to the Free Church Liberals, such as Murray Dunlop, M.P. for Greenock, who failed to take a firm stand against recognition.

The reactions of the various political and religious factions in Scotland toward the Civil War were closely correlated to their positions in regard to domestic questions. We have seen this to be true on the general question of democracy and it was extended to cover more specific local issues. The sympathy shown by the Scottish Tories for the Southern planters, for instance, was closely paralleled by their support of the landed aristocracy at home against the hostility of the Cobdenite Radicals. (3) Closely /

(1) Cal. Mer., 27 October 1862.
(2) Ibid.
(3) e.g., Courant, 17 October 1862, in a long editorial defending the landed gentry as the backbone of the nation and calling for special legislation to support this class.
Closely related to this was the Tory campaign against the introduction of the secret ballot, which it was feared would remove the lower orders from the beneficent influence of the aristocracy. The Tories' constant refrain that the press of the North (usually exemplified in Tory organs by the New York Herald) was related to their desire to restrict or suppress "unscrupulous" and "pernicious" working class journalism at home. In the religious field the hostility of the Erastians toward the Evangelical Protestantism, which predominated in the North and lent its crusading ardour to the Federal war effort, was a reflection of the attitude of the conservative wing of the Scottish Establishment toward the Free Church and other dissenting bodies. The religious and political elements were, of course, closely associated, the Erastians being linked with the Tory party as their opponents were with the Liberal. The abuse directed by the Courant against the Free Church, and particularly against its Radical and reforming elements, was of a surprisingly strident nature. The predominance of the Free Church in Edinburgh was particularly galling to the Courant, which exconciated that body at every opportunity. The persistent agitation of Dr. Begg and Dr. Guthrie /

(1) e.g., Courant, 5 July 1862.
(2) e.g., Courant, 14 July 1862.
Guthrie for better working class housing was particularly galling to the Tories. The warnings of the Free Church ministers on this question were amply vindicated by the High Street housing disaster at the end of 1861, when a slum tenement in the High Street collapsed causing the death of a number of the inhabitants. Public opinion was intensely aroused over the incident, but the Courant refused to identify itself with the general public reaction and instead denounced Drs. Begg and Guthrie for blaming the apathy and selfishness of the upper classes for the disaster. The paper frequently described Liberalism as a mixture of Utilitarian and religious fanaticism, and carried on a persistent attack against the Free Church, which embodied the chief religious element of Scottish Liberalism. These manifestations of hostility were part of a new "Kulturkampf" waged by the Erastians against the Free Church. In the course of the Strathbogie case, which began in 1860, a renewed effort was made to interfere in the internal affairs of the Free Church and to take away that freedom from secular dictation which had been won at the time of the Disruption. There was a renewal of the spirit of 1843 in the Free Church ranks and a conscious return /

(1) Courant, 4 December 1861.
return to the traditions of the Reformers and Covenanters. From the Tory-Erastian side there was a particular hostility towards those Liberal Free Churchmen who had taken a prominent part in the Abolitionist movement and who were to support the Federals after the Emancipation Proclamation. Dr. Candlish, for example, was subjected to violent personal abuse for his opposition to Erastianism. The Courant accused him of: "malignity, bitter, unscrupulous, and uncharitable.... We thank him for being a human vinegar bottle and only insist on the right to cork him up..... The Free Church has grown prematurely old - stunted by fanaticism as children are by gin" (1) The close connections between the Calvinist doctrines concerning church government and political Radicalism was also frequently pointed out by the Courant. Attacking Dr. Begg for glorifying the Covenanters, the paper asserted that the Free Church divine was thereby really attacking the Residuaries and the hereditary authorities of the country - "He is really imitating the French Jacobins" (2).

The strife between the two parties reached a climax as the Edinburgh municipal elections approached in the autumn of 1862. For years there had been intense conflict between /

(1) Courant, 3 June 1862.
(2) Ibid, 7 April 1862.
between Liberals and Conservatives over the Annuity Tax, whereby Edinburgh ratepayers of all denominations were required to pay for the support of the Established (or "Residuary") churches in the capital. As the Residuaries were in a distinct minority compared to the Free Church and other dissenting bodies in Edinburgh, the tax was felt as an intolerable injustice by the Evangelical-Liberal party. However, in 1862, Lord Moncrieff, Lord Advocate for Scotland and a leader of the Free Church wing of the Scottish Liberals, put through Parliament a compromise version of the Annuity Tax, which, although greatly mitigating the injustice of the original measure, nevertheless retained the principle that taxes collected from members of all denominations were to be used to support the Residuaries. On the other hand, the United Presbyterian and Independent Radicals held out for the total abolition of the tax and accused the Free Church politicians of having sold out to the Erastians, with the consequence that the Liberal front in Edinburgh was disastrously split. It is highly significant that this division in the Liberal ranks in Edinburgh was along the same lines as that on the Civil War, with the Free Church Daily Review and North British Review taking /

(1) For a running account of this struggle see the pages of the Courant, the Scotsman and the Caledonian Mercury, 1862, passim.
taking the Gladstonian line in support of an independent South; while the U.P. and independent Radicals under Duncan M'Laren, and represented by the *Caledonian Mercury*, were staunch supporters of the Federals. The Tories, who had been out of office in Edinburgh for a generation, saw their chance and opened a vigorous campaign against the Liberal incumbents. The Lord Provost, Brown Douglas, was subjected to attack not only from the more extreme Radicals, but also from the resurgent Tories, who accused him of hostility to the Establishment and subservience to the Free Church. The *Courant* warned that unless he were defeated, Edinburgh would come completely under the dictatorship of the Free Church since "avid Free Churchism is his main principle of action." (1) The Tories, in their offensive against the Edinburgh Liberals, drew heavily on the "lessons" which they read in the American crisis.

"Here," observed the *Courant*, "we are incessantly troubled and vexed by the Democratic element, but it never gets the upper hand, simply because we have retained so much of the ancient part of our constitution. We see the worst part of the modern system, no doubt, in our municipal affairs - and the *Courant* has constantly pointed the moral to /

(1) *Courant*, 17 July 1862.
to be drawn from this fact. Let the Empire be administered as our towns are, and good bye to real greatness and real freedom. This plain speaking exposes us, of course, to the full license of democratic abuse which is nowhere seen to more perfection than in the inferior press of Edinburgh."

At the same time the Free Church clergy were persistently abused for their alleged lack of learning and social background. Describing Free Church demands for electoral reform as "illiterate malignity", the Courant inquired: "Does our radical fanatic want to have the nation ruled, as some of our newspapers are edited, by the undereducated and the underbred? Democracy means government by the ignorant."

At the same time, the allegedly poor quality of American leadership was held to disprove the faith of the eighteenth century liberals in the "Village Hampden".

Shortly before the municipal election early in November the split in the Edinburgh Liberal ranks came to a head, when

(1) Courant, 28 January 1862.

(2) e.g., Ibid, 30 October 1862, in an article advising the Free Church ministers to emulate the refined manners and intellectual attainments alleged to be found among the Anglicans; and Ibid, 20 May, contrasting the ignorance of the Free Church leaders with the genius of Carlyle.

(3) Ibid, 28 January 1862. The Courant also argued that the eighteenth century belief in the "Village Hampden" had been disproved by the American crisis.

(4) e.g., Ibid, 12 February.
when the United Presbyterian leaders - Baillies Thomas Russell, Andrew Fyfe, and Robert Grieve, and Councillors M'Laren and Gorrie - resigned their offices in protest against the compromise on the Annuity Tax. Four thousand Liberal voters then boycotted the election, with the result that the Tory-Erastian bloc swept into control of the Edinburgh Town Council for the first time since the Reform Act and the Disruption. The Free Church office bearers, including Lord Provost Douglas, Treasurer Griego, and Baillie Blackadder - were defeated, as well as their other candidates in all but one of the wards contested. The Mercury remarked bitterly that "Today marks an era in the political and social history of Edinburgh," and accused the Free Church politicians of betraying the liberal rank and file of their own denomination, as well as the U.P.s and Independents.

Indeed, in its municipal elections, the microcosm of Edinburgh reflected the culmination of the world wide reaction against Radical Democracy which had set in after 1848 and which reached its peak in 1862, with the discomfiture of American Democracy at the hands of the American slaveholders.

(1) See Scotsman, 5, 6 November; Courant, 6 November.

(2) Cal. Mer., 5 November.
slaveholders, the overthrow of Juárez and the Mexican Republic by Louis Napoleon, the wounding and capture of Garibaldi by the Royalists at Aspromonte, and the firm resistance of the Palmerston-Russell Government to any suggestion of franchise reform.

The Liberal cause throughout the world had thus reached its nadir when Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation linked the cause of Abolitionism with that of the Union and contributed to the resurgence of Scottish Radicalism which found its expression in the pro-Federal agitation during 1863.

Even although the fortunes of the Union were at their lowest ebb and the cotton famine was causing increasing distress, there was a large groundswell of sympathy in Scotland for the Federals. The Reverend Cuyler was particularly pleased with the extent of pro-Union feeling in Edinburgh, which he saw as a continuation of the tradition of Wallace, Knox and Argyll. Even in Scottish business circles there was no widespread enthusiasm for interventionist policy, since so many sectors of the Scottish economy were profiting from the war. At a meeting of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce at the end of August a motion calling for recognition and intervention in behalf of the Confederates failed for lack of a seconder. (1) On the other /

(1) Scotsman, 28 August 1862.
other hand the American consul in Glasgow was overrun with applications from pro-Federal enthusiasts who wished to join the Union army, and reported to Seward that thousands of recruits could be obtained in Glasgow if the American Government would give permission. An officer of the Glasgow Volunteer Corps promised to raise a regiment in a week if they were granted free passage to America. The first political organisation in Britain to give public support to the Union cause was the Parliamentary Reform Society of Paisley, a group of middle and working class Radicals which claimed that it spoke for the great mass of the Scottish working class in declaring that the Federals were fighting "in behalf of human freedom the wide world over". Thus the crusading liberalism of Scotland was rallying in support of the Federals on the ground of democracy, in spite of the efforts of most of the Liberal press to arouse sympathy for the Confederacy as a persecuted nationality. Among the Scottish workers the trend of feeling was running along lines similar to that of the Radical middle class. Instead of clamouring for intervention, as expected by the "King Cotton" theorists of the South, the Scottish workers endured the distress patiently, in spite of the pro-Confederate stand of such of their leaders. 

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 26 August; Ibid, 27 August.
(2) Ibid; A.F. Stoddart, Slavery or Freedom in America, Glasgow, 1863, pp.56-7.
leaders as Alexander MacDonald and Alexander Campbell. The resolute stand taken by labour during the Civil War, and in particular, the patient endurance of the unemployed cotton workers, did much to prepare the way for the Second Reform Act.

The year 1863 was the climatic year in the struggle to influence Scottish public opinion on the Civil War. The pro-Federal propagandists made a concerted effort to mobilize mass opposition to the Government's policy of favouring the Rebels, for instance in the building of warships. The Rebel sympathisers replied by attempting to arouse popular support for a policy of open intervention in America. The results of this contest are particularly important in that they illustrate from the viewpoint of the Scottish scene the beginning of the end of Palmerstonian diplomacy and the opening of an era in which mass opinion was a dominant factor in foreign policy.

The great wave of pro-Federal agitation had, as we have shown in the preceding pages, already begun a few weeks before the beginning of the new year. Early in December, Underwood, the American consul in Glasgow, reported that he had /

(1) e.g., Cal. Mer., 23 June 1863; Randall, Lincoln the Liberal Statesman; Jordan and Pratt, op. cit.; E. D. Adams, op. cit., II, 273 et seq.
had been approached by the Reverend James Smith, a Scottish-American minister, who was at the time American vice-consul in Dundee. Smith, who had at one time held a charge in Springfield, Illinois, where he had been the pastor of both Lincoln and Seward, was a zealous supporter of the Federal cause and eager to take part in the growing agitation by speaking at meetings and writing articles for the press—activities from which he was barred by State Department regulations. Underwood suggested to Seward that Smith, "a man of intelligence and ability and.....a strong and able speaker", be exempted from the prohibition. The consul was, however, pessimistic over the possibilities of a big pro-Federal propaganda drive to win over the "popular masses" and counteract the influence of the press; to be effective, he believed that it should have come earlier, before the press and the Confederate propagandists had managed to create strong sympathy for the Rebels. He did not believe that popular agitation would be successful in preventing the sailing of blockade runners and Rebel warships, because in his view, the British ruling class was impervious to public opinion. As a better alternative for stopping the warships Underwood suggested a commercial and economic embargo; in view of the interlocking of the British/
British economy with the American the cutting off of war contracts and American wheat would, he believed, induce the Government to detain the warships.  

At the same time, Scottish efforts in behalf of the American negro were maintained. On 24 December a meeting was held in Edinburgh in behalf of the New York Central College, which admitted both whites and negroes as students. Dr. Grosvenor, of the Central College, described the institution and stressed its policy of non-segregation; he also denounced slavery and urged his audience to fight for complete abolition.

The key figure, however, in the pro-Federal agitation was the veteran Radical, George Thompson, who commenced a vigorous speaking tour at the close of 1862 and in the ensuing weeks covered most of the principal towns in England and Scotland. Just prior to this phase of his activities Thompson had been lecturing on temperance, for at the beginning of October he had addressed a rally in Edinburgh under the auspices of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Union. In fact, throughout the course of the 1863 agitation, the temperance and pro-Federal causes were intimately linked together. The above mentioned meeting for instance was held /

(1) Underwood-Seward, 4 December 1862.  
(2) Scotsman, 25 December.
held in the Queen St. Hall, the traditional meeting place for the Edinburgh Abolitionists, and among the officers of the Total Abstinence Society present on the platform (1) was Duncan McLaren.

Thompson's correspondence with Garrison around the end of 1862 and the early part of the following year throws some interesting light on the former's activities during the period and forms an interesting parallel with the similar correspondence between Eliza Wigham and Samuel May Jr., in that it reveals the strains to which the Abolitionist internationale - and in particular its Garrisonian wing - had been subjected to by the impact of the Civil War. However, Thompson and Garrison maintained a basis of agreement and continuing solidarity, which contrasts with the more hesitant attitude adopted by Eliza Wigham toward the Federal cause.

Denying the allegations made by the Reverend Ward Beecher that Britain had become pro-slavery, Thompson asserted that he could get the signatures of 200,000 women to a petition urging Lincoln to free all of the slaves in America. He admitted that this document would not have as many titled signatories as the one presented to Harriet Beecher /

(1) Scotsman, 3 October 1862.
Beecher Stowe ten years before, or as many "from the
drawing rooms of the Duchess of Sutherland", but that it
would contain the signatures of thousands of working class
wives who preferred to continue suffering as a result of
the cotton famine rather than have the Government intervene
in behalf of the slaveholders. Thompson went on to
declare that the working class as a whole was pro-Federal,
in contrast to the pro-Confederate attitude of the upper
class. On the other hand he described the widespread
lack of knowledge of the workings of the American Constitu-
tion, with its system of checks and balances which prevented
Lincoln from immediately emancipating all the slaves - an
ignorance exploited by the pro-Confederate press. He
declared that he was attempting to clear up this sort of
misunderstanding, but expressed the wish that Lincoln would
make a clear cut declaration in favour of emancipation based
on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, rather
than basing his arguments, as hitherto, on expediency.

At the same time the opposing camp continued its
activities. In the course of a lecture on democracy
delivered /

(1) Thompson-Garrison, 24 December. (Garrison Papers.)
See also this correspondence, passim, for the period under
discussion.
delivered to the Stirling Literary Society on 12 December
Professor Blackie excoriated America, and declared that that
country afforded final proof that democracy was a great evil.
He was interrupted frequently by ... thunderous applause
from his audience. In the following month he organised
and spoke at a meeting for the relief of "distressed
foreigners" - the particular foreigners in this case being
a group of Germans who had been deported from America -
evidently because of pro-Confederate activities. Priscilla
Bright McLaren politely but firmly rejected an invitation
from the Professor to attend the meeting and aid the cause.
She informed Blackie "I have a sort of fear that with your
views you may be led to say strong things against the North
in connection with this sad war now raging in America. I
think it is Emerson who speaks of the passionate conscience
of women, and I know that such a phrase applies to mine,
and I am not sure I could sit still and hear the North
spoken against now that Lincoln has done all that the Con-
stitution allows him to do towards the good work of Emanci-
pation. I will send you a copy of my brother's (John
Bright) speech last month at Birmingham. I do not expect
you will sympathise with it, but seeing that there are two
sides /

(1) Scotsman, 13 December.
sides to this great question, it should make everyone gentle to that side which would give freedom to the slave from whatever motive. Pray forgive my freedom but you see how deeply I feel that no one should speak harshly of the North - and if these poor Germans have been sent back, remember that it was the South that began the war. Picture the foul blot of slavery wiped away; and thank heaven for such progress, tho' the means have been truly fearful which have brought it about."

About the middle of November, James Spence, the pro-Con federate propagandist and author of "The American Union", proposed to write an article for Blackwood's accusing the Government of harming the national interests by postponing intervention in America. He suggested to Blackwood that the best method of proceeding would be for the Government to recognise the Confederates, wait a few weeks to ascertain the Federal reaction, and then propose mediation. He asserted that this projected article would favour the Rebels, "though I shall aim at avoiding the style of language that might express the feelings of a partisan."

If Blackwood accepted the article, Spence offered to supply him /

(1) P. B. MacLaren-Blackie, 27 January 1863. (Blackie Papers, MSS section, National Library of Scotland). Blackie evidently had some contact with James Spence at about this time, for he wrote to W. Hive, of Liverpool, asking for information about Spence's background. (See W. Hive-Blackie, 23 November 1862, (Blackie Papers)).
him with one a month on the American War. Blackwood replied by suggesting an article on recognition "without advocating it with decision". Spence, however, declined to take this line, holding that delay would only prolong the evils of the situation. Spence suggested an article on the slavery question as an alternative, declaring that he would argue "that independence is the true opening for emancipation" - an argument closely related to the old Secession doctrine of Garrison. As a third alternative he suggested an article on belligerent rights, a subject on which he had recently been speaking and writing "in opposition to Cobden's movement". Cobden had been speaking in favour of the recent American proposal to outlaw all commercial blockades. Spence informed Blackwood that an article on this subject would be "of more service to your work", since "the conservative view" on the subject had not yet been effectively stated. Spence submitted the manuscript and in the course of further correspondence informed Blackwood that he had purposely disguised his style to make it "more sprightly and readable" for magazine readers. He also /

(1) Spence-Blackwood, 15 November 1862 (Blackwood Papers).
(2) Spence-Blackwood, 6 December.
(3) Spence-Blackwood, 12, 19, 22 December 1862.
also warned: "There is a regular agitation of this matter (i.e., in favour of the American proposal for a treaty binding the signatory powers not to resort to commercial blockades) projected" by the Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool Chambers of Commerce, "So that it is more serious than one would expect at first view". The article which appeared in the January, 1863, issue of Blackwood's argued against accepting the proposed anti-blockade treaty on the grounds that America would hold that it did not apply to the Rebels, but only to the signatory powers.

Spence's effort was, however, overshadowed by a more important article in the same issue of Blackwood's. This latter piece, entitled "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters, by an English Officer" was written by Colonel (later Field Marshal) Garnet Wolseley and gave full expression to the fear and hatred of democracy and America which were present in British military and naval circles at the time. The article was a eulogy of the Confederates, who were pictured as a chivalrous, slave-holding aristocracy fighting victoriously against the democratic rabble. Wolseley's article also laid the basis for the romantic myths /

(1) Spence-Blackwood, 23 December 1862. According to this letter, Spence had evidently managed to convert Blackwood to his (Spence's) point of view in the matter.

(2) Blackwood's, XCVIII, 116-32 ("Belligerent Rights at Sea and the Changes Proposed in them") - January, 1863.
myths which were developed around the figures of Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson. The future Field Marshal dwelt upon the alleged persecution of Rebel sympathisers by the Federals. After describing the gallant attitude of Rebel sympathisers under Federal oppression, Wolseley went on to picture the Union armies as a cowardly rabble, composed of the scum of Europe. The Rebels, on the other hand, were pictured as poorly equipped but greatly superior to their antagonists and possessed by a strong feeling of solidarity and hatred for the Federals. Wolseley insisted that a Federal victory was impossible and that Lincoln's Government represented only a tyrannical faction. He proceeded to assert that the Rebels were looking to their racial brothers in Britain for support and were entertaining great expectations in regard to the next session of Parliament. Wolseley concluded by appealing to the Government to intervene in the war in order to put "an end to the most inhuman struggle that has ever disgraced a great nation such as the United States once was, though now it is merely the military despotism of a portion of the States striving under the dictatorship of an insignificant lawyer to crush out the freedom of the rest."

After / (1) Blackwood's, XCIII, 1-29. It is relevant to note in this connection that Wolseley was Carlyle's candidate for "strong man" in 1867, when the "Sage of Chelsea" hoped that the former would forcibly suppress Parliament and establish a military dictatorship. For an interesting analysis of Wolseley's article see JPMHA, XLVII, 9-24 (J.D. Long, "Wolseley and the Confederate Army").
After the Federal repulse at Fredericksburg, Spence urged Blackwood to print an article of his in favour of recognition, since the Federals were now in a "distracted condition". Although informing the editor that this first article had been a great success, he promised to write his second one with even "greater earnestness and power". At this point, however, Blackwood suddenly broke off his relations with Spence and did not even deign to answer Spence's proposal. Spence was evidently regarded by the Blackwood circle with some distaste as a vulgar parvenu, and in any case Blackwood was undoubtedly influenced by the policy adopted by the Tory leaders at this time. After despairing of immediate action from the Palmerston Government, Spence and the other pro-Confederates had turned to the Tories at the end of 1862. These overtures were, however, repelled when Lord Derby, in February, supported the Government's rejection of Louis Napoleon's proposal for joint intervention. The snub received by Spence was evidently part of these larger manoeuvres.

The Courant, on the other hand, rejected the more cautious policy laid down by Derby and eagerly swallowed the bait.

(1) Spence-Blackwood, 2 January 1863; Ibid, 13 January.
(2) E. D. Adams, op. cit., II, 153-4.
bait offered by Spence and Hotze. The Tory paper continued to pour forth charges of barbarism against the Federals. General Butler remained the favourite whipping boy; on 7 January, for instance, a long leader was devoted to holding up the General's regime as an example of Northern barbarism and of what would happen to the South in the event of a Federal victory. The paper was particularly indignant at his policy of encouraging the negroes to inform him of any traitorous activities on the part of their masters. Butler's imprisonment of active Rebel sympathisers in New Orleans was laid to "the natural spite for which a brutal and low-bred fellow meets the contempt and hatred of his intellectual superiors". The Courant professed great indignation at Butler's imprisonment of women Rebels and elaborated at length upon the wronged honour of Southern womanhood - a theme popular with Confederate propagandists at the time and with historical novelists since then. Later in the month Louis Napoleon's interventionist feelers were greeted enthusiastically by the paper, which contrasted the Napoléonic vigour in the matter with Russell's sluggish policy. 

(1) Courant, 7 January 1863. As stated above, the "wrong womanhood" theme was being stressed at this time by the Confederate agents. The outburst of the Courant referred to here compares with the pamphlet issued by the London Confederate Aid Society shortly before this time. The pamphlet appealed for the support of women in the following language: "Fairest and best of earth! for the sake of your sex, come to women's majesty and omnipotence and give strength to a cause that has for its object the highest human aims - the amelioration and exaltation of humanity." (quoted in Adams, op. cit. 117)
The *Courant* declared that the time for European mediation was fast approaching since Federal morale must now be at a low ebb as a result of Fredericksburg and the failure of the alleged hope that the Emancipation Proclamation would stir up a servile insurrection. The *Courant* expressed the belief that the French intervention on Mexico would have far-reaching effects in stifling Anglo-Saxon and republican institutions and declared that Britain had better take an active part in American affairs or France might succeed in establishing hegemony over the continent. The paper added that slavery would be in a weaker position under an independent Confederacy. At the same time the *Courant* continued to show an unusual solicitude for the suffering of the workers, and described the suffering in the cotton districts in affecting terms. According to the paper, Cobden and Bright were to blame for these conditions - evidently because of their effective opposition to intervention in America. The *Courant* warned that there was an imminent threat of a typhus epidemic because of the poor condition of the unemployed. The Tory organ advised the workers to learn from their present adversity to eschew the doctrines of the Radical leaders. On 11 February the *Courant* /

(1) *Courant*, 30 January 1863.

(2) Ibid, 2 February.
Courant continued its support for the recognition drive, asserting: "It is absurd any longer to stigmatise the secession of the 11 Southern States as a rebellion. They have proved their right to resume the sovereign powers which under certain conditions, since grossly violated by the North, they formerly delegated to the Federal Government." The leader continued with a rather garbled version of the states' rights theory - the writer basing his arguments on the obsolete Articles of Confederation and on several ambiguous excerpts from the state constitutions of Massachusetts and Vermont. The article concluded with a peroration containing obvious references to the Scottish political and religious scene:

"It is the Confederates who are now fighting the battle of liberty, while the Federals are the representatives of a radical mob bent on conquest and plunder and of a fanatical knot of religionists who, to carry out a favourite scheme, avow their readiness to exterminate the whole white population of the South. The abolition of slavery is indeed held out as the justification of the present war, but it is a mere pretext. Dominion, conquest, plunder are the true aims of the North, and we therefore heartily sympathise with the gallant resistance of the South, and with their determination never to submit to the dominion of the radical mob /
mob, who would become their masters and tyrants if the Northern invasion should ever prove successful."

On the other hand, the Emancipation Proclamation had brought many of the more hesitant Scottish abolitionists into closer sympathy with the Federal cause. Eliza Wigham expressed her approval of the new anti-slavery policy of the American Government, but, although resolutely opposed to the slaveholders and the Confederacy, she still could not give unqualified support to the Federals. Her growing sympathy for the Union cause was limited by such factors as the failure of Lincoln to include the loyal Border States in the Proclamation, which led her to conclude that the American Government had still not taken up a whole-heartedly Abolitionist position. On the other hand, the large scale measures taken to aid the liberated slaves met with her whole-hearted support and she expressed her confident hope that "Emancipation will go onward until every yoke is broken".

In their great campaign to rally British opinion against the Confederacy, the Federal propagandists made special appeals not only to the working class, but also to the women, that other great unenfranchised group of the period. Following the Emancipation Proclamation, Harriet Beecher Stowe sent /

(1) Wigham-May, 16 January 1863. At the same time the Ladies Society sent £30 as its annual contribution to the American Anti-Slavery Society.
sent an appeal to British women to support the Federals. (1) On 24 January, the Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society sent its reply to the Abolitionist novelist, who had been received so heartily in Edinburgh ten years before. (2) The Edinburgh Society expressed thorough agreement with Mrs. Stowe's anti-slavery stand, and maintained that the Times, the Saturday Review, and other pro-Confederate organs represented only the opinions of a minority. It denounced the "industrious propagandists of the South" for claiming that the war was for free trade and the national freedom of the South. The letter of the Edinburgh Society expressed shame that British politicians should have adopted this line but blamed the compromising attitude of the American Church toward slavery for what pro-Confederate sympathy there was in Britain. In answer to Mrs. Stowe's condemnation of the building of Confederate warships in Britain, the Emancipation Society declared that "the mercenary morality" of the shipbuilders was balanced by the heroism of the cotton workers who patiently endured the rigours of the famine in order to aid the progress of emancipation. The Society assured Mrs. Stowe that: "The working men of Britain, almost /


(2) Wigham-May, 24 January 1863.
almost without exception, are on the side of universal freedom." It also affirmed that the mass of British women were anti-slavery and denied that there had been any falling away among them since Mrs. Stowe's visit in 1855. On the other hand the Society deplored the failure of the Federals to make Abolition their chief war aim from the start, as well as earlier attempts by the Federals to uphold slavery. However, the document hailed the recent progress of anti-slavery in America and praised the policy of reception and rehabilitation being extended to the hundreds of thousands of new freed men who were being helped to adjust to free life. Expressing the conviction that these freed men would plant freedom in the South when slavery had been uprooted, the letter declared: "This one glorious fact stands out clear and bright in the darkness of these days and presents certainly a noble commencement of the inevitable emancipation." The Emancipation Proclamation was held to have made it certain that "Never again can matters among you resume their former position. And whether the Union be restored or not, we firmly believe that the days of slavery are numbered." The letter was signed by Eliza Wigham and Agnes Lillie, Secretaries of the Society and "on behalf of many women of Scotland."  

(1) Printed in Scotsman, 28 January 1863.
Not all of the Abolitionists, however, adopted the reserved attitude of Eliza Wigham and her associates. At the opening of 1863 George Thompson conducted a whirlwind tour of Scotland, in the course of which he addressed pro-Federal Emancipation meetings at Dumfries, Kilmarnock, Greenock, Dumbarton, Paisley, Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Galashiels. The tour covered much the same ground as Thompson's previous campaigns in Scotland and, as the old orator wrote to Garrison: "The mention of some of these towns will bring old scenes to your remembrance, when we were companions and fellow-labourers — as, thank God, we still are." Thompson reminisced on some of the places and people connected with the previous visits of Garrison and himself, mentioning among others "our faithful friends, the Smeals and the Patons. I am not without the hope that we may together revisit the scenes and renew our intercourse with the friends who were true when many fell away, persuaded by the wicked slanders so industriously promulgated by those who valued the accomplishment of their own petty schemes more than the deliverance of the slave from his bonds."

Referring to the growing strength of the pro-Federal agitation centred on the Emancipation Proclamation, Thompson informed /
informed Garrison: "This anti-slavery movement is assuming proportions, and if wisely and energetically conducted, as I trust it will be, will have a powerful and at the same time beneficial effect upon the councils of your public men. It will be of vital importance in this country. It will give a salutary lesson to our public men. It will influence the decision of our Government. It will neutralise the poison diffused by our journals. It will enlighten and stir up our ministers of religion. It will create the anti-slavery sentiment of the new generation. It will impregnate with the true fire the masses of our people...."

Reporting on his observations in the cotton manufacturing districts, Thompson praised the heroism and solidarity of the unemployed workers in defence of the Federal cause, and described them as: "The lean pale-faced idle people who are reconciled to their meagre fare and desolate homes by the thought that their trials are working out the deliverances of the oppressed children of your country. Their sublime resignation, their self-forgetfulness, their observance of law, their whole-hearted love of human freedom, their quick and clear perception of the merits of the question between the North and the South, their superiority to the sophisms of those who would delude them, and their appreciation/
appreciation of the labour question involved in the 'irrepressible conflict' are arousing the admiration of all classes of the community and are teaching the nation a valuable political lesson."

A Scottish figure was prominent in the pro-Federal agitation at the same time – A. F. Stoddard of Thornhill House. At a meeting in Paisley early in the year Stoddard made an important pro-Federal speech which was subsequently printed and extensively circulated. Stoddard's speech is worth examining in some detail since it gives succinct expression to the basic themes put forth by the pro-Federal party in the course of their struggle to win over public opinion during 1863. Stoddard endeavoured not only to refute the arguments of the pro-Confederate papers and politicians, but to show that the ideals maintained by Scottish Abolitionists, democrats, and free churchmen were intimately bound up with the issues at stake in the Civil War, and his appeal was aimed to rally Protestant, Radical and working class support for the Federals.

Stoddard /

(1) Thompson-Garrison, 5 February 1863. (Garrison Papers).

(2) A. F. Stoddard, Slavery or Freedom in America, Glasgow, 1863. The title page of the pamphlet asserts that it was originally a lecture delivered at Paisley in 1863. The exact date of the speech is not given, but presumably it was in January or early February – that is at about the same time as George Thompson's speaking tour in Scotland – for the pamphlet was already being advertised in the Scottish press in February (e.g., Scotsman, 18 February).
Stoddard began by pointing out the various ways in which Scottish people were affected by the war; he referred to the fact that many of them had relatives on one side or the other, and also to the suffering prevalent among the working class as a result of the cotton famine - a point which, as we have seen, was particularly relevant in Paisley. In mentioning the intense interest engendered in Scotland by the war, Stoddard asserted: "There never was a question of more general interest, nor one which has led to more discussion." However, he stated that: "So much mist has been thrown around it by public speakers, writers and journalists, whose sympathies or imaginary interests are on the side of Secession", that the people were deeply confused about the issues involved.

Stoddard went on to attack the three chief arguments of the pro-Confederate party: that slavery had nothing to do with the war; that it was a war between free trade and protection; and that the South was fighting for freedom from Northern oppression. He also attacked the Tory argument /

(1) An important but often overlooked factor influencing public opinion in respect to the war. Throughout the war, the press was full of accounts of Scots who were taking part in the war, usually on the Federal side, and frequently reported that one of them had been killed. The Scottish-American regiment known as the New York 79th was often in the forefront of the fighting, and of course there were thousands of Scots in other regiments. See W. Todd, The 79th Highlanders in the War of the Rebellion, Albany, N.Y., 1886.

(2) Stoddard, op.cit., 5.
argument that the war resulted from America's lack of an established church and thus linked the issue with the struggle in Scotland between Erastians and Evangelicals. Stoddard vigorously denied that the South was fighting the war for free trade and national independence. Arguing that the real cause of the war was slavery, he gave a number of damaging quotations supporting that institution from the Confederate Constitution, the secession resolutions passed by the Southern states, and the speeches of Stephens and other Rebel leaders. Stoddard went on to stress the paramount importance of the issue of democracy. In answer to Tory attacks on "mob rule" in America, he pointed to the peaceful and orderly demonstrations against slavery in Boston as proof of "the law-abiding principle embodied in Republican Government, where it is the duty and interest of every man to uphold and sustain authority and good Government."

"What does the break up of the Union imply?" enquired Stoddard. "Nothing more nor less than the downfall of liberty throughout the world....It implies the backward progress of civilisation, literature, free thought, free government, and religion all over the world."

Jefferson /

(1) Stoddard, op.cit., 6.
(2) Ibid, 27.
(3) Ibid, 57-58.
Jefferson Davis and the other Rebel leaders were described as having barely perjured themselves for the purpose of overthrowing "one of the best governments the world has ever seen."

Attacking the Tory myth of "Southern Chivalry" Stoddard referred to such incidents as the assault made on Sumner in the Senate shortly before the war, and to the general violence and brutality which were characteristic of Southern life. To counteract the idea that the Confederates were proponents of liberal nationalism Stoddard read quotations from several Southern newspapers which asserted that the elimination of freedom was one of the main objectives of the Rebels. Stoddard expounded Lincoln's doctrine that America must become "all slave or all free", and asserted that Disunion was bound to prove unworkable, in view of the economic inter-relation of the North and South, the necessity for a single control over the Mississippi Valley, and the fact that there was no geographical frontier between the two sections. He maintained that the border between the two countries would be kept in a state of perpetual tension because of slaves escaping to the North and the aggressive drive of the slaveholders in the West, so that

any/

(1) Stoddard, op. cit., 28.
(2) For example, one article which he read from the Richmond Examiner called upon Southerners to hate "everything free... free negroes, free society, free will, free schools".
any temporary settlement would only postpone a final war between the two parties. Stoddard admitted that the Federals had originally begun fighting in order to preserve the Union, but that by necessity Abolitionism had soon come to the fore. He then criticised the Abolitionists who did not stand wholeheartedly in favour of the Federals after the Emancipation Proclamation, and enquired what had happened to the half million women Abolitionists who had sent an anti-slavery address to America following Mrs. Stowe's visit in the previous decade. Stoddard expressed surprise over the fact that now Lincoln had finally proclaimed emancipation some former Abolitionists were denouncing him as a hypocrite whose chief object was to incite a servile war.

Hailing Lincoln as the hero of radical democracy, he declared:

"We ought to rejoice and bless God that slavery has got its death blow - even though it is not accomplished in exactly the way we might desire. And we should be thankful that He has raised up a man to the Presidential Chair in such a crisis as this who, though surrounded by unheard of difficulties.....has had the moral courage and firmness of purpose to carry out a measure which he regards as not only right in principle but as necessary to the future welfare of the American people."

(1) Stoddard, op.cit., 46-9.
After denouncing the Glasgow shipbuilders, the pro-Confederate Liberal leaders, and the bias of most of the press, Stoddard asserted that public feeling towards America was now steadily improving and pointed to the attitude of the unemployed workers who "recognised the great principles involved in it (the war) and who have manfully stood forward to express their sympathy with freedom and their hatred of slavery." He described the workers' repudiation of a petition which had been circulated calling for the breaking of the blockade and their expressions of support for the Federals. In particular he praised the men of Paisley as the first to come out for Lincoln and the Federals and to express "their trust in republican institutions."

In discussing the cotton famine, Stoddard blamed the manufacturers for conniving with the slaveholders. He rejoiced that the temptation to break the blockade had been resisted and concluded that: "King Cotton has thus found that he is not such a great dictator as he thought."

Stoddard warned that peace was still a long way off since the war must end in a total victory for one side or the other; however, he declared that a Confederate victory would /

(1) Stoddard, op.cit., 53-7.
(2) Ibid, 56-57.
(3) Ibid, 63.
would only be temporary, whereas once slavery were defeated, he maintained that it would be broken forever.

At the same time, Stoddard was prodding the British section of the Evangelical Alliance to back the Federal cause. He rebuked "that pious body" for failing to join with the French section of the Alliance in extending an address of congratulation and support to Lincoln for the latter's emancipation policy.

H. E. Crum Ewing, the Paisley M.P., echoed Stoddard's denunciations of the Rebels and declared that there must be no sympathy for them and no support for slavery. However, he did not believe that the Confederates could be subdued and expressed the view that slavery would die out rapidly if the South were independent, since the slaves would be able to escape into the North — another example of how the influence of the old Garrisonian argument for secession returned to plague the pro-Federal sympathisers.

The alarm felt by the pro-Confederates in Scotland at the large pro-Federal demonstrations which greeted the implementation of the Emancipation Proclamation was reflected in the anxious attempts to minimise or ridicule the movement. In commenting on the huge rally in and around Exeter Hall, which /

(1) See Stoddard's letter to Glasgow Herald, 21 January 1863.
(2) Speech made at Paisley, 30 January 1863 - reported in Scotsman, 31 January.
which was addressed by Bright, the Courant returned to its old argument that the local Radicals represented the same forces which were responsible for the apparent disintegration of America. It declared that there was a lack of "able and respectable representatives" among the pro-Federals and that their agitation was "merely the voice of the mob." "When it is merely the voice of the mob that wishes to make itself heard," the Courant went on, "it can never command any medium more influential than the feeble pipe of some insignificant demagogue. Happily we are accustomed to be represented by men and not by mobs, whatever may be the case in America; and when the recognised leaders of the people cannot be induced to speak out upon a question, the world may rest assured that the people care very little about the matter..... We see in the character of the Exeter Hall meeting a proof that the Federal cause is not supported by public opinion in Britain." (1)

Meanwhile, in the wake of George Thompson, the pro-Federal campaign was intensifying in Scotland. On 26 January a meeting held in the Religious Institutes Rooms in Glasgow sent a memorial of support to Lincoln and arranged a large public meeting to express Glasgow's support of /

(1) Courant, 4 February 1863.
of Emancipation. The large demonstration held on 4 February, presided over by Bailie Govan, the temperance leader, passed a resolution expressing the sympathy of Glasgow for the sufferings of the American people, and extending "cordial approval of every measure favourable to the Abolition of slavery taken by government and people."

Another resolution hailed 1863 as the beginning of a period of closer friendship and intercourse between Britain and America. After several speeches an address of sympathy was forwarded to Lincoln.

A few days later, sympathy for the Federals was stimulated further by the news that some of the supplies from the George Criswold, an American "ship of mercy" recently arrived at Liverpool, were specially designated for the unemployed on Clydeside. At the same time the Scottish workers rallied strongly to the Federal cause in what was the first re-emergence of Scottish labour since the collapse of Chartism. The relation between the anti-slavery and labour movements had not always been entirely smooth; the former had sometimes been blind to the grievances of the workers /

(1) Scotsman, 27 January. It is not certain whether this was the Glasgow meeting at which Thompson himself spoke (see above).

(2) Ibid, 5 February.

(3) Scotsman, 17 February 1863.
workers, and the latter had sometimes exhibited an insular
and parochial indifference to the condition of the slaves.
Garrison, for instance, had not been sympathetic with the
trade unions, and in 1840-1 the Scottish Chartists had
accused Thompson and Garrison of ignoring the sufferings of
the Scottish working class. On the other hand, many of
the Abolitionists, among them Douglass and Wendell Phillips,
were strong supporters of the labour movement. At the
same time organised labour had on the whole a natural anti-
pathy to the institution of slavery. The latter senti-
ment was undoubtedly reinforced by the praise of slavery
expressed in some upper class circles. Upper class women
who visited America were, it appears, particularly prone to
enthuse over slavery - seeing in the institution the answer
to the perennial servant problem. Lincoln's emancipation
policy now brought the issue into sharper focus, while at
the same time the Confederate propagandists were catering
to the anti-trade union prejudices of the upper classes.
For example Heinrich Hotze stated in his propaganda organ,
the Index, which was attempting to persuade the Tories and
Whigs /

(1) See Shepperson, The Free Church and American Slavery,
loc. cit., 137-8; H. L. Williston, "Abolition and Labour",
JNH, XXXIII, 249-84 (1948).
(2) For a dissenting view see Wm. Thomson, A Tradesman's
Travels in the United States and Canada (Edinburgh, 1842).
The author, who claimed to be a Scottish weaver, was strong
in favour of negro slavery.
(3) e.g., Mrs. S. W. Haury, An Englishwoman in America, (London,
Whigs to adopt an interventionist policy in favour of the rebels: "All men acquainted with the working of the industrial concerns in England know the trade unions well as the steady, unflinching enemies of improvement of law, of liberty and of good will between labourers and capitalists. These societies formed for the purpose of rendering aid to labourers out of health or out of work have fallen almost invariably into the hands of professional agitators, who drive a lucrative business in fomenting quarrels between employers and employed." (1)

At the same time the labour movement had entered a new phase of self-consciousness and expansion with the rise of the nine hours movement and a wave of strikes which stimulated a feeling of solidarity and militancy all over the country. The organisation of national unions and trades councils was beginning and the new Junta was attempting to mobilise the trades councils for political action, against the protests of the older leaders. These tendencies were particularly marked in Scotland due to the efforts of McDonald and Campbell - two Scottish leaders of the new type. In Scotland, too, the class struggle was embittered by the continued existence of the repressive Masters and Servants Act, which gravely /

(1) Index, 2 April 1863, quoted in R. Greenleaf, "British Labour against American Slavery", Science and Society, winter issue, 1953, p.54.
gravely restricted the freedom of the worker by subjecting him to summary arrest and imprisonment without the right to testify on his own behalf, if he went on strike or left work without the permission of his employer. (In England, this law had been superseded by the Jervis Act of 1848). The employers replied to the growing militancy of the workers with lockouts and proposals for the legal suppression of the unions. At the same time, however, many Christian Socialists and middle class Radicals were working in conjunction with the labour movement to improve the position of the latter. In Scotland the development of the trade unions was particularly strong at this time and from 1863 onward Glasgow and several industrial areas in the north of England began to replace London as focal points of union activity. The miners, especially, were in a ferment during the early sixties and under Alexander McDonald were fighting against the Masters and Servants Act, the truck system, and other abuses. In fact, McDonald at this very time was organising the National Association of Miners, which met for the first time in Leeds later in the year, and strikes and lockouts were /

were very frequent in the mines during the middle and later sixties. This restiveness extended even to rural Scotland where the farm workers began to organise for the first time since the deportation of the Dorchester labourers a generation before.

The Emancipation Proclamation led the labour movement to join hands with the pro-Federal Radicals in supporting the Lincoln Administration. A key figure in this alliance was John Bright, who was corresponding frequently with Lincoln, Sumner, and other American Radicals at this time. Lincoln outlined to Bright the line which the latter took at the great emancipation meeting organised by the London Trades Council in March. In December 1862 Bright reported to Sumner: "Our working class is with you against the South," and at the end of the following month, in describing the wave of public demonstrations in support of emancipation, he declared: "I think that in every town in the Kingdom a public meeting would go by an overwhelming majority in favour of /


(3) JPMHA, XLVI, (1913), "Correspondence between Sumner and Bright during the Civil War", p.112.
of President Lincoln and the North."

On 5 February a meeting of representatives from the Edinburgh trade unions resolved to call a mass meeting against slavery and in favour of Lincoln's Proclamation. The rally, held on 19 February, developed into an emphatic demonstration of the unity between the elements supporting the Federal cause. The labour leaders were joined on the platform by a number of prominent Radical politicians and evangelical clergy. A deputation of workers invited Dr. Guthrie to take part, and although the latter was unable to be present he sent a letter vigorously endorsing the purpose of the meeting.

A number of Protestant ministers and Edinburgh Radical leaders joined with the labour leaders in the meeting, held in the Brighton St. Chapel on 19 February. Among those on the platform were the Reverend Dr. George Johnstone, a veteran Radical and Abolitionist of the U.P. Church, and the Reverend Alexander Thompson; some of the local Radical leaders including Councillor Ford and Thomas Ireland; and a number of labour leaders including the Secretary of the Edinburgh Trades Council, Mr. Beaton.

The /

(1) JPMHA, XLVI, (1912), "Correspondence between Sumner and Bright during the Civil War", p.113. The two leading English labour papers, the Beehive and the Miners and Workers Advocate were opposed to the recognition of the Confederates, although they held at first that the Emancipation Proclamation was made for reasons of expediency rather than humanity.
The meeting was opened with a prayer by the Reverend Thompson, after which the chairman, Mr. Beaton, made the first speech. Beaton gave a summary of the Abolitionist struggle in America and declared that the present objective of the Confederates was "to retrieve a political defeat with a military success, and thus to perpetuate and establish slavery and ultimately to enslave the whites as well as the blacks. On the other hand he maintained that the North was fighting for the restoration of the Union, the abandonment of slavery with or without compensation, and the right of every man to live by his own industry and advance his temporal welfare. (Applause). With these remarks he would leave the subject to the meeting, confident that the working men of the city were able to discern right from wrong, freedom from slavery." (Applause). He then read Dr. Guthrie's letter supporting the Federals. Dr. Guthrie wrote:

"Your object I heartily approve of and I wish you God-speed. It is time that those who sympathise with the cause of humanity, Liberty, Morality and religion should no longer be silent but speak out. President Lincoln and his Government are now on the right trail; its terminus is the destruction of slavery; and that destroyed, whatever else may perish,"
perish is a matter of comparatively small importance.....

"The policy which Lincoln and his colleagues have now adopted is one which, destroying slavery, will deliver their country from the curse of God and from the contempt and reproaches of the world. They deserve therefore our sympathy and encouragement. No doubt they have nothing to boast of and until they took up their present advanced position they had no right to expect our sympathy. On the other hand it seems ungenerous and unjust to refuse it now; and to twit them with this, that it is necessity which has turned them into abolitionists. Admit that though many have been silent on the wrongs of the slave because they saw no way of redressing them, yet how often does it happen in the Province of God that it is necessity that brings men into a right position?.....

"While encouraging President Lincoln and his administration to adhere to their policy, it is right that we should let the Confederates know that we hold the principles upon which they have founded their constitution in the deepest abhorrence; and that the two or three newspapers out of the hundreds of our country which have faintly echoed the sentiments of the South on slavery have found no echo in the bosoms of our free and Christian people, have excited, in fact, no other /
other feeling but astonishment at their impudence and indignation at their immorality.....

"Mr. Mason and his Confederates should be made to know what I venture to affirm, that there is not one in a hundred or a thousand of us.....but would regard men who would rejoice in the proposal of 'a close and intimate alliance' with a Government which boasts of having slavery as a chief corner stone as a disgrace to our country - a land whose ver; soil gives freedom to the foot that touches it.

"It is time that we should recall our recollection that these Confederates were the men who when they held the reins of Government in the United States most of all fostered the flame of antipathy to Britain; they were the authors of the infamous Fugitive Slave Act; and they are now advocating principles from which the whole Christian world must recoil with horror. Stephens - their mouthpiece - has said that their fathers, in pronouncing slavery to be a social, moral and political evil, were in error; has said that the negro was intended by God to be the servant and slave of the white man; has said that slavery is therefore a Divine institution; has said that to emancipate the slave is therefore a sin against God; and stating that the Divine rights of slavery, the perpetual bondage which their fathers repudiated, is now to /
to form the very foundation of their Government...."

Dr. Guthrie, however, qualified his indictment of the Confederacy with praise for the bravery which they showed in resisting the Federals. The Dr. was by no means immune to a sentimental sympathy for the Southerners as an oppressed nationality, and still inclined to the belief that if the Federals granted independence to the South, abolition could be peacefully worked out. However, he was resolutely opposed to the Government taking any steps to aid the Rebels.

"I trust," concluded Dr. Guthrie, "that there is virtue enough in this country to refuse to prostitute itself for the sake of cotton, or any commerce, to shrink from any 'close and intimate alliance' with a nation that is, as indeed every slave nation in the main must be, a mass of rottenness...."

George Lorimer, a leader of the construction workers, then moved a resolution to the effect: "That regarding American slavery in all its phases with the deepest abhorrence as a most iniquitous and indefensible system, this meeting hereby declares that it has no sympathy with any slaveholding interest either at home or abroad." He went on to support the resolution by a speech in which he drifted from an attack on slavery to denunciations of intemperance. When /
When the meeting finally began to express its impatience, Lorimer finished by singing: "There's a Good Time Coming, Boys."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Reid, a slater, and Mr. Bone, a tailor, spoke in support of it. The latter declared that Scottish opinion had not changed in regard to slavery, "and that the heart of the working men of Scotland was still as sound as the heart of Wilberforce was on the great question of slavery. In these days of Free Trade they must admit the goods of the Southerners, but he trusted they would never receive them as friends (applause). There had been a cry got up by some in favour of recognition of the South. They had recognised and did recognise them. They recognised Jefferson Davis as the Mississippi fire eater and repudiator. (Hisses and loud cheers.) They recognised Mr. Mason as the great author of yon Fugitive Slave Bill (applause) - and they recognised Mr. Stephens as the author of these blasphemous words to which Dr. Guthrie had referred the - 'Our Government is the first in history of the world based on that great physical, philosophical, and moral truth, the subordination, the slavery, of the black man to the white.' (Hisses). They recognised them, the great lot of them, not yet as a nation, notwithstanding what Mr. Gladstone had said, but /
but as a gang of conspirators, ready to trample on the most inviolable rights— to outrage our most sacred feelings— to rob the labourer of his reward, labour of its dignity, and God of His Image in the souls of men— to destroy the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, God and the human soul, and leave only standing there in all its hideousness the relation of master and slave. (Applause). To degrade man and to defy God and deface His image was the object and end of slavery." (Applause). They were told that the negro was well fed and clothed (a cry of 'So he is').

When a pro-Confederate heckler objected that the slaves were well fed and clothed,Bone observed that there were a number of vacancies for slaves in the South, and that the objector might successfully apply for one. After further denunciations of slavery, the speaker asserted that the South seceded because the rising tide of Abolitionism in the North indicated that the slaveholders could no longer maintain their position of dominance.

The resolution was then carried with only one dissenting vote, and a Mr. Lewis moved the second resolution, which declared: "That remembering the anti-slavery opinions avowed by President Lincoln during his election contest, the manifest /
manifest tendency of his present emancipation policy, his
onerous, difficult and critical position as President of the
United States, this meeting accord to him its tribute of
approbation, in the hope and belief that he will take advan-
tage of every circumstance which may arise to carry out his
expressed personal wish that freedom may be given to every
slave throughout the entire universe."

Lewis pointed out that Lincoln was bound by his office
to resist the Rebellion, and that if he yielded now he would
be condemned by posterity for being weak and faithless.

A Mr. Somerville, in seconding the resolution, turned
vigorously against the pro-Confederate press. "The influence
of the Scotsman on public sentiment", he declared, "is
unfortunately not small. On American affairs, however, its
articles are by misrepresentation — (hisses and cheers) —
garbled extracts, much ado about little, slurring over or
taking no notice of things important, pooh-poohing the
measures of Lincoln and his coadjutors, and in a style
peculiar to itself highly colouring the exploits of Jefferson
Davis and his associate conspirators (applause). How
changed its sentiments since the time when the Reverend
Andrew Thomson and other worthy men thrilled the heart of
the British nation by their deductions from the rational
principle /
principle that man cannot rightfully hold property in his fellow man! No doubt the Scotsman disclaims the imputation of being pro-slavery and would have us believe that it is only against Mr. Lincoln's plan of emancipation that its cunningly constructed articles are written - that it is opposed to slavery in the abstract and such like - (hear, hear) - but its want of fidelity to human rights and its opposition to the development of free institutions are painfully patent to all lovers of human progress" (hisses and cheers). "Referring to Lord Russell's statement that the North was fighting for empire and the South for independence, the speaker asserted: "The empire of the North was based on the self-evident truth that all men are created equal (a voice: 'except blacks'). Empire for freedom, independence for piracy - these were the momentous stakes for which this momentous war was waged, and it was for the working men of Edinburgh to say which side they would take." (Applause).

The Confederate sympathisers now moved into action, as one George Barton moved an amendment: "That President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation did not emanate from a desire to give freedom to the slaves but to attain political supremacy, and such being the fact this meeting cannot recognise the proceedings as a moral emancipation enactment but merely /
merely as a war necessity or stratagem." Barton argued that the Federals were fighting for protection and for pure political supremacy, rather than for Abolition. He pointed out that the North, with its superior voting power, had forced protection on the South but had not attempted to push through Abolition in the same manner.

After considerable uproar and disturbance following on Barton's speech, another Confederate sympathiser took the platform to declare: "In the first place it was unconstitutional and inconsistent to send our sympathies to President Lincoln because he was acting under a war necessity - (cheers and hisses) - and in the second place, because if people were to be thanked for acting under a pressing necessity they were as much entitled to thank the South as the North because they did not want the Union. (Cheers and hisses). Mr. James Russell Lowell has declared that if the Union was restored it would be one of the strongest powers that could possibly be brought into existence to increase slavery. (laughter and disturbance). He did not agree with the South by any means (hisses and cries of 'Question'). He believed there was a misunderstanding in the meeting. They seemed to think that he came there to express sympathy with /
with the South, but he did nothing of the kind (cries of 'Time 'em up' and renewed interruption). Two newspapers had declared that President Lincoln discriminated about slavery in his own country, and yet pretended to abolish it elsewhere; and if the editors of these newspapers wrote in that way he was entitled to take them as better judges on this question than any person on this platform. (Cheers).

It was unlucky for Mr. Lewis that he quoted Earl Russell's opinion (hisses, groans, cries of 'Put him out', and great uproar during which Mr. Ramsey left the platform.)"

The anti-Lincoln amendment received only seven votes and the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. The meeting then agreed to send copies of the resolutions to the American Ambassador in London, to be forwarded by him to Lincoln. Copies were also sent to Earl Russell. (1)

In the same month the workers of Glasgow staged a large emancipation rally which followed lines similar to the Edinburgh meeting. A vocal but ineffectual group of Confederate sympathisers were led by one James Smith, who had recently invested £100 in Confederate bonds. (2)

(1) Scotsman, 20 February 1863.
(2) Glasgow Herald, 4 February; Underwood-Seward, 4 February.
At a similar Emancipation rally in Dundee a great uproar was caused when the Reverend George Gilfillan, one of the main speakers, unexpectedly came out in favour of the Rebels and launched into a tirade against the Federals. The people of Dundee, whose new found prosperity was due largely to orders from the Federal forces, were in no mood to hear a pro-Confederate speech, even from their favourite minister, and the resulting outburst of fury from the crowd reduced the meeting to chaos for a time, in the course of which the Reverend James Smith, the American vice-consul in the city, who was on the platform, got up, shook his fist, and denounced Gilfillan. Gilfillan, an erratic thinker who appears to have enjoyed controversy for its own sake, had been, as we have seen, an active Abolitionist for many years and during the early part of the war had been strongly pro-Federal. Now, however, he denounced the Federals for "shuffling on the slavery question" and also for attempting to maintain the Union, and declared: "The huge, overgrown Republic was bound to fall to pieces even by its own weight."

The wave of demonstrations in favour of emancipation in America alarmed the Scottish Conservatives, who were concerned over /

(1) His literary works were severely handled by the American critics, and he, in turn, made scathing comments on American culture (e.g., MacRae, op. cit., 60-8). See preface to Works of George Gilfillan, Everyman Series, London.

(2) D. MacRae, George Gilfillan, Anecdotes and Reminiscences, Glasgow, 1891, pp.177-8, see also 49-50.
over the repercussions on the domestic scene which might result from this alliance of Radicals, free churchmen, and workers. The Tory and Whig press attempted to prove that the Emancipation Proclamation was a hypocritical or criminal act designed to stir up servile war and possibly to enslave or exterminate the Southern whites. The Courant, for instance, on the day following the Edinburgh Workers' rally, denounced Lincoln as a brutal tyrant, whose conversion to Abolition was a matter of hypocritical expediency. The paper denounced at length the "demagogic spirit" of the "little knot of abolitionist busybodies and pulpit and platform spouters" who were conducting the pro-Lincoln campaign in Scotland. The Tory organ was particularly alarmed at the appeal made by the pro-Federals to the working class who "are encouraged to views which they well know to be rejected by the great body of educated men throughout the country". The Courant warned that emancipation would lead to a swamping of the American labour market by the freedmen and thus put a stop to emigration from Europe. The Scottish workers were invited to stump the pro-Federal speakers with a list of allegedly unanswerable questions, such as: "What are you going to do for the negro when you have freed him, and are we Scotsmen and Englishmen going to live /
live with him on terms of political equality and mix our blood with his on the same social terms?" The Courant went on to warn the workers that if Lincoln conquered the South he would bolster up the slave system to maintain order. The workers were informed that the war was none of their business. "Why should the angry passions of a British tailor rise about the affair? - or the honest man do anything to forward the murder say of his third cousin in Georgia by a band of niggers? There is plenty of Scotch blood in the South, and we don't want to see the good stuff spilled by Sambo....The supreme interest of the negro is that he should live under a settled, peaceful government, with masters able and likely to be kind to him, till the freedom of his race is worked out by moral and economic changes in the persons of his descendants. But the first step toward such a future is that the South shall be delivered from the necessity of struggling for its political existence, and any man retards the cause who does anything to aid Mr. Lincoln in pursuing his present cruel, ambitious, ill-conducted and hopeless war of conquest."

At the same time the American Abolitionists were greatly heartened.

(1) Courant, 20 February 1863.
heartened by the meetings, which helped to overcome the
estrangement which had developed between them and the British
section of the movement. (1)

On 19 March the Confederate Cotton Loan was put on the
market, and was given much favourable publicity in the pro-
Confederate press in Scotland. Among the chief sub-
scribers were two pro-Confederate Scottish aristocrats - Lord
Campbell and the Marquis of Lothian, the latter a leading
Roman Catholic and a close associate of Carlyle. (3)

On 23 March, in an attempt to counteract the popular
agitation for the Federals, Lord Campbell made a major speech
in the House of Lords in favour of Confederate recognition.
Campbell argued that the Confederates were fighting for free-
dom and that reunion was impossible and went on to attack the
"puny agitators" who were stirring up the workers against
intervention. After describing the economic dislocation caused
by the war, he pictured America as an economic and political
rival which would attempt to annex Canada after the war. He
asserted that America was degenerating into a military
despotism which compared with Russia as a threat to world
peace. Adopting the line of the Courant in regard to the
Emancipation:

(1) e.g., Saml. May Jr.-Richard Webb, 28 February.
(2) e.g., see the Courant, March 1863, passim.
(3) J. Bigelow, Lest We Forget, N.Y., 1905, p.8.
Emancipation Proclamation, Campbell accused Lincoln of attempting to stir up servile war. Russell replied that for the present Britain must continue her neutral policy in the hope that the American Government would recognise the futility of the war. So far, Russell pointed out to Campbell, it had not done so and the American war effort was now greater than ever, so that the Confederacy could not be held to have completely established its independence. Russell added, however, that he did not believe reunion to be possible. The Emancipation demonstrations were thus helping to stiffen the attitude of the Cabinet against the overtures of the interventionist party.

The question of the British built Confederate warships was now receiving increased attention as the Alabama and other raiders continued on their destructive careers and the American protests became stronger. The Duchess of Argyll attempted to soothe American irritation over the matter by assuring Sumner that the delay in seizing the Alabama was inevitable and also suggesting that some of the suspected warships which were then being built in Liverpool and

(1) Hansard, 3d. s., CLXIX, 1714-34.

(2) Ibid, 1734-41.
and Glasgow were really for China. The American Government found a curiously on this matter in the Courant, which was eager to seize any stick with which to beat Earl Russell. The Tory organ denounced Russell for allowing the Alabama to escape and declared that the Whigs were in favour of the disruption of America. The papers referred to the affidavits and legal opinion which showed the Alabama to be a warship and rejected Russell's contention that such a ship could not be detained on suspicion as long as she were not actually armed.

In the face of the Radical and labour resurgence over the emancipation issue and the increasing identification by these groups of their own democratic objectives with those of the Federals, the Courant continued during this period to argue that the American disruption had finally discredited the Radical programme. The paper ridiculed those Liberal leaders who had turned against America in her hour of crisis, and reiterated that Liberalism stood or fell with American democracy. "The fall of the American apple is only in accordance with the political law of gravity." But although

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(2) Courant, 31 March.
a Conservative is bound to point this out, no 'Liberal' can accept it without contradicting the general tenor of his principles and traditions." The paper declared that Bright was right in accusing the pro-Confederate Liberals of hypocrisy, and the Whigs of secretly rejoicing over the Secession as a blow to democracy. "When 'Liberal' Constitutions blow up, and 'Liberal' statesmen are seen to be mere time-servers, abandoning their convictions as the luck changes, people will enquire on what foundations of sense, principle or honour the abstraction called 'Liberalism' really rests. And having enquired fruitlessly they will begin to cast about for some solider basis of political sympathy and belief."

In point of fact some leading Scottish Liberals, although supporting America and democracy, still felt that the war was futile. W. Ewart, M.P. for Dumfries, for instance, expressed support for American institutions but believed that emancipation could only be attained by peaceful means and that America would have to accept this sooner or later.

We have already mentioned the rallying of the Labour movement behind Lincoln and the Federal cause as one of the most important of the international responses to the Emancipation Proclamation. At the same time a similar development

(1) Courant, 31 March.
(2) In a speech at Dumfries, 31 March. See Courant, 1 April.
also took place within the Protestant Church—a development which had considerable effect in Scotland. This movement had its origin in the observance of the bicentenary of the St. Bartholomew's Day of 1662 when 2000 Protestant ministers were ejected from their parishes in the Church of England. On the occasion of the bicentenary the Congregational denomination in America presented an address to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The latter replied with an anti-slavery address praising the long standing Abolitionist position of the American Congregational Church and praying for emancipation and a speedy end to the war "by which the principle of popular government is covered with reproach."

The French section of the Evangelical Alliance then called upon the British section to declare itself in support of the Federal cause. The British section, however, only issued a non-committal address attacking slavery, which provoked private remonstrances not only from French and British Christians, but also from British pro-Federalists like A. F. Stoddard.

Out of this movement of protest there arose a "Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs" made up of Protestants of all denominations, and supported by the rival /

(1) Glasgow Herald, 21 January 1863 (in a letter to the editor).
rival Abolitionist bodies in London - the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the London Emancipation Society, while at the same time there was formed in Manchester the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society, which became the parent body of similar groups in most of the cities of England and Scotland, and helped to co-ordinate the pro-Federal agitation which was begun. One of the leaders of the pro-Federal campaign then visited Paris where he was warmly received by the leading ministers of the French Church. On 12 February 1863 the latter issued a public letter supporting the Federals which was circulated all over France and signed by over 750 French ministers. In March it was passed on to the London and Manchester Emancipation Societies which circulated it for English and Scottish ministers to sign. On 3 June 1863 the document was adopted at a public meeting in Manchester as "An Address to Ministers and Pastors of All Christian Denominations throughout the States of America". The Reverends J. W. Massie and Roylance were chosen to bear the document to America.

(1) At the same time a round robin letter was circulated throughout England and Scotland, which added to Mrs. Stowe's appeal for sympathy from the women of Britain.

Britain by denouncing the attitude of the ruling circles toward America and expressing the support of the mass of British women for the Federal effort to suppress the Rebellion and abolish slavery. (1)

In March the Union and Emancipation Society began advertising in the Scottish papers asking for volunteers to serve on the local and general committees of the organisation. Professor John Nichol of Glasgow was one of the first of the prominent Scots to respond to this appeal and became an officer in the movement. T. B. Potter, President of the Society, wrote to Dr. Guthrie inviting him to become a vice-president of the organisation. Dr. Guthrie replied on 26 March:

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter with the address of the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester. Although I could not concur with the framers of that address in every passage, yet I cordially sympathise with its spirit and fully approve of its general tenor. The advanced position which the Federal Government and the North have taken on the question and subject of slavery have made their cause that of humanity and religion; therefore, I cannot but wish, and heartily"/

(2) Scotsman, 18 March 1863.
heartily wish, them success against a power which rests on
principles as insulting to God as they are cruel to man.
Holding these views, I will esteem it an honour to be
enrolled among your vice-presidents."

The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society now cast
aside its previous hesitations and joined the general pro-
Federal movement. The thirteenth annual report of the
Society, published at the beginning of April, expressed
complete sympathy with the Federal cause and declared that
the members of the organisation "trust that the time will
never come for an alliance between Britain and the immoral,
piratical Confederacy." Referring to the cotton famine the
report asserted: "Our manufacturers have derived wealth from
the products of unpaid toil, and we as a nation have been
clothed in these products; for this implication through
the distress of our poor operatives in Lancashire, our nation
is now suffering in the natural course of providential visita-
tion."

At /

(1) Courant, 1 April; Scotsman, 1 April.

(2) Scotsman, 2 April. The Scotsman gave a rather sneering
account of the report, in contrast to its favourable treat-
ment of these documents before the war. According to the
report the income of the Society for the previous year had
been £105.4.1, including a balance of £19.3.8 from the pre-
ceding year and an expenditure of £94.17.6 leaving a balance
of £10.6.7.
At the same time the Duke of Argyll seized the occasion of a banquet held by the Edinburgh Liberals in honour of Palmerston to make a strong endorsement of the Federals. He declared that the American struggle should not be condemned merely because it was a civil war and pointed out that much of English and Scottish freedom and progress had been won by civil war. Reflecting the religious note which was dominant in the pro-Federal movement, the Duke compared the Federals with the Covenanters and declared that their basic ideals and aims were identical. The Scotsman expressed disagreement with Argyll's speech, although it did so with a politeness not extended to other pro-Federal speakers. According to the Whig organ the Duke's speech "is not likely to alter the conviction prevailing throughout the country" that although the South was originally wrong to secede, the Federals were wrong to use force in the attempt to reunite them, "if only because it is hopeless."

At the same time the Courant had great praise for Palmerston's speech, which, the paper declared, showed that the Prime Minister had become converted, in effect, to Conservatism— as indicated by his foreign policy and his opposition to any further reform. The Tory organ also sneered.

(1) Scotsman, 6 April 1863. The banquets were held on 1 April.
(2) Scotsman, 3 April 1863.
sneered at the "factious" Whigs of Edinburgh, declaring that they and their organ, the Scotsman, compared badly with Palmerston. It is perhaps worth noting some of the editorial stands taken by the Courant during this period, since they were in such direct contrast with the convictions of the various groups which were spearheading the pro-Federal movement and illustrate further the fact that the controversy of the Civil War was linked with dispute over domestic (and certain other foreign) matters. On 9 April the Tory organ attacked "agitators of the working man". "It no longer pays the Scotsman school of 'Liberal'," declared the Courant, "to claim an increased power in the representation for him, since it is understood that any change in that direction would bring a rival school of Edinburgh 'Liberal' into disagreeable ascendancy." It went on to attack "the popular cant which tells the poor that they are as fit to take care of themselves as those who are better educated and have more help in resisting temptation - and thus encourages the worst portion of them to think their superiors hypocrites, and to indulge their passions in a spirit of blackguardly bravado." (1)

During /

(1) Courant, 9 April.
During this period, also, the Free Church and its leaders, in particular Drs. Candlish, Guthrie, and Begg, were subjected to violent abuse. Other Protestant bodies were not spared; on one occasion, for instance, the paper held forth on the depravity of the Baptist clergy, which were described as "knavish parodists of a sacred calling." (2) In foreign affairs the Courant hailed Louis Napoleon's overthrow of the Mexican Republic as the first step in the "regeneration" of Latin America and attacked both the Federals and Confederates for opposing the French occupation of the country. The possibility of American action against the French was ridiculed on the grounds that Louis Napoleon was far too clever for Lincoln and the French army far superior to the blundering Federals. At the same time the Emperor was praised for wiping out "Democratic Republicanism" in Mexico and introducing law and order. Later in the year the Courant opposed the idea of university classes for the /

(1) e.g., see the attack on Candlish, Ibid, 13 July.
(2) Ibid, 13 June.
(3) Ibid, 12 June.
(4) e.g., Ibid, 27 July.
(5) Ibid, 6 August.
the workers on the grounds that such classes "will certainly make bigots in religion and radicals in politics." At the same time the paper was hostile to the women's rights movement and in particular to the opening of the professions to women. When discussions on union were held between the Free and U.P. denominations, the Courant accused the two churches of having "overparsoned" Scotland and their clergy of having "done much to check here the Conservative reaction which has progressed so favourably in the South." 

Meanwhile George Thompson was continuing his vigorous efforts in support of the Federals. Invitations to speak at emancipation meetings were pouring in on the veteran agitator. He headed North again in April, and spoke at two large rallies in Carlisle on 13 and 14 April. In these speeches Thompson emphasised the fact that the cause of Radical democracy and the status of labour all over the world were dependent on the outcome of the Civil War. He exalted Lincoln as the hero of the war, and rebutted the attacks made upon the President by conservatives who had been /

(1) Courant, 10 October.
(2) Ibid, 19 June 1863.
(3) Thompson-Garrison, 27 February 1863. (Garrison Papers).
(4) Reprinted as pamphlet - see Smeal Collection (Mitchell Li
been holding him up as an example of the failure of democracy to produce great leaders.

Two weeks later Thompson arrived in Glasgow where he and the Reverend Dr. Massie spoke at a great public rally in the Glasgow City Hall, organised by the Glasgow Emancipation Society, which had now also joined in giving full support to the Federals. 'The City Hall was filled for the meeting; on the platform were the Reverend Calderwood, Professor Rogers, Councillor James Moir (a former leader of the physical force Chartists and now a leader of the pro-Federal movement in Glasgow), Councillor Burt and William Smeal.' Professor Nichol, the chairman, declared that the Federals had the support of the Scottish working class, although he was somewhat pessimistic over the outcome of the war. Taking the establishment of Confederate Independence as inevitable, he held that the chief question to be decided was the ownership of the Western territories. He maintained that British policy could determine the eventual peace settlement and therefore which type of economy would prevail in the territories. Nichol also denounced the building of the Alabama and the "work being done in our shipyards" for the Confederates. He was frequently applauded and cheered throughout his speech.

The /
The Reverend Massie, in his speech, asserted that the Civil War had been "proved to be connected with the abolition of slavery", and challenged anyone to argue that it would be honourable to recognise "a state founded on the principle of extending slavery and maintaining that it was according to the Word of God." The speaker went on to describe the development of an anti-slavery policy by the Federals culminating in the Emancipation Proclamation and asked: "What more could they be asked to do in order to abolish slavery than to say that they had resolved that as far as they had power, slavery would cease to be the ruling principle in the government." He concluded by arguing that slavery was demoralising to both negroes and whites.

George Thompson stated that if he had any doubts about his sympathies at the beginning of the war, he had none now because: "of the immense gain to human freedom which had followed thus far upon the conflict between North and South." He went on to point to "the positive, absolute, and irrevocable gain which had been realised in the cause of human freedom in America in the great struggle now going on; and if he could prove that there had been great gain, that greater success was in the future, and that the victory of the one party would be the overthrow of slavery, the institution supported/
supported by the other; then he had made a ground for claiming at the hands of the universal people of this country... that they give their sympathies to those who were forwarding the great gain. (applause).

In estimating the gain for Abolitionism, Thompson contrasted the attitudes of the Buchanan and Lincoln administrations and accused the former of being pro-slavery and treasonable... Turning to Lincoln's Cabinet Thompson declared: "There never was in Great Britain a Cabinet composed of men who, for their attachment to the cause of liberty generally, and their devotedness to the cause of the negro in particular, could be compared with the Cabinet now sitting in Washington. (applause and hisses)." After recounting the process of the anti-slavery cause under Lincoln's administration, Thompson described the success of the Federals in subduing the Rebellion and declared, with some exaggeration, that two-thirds of the South had been regained.

"If it must be..." Thompson concluded, "that from the Clyde and the Mersey and the Thames and the Humber there should go forth vessels so accursed as the Alabama (cheers and hisses) - if it must be that these transactions were still to disgrace our country - if Christian England was to become infamous and a stench in the nostrils to all who loved consistency and Christianity - if there was not virtue enough /
enough in our Government, or efficacy enough in our laws, or public spirit enough in the people to rebuke, to put down, or to turn from their dishonest ways these men who called themselves Britons — yet he would say, notwithstanding that, that he believed in the cause of the Northern States — (cheers) — because it involved the fate of four millions of anxiously waiting slaves — because at least the North had nailed the flag of liberty to the flag of Union — (cheers) — but for the strange transformation of the press of our country — but for the efforts of a class of people who had ever opposed any effort to get rid of an old injustice — but for the interference of this class and the perversion of the public mind on the subject by the prostitution of the press — (hisses and cheers) — he believed the rebellion would have been at an end. He trusted that the public would take up the question and that the people of Glasgow, in their multitudinous capacity, would be now as ever the friends of human liberty. (applause)."

The following resolutions were then moved by the Reverend Hugh Riddell and seconded by John Stevenson:

"1) That this meeting entertains the most cordial goodwill towards the people of the Free States of America and desires to express anew its sympathy in them in their effort to/"
to extend to all the population of the United States
the rights of Free men and citizens and trusts that soon
no slave may remain among them as a reproach to the principle
of self-government.

"2) That this meeting feels humiliation and concern in
view of its being notorious that certain persons in Britain,
including members of Parliament, have been and are engaged
in illegally providing and furnishing warships and British
capitalists supplying money in aid of the Southern slave-
holders' Confederacy at the imminent risk of provoking a war
between America and this country."

Councillor Burt moved the next two resolutions which
were seconded by Dr. William Young. The first protested
to the Government over the above-mentioned activities and
calling upon the former "to evince its good faith toward a
friendly power," by stopping these activities and prosecunit
those involved. The second declared that a petition embody-
ing the above resolutions should be sent to Parliament
through the Glasgow M.P. s, who were requested to present
(1)
and support it.

An amendment was then proposed by one J. R. Rodgers,
who said that he was "a decided opponent of all slavery"....
but /

(1) Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Books, entry of
28 April 1863.
but he could not understand how so large a number of otherwise clear-headed men should at all appreciate this new-born zeal of the Northern Government in favour of emancipation. Mr. Thompson had told them a queer story. Rodgers cast doubts on the sincerity of Lincoln's Cabinet on the slavery question and declared, "He did not believe they were thoroughly in earnest on the slavery question." His proposed amendment expressed confidence in the Palmerston Government and called on it to maintain "the moral dignity and material interest" of the country.

The proposal was seconded by "a working man.... amid great uproar." When he refused to give his name, he was shouted down, after saying that he loved liberty. Only a handful of people voted for the amendment, and the resolution was "carried by an overwhelming majority," after Thompson had explained that it was Lincoln's constitutional duty to uphold the Union with or without slavery.

On 1 May Thompson and Massie spoke at a similar, enthusiastic demonstration in Paisley, which continued to be a stronghold of pro-Federal sentiment in spite of the widespread distress which still existed in the town. Both of the Paisley papers were giving whole-hearted support to Lincoln.

(1) NBDM, 29 April 1863.
Lincoln and his policies and were backing the popular movement in response to the Emancipation Proclamation.

The pro-Confederate press in Scotland did its best to combat the rising tide of pro-Federal sentiment. The Scotman lectured the pro-Federal party on the foolishness of their ways and declared that the Federals were not fighting for Abolition but for the Union, and would support slavery if the Southern states would rejoin. The Whig organ maintained that those who were now urging the Federals to keep on fighting were the same Radicals who had always agitated for the cause of peace and for arbitration between nations.

The Scottish Tories also continued their support for the Rebels. In an article entitled "Politics at Home and Abroad" Blackwood turned again to the now well-worn theme that the American war had discredited democracy and vindicated Conservatism. This article is significant in that it is the last whole-hearted statement of this theme to appear in Blackwood's; there was no further use of it after the Federal.

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(1) See Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Independent, 1863, et seq., passim. Both papers were strongly Liberal.

(2) Scotman, 16 March 1863.

(3) Ibid, 21 March. This editorial was a rebuttal of the pro-Federal stand taken by the Northern Whig of Belfast.
Federal victories in mid-summer and the continued growth of the pro-Federal movement during the latter part of the year. In this article Blackwood argued that the British political system was now practically perfect and that all classes were contented with the status quo. "It is Conservatism adopted by the whole nation", he wrote, and maintained that the Conservative reaction had begun "before the breakdown of democratic forms in America." The American "collapse" had made Conservatism universal since American democracy had been seen to be "a mass of corruption, imbecility, meanness, and malignity which...have never been equalled in the whole world. Every sensible man in this country now acknowledges that we have gone as far in democracy as it is safe to go and that another step like that proposed by Lord Russell would have carried us irretrievably over the precipice." "The vast superiority of the British Constitution" had now been proven, according to Blackwood, who pointed to Russell's repudiation of further Reform and compared the Whig minister with "the Federal generals at Fredericksburg." Since they had been repulsed at every point, he advised them to retreat likewise.

"Happily the constitution of the state is no longer in danger," Blackwood declared. "Lord Russell's Reform Bills have /
have had their day and have been consigned to the limbo of vanities." (1)

In the May issue of Blackwood's, E. B. Hamley, in reviewing the recently published American state papers for 1861-2, subjected American foreign policy to a fiercely hostile and sarcastic analysis. He expressed his willingness to excuse the shortcomings of American diplomats on account of "the atmosphere through which those politicians must pass before they attain to that eminence... Remembering the pushing and scrambling, the elbowing of vile competitors, the truckling and corruption, the wire-pulling and log-rolling, the acquaintance with all the small and dirty ramifications of tickets and platforms" of American politics. Hamley railed against Seward and the American ambassadors in Europe, especially on the grounds of their support for democracy. Seward's objections to the building of the Alabama and other Confederate warships in Britain were declared to be unfounded, and Hamley added: "all his arguments, all his complaints, all his homilies, are based on the delusion that he can compel the British Government, by the marvellous force of his persuasive eloquence /

(1) Blackwood's, CXIII, 245-8; see also E. D. Adams, op. cit., II, 289.

(2) Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, published by the State Department, Washington, 1863.
eloquence; to occupy with him a cloud land of his own creation; where a resolute people in arms is a dwindling faction; where the victorious result always seems close yet is always receding; where in the obstruction of a commercial system there is nothing which the partners in such a system are entitled to take note of; where the Union, repelled at all points and staggering under a load of debt, is said to exercise authority in all but a few rebellious spots and to keep firm hold on the affections of all but a few misguided men; and where nefarious contracts, armies of mercenaries, deserters, and plundering generals are bright examples of the virtue and patriotism of a great people elected in an hour of trial.... is it a comedy or a tragedy that these men are acting out? Unfortunately the grotesque display has its terrible side, and incapacity and conceit only increase the tremendous power of mischief wielded by the principal characters in the burlesque."

An interesting example of the employment of fiction in the struggle to influence public opinion on the Civil War is to be seen in the short story entitled "My Investment in the Far West", by John Harwood, an Edinburgh journalist. The story was strongly anti-Federal and was obviously aimed to discourage /

(1) Blackwood's CXIII, 628-44. ("American State Papers"; May, 1863).
discourage investors in American securities. The characters are the stock types which have reappeared frequently since then in fiction treating the American Civil War. The main figure was Col. Coriolanus Sling, an American railway stock swindler, who was surrounded by a number of other Yankee accomplices. These characters were described as vulgar, vicious, lying, aggressive, and insolent. Col. Sling was contrasted with General Wenfield, a cultured and likeable Southern aristocrat, who saves the money of the British investors. "Here was no exaggeration of sentiment, no outrageous national vanity, no rude indifference to the feelings of others, no prying, no pretension....I felt as I conversed with them how wide was the gulf that severed the North from the South."

Not all of the Free Church Liberals were converted to the Federal cause after the Emancipation Proclamation. The North British Review, for example, continued its support for the Rebellion. Attacking Bright for his opposition to the aristocracy and his support of America, the magazine declared "His loved America has become a by-word among the nations, not alone from her civil war, but from her extravagance and corruption and from the tyranny under which her citizens groan./

(1) Blackwood's CXIII, 592-612.
groan; all these things move him not. He will not see the truth in regard to America; and he accuses those who do see the truth, of hatred towards that country because she is a republic." (1) At the same time the Free Church magazine described the conduct of the workers as "beyond praise" and defended the Lancashire factory owners from charges that they had not contributed their share to the relief fund. (2)

The same issue contained a long and interesting article applying the principles of Gladstonian Liberalism to the Civil War and comparing the disintegration of America with the presumably impending dissolution of the Russian and Chinese empires. The Federals were characterised as the party of American imperialism and the Review declared that their victory would be a blow to the cause of human freedom. The writer asserted that the Federals wished not only to control the Southern states and the Western territories, but to conquer Canada, Mexico, and other countries. But, declaring that the reconquest of the South had now been proved impossible, the writer described the Federal ideal of a United/

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(1) North British Review, XXXVIII, 245 (May 1863).
(2) Ibid, 238.
(3) Ibid, 257-303.
United States from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific was described as a pipe dream, and the writer predicted the further disintegration of America into a number of small units. "Disintegration, gracefully accepted, timely submitted to, and wisely turned to account, is the call of Providence audibly addressed to the people of the United States at this moment.... On all grounds of secular calculation the gorgeous phantom of an empire stretched from ocean to ocean which now rules the American mind as a phrenzy, is, as we think, an absurdity: - no such mad scheme shall ever be realised."

The Federal reverse at the Battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863, encouraged further the efforts of the Rebel sympathisers and prepared the way for a campaign, led by Roebuck, to open a drive in Parliament for recognition. The Courant applauded Roebuck's agitation for recognition and declared: "One section of the commercial radicals and a small band of clerical fanatics excepted, the people of Great Britain look with favour on the gallant nation to the south of the Potomac which is commencing a distinct historical existence." "There are people," the Tory organ declared, "who /

(1) North British Review, XXXVIII, 301.
(2) See E. D. Adams, op. cit., Chapter V (II, 152, et seq.).
"who still believe in the possible subjugation of the South by a power which has never secured a firm footing beyond her frontiers. The non-historical character of the Radical mind has seldom been so curiously illustrated." The Courant went on to argue on the inevitability of the dissolution of a Union based on "a paper constitution framed in an era of speculative radicalism," and insisted that the responsibility of the Government to recognise the South was growing every day.

The Courant continued its campaign for recognition although admitting that Grant's operations were putting the great Rebel stronghold of Vicksburg in serious danger. The best hope for peace was declared to lie in "the gradually accumulating disgust of the North with the imbecility of its statesmen and generals....." If we recognise the South on a Monday and Vicksburg were to fall during the week, we should probably have done more harm than good to the cause we had at heart. But it does not follow that if the North continues making no more solid progress than it has been doing for months past, our recognition of the South would act as a spell on the Federal populace. No doubt it might draw down on us plenty of abuse, but it would also, I think

(1) Courant, 29 May 1863.
think, be likely to be accepted as an excuse for coming to terms with the enemy. It is certain that the Yankees are gradually wearying of the war; and it would help them to a decent pretext for winding it up if France and Britain stepped in and declared that the South was entitled to be considered a nation." (1)

The pro-Confederate party had been forced to take cover by the anti-slavery outburst which swept over England and Scotland between January and June, 1863. However, in June, the new drive for recognition was commenced, and another attempt was made to enlist the Tories. Roebuck, the leader of this new offensive, was induced by Louis Napoleon to believe that France would follow suit if Britain recognised the Confederates. On 30 June Roebuck presented a move in favour of recognition in the House and a sharp debate followed. (2) The renewed drive for recognition had repercussions in Scotland. Alexander Mitchell, Liberal candidate at a bye-election in Berwick, dealt with the American question in an election speech on 24 June. Attacking both sides, Mitchell expressed the belief that the war would teach /

(1) Courant, 23 June 1863.
(2) Hansard, 3 s.3, CLXXII, 1771-1842; E. D. Adams, loc.cit.
teach the Americans to follow wise statesmen rather than the ignorant mob. However, he declared himself in favour of strict neutrality and maintained that although it had been necessary to recognise Confederate belligerency, there should be no further steps in that direction.

Important support for recognition, however, came from another source. At a large miners' rally at Maryhill on 30 June — the day Roebuck's motion was presented and debated — Alexander McDonald, the miners' leader, spoke of the great prosperity which the Civil War had brought to a number of Scottish industries, especially those of iron and ship building. McDonald assured his audience that he deplored the war, but expressed the opinion that it would soon end. He went on to call for British recognition of the Confederacy which he declared would lead to a great increase in trade and prosperity for Scotland. (2) McDonald and Campbell were militant and doctrinaire rationalists and campaigned in the pages of the Sentinel against Protestantism and the free church leaders, and they had thus long been at war with the Presbyterian Radicals, who were the leaders of the anti-slavery and pro-Federal movements. The "trans-Atlantic focus /

(1) Scotsman, 25 June 1863. Mitchell was defeated in the election.
(2) Glasgow Sentinel, 4 July.
(3) See Ibid, 1863, passim.
focus" was also apparent in the Scottish labour movement during these months. MacDonald and Campbell were engaged in a feud with their former Chartist comrade, Baillie Moir, now one of the leaders of the pro-Federal movement in Glasgow.

Although not giving open support to the demand for immediate recognition of the Confederates, the Scotsman continued to encourage the pro-Confederate party from a safe distance during the period between Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. After Chancellorsville, for instance, the Whig organ published a long leader denouncing the Federals and their local supporters for wishing to continue fighting. Pointing out that the peace party were now among the strongest supporters of the Federal prosecution of the war, the Scotsman described them as "the ultra-Americans of this country. The paper declared: "The taste of blood seems to have aroused a tiger appetite among those who have hitherto been conspicuous as arguing for the inviolable sacredness of human life.....and they even carry their imitations of Americanism so far as to proclaim every defeat of the Federal a great victory."

On /

(1) Glasgow Sentinel, e.g., 14 November.

(2) Scotsman, 21 May 1863.
On 2 July Roebuck's motion was debated further, and it was revealed that Louis Napoleon had refused to acknowledge officially that he had offered to join with Britain in recognising the Confederacy. At the same time, however, General Lee's invasion of the North aroused hopes of another great Rebel victory which might end the war. The Courant seized the occasion for declaring a list of reasons illustrating why the existing Ministry was unfit to govern the country further. Among these reasons was included the uncertain attitude of the Government toward the Confederates and the confusion within the Liberal party resulting from Roebuck's motion. The paper asserted that Napoleon had come out best, for both sides in America now respected him but were alienated by the British Government's "shilly-shallying policy". The Courant concluded by warning that Liberalism led inevitably to democracy and that the Conservatives must get back into office in order to check this tendency.

On 10 July, Sir James Fergusson, the pro-Confederate Tory M.P. for Ayrshire, appealed to Roebuck to withdraw his motion, and he was echoed by the Times, which predicted that

(1) Hansard, 3, CLXXII, 67-73.
(2) Courant, 4 July.
a Confederate victory was imminent in Pennsylvania. The Parliamentary debate on the motion was finally brought to a conclusion on 13 July and resulted in a major reverse for the pro-Confederate party, since Roebuck was forced to withdraw his motion. The Courant declared that Roebuck had been wise to withdraw and wait until the decisive events going on in America had developed further. The paper asserted that if Lee established himself in the North "a new condition of things will arise giving us a better right to interfere than ever." However, if Lee failed — and the same issue carried General Meade's communique of 4 July announcing the repulse of Lee at Gettysburg — recognition might only serve as a further stimulus to the Federal war effort. "Whichever way the invasion turns out, it will be succeeded by a period of preparation for fresh action of some kind — and then possibly we may be able to strike in with effect. At this moment the North would interpret our interference as designed to help the invasion, and it is as well to deprive them of all such pretexts." The following day the paper attempted to minimise the Federals' claims of victory at Gettysburg, and declared that they always claimed a victory at first, even /

(1) E. D. Adams, loc. cit.; Times, 13 July.
(2) Hansard, s.3, CLXXII, 661, et seq.
(3) Courant, 16 July 1863.
even when they had been defeated. "We entertain no doubt, after considering the telegrams, that they will turn out to be less prosperous for the Federal arms than the mail represents them." The Courant then proceeded to put together an account of the battle based largely on early Rebel reports. It expressed the conviction that Lee was succeeding in his invasion of the North, but added cautiously: "Lee has the advantage of fighting not for conquest but for independence, and even if he does not succeed in capturing one of the great cities of the North, the Northern dream of subduing even Virginia, will be as far off as ever." (1) On the 20th the Courant finally published the accounts of the great Federal victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg without comment.

Later in the month, William Miller, the pro-Confederate M.P. for Leith, continued his attacks on America and declared that he was pleased that the Civil War had broken out since it would curb America's power and particularly her ability to attack Britain. "I cannot but feel relieved," he declared, "as it were by an intervention of Providence in our favour, from that state of alarming disquietude in which we /

(1) Courant, 17 July.
(2) Ibid, 20 July.
we were long kept by the frequently recurring insolent con-
duct towards this country on the part of the authorities
seemingly urged on by the people of the once United States." The Courant attacked Miller's speech in spite of its pro-
Confederate sentiments, and suggested that if Miller was
opposed to America he should begin by removing American
influences in Scotland. "The educated classes in her
burghs are virtually disfranchised as much as those of New
York," the Courant complained and declared the power of "the
radical rabble" in the Scottish burghs due to the wide fran-
chise introduced there by the Reform Bill. "Now this is
hardly fair," continued the paper, "and might, but for the
good fortune (for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful)
of our union with England, prove civilly dangerous.....A
Scottish statesman has ceased to be looked for except among
the nobility.....One can hardly imagine a Scottish Kinglake
or Layard appearing among our 'Liberals'; and if he did,
he could no more get into Parliament through a Scotch dis-
trict of burghs than Dr. Begg could get through a chorus
in the Clouds. Now if Mr. Miller does not like America,
let him try and prevent Scotland from becoming a little
America /

(1) Courant, 22 July.
America....the fact that he is in Parliament at all, is a sign that Scotland is becoming Americanised." (1)

Shortly after the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the so-called "draft riots" aroused considerable attention in Scotland. These riots were in effect a large scale rising of the Irish and pro-Confederate mob in New York, who seized virtual control of the city for several days, murdered a considerable number of negroes, and did a vast amount of damage. The Courant held that they had just grievances against the draft and Lincoln's "military dictatorship", and expressed particular satisfaction that the Tribune office had been burned down. The Courant admitted, however, that the majority of Americans were still in favour of prosecuting the war, although it held that the occurrence of the riots so soon after victory was an ominous sign for the Federals. (3)

The Courant also continued to give strong support to Louis Napoleon's policy of intervention in Mexico as a means of undermining democracy and American power. "Europe has again asserted the right to settle in America if she chooses. She /

(1) Courant, 22 July 1863.
(2) Ibid, 29 July.
she has laughed at the doctrine once commonly professed that no form of Government but Democracy could ever rear its head on that soil."

Many Scottish Liberals who had been previously enthusiastic over the Rebellion were considerably sobered by Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The Glasgow Citizen, one of the pro-Confederate Liberal papers on Clydeside, emphasised the importance of the Federal victories as showing the growing strength of the Federals. The Citizen expressed fears that America might be looking for a pretext for a clash with Britain, and warned that they might find one in the Confederate warships that were being built in British ports. "Under these circumstances," the Citizen asserted, "it behoves our own Government, in the great common interest of humanity, at once to beware of giving reasonable ground of offence, and to encourage the Canadian Governor-General and people to strengthen and protect their frontier." The Tory Glasgow Herald also came out strongly in favour of Britain continuing to remain neutral. A leader of 29 August for instance, held forth on the horrors of the American war and /

(1) Courant, 21 August. See also Ibid, 28 August, etc.
(2) Glasgow Citizen, 29 August.
and used the argument against an interventionist policy in favour of the Southern slaveholders.

During the summer advertisements appeared in Scotland urging workers to come and take up employment in America and promising them exemption from the draft. The Hawick Advertiser reported that posters to this effect were appearing in Hawick and warned the workers that this might merely be a ruse to get more soldiers for the Federals. The warning article was also reprinted in the Sentinel.

Following the Federal victories, more prominent Scots joined the pro-Northern movement. At the end of August the Union and Emancipation Society was served by the following Scottish Vice-Presidents: Prof. J. Nichol, Glasgow; the Reverend D. C. Guthrie, Edinburgh; W. D. Paton, Glasgow; the Reverend Hy. W. Crosskey, Glasgow; J. McClelland, Glasgow; Wm. Brown, Glasgow; Ed. Alexander, Jr., Glasgow; Councillor J. Burt, Glasgow; James M. Paton, Montrose; Duncan MacLaren, Edinburgh; the Reverend R. B. Drummond, Edinburgh and the Reverend N. McMichael, Dunfermline. The Society /

(1) Glasgow Herald, 29 August.

(2) Glasgow Sentinel, 15 August. American industrialists were energetically recruiting skilled labour in Britain — much to the annoyance of British employers and such labour leaders as Alexander M'Donald — see Erikson, op.cit.
Society called for more volunteers for local committees in the north of England - Scotland was evidently considered to be sufficiently well-staffed in this respect. (1)

In its treatment of the Gettysburg campaign, Blackwood's added another contribution to the romantic myth relating to the Confederates, by publishing an article on "The Battle of Gettysburg and the Campaign in Pennsylvania - from the diary of an English officer". The author was Col. Fremantle who had been present with the Rebel army during the campaign and gave here a favourable picture of the Confederate generals and soldiers. However, compared with Wolseley's article on the campaign of the previous year and with the other foregoing articles on the war in Blackwood's, Fremantle's article contained a new note of respect for the Federals. He admitted that the Rebels had suffered a clear defeat at Gettysburg and blamed it on their over-confidence. The article was published shortly afterwards in book form after Fremantle had consulted with Professor Aytoun, the Scottish Episcopalian historian, who "troubled himself with the manuscript". In the volume were included photographs of such Rebel celebrities as Lee, Beauregard, Polk, Longstreet and Johnston. (3) The manuscript was first shown for /

(1) Advertisement in Scotsman. 31 August.
(2) Blackwood's CXIII, 364-94.
(3) Fremantle to Blackwood, 24 October.
for approval to Mason, who gave the work his imprimatur. (1)

In an effort to counter the mobilisation of Protestant forces in favour of the Federals, a number of Southern clergy issued an Address of the Clergy of the Confederate States appealing for sympathy from Christians. (2) Henry Hotze scored one of his most successful coups by having large numbers of this pamphlet bound up with current issues of various periodicals - particularly religious magazines. The Address, however, received practically no favourable response from the Scottish Church.

Blistering replies to the Confederate "Address" came from a number of Radical and Evangelical sources in Scotland. (3) The Mercury denounced the document, while the British and Foreign Evangelical Review declared that the appeal must be rejected "unless we are prepared to cease regard for the eternal law of righteousness....In regard to the slavery for which they plead, writing with the Bible before us, we implore them to cast deep dyed sin from them at once and forever, as they value the blessing of the infinitely righteous God." (4)

The /

(1) Fremantle to Blackwood, 3 October. Blackwood urged Fremantle to suppress a section on the drinking and hanging propensities of the Rebels, but the author declined on the grounds that the Confederates gloried in them and that Mason did not advise cutting. (Ibid, 11 October).
(2) Richmond 1863.
(3) Cal. Mer., 29 September.
(4) BFER, October 1863, pp.323-24.
The Free Church Record, which represented the pro-Federal section of the Free Church, published a strong counter blast to the Confederate appeal in the form of an article entitled "Liberty to the Captive", which denounced slavery and the Confederates and gave strong support to the Federals. The article pronounced slavery to be completely contrary to Christian doctrine since it relegated the negro to a sub-human status, by denying that he had a soul or a right to marriage and family life. After comparing the persecution of religiously-minded slaves with the harrying of the Covenanters, the Record rejoiced that deliverance was now coming from the North and that: "Today the cry is from the oppressor". The writer deplored the fact that many Liberals had been lulled into accepting the Confederacy by Garrison's "crafty theory" that emancipation would most readily be effected by the establishment of an independent South. However, he rejoiced that the evangelical Christians refused to listen to interventionist appeals.

After /

(1) Free Church Record, 1 September 1863, 317-9. The editor included a foot note stating: "The views expressed in this article commit no one except the accomplished writer" - evidently intended to soothe the feelings of the influential element within the Free Church who sympathised with the Confederates. The article is signed "P".

(2) The style suggests that it may have been written by W.R. Guthrie.
After referring to the various atrocities encouraged by slavery, the writer went on: "Every negro in America is held by a right of theft, and God's law is clear as to its exercise." The Record recounted at length the great influence which the Reverend Andrew Thompson and his Abolitionist successors in Scotland had had upon the American situation due to the great respect held for them across the Atlantic. "Again and again have American ministers, North and South, returned from Europe, and especially from Edinburgh, with their ears tingling. Abolitionism spread from England and Scotland to America; it appealed to conscience, North and South; it called upon the former to hold no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. Assemblies, Synods, Conferences, and Unions testified against American slavery as the plague spot on their feast of charity.

Pointing out that the slaveholders had begun the war to defend slavery after being defeated in a fair election, the article called on all Christians to support Lincoln in his efforts to subdue the Rebellion and eliminate slavery.

The "Appeal" of the Confederate clergy was scathingly castigated. "Its great swelling words, its terrible abuse of holy names for vile purposes, its audacious misstatements, 'speaking lies in the name of the Lord', seem to mark it as one /
one of the latter-day utterances of the many anti-christs. One purpose it serves; it places beyond all doubt that the South is joined to its idols. The Wonderful has in his wielding of his iron sceptre dashed down their Dagon; he has demonstrated to Northern men, who thought a sort of limited liability in sin was possible, that no fiction of state, as apart from Federal responsibility, would hold in Heaven's chancery, and has made them pay dearly in blood and treasure for their past complicity. By a way that they knew not, through Southern obstinacy and Northern reverses, he has opened up a way for the redemption of three millions of captives from the house of bondage. In law this day 3,000,000 coloured citizens of America stand liberated by lawful decree of the constitutional commander in chief of the forces of that republic. They cry to us not to come over and help them, but by our prayers and sympathetic and brotherly words, help them into possession of their rights as Christ's free men. On the other side stand men who 'speak as the servants of the most high God'; men whose words breathe blood; who if they do not advise, yet speak without disapproval, as 'a measure of public safety', of the slaughter of men for whom Christ died, and without crime alleged than a desire for freedom/
freedom. Can Scotland - can the Free Church - hesitate
with which to cast in their suffrage?" (1)

The Federal victories in mid-summer had considerable
effect on the political arguments over democracy in Scotland.
Up until that time the conservative press had confidentially
maintained that the Civil War had shown the bankruptcy of
democracy. However, a few weeks later it was arguing that
the American war had no relevance to the question of demo-
cracy. Now the Radicals pressed home their attack at the
point which the conservatives had previously chosen to fight.
The Caledonian Mercury, for instance, argued in a series of
articles that the fact that the democratic part of America
had rallied to defeat the aristocratic section was directly
relevant to the political scene at home. (3)

The Scotsman on the other hand attacked the protests
made by the various Emancipation Societies against the
building of Confederate rams in Britain. The Scotsman
ridiculed their contention that the Federals were fighting
in for human freedom and declared that any case it was irrele-
vant. The article spoke strongly in favour of the rights
of /

(1) Free Church Record, loc. cit.
(2) e.g., Times, 24 September 1863.
(3) e.g., Cal. Mer., 1, 4, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 28 September.
of the Confederates and asserted: "the motives of the
(pro-Federal) agitators are those of American partisans". (1)

On 7 September another leader attacked the pro-Federal party,
declaring that their agitation was responsible for the strong
stand which the American Government had taken on the ques-
tion of the Confederate rams. The paper defined the doc-
trine of the pro-Federals as "our country's enemies, right
or wrong", and called them "a sect.....a section affecting
a peculiar zeal for peace." (2)

The Scotsman continued to fulminate against the "futile
and nefarious emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln." (3)

On the 15th the paper completely reversed its position on
the rams (probably at the instigation of Palmerston) and
suggested that the building of the rams did, in fact, violate
the spirit of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The Scotsman
launched an unwonted attack on the pro-Confederates for
putting "the momentary interest of a political party in
America above.....the spirit of all British law". (4)

The Duke /

(1) Scotsman, 4 September; 7 September; see E. D. Adams,
op.cit., II, chapter on Laird rams.

(2) Scotsman, 7 September.

(3) Ibid, 8 September.

(4) Ibid, 15 September. See also Adams, op.cit. At the
instigation of the Cabinet the Times had come out strongly
for the seizure of the rams and had generally cooled toward
the Confederates now that they had ceased to be militarily
successful. See ORN, vol.cit., 489-90, North-Mallory, 4 Sept
Duke of Argyll had brought his influence to bear in favour (1) of the seizure of the rams, and on 8 September the Glasgow Emancipation Society sent a memorial to Earl Russell calling upon him to detain the rams being built for the Rebels at Liverpool and on the Clyde. The Mercury praised the Government for having seized the Liverpool rams on the grounds of suspicion alone. On 23 September the Mercury described the powerful effect which the Rebel defeats had on British policy and declared: "On all sides the Confederate cause looks gloomy enough.....They have no chance of obtaining aid from ourselves so long as they send over nothing but bulletins of defeat. The classes which have sympathised with them are the worshippers of success. With that, whatever their cause, a large mass of our people would have burned incense before them — without it, none so poor as to do them honour. Even Roebuck and Lindsay will say bitter things of them. A talented miscreant will make his way in the world and rise to dignity and power, but a villain without /

(1) JPMHA, XCVII, 87 (1914).
(2) GES Minute Books, entry for 8 September.
(3) Cal. Mer., 15 September.
without brains capable of achieving success is held in high contempt. So it is with nations, and so the Confederates will find to their cost." (1)

On 24 September in an important speech at Blairgowrie Earl Russell indicated that he had yielded considerably to the demand for stricter enforcement of British neutrality. Although he still argued that it was permissible for warships to be built for the belligerents in British ports so long as they were unarmed when they sailed, he admitted that the rams must be detained in as much as their specific construction placed them within the category of armed vessels. (2)

The Mercury greeted Russell’s speech with great praise and declared that he now admitted what the paper had maintained all along. "...All therefore that we have maintained, and that the Foreign Secretary now affirms, is that what we would not allow to be done to ourselves, we should not allow to be done to America". The Mercury also praised Russell’s call for friendly relations between Britain and America on the basis of their common culture and traditions. "This is at once thought and language becoming a British Minister. Let us hope that it will, with numerous other great truths enunciated /

(1) Cal. Mer., 23 September 1863.
(2) Ibid, 28 September.
enunciated towards the close of the speech, have its due
effect on the people of this country and, carried across the
Atlantic, it will also tend to allay all bitterness of feel-
ing that may exist there; in a word that the two nations
will in the future bear and forebear.....to promote each
others welfare and maintain each others peace."

The Scotsman expressed general agreement with Russell's
pronouncements on America but regretted that "he shows himself
almost tremulously solicitous for the preservation of peace
between this country and the States." The paper further
questioned his contention that the rams came under the
prohibited list in the Foreign Enlistment Act and asserted
that the decision on them should be left to the courts. (1)

On the other hand the Courant strongly denounced the Blairgowrie
declaration: "The spirit of pompous humbug and ungenerous
factiousness prevailed throughout the whole occasion." The
paper objected particularly to the fact that the Reverend W.
Marshall, the U.P. minister at Blairgowrie, had been allowed
to take part in the proceedings, and asserted that this proved
"that the Foreign Secretary could rely with absolute confi-
dence on the ignorance of a Blairgowrie audience." It further
criticised /

(1) Scotsman, 29 September.
criticised Russell for not offering any final solution to the problem of the rams or saying whether any new legislation was necessary to supplement the Foreign Enlistment Act. On the other hand the Courant praised Russell for opposing any further Reform and for issuing the slogan "Rest and be thankful".

The Sentinel expressed strong support for Russell's declaration and at the same time gave it a somewhat different interpretation from the other papers. The Labour organ declared that Russell had stood up to American criticisms of Britain's failure to follow a policy of strict neutrality. The paper supported Russell's vindication of the Confederates' right to rebel and his comparison of their rebellion with the American and English Revolutions. It agreed with his statement that Confederate warships could be built but not equipped in Britain, but that the rams should be detained. The Glasgow Gazette, on the other hand, attacked Russell for not taking a stronger stand against America.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review followed up the Protestant campaign in support of emancipation with an article /

(1) Courant, 29 September 1863.
(2) Glasgow Sentinel, 3 October.
(3) Glasgow Gazette, 3 October.
article on "Slavery and the Bible". The article, a thorough rebuttal of arguments that slavery was compatible with Christianity, declared that Old Testament slavery was of a different order from the slavery existing in America. The writer held that early Christianity was the chief factor in mitigating and eventually abolishing ancient slavery. He went on to assert that slavery was contrary to Christianity in that it violated the Commandments to love one's neighbour and to refrain from stealing.

After a favourable review of Dr. Cheever's book on slavery, the article dealt with the Reverend John Kennedy's work on Hebrew Servitude and American Slavery, another attack on slavery from the Christian point of view. The Review praised both books for distinguishing sharply between Old Testament and modern slavery and demonstrating "that were the Mosaic law put into force in America, the speedy, nay the instant result, would be to set the bondsmen free."

The Review then proceeded to deal with a pro-slavery work by Dr. Van Evrie, a violent anti-negro and copper-head demagogue.

(1) British and Foreign Evangelical Review, 1863, p.801 et seq
demagogue, who specialised in preaching a mixture of racial-
ist doctrine and hatred of Abolitionists and Protestants to
the Irish-American workers. Van Evrie was a disciple of
Louis Agassiz and also a Rationalist critic of the Bible,
and was particularly hostile to the Christian doctrine of
the unity of the human race.

The Review dealt out a scathing condemnation to Van
Evrie's doctrine of superior and inferior races. "Under-
neath the scientific calmness at which he evidently aims it
is not difficult to discern a furious fanaticism for slavery,
as when one looks into the crater of a volcano and some
distance beneath the hardened exterior crust sees quite dis-
ctinctly the glowing lava figures.....As Van Evrie and We
'reason together' not all the deeply tragic elements in the
case can prevent us losing our gravity on being informed
that the negro is created with little love for wife and
children, but much affection for his master, so that separa-
tion from the former for pecuniary profit of the latter is
not /

(1) See JNH, XXXIV, 313, et seq. (1949). The Confederates
had found the racialist followers of Gobineau and Agassiz
congenial allies; Hotze, for instance, contributed to the
library fund of the London Anthropological Society, an organi-
sation formed to disseminate the theory of Nordic supremacy.
(American Historical Review, July 1930, pp.811-18). See
Adams, II, 332, for the controversy between James Hunt and
Professor Huxley over Hunt's paper "The Negro's Place in
Society", read at the British Association in Newcastle in
1863. Hunt, the chief figure behind the Anthropological
Society, argued that Negroes were an inferior race and should
be used as slaves by Aryans.
not the trial that is generally supposed; or more startling still, that the nervous sensibility so wonderfully developed in the European hand rendering it a fitting instrument for the exercise of mechanical skill is located not so much in the hand as all over the whole person of the negro, with the manifest final cause of making him feel acutely when he is whipped. After this we exclaim that there is really no use to proceed further or beg the 'reasoner' to accept our assurance that he has not so much fallen short in his argument as made it all too complete. "

In its October issue the Lamp of Love also joined in the emancipation campaign with an article describing the hostility of the West Indian slave-system to Christianity among the slaves. The article went on to describe the great progress of Christianity among the West Indian negroes after abolition and pointed to the recruiting of negro clergy there.

On 1 October, Sarah Remond, regarded by many Scots as a living refutation of the theory of negro inferiority, visited Edinburgh to speak at a meeting of the Ladies' Emancipation Society. She deplored the Civil War, but declared /

(1) BFER, loc.cit., 822-3.
(2) Lamp of Love, October 1863, 231-4.
declared that it was working for emancipation, and went on to describe the progress of American public opinion on slavery since the beginning of the war. She related that her brother and other negroes wishing to enlist had once been "scornfully rejected" but that now they were not only accepted, but Lincoln had ordered that they be given equal protection with the white troops. The Society proceeded to order a number of anti-slavery tracts and books to keep the cause before the public eye. The following day the Mercury again praised the Ladies' Emancipation Society, both for its work on behalf of the slaves and for its demonstration of the capacity of women for public affairs. At the same time considerable notice was attracted by Eliza Wigham's book on The Anti-Slavery Cause in America, a vigorous account of the anti-slavery movement in that country. Even the Scotsman gave the work a favourable review.

The climax of the pro-Federal movement in Scotland came with the visit of Henry Ward Beecher to Scotland in October. Ward Beecher and his novelist sister had been idolised for years.

(1) Scotsman, 2 October 1863.
(2) Cal. Mer., 2 October.
(4) Scotsman, 2 October.
years by the Scottish people and the Scottish religious press frequently carried articles by or about the two. Interest had been further stimulated by the publication in 1863 of the Autobiography of their father, the great American Calvinist theologian and political liberal. In July Ward Beecher had had a cordial meeting with the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, after which the Duchess wrote to Sumner: "I must tell you that we liked Henry Ward Beecher and he reminded us of his sister.....Mr. Beecher said that whatever the North might feel at first about European sympathy that now you are bearing down such rapids - in an inevitable course - whatever Europe may think. So should I think."

Ward Beecher's visit to Scotland involved him in controversy not only with the supporters of the Confederacy, but also with the Erastian and anti-temperance parties - just as Frederick Douglass had become involved in internal Scottish disputes in 1846. Most of the Abolitionist leaders were active temperance workers also, and we have already /

(1) Lyman Beecher, Autobiography of ..., London, 1863. The BFER in its review of the book describes the great interest which the book was received in Scotland because of the popularity of his son and daughter. BFER, 1864, pp.546 et seq.
(2) Duchess of Argyll-Sumner, 23 July 1863 (JPMHA, loc.cit., 81-2).
already noted that the Scottish temperance movement was one 
of the chief elements in the pro-Federal movement. The 
American minister received strong support from the evangeli-
cal Glasgow Examiner and equally strong abuse from the Glas-
gow Gazette, which represented the Erastian party. The 
Reverend Beecher's first public appearance in Scotland was 
at a public breakfast given in his honour by the Glasgow 
temperance movement, on 5 October. The Examiner explained 
that the public breakfast had originally been arranged by 
the temperance movement to express sympathy for Beecher as 
a temperance man, but that it had become political to the 
satisfaction of those present.

"The eloquent and uncompromising abolitionist spoke 
of the fearful contest in that country in a manner which 
will not soon be forgotten by those who listened to his 
address."

Among those present were U.S. Consul Underwood, A. F. 
Stoddart, the pro-Federal speaker, Councillor Brown, nine 
of the leading Free Church, U.P., and Independent ministers, 
and Baillie Govan, a leading upholder of both the temper-
ance and Federal causes.

In the course of his triumphal visit to Scotland Ward 
Beecher /

(1) e.g. see the letter signed "Working Man" in the Cal. Mer. 
7 Oct. 1863. The writer discusses the place of temperance in 
the working class movement and praises the efforts of Ward 
Beecher, Elihu Burritt, and other Abolitionists in this cause. 
(2) Glasgow Examiner, 10 Oct. 1863. The article includes a 
long list of those present.
a Beecher was subjected to a storm of almost hysterical abuse from the large pro-Confederate section of the Scottish press—an outburst which undoubtedly testifies to the effectiveness of the minister's efforts to extend and consolidate pro-Federal sentiment. The *N.B. Daily Mail* led off by accusing the organisers of the public breakfast of having failed to make room for its reporter.

The *Courant* accused the meeting of exhibiting "bigotry and fanaticism. These are passions as mean as excessive thirst; and the Reverend Mr. Beecher, the hour of this occasion, displayed all the drunkard's violence without the drunkard's excuse. Our readers may remember that Mr. Beecher is one of the Federal Abolitionists, the interested and hypocritical adoption of whose views by Mr. Lincoln forms the darkest phase in the present shameful and disastrous American war. He is a clergyman—although one would not gather so from reading his Glasgow speech and comparing it with those of clergymen of the English and Scottish Churches. Mr. Beecher has arrived in good time to teach us that Christianity itself suffers at the hands of Democracy....His oratory as a Northern lion shows the degradation of the Government./

(1) *NBDM*, 6 October.
Government from which the Southern States are fighting to escape. Where such a ruler as Mr. Lincoln could have such a chaplain, submission was impossible."

Another prominent American visiting Scotland at the same time was the Reverend W. H. Channing, who spoke at a pro-Federal rally which filled the Queen Street Hall in Edinburgh on 6 October. The platform was occupied by a number of the leading Radical politicians of Edinburgh. Bailie Johnson expressed great praise for America — "that great people who were engaged in a contest unexampled in its extent and most important in its results, as bearing upon the social condition of the country and its future civilization. We could not and never had regarded what happened in America with indifference." The speaker urged the people of Scotland to acquire all the information possible concerning the American situation and to form a positive opinion on it. "The root and spring of all this disaster has been slavery," he maintained, "...The great object of the South in the whole of this struggle was to uphold slavery." The Bailie concluded by denouncing both the Confederates and slavery as "atrocious" and "inhuman".

The /

(1) Courant, 8 October.
The Reverend Channing, who was received with cheers, declared that he "would endeavour to justify the position which the United States Government has assumed amidst the nations of Christendom in the defence and promotion of Christian civilization." He stated that the basic question was whether the war was really for the ending of slavery and the extension of freedom. Referring to the distrust and doubt in Britain over the matter, he declared that the lack of unanimous sympathy for the Federals was due to a misconception of the war issues. "This really was a war for freedom," asserted Channing, "a war which was forced on the unwilling people of America by "a long aggressive course on the part of the slave-oligarchy of the South," who saw slavery being hemmed in and therefore felt that they must save themselves by forcible expansion. He went on to describe the conspiratorial efforts of the slave power to disrupt America and declared: "The war was forced upon an unwilling people by those determined to ruin the Republic and on its bloody ruins to build up a slavery empire (applause and hisses.)" Channing contrasted the pacific attitude of Lincoln after his election with the fact that the Rebels had been arming since long before. Attacking Earl Russell's expressions of sympathy for the Rebels on the ground that they /
they were fighting the same battle fought by the English and American Revolutionaries, Channing enquired: "Did Earl Russell, so deep-read a student as he was, forget that those rebellions which he spoke of were rebellions in favour of law and against tyranny? (loud applause)..... If Earl Russell forgot it, the world did not." Channing asserted that the British revolts against the Stuarts had been in the interest of freedom, "and it seemed to him that the citizens of the Republic of the United States were also sure of their sympathy and their conscientious approval when he said that they also were struggling against oppression (applause)..... The direct object and aim of the Southern States was the extension and the perpetuation of the power of slavery." He went on to show from various Confederate documents that the revival of the slave trade was an essential part of the plans of the Rebels. Channing concluded by defending Lincoln's policy for peace and emancipation and urged that slavery retarded all the people involved in it and prevented progress.

In moving a vote of thanks, ex-Bailie Fyfe, a leader of the Edinburgh Radical party, expressed himself in full agreement with Channing, declaring that they all sympathised with the struggle to liberate the negro, "and would hail with delight /
delight the day when order and peace would be restored throughout the United States and slavery become a thing of the past.

During the same month, Edinburgh was the scene of the annual meeting of the Social Science Congress, which was turned into a battleground between Confederate and Federal sympathisers. In a speech before the Congress on 7 October Lord Brougham denounced the Federal emancipation policy as a sham and attacked the "national vanity" which he asserted had driven the Federals into one of the worst wars ever fought. Brougham exulted over the French occupation of Mexico and expressed the hope that it would lead to the recognition of the Confederacy and the breaking of the blockade. He asserted that the South was now an independent nation and gave a long criticism of Northern "crimes" which he stated were due to "the mischiefs of mob supremacy".

Expressing strong sympathy with Brougham's arguments, the Scotsman declared: "The Reverends W. Channing and H. W. Beecher heard his Lordship's address; we hope they have profited by what they have heard. The conceit, the mendacity of the Federals, and their insane hatred of Great Britain were /

(1) Scotsman, 7 October 1863.

(2) Scotsman, 7 October.
were criticised with caustic yet pitying contempt. A fanatical pro-Union American listening to Lord Brougham's delineation of the combined folly and fiendishness of the Federals must have felt disposed to commit either suicide or murder. To such a hearer his Lordship's very fairness must have been most galling, when he pointed out that it would not be right to found an argument against popular education on the savagery of the Federals, since a very large proportion of the 'most enlightened nation on earth' consists of grossly ignorant foreigners and really enlightened native Americans confess that their national system of education is very superficial." (1)

The speech was also greeted with great praise by the Courant, which declared: "Lord Brougham represents the most enlightened and cultivated section of the party to which he belongs. 'Liberal' in form, his opinions are deeply tinged with that tone of Conservatism which is admirable when - as in his case - it is not assumed as the colour of an excuse for retaining office." (2)

Brougham's outburst against the Federals was countered two days later by the Reverend Channing in the course of a meeting /

(1) Scotaman, 9 October.
(2) Courant, 9 October.
meeting held by the Social Science Congress for the working class. Thousands of workers crowded into the Circus on Nicolson Street to hear the American minister speak out strongly for the Federal cause, which he linked with the struggle of the workers all over the world for a better life. Channing declared that the workers of England and Scotland who bore the brunt of the cotton famine without demanding intervention in the Civil War, were fighting in the cause of freedom as much as the soldiers in the Federal army. The minister told his audience of the praise expressed for the attitude of the British workers by Lincoln, "who himself began life as a working man, who is now a working man, and who...will be a working man until the end of his days."

Channing went on to preach an advance social doctrine to the effect that the community should provide for the health, housing, education and general welfare of all of its members. He looked forward to a day when "the broad earth may be bound together by common co-operative labour, and all those who wish to use the energies with which heaven has endowed them may advance in that respect." Channing concluded by inviting any of the workers who were dissatisfied with their present /
present conditions to emigrate to America. (1)

Meanwhile the Reverend Beecher was continuing his activities in the West of Scotland. On the first Sunday of October he preached a sermon in the Elgin Place Congregational Church in which he argued the complete incompatibility of slavery and Christianity and went on to apply his injunction to slavery-like conditions in factory and family life. The high point of his visit to Glasgow came at a public meeting which packed the City Hall on 13 October, and which was arranged by the Glasgow Emancipation Society as the successful climax of their many years of public agitation against American slavery. The introductory speech was made by the Reverend William Anderson, who was one of the founders of the Glasgow Society and had been an active member in it for a generation. He reminisced at length on the anti-slavery movement of the previous generation, and recalled the opposition which it had encountered from the press and from Glasgow commercial circles. Pointing out that the same elements were now supporting the Rebellion, Anderson exclaimed: "Mr. Beecher, if these men are of the generation of their forefathers you cannot express your complaints against the /

(1) Scotsman, 10 October 1863.

(2) Glasgow Examiner, 10 October.
the Government of this country, against the press of this
country too bitterly.....not only has the influence been
withheld that ought to have been given you, but you have
been most wickedly abused. But, Sir, your day is coming.
I hope that the day of your triumph is not far distant."

In his conclusion, the Reverend Anderson stirred up
some hissing by his denunciation of Britain coupled with
strong praise for the Federal cause. When Ward Beecher
arose, there was some further hissing mixed with cheers.
However, the American minister soon won the meeting over
again. He declared that the charge of Anglophobia levelled
against him by Confederate propaganda was 99% false; he
admitted to having occasionally criticised Britain although
he had rebuked his own government and people far more
sternly. He assured his audience that he was used to abuse
after years as an Abolitionist speaker. By this time the
gathering was cheering enthusiastically, and there was only
occasional opposition from then on.

After strongly denouncing slavery, Beecher moved on to
consider the significance of the war for the working class.
He pointed out that it was economically impossible for free
labour to mix with slavery, and gave as an example the
increasing degradation of white labour in the South. In
this /
this context he used one of the most effective Abolitionist tactics - the quoting of leading Confederates, whose ideas and aims were so different from those professed by the middle class liberal sections of the Rebel sympathisers in Scotland. Vice-President Stephens' declaration that slavery was the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy was mentioned by Beecher, as was also the reference to the Northern people as "greasy mechanics" by Governor Hamond of South Carolina.

"The workmen of Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany in all its parts, the workmen of England, Scotland and Ireland - every man that lived by the sweat of his brow on the earth was insulted by the doctrine of work which prevailed on the plantations of the South (applause). If the South should prevail in the struggle it would be a victory of a doctrine that disowns all work, for the fundamental doctrine of political economy in the South was that capital ought to own labour. What did the working men of Glasgow think of that? Capital ought to own them; South Carolina said so."

Taking up the question of why the Rebels were not allowed to "go in peace", Beecher explained Lincoln's theory of /
of irrepressible conflict between free and slave society in America. He explained that to keep slavery going at a profit and at the same time keep the poor white occupied, the Southern ruling class had to adopt a policy of expansionism and also reopen the slave trade. Therefore the latter started the war because the American people had elected "a President who, saying that there should be no more slave states, wrote the first sentence against slavery in America. (applause)."

Beecher denounced the "peculiar wickedness of affirming that slavery had nothing to do with the war....One part of the men that said that were ignorant and the other part were knaves (laughter)....Slavery was the ABC down to the lowest alphabet of the war. Slavery was the original cause and the approximate cause." The Federals preferred, declared Beecher, to settle the slavery question by peaceful and legal means, but the Confederates started hostilities "and now sat whining and crying because the North would make war." He offered to admit the bravery of the Rebels when they should return to the Union "as they will (applause and hisses; a person shouted 'Never'). Maybe you won't, but they will. (laughter and applause). They will come back. (Never', applause and hisses and a voice from the gallery: 'they are Anglo-Saxons and will never come back')" (1)

Beecher

(1) See R. Osterweis, Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South (New Haven 1949).
Beecher admitted that there were injustices in Northern society, but affirmed that whatever the evils of the North - "I say that the free institutions of the North are not as bad as the slave institutions of the South". Turning to the pro-Confederate Liberals, Beecher criticised Earl Russell's reproach to Sumner for opposing rebellion. Russell had claimed to be the child of two rebellions but Beecher declared that these had been "rebellions for freedom and not for the indiscriminate right to oppress." He held that the sending of ships and arms to the Confederates was not so much a matter of technical as of moral law, and stated that "anyone helping the Confederates or working on Confederate ships is striking a blow to forge a manacle for the hands of the slave (applause)."

Beecher's speech was not only an oratorical triumph, but a shrewd blow at the prevalent liberal argument for Confederate independence on nationalist grounds. Beecher's contention that the war was a struggle between a liberal society and a slave-holding oligarchy was also an effective retort to Brougham's pro-Confederate utterances. The success of the speech can be measured by the intensified abuse to which Beecher was subjected by the hostile section of /

(1) GES Minute Books, entry for 13 October 1863; NBDM, 14 October; Scotsman, 15 October.
of the press. The speech echoed in London where it inspired a hostile article in the London Examiner entitled "The Drum Ecclesiastic in Glasgow". According to this writer: "The amount of falsehood and cant he has contrived to put into his speech at Glasgow is truly amazing.....Mr. Beecher is called a shining light in his country, and if there be many such shining lights of the firebrand class, heaven help the poor people under guidance so diabolically fanatical."

The Glasgow Gazette raged at the American minister and termed his speech: "foul, loathsome and degrading..... contrary.....to civilization and the principles of the Christian religion, nay of ordinary humanity." The paper linked its attack on Beecher with its campaign against Baillie Govan and the temperance movement. "We have seldom seen," the Gazette declared, "a meeting provided with a more fitting chairman," and compared Beecher's desire to enforce the Union on the South with Baillie Govan's wish to enforce temperance on Glasgow drinkers:

"Just as surely as the Northern States are now slaying their brethren to enforce their opinion as to one great undivided Union, so surely would this rampant Bailie and his friends, if they had the power, slay their neighbours to compel /

(1) Article in London Examiner, reprinted in Glasgow Gazette, 17 October.
compel them to become teetotallers....There are no worse enemies of truth and freedom than those one-ideaed enthusiastic, who like a man smitten with colour blindness, cannot distinguish truth from falsehood or frenzy from wisdom—who are so encased in the clay of self-esteem and so puffed up with their own pet hobby that the pure and serene rays of truth never reach them." (1)

Brougham renewed his attack on the Emancipation Proclamation on 13 October in the course of a banquet of the Social Science Congress. He reported that he had been informed that his earlier attack on the Proclamation had aroused a great deal of opposition. Brougham then launched into a long and rather vain account of all he had done for West Indies Emancipation thirty years earlier; declaring that he opposed the use of violence against slavery, he maintained that emancipation must be accomplished peacefully and legally. He then denounced Lincoln's Proclamation as designed to encourage servile war and the extermination of the whites in the South. "When I heard of the North of America issuing a Proclamation," declared Brougham, "to emancipate the slaves I knew very well, even before they confessed /

(1) Glasgow Gazette, 17 October 1863.
confessed it, that it was not done for the sake of emancipating the slaves but for the sake of beating the whites (hear, hear)." Brougham went on in the same vein of logic to a long indignant denunciation of the Emancipation Proclamation as a highly villainous act.

On the same day, however, Professor James Rogers, a leading Cobdenite and pro-Federal, read a paper comparing the social and economic conditions of the South and the North, and showing that in all fields the North was progressing rapidly while the South was either stationary or declining. He concluded that the North "possessed all the habits, instincts, and attributes which render men or nations progressive, successful and happy."

On the following day Ward Beecher spoke at the Free Church Assembly Hall in what was one of the most memorable public demonstrations in the history of the capital. According to the Scotsman "This meeting was one of the most crowded ever held in Edinburgh. The large hall was filled to overflow long before the appointed hour of meeting and hundreds of people blocked up the passages and made vain attempts to procure admission. So closely were the people packed in

(1) Scotsman, 14 October.

(2) Ibid.
the hall and so dense were the masses that resolutely took
possession of its approaches, that Mr. Becaer, the members
of the committee, and other speakers who were to address
the meeting, could not make their way into the hall until
the passages had been cleared by the police."

The chair was taken by Duncan M'Laren and among those
on the platform were a number of leading local clergy
and three French delegates to the Social Science Congress -
Garnier Pages, Demarest (a lawyer), and Henri Martin, the
historian. M'Laren, who made the first speech, was
frequently cheered. He read a letter from Dr. Candlish
apologising for not being present, but announcing that he
(Candlish) had signed a reply to the Address of the Confed-
erate Clergy from the ministers of Scotland. He also
reported that over a thousand of the Scottish clergy had
already signed the document which denounced Southern slavery
and rejected the Confederate appeal for support. M'Laren
announced, amid cheers, that he subscribed to the address
of the Scottish ministers, which, he revealed, had been
written by Dr. Candlish himself, and a part of which would
be /

(1) Scotsman, 15 October. The Scotsman voted 4 1/3 columns
to the event - the largest for any of the meetings on Abol-
itionism or the Civil War. Other papers gave the matter
similar attention.

(2) The Reverends Lindsay Alexander, Andrew Thomson, Goold,
Johnston, and Pulsford.
be used as the resolution of the meeting against slavery. M'Laren stated that "they who held strongly the anti-slavery opinion had been blamed by many" for not speaking up against Brougham, and he went on to say that "a paper was prepared and handed around privately in the Association" to protest against Brougham's attack on the Federals. After expressing his disapproval of the protest, M'Laren asked that Beecher be given a patient hearing.

Beecher, who was received with "loud and long-continued cheers and hisses", soon managed to pacify what opposition there was.

Beecher then traced the rise of the anti-slavery movement up to the election of Lincoln, the mention of which event was loudly cheered. Beecher then traced the progress of the war, and compared the early blunders of the Federals to the blunders committed by the British in the early part of their wars. He chose the Peninsular War as a particular example, and his reference to the French defeat in that conflict provoked Demarest, who was to have addressed the meeting after Beecher, to stalk out of the hall. Beecher went on to declare that in spite of these early blunders "I think we are doing better and better at every step (loud cheers).... The North has lost many of her sons in battle, but /
but she has accepted the loss, and she is determined that every martyred son shall be represented by a hundred liberated slaves. (Loud cheering)." Beecher begged his audience to realise, therefore, that the war was not merely a sectional dispute. "This quarrel began when the Constitution was made for liberty and a policy was made for slavery (loud cheers). This is a national fight and not an accidental quarrel." As to the frequently asked question of when it would be settled, Beecher declared that it might be any time from the present to five years from then, "but one thing I know, the North is determined it shall be settled so that it never shall come up again (loud cheers)." Beecher advised his audience that if they were in a hurry to end the war they could do much to help by seeing that the Government followed a policy of neutrality; and stopped the building of Confederate ships in British ports. "You cannot," the preacher declaimed, "make the hand of slavery strong against the North; you cannot keep their faith and courage up and give them that moral support which the Times newspaper says has been given to the South, and then with any sort of consistency turn around and say 'When will you stop this war?' (loud cheers)."

After hailing Russell's Blairgowrie declaration as a major step toward better understanding between Britain and America
America, Beecher turned to Russell's earlier statement that the North was fighting for empire. "You know," Beecher declared, "that the North has always been averse to the acquisition of territory; they have always held the doctrine that a little farm well cultivated was better than a large farm slighted." Asserting that it was the Southern ruling class which was responsible for American aggrandizement in the past, Beecher went on to say: "When, therefore, Lord Russell talked of the war being on one hand a struggle for the acquisition of territory, he mistook the policy of the North; unless he means we are striving to get back the territory that belonged to the Union. We have a right to get back our own. I would like to see the man's face here who would say it was patriotism to sit still while his lawful territory was being taken from him and never raise a hand in defence of his rights. If it is your ideal of patriotism that people should sit still under such circumstances, it is not mine."

Taking up Russell's statement that the South was fighting for independence, Beecher pointed out that the Confederates, in forming their government, had taken over the American Constitution, with only one major change - the addition of a clause perpetuating slavery. Comparing the Confederacy with /
with the Bourbon despotism of Naples, Beecher asserted
"you never saw an oppressing nation that did not want to
be independent; and the independence the South wants is
the independence to buy and sell human beings."

Beecher went on to call for more wholehearted support
for the Federals from Scottish Christians and Liberals.
Maintaining that the Federals were fighting not only for
Abolition, but also for free institutions all over the
world, the minister went on: "It is just because we care
a good deal about you that we wish your sympathy. If we
did not care for you, your papers might fulminate and your
messages be as cold as icicles....You ought to love us;
you ought to sympathise with us; and we ought to revere
the memory of your fathers (cheers)."

Denying accusations that the Federals were attempting
to exterminate the white Southerners for the sake of the
Negroes, Beecher maintained that they were fighting for
all mankind, white as well as black. "The Union, however,
is good for nothing, but except it serve the purpose for
which it was ordained – that of liberty; and if this Union
of America means liberty, I am for the Union; but if it is
a mere pretence and a snare for tyranny, then I am against
it. I am for everything that means liberty and against
everything /
everything that means slavery (loud cheers)."

In reply to accusations that the North was insincere on the slavery question, Beecher described the anti-slavery developments since the Republican victory, and referred to the abolition of slavery in Washington, in the territories, in the South and to the preparations for emancipation in the border states. Declaring that he was often asked what the basis for reconstruction of the Union would be, Beecher stated: "I would say that we would desire to reconstruct it just as our fathers originally founded it. I lately received a letter from a friend in America who writes that he has just come back from Washington from an interview with President Lincoln, who said to my friend that he was not going to urge colonisation any more. The President added 'Tell your anti-slavery friends that I shall come out all right. I am not going to bring in one of the States that rebelled except on the ground of emancipation' (cheers and hisses). Let me just tell you here that Abraham Lincoln is slow but he is sure (cheers). A hundred oxen will not put his foot down when he is not prepared to put it down and ten thousand will not pull it up when he has once put it down (laughter and loud cheers)."

Another /
Another important point which Beecher stressed was the fact that the Northern economy, far from being ruined by the war, had experienced an unprecedented prosperity. Countering the propaganda of the pro-Confederate panic mongers, he assured his audience that the American Government would pay the interest on its war debts as readily as the British Government paid the interest on its national debt—a statement which was loudly cheered. He concluded by urging closer ties between Britain and America and the end of ill-will on both sides. He was loudly cheered at the conclusion of the speech.

The Reverend Alexander then moved the resolution from the address of the Scottish ministers to the effect: "That this meeting most earnestly and emphatically protest against American slavery in all its ramifications as a system that treats immortal and redeemed human beings as goods and chattels, which denies them the rights of marriage and the home, which consigns them to ignorance of the first rudiments of education, and exposes them to the outrages of lust and passion, and that this meeting is therefore of the opinion that it should be totally abolished; and that further, this meeting rejoicing in the progress which has already been made in America towards this end desires to encourage /
encourage with their cordial sympathy the earnest Abolitionists in that country in the efforts they are making." The motion was seconded by the Reverend Dr. George Johnstone (1) and carried by a show of hands.

The Scotsman replied to Beecher's speech with a long leader denouncing the American minister, Lincoln, and the Federals in general. It informed Beecher that he was on a "superfluous errand" - Britons did not need to be preached to about Abolition since they had accepted it a generation before. It asserted that Beecher had failed to identify the Abolitionist cause with that of the Union, and reiterated that the Federals were not fighting for Abolition and attempted to prove that the war was only to preserve the Union and Constitution, which supported slavery, and that the Federals were therefore fighting for slavery. Following this line of argument still further the paper declared that the Federals were worse than the Confederates in respect to slavery, and came to the curious conclusion that Beecher, his sister, and Lincoln were pro-slavery, and that the best hope for Abolition would be an independent Confederacy.

Another facet of the campaign against Ward Beecher was an /

(1) Scotsman, 15 October 1863.

(2) Ibid, 16 October 1863.
an attempt to cast doubts on his honesty in financial matters. One enquirer asked what Beecher and Mrs. Stowe had done with the funds they had collected in Scotland and England during their visit in 1853, and claimed that no public statement had been made concerning the disposal of the money, while "these advocates of freedom were living in comfort and affluence". (1)

Another writer attacked Beecher's argument for negro freedom as hypocritical, since there was discrimination in the North, so that the North could not therefore be fighting for negro liberty. The writer went on to enquire: "Are the working men of Edinburgh who cheered Mr. Beecher willing to accept negro liberty for themselves? And if not do they think it good enough for other working men?" (2)

At the same time the Reverend Gilfillan joined in the fray by preaching a sermon defending Brougham's pro-Confederate stand at the Social Science Congress and attacking Beecher. The sermon was given prominence in the Glasgow Sentinel. The Scotsman also came to the defence of Brougham. "It is perhaps scarcely worth while to notice in /

(1) Courant, 10 October - letter signed "One of Your Readers".
(2) Courant, 17 October 1863 - letter signed "W.W."
(3) Glasgow Sentinel, 18 October.
in passing the preposterous accusation that Lord Brougham has deserted the cause of negro emancipation because he does not believe all that Mr. Ward Beecher says or all that Mr. President Lincoln does." (1)

Ward Beecher's meetings at the Exeter Hall in London aroused further attacks from the Scottish Tories. The Courant declared: "The orator was received with much applause by a large and miscellaneous audience of uncultivated people .... a mass of illiterate dissenting dullness". The article declared that the Federals had no right to ask for British assistance and that they were only using anti-slavery as a political weapon. "Think what the South must have had to bear, before separating from a society in which such brutal vulgarians as this could rise to opulence by denouncing it. And think what a society that must be where men like Beecher enjoy the kind of consideration that England pays to her Wilberforces, Alfoards, Whateleys, Coplestons, or Kebles! The Beecherian exhibition of the last few weeks has been no doubt disgusting; but we are also inclined to think that it will have proved to have been very beneficial to our institutions." (2)

The comments of the Liberal N.B. Daily Mail were no less /

(1) Scotsman, 19 October.
(2) Courant, 23 October 1863.
less severe than those in the Tory press. The Mail main-
tained that Beecher had been completely overthrown by a (1)
heckler, who had asked the minister whether the North
was fighting for the old Constitution which sanctioned
slavery, or for a new one in which case the Confederates
could not be considered rebels.

The Mail described Beecher as "conceited, coarse,
consequential, and inconsequent," and was anxious to portray
him as a ridiculous figure: "The awesome way in which the
Reverend William Anderson spoke the name and fame of 'the
philanthropist, divine, and orator' who was to address the
meeting was positively ludicrous. Mr. Beecher is no doubt
an American celebrity, but so is Thom Thumb; and Thom
Thumb's baby, we have no doubt, will 'draw' better than
either his papa or our popular pastor.....He is mistaken,
however, in fancying that he is hated in Britain. Why
should we hate him? Who is he to hate? Hatred is reserved
for those potent to do us harm."

The Mail devoted considerable space to an attempt to
discredit Beecher's appeal to labour. It argued that there
were also class distinctions in the North and that the appeal
was /

(1) David MacRae of Braeside House.
was in any case irrelevant: "The question is—have a
certain number of partners the right to murder the other
partners if they will not consent to remain in the partner-
ship? How the recusant partners look upon manual labour
has nothing to do with the controversy." (1)

"The public opinion of Great Britain, however, declares
that slavery is not so bad a system as to justify men who
profess to call themselves Christians in exterminating
slaveholders of their own blood and giving up the wives and
children of these slaveholders to the lust of the negroes.
The people of this country who know least about slavery are
those amongst whom Mr. Beecher is most likely to find
friends—those too ignorant or too bigoted to read books
which show that Southern planters are often humane men and
to understand how difficult it is to devise a remedy for a
wrong which it is easy to denounce. The reason why a
reaction against philanthropy has set in is because so many
philanthropists are visionary fools."

The Mail's attack on Beecher was a part of its general
reaction against philanthropy at this time. It was attack-
ing not only the Abolitionists but also the Free Church
leaders /

(1) The business imagery here is interesting, and reflects
the thinking of the mercantile and industrialist circle in
Glasgow for which the paper was the spokesman.
leaders, the Reverend MacLauchlan and Dr. Begg, who were opposing the Highland Clearances. The Mail heartily supported the clearances and ridiculed the Free Church divines for being foolishly sentimental over the crofters. Similarly, the proposals of Cobden and Bright for extending the franchise to agricultural workers were described by the Mail as an incitement to "agrarian outrage". Neither was the Mail pleased with what it saw of the local working class; the paper advised the workers to cease being "black-guardish" and to stop exhibiting "filthy phrases, filthy habits, and a generally defiant manner when they chance to encounter those who have clean faces and ungreasy coats."

This apparent desertion of Radical principles can perhaps be better understood when certain aspects of the origins of the Mail are considered. The paper had originally been established as the organ of the "committee of Reciprocity and Industrial Association", an organisation formed by George Troup to oppose free trade, to strengthen and develop the colonies and federate them with Britain, and to introduce free trade between Britain and the colonies. The Committee /

(1) e.g., NBDM, 10 October 1863.
(2) Ibid, 6 October.
Committee, which was composed of leading bankers, merchants, and shipbuilders of Glasgow, supported in fact an early form of Liberal Imperialism, and argued that Empire free trade and protection were necessary to ward off German and American competition and to resist high tariff policies in America and other countries. Although the Committee as such was not openly active at the time of the Civil War, nevertheless it is apparent that these business circles in Glasgow wished to engage in the economic penetration of the South and to wrest from the capitalists of the North the control of the markets and raw materials of the South. The shipbuilders for instance were already profiting immensely from the building of warships and blockade runners for the Confederates and foresaw a continuance of this relationship after the South had become independent. Among the leading Glasgow business men who had composed the original Committee backing the Mail and who were now active in favour of the Confederacy were James Hannan, James Fleming, and Hugh Tennent.

(1) See G. E. Troup, Life of George Troup, Journalist, Edinburgh, 1881; W. H. Marwick, "George Troup," Scottish Educational Journal, XVII, 322-3 (March 16, 1934); Hannan was associated with the large firm of Henry Monteith, the calico printers of Blantyre. (Glasgow Gazette, 19 September, 1863).
The new apologetic attitude toward slavery manifested in the Mail thus appears to represent an attempt on the part of these business circles to accommodate themselves to the "domestic institutions" of their new customers in the South. At the same time the hostile attitude toward the workers is a reflection of the heightened class struggle of those years with the resurgence of the trade unions, and the wave of strikes which accompanied it.

Hostility toward the workers was linked in the pages of the Mail with concern over the growing popularity of Lincoln with the working people on both sides of the Atlantic. "History tells us," observed the paper, "that more than once or twice democracy has run to seed in despotism.....The people who would not have a king to rule them now bow down to a rail splitter.....President Lincoln is a man who has no moral or mental power to make up for his lack of culture. As to the prate about his 'honesty', that virtue, we fear must be very scarce in the Federal States when so much fuss is /

(1) See Webb, loc.cit.; G. D. H. Cole, "British Trade Unionism in the Third Quarter of the Nineteenth Century", International Review of Social History, (Amsterdam), II, 1-28, (1937); references in Glasgow Consular Correspondence for the period; also see chapter on "Clydeside and the War at Sea". The shipbuilders, for instance, were plagued by a wave of strikes - the demand for labour resulting from the expansion of the industry due to the Civil War, greatly strengthened the hand of the unions. The same pattern is observed in the mining industry. The Mail was referred to by other Glasgow papers as the organ of the shipbuilders, and it strongly defended those who were building warships and blockade runners for the Confederates.
is made about a man simply because he does not swindle." (1)
The *Mail* deplored the applause which Beecher elicited for
Lincoln at his meeting of 20 October in the Exeter Hall:
"of course Mr. Beecher is at liberty to worship his ungainly
idol with vain repetitions as the heathens do; but were
not the mischief which President Lincoln has done so serious,
it would be droll to find a number of average Londoners
joining in the idolatry. People on this side of the water
must be sadly hard up for a hero when they make one of
'Honest Abe'."

Thus the *Mail's* support for the Rebels coincides with
a general retreat from its former position of advanced
Liberalism. Sympathy with the Southern slaveholder went
hand in hand with support for the Highland landlord, as well
as strong opposition to such churchmen as Beecher and Begg
who gave public support to the cause of the slave or the
crofter. It anticipates the swing to the political
Right made by that more famous Liberal Imperialist, Joseph
Chamberlain, a generation later.

At the same time the *Gazette* was emphasising the Whig
doctrine /

(1) NBDM, 5 October 1863.
(2) Ibid, 23 October.
(3) See Ibid, 21 and 26 October.
doctrine of opposition to personal rule in its criticism of American affairs. The Russian fleet had just paid a memorable goodwill visit to America, and the Gazette devoted a large part of its 24 October issue to drawing a comparison between Russia and the United States. This was a plausible line, for Russia was anathema to the Scottish people at this time because of her suppression of the Polish rising. The Gazette published a poem consisting of an imaginary dialogue between Lincoln and the Czar, in which the two figures try to outdo each other in cruelty and oppression. A similar theme is introduced in an article entitled "Russian Civilization" occasioned by the reception given in New York for the Russian naval officers. In other issues the Gazette compared Poland with the South and expanded on the subject of Russo-American co-operation, a development which had caused a flurry of anxiety throughout Britain. Other points which Czarism and Republicanism were asserted to have in common were suppression of civil liberties, militarism, and emancipation - the latter for the purpose of providing larger armies.

Even /

(1) Glasgow Gazette, 24 October.

(2) It will be remembered that Alexander II's emancipation of the serfs occurred almost simultaneously with Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves in America.
Even after Beecher had returned to America we find the Gazette deploring the fact that the minister had "been cheered so lustily by the rabble got together by the Yankee societies," and publishing the following curious verse "by a gentleman who lived long in America":

"Yankee parsons now cut a poor pitiful figure
Pretending a love they don't feel for the nigger.
With hatred toward all of our own aristocracy
They tell their 'dear people' in terms of hypocrisy.
How the slaves are 'their brethren' and must be set free,
As if 'twere the wish of every Yankee.
So they sent to this country one Henry Ward Beecher,
Who was known in the land as a great model preacher,
With long-sounding words and with features of brass
He convinced the whole nation he was but an ass.
He endeavoured to show till 'twas clear as the mud,
It was God's holy law they should deluge with blood
The Confederate States and then pocket the spoil
As reward for their greed, their vexation, their toil.
Then England they'd wallop and France they'd subdue
Annex Canada first and then Mexico too.
Hurrah then for bounce and for brag and for bluster! (2)
Under England's proud flag it will never pass muster."

The extensive newspaper correspondence which followed Beecher's visit to Scotland was largely a reiteration of arguments already mentioned. Rebel sympathisers argued along liberal-nationalist lines; supporters of the Federals based their contention on anti-slavery and democratic arguments. The interpretation of the American Constitution continued /

(1) Glasgow Gazette, 7 November.
(2) Ibid.
continued to be a central point of controversy. One critic of Beecher elaborated on the supposed parallel between Russia and America. The United States was declared to be "in the hands of a dictator ruling as absolutely as the Czar, his warm friend and ally....To secure the sympathy, if not the actual support of the Polish oppressor the President is doing what he can to assimilate the institutions of his country to those of the most barbarous and uncivilised country in Europe." (1)

Several Americans took part in the debate on one side or the other, and there were two letters by an escaped slave who was now a factory worker in Glasgow. Defending Beecher and criticising the racialist arguments in favour of slavery, he argued that the large, self-supporting free negro population in the North proved that negroes did not have to be kept in slavery in order to accomplish productive work. He maintained that the negroes in the South would stay there as free workers once the whip and auction block were abolished. (2)

The Glasgow Examiner, the organ of evangelical Protestantism on Clydeside, although disagreeing in certain respects with /

(1) NBDM, 1 December 1863.
(2) Ibid, 31 and 26 October.
with Beecher, defended him from the exaggerated abuse of the pro-Confederate press. It denied Beecher's contention that there was a distinctly pro-slavery sentiment in Britain and went on to say that "hatred of slavery is not wholly inconsistent with some degree of respect for a brave people struggling against heavy odds for freedom from mob rule."

It held that there had been no reason for Britain to support the Federals from the first since the Federals had not originally been fighting for emancipation and had only introduced it as a "coercive measure". It agreed, however, that Abolitionist sentiment was now predominate in the North, and went on to pay tribute to Beecher's sincerity as an Abolitionist and to support his contention that it was impossible to draw a boundary between a free and a slave society in America.

A writer of a weekly column in the Examiner praised Beecher's work in improving relations between Britain and America, and jokingly commended the minister for his conversion of the Glasgow Quakers to support for the American war effort. This was evidently a partisan thrust in the old feud between the rival Abolitionist groups in Glasgow. This writer was opposed to Garrison and closely associated with /

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 17 October 1863.
with the New Association, which remained neutral in regard to the Civil War.

A later article in the Examiner presented a more vigorous defence of Beecher: "With few exceptions the leading papers have branded Mr. Beecher as being prompted by the worst of motives and have denounced his advocacy of the North as the work of Satan....It is scarcely fair to ignore the many weighty truths which they (Beecher's speeches) contain, still less can it be considered just or gentlemanly to meet arguments by gross vituperation and abuse. If Henry Ward Beecher is the brainless personage which some of the papers make him out to be, there was no occasion to take any notice of his proceedings. The universal notice which Mr. Beecher's addresses attracted is the best proof of his ability."

Estimates of the importance of Beecher's tour of Britain have varied. His visit to Scotland was certainly one of the major events of the year in that country, and he aroused a vast amount of interest. He helped to focus /

(1) loc.cit.; see also the same writer's attack on the American Garrisonians in the 27 November issue.

(2) E. D. Adams, Great Britain, and the American Civil War, II, 154. Adams holds that the influence of Beecher's visit has been greatly exaggerated. However, he (Adams) was working primarily with the newly opened diplomatic archives of the Civil War period and, probably as a result of the latter puts more emphasis on domestic developments in Britain than on Anglo-American diplomatic relations. Jordan and Pratt hold that Beecher's visit had great influence, op.cit., p.217.
focus the pro-Federal feeling which had its origin in the anti-slavery movement and was greatly intensified and extended by its Emancipation Proclamation. His emphasis on British-American friendship also did much to end the bitterness left over from the Trent affair. (1)

The reverses suffered during the early autumn by the Federal army in eastern Tennessee, revived the hopes of the Confederate sympathisers in Scotland. (2) The Tories brought forward again, for the first time since Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the argument that the American Civil War had refuted Radical democracy. The Courant declared: "The moral aspects of the Civil War in America have for ourselves a value that can hardly be overestimated. The failure of democracy in that country has proved a severe blow to radicalism in our own. We are already testing the wholesome fruits of that lesson in the revival of Conservative feeling which is daily becoming more and more manifest throughout the land.....Useful as the example of the American catastrophe has been to ourselves - by silencing the voices and refuting the arguments of our Radical agitators - it has done us even greater service by its action on popular /

(1) e.g., see Glasgow Gazette, 7 November 1863; also Examiner, October, passim - esp. 31 October.

(2) e.g., see Courant, 3 October.
popular feeling and opinion in our colonies." At the same time Underwood reported to Seward that support for the Confederates, which had been damped down by the Federal victories in mid-summer, "had leaped, however, into life on the first reception of the news of the check to Rosecrans and stands ever ready to welcome any misfortune to the cause or armies of the Union." (2)

Shortly after Lord Brougham had made his pro-Confederate speech at the Social Science Congress, Eliza Wigham sent him a copy of her work, The Anti-Slavery Cause in America. Brougham replied thanking her for the book and expressing agreement with its anti-slavery principles. However, he went on to denounce the Federals for fighting not for Abolition but for the reconquest of the South. He asserted that the Confederates were fighting for independence and that slavery should never be abolished by force but by law. (3) Eliza Wigham replied in an open letter, making the point that the Confederates seceded for the sole purpose of consolidating and protecting slavery. She pointed out that Lincoln at the time of his election had only wished to prevent /

(1) Courant, 2 October, 1863.
(2) Underwood-Seward, 9 October.
(3) Scotsman, 4 November.
prevent the extension of slavery to the Western territories, and she quoted Vice-President Stephens of the Richmond Government to the effect that slavery had been the reason of secession. The Confederates were therefore not fighting for independence, except in the sense of independence to oppress and exploit the slaves. The Federals were not fighting expressly for emancipation (although many individuals among them were) and therefore could not be accused of hypocrisy on the question. She maintained that emancipation had been forced to the surface and was now advancing rapidly; and she expressed her conviction that the days of slavery were now numbered. She declared that Britain should exercise her influence to aid the cause of Abolition, since peace without Abolition would be "only a hollow and deceitful truce."

Early in November the reply of the Scottish clergy to the Address of the Confederate clergy was published. The document, signed by 1,000 Scottish ministers, expressed the "deep grief, alarm, and indignation" with which the signatories had received the plea for slavery by the Confederates. The ministers referred to the fact that the Confederate clergy/ 

(1) Scotsman, 11 November 1863.
clergy not only excused slavery but declared that it was the basis of the formation of the Confederacy: and they protested emphatically against the system as demoralising and degrading. They expressed the hope that the Confederate clergy would take up a position on slavery more in accord with Christianity, and expressed "in the strongest possible terms" their own abhorrence of the system. It will be seen again here that the actual expressions of the Confederates themselves concerning their aims in regard to slavery went a long way toward nullifying the liberal-nationalist arguments put forward by certain politicians and publications in Scotland.

Meanwhile, much of the effort of the pro-Federal movement in Scotland during November was directed to bringing further pressure to bear on the Government to prevent the departure of Confederate warships - and particularly to halt the Pampero, the Rebel cruiser which was making ready to sail from Glasgow. These activities are dealt with fully in another chapter, but it is important to note that they were an integral part of the work of the pro-Federal movement. Both the old Glasgow Emancipation Society (2) and the newly /

(1) Courant, 5 November.

(2) GES Minute Books, entry for 4 November.
newly formed Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society sent memorials to the Foreign Office calling for the arrest of the Pampero. The Caledonian Mercury also kept the matter of the warships before the attention of the Government and public. On 11 November, for instance, the paper printed a long leader protesting against the fact that the Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court had directed a verdict of acquittal in favour of the owners of the Alexandra, one of the Confederate warships detained by Russell in Liverpool. The Chief Baron finally granted permission for a new trial before the Court of Appeal. The Mercury maintained that the wave of popular feeling against the Chief Baron's narrow interpretation of the Foreign Enlistment Act in the first trial had forced him to grant permission for the second one. The paper pointed out that the evidence showed overwhelmingly that the vessel was intended as a Confederate warship and argued in favour of a broader interpretation of the law, based upon the question of intent as opposed to the Baron's contention that the ship could legally leave the port as long as she were not actually armed. The Mercury asserted that if Confederate warships continued to sail from British ports it would lead to war with America, and went on to warn that the latter event would lead to a popular revolution against / (1) F.O.archives, "Case of the Pampero", F.O.-Treasury, 23 Nov. (transmitting copy of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society memorial, which was sent on 9 November.)
against the Government.

After the failure of the efforts of Roebuck and his associates to persuade Parliament to call for the recognition of the Richmond Government, the leaders of the pro-Confederate party turned to a policy of intensive popular agitation in favour of recognition. This new tactic was dictated, undoubtedly, by the concern aroused among the Rebel sympathisers over the success of the agitation by their opponents, who had already succeeded in inducing the Government to veer away from its pro-Confederate policy toward one of stricter neutrality.

In the spring of 1863 Spence had already organised a pro-Confederate club in Glasgow, which collected large sums to back the drive for recognition from local Rebel sympathisers, war-profiteers, and blockade running magnates - such as Alexander Collie. In November the pro-Confederate press in Scotland raised the recognition cry again. On 5 November, for instance, the Courant declared that the Rebels held the military advantage; it pointed to the Confederate victory at Chickamauga and predicted that Lee would /

(1) Caledonian Mercury, 11 November 1863.
(2) E. D. Adams, op.cit., II, 68; Owsley, op.cit., 191-2.
(3) See chapter on "Clydeside and the War at Sea."
would shortly win another victory in the East. The paper again quoted Gladstone's Newcastle speech in which the Confederacy was described as a nation, and urged that recognition would have to come sooner or later. Averring that the North was in the hands of a war-crazy mob, the Tory organ went on to declare: "Nobody, indeed, now expects the war will end before the close of Mr. Lincoln's presidency, and the possibility that he may be re-elected to carry it on is quite sufficiently strong to alarm those who are anxious for the peace of the world." The Courant concluded by accusing Russell of cowardice in seizing the rams and for publicly admitting that the Alabama was an illegal vessel.

At the end of October, the Scottish pro-Confederates scored a local success by seizing control of a meeting called in Ayr to demonstrate in favour of neutrality. According to the Glasgow Gazette, "the room was crowded, principally by working men." The Provost was in the Chair, and on the platform were several local notables and clergymen and also "an English minister" (probably the Reverend Massie). A Colonel Russell moved a resolution praising Earl /

(1) Courant, 5 November 1863.

(2) Glasgow Gazette, 31 October. Others on the platform were Colonel Shaw and the Reverend Carey.
Earl Russell for his new policy of stricter neutrality enunciated at Blairgowrie. The resolution was passed unanimously, and the meeting agreed to forward it to Earl Russell. At this point the pro-Confederates seized control of the meeting and Mr. R. Bone, a saddler, moved an amendment attacking the Blairgowrie declaration and asserting "that there was a great majority of the inhabitants of the three kingdoms in favour of the South in their present glorious struggle against such tremendous odds for independence." Colonel Shaw's reply was shouted down and the resolution was passed by a two to one majority. According to the Gazette, "The blank looks of amazement among the admirers of Earl Russell and his 'neutrality' policy were truly laughable." At the conclusion of the meeting three cheers were given for Bone and three for the Southern states.

On 16 November a meeting in Edinburgh was addressed by Dr. Joseph M'Dowell, Confederate Surgeon-general for the State of Missouri, and chief medical inspector of the camps and hospitals of the Confederacy. An admission charge of a shilling was levied, evidently to keep out the radical lower orders. There was no chairman and only a small attendance /

(1) Glasgow Gazette, 31 October 1863.
attendance — consisting to a large extent, as it turned out, of Federal sympathisers, who persistently challenged the statements of the Rebel emissary.

M'Dowell started by proclaiming the right of the South to secede because of the Northern tariff policy and general oppression of the South. After discoursing at length on the latter he took up the slavery question and declared that a distinction existed between whites and negroes. At this point he was interrupted by Mr. Grant, an Abolitionist coffee house keeper, who displayed a large engraving showing a negro who had been badly flogged. This was the signal for an outburst which for a time brought the meeting to a complete halt. Order was finally restored, only to collapse again almost immediately when the speaker asserted that he would not object to going to Heaven with slaveholders because it would include Washington, Jefferson, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. After a further demonstration by the pro-Federals, M'Dowell went on to say that Lincoln's election "had been a fraud upon the South (loud cheers and hisses, and a voice 'Fraud! — What do ye mean?')." The speaker answered that Lincoln had promised not to interfere with slavery in the South. After the outbreak of Secession, the speaker asserted /
asserted that Lincoln had promised the Border States that if they remained loyal "they might hold their property" (cries of 'shame', hisses, cheers, and a voice: 'Property! - bonny property - the right to enslave the blacks!'').

He went on to say that not until after Bull Run had Lincoln begun to think of emancipation. Had President Lincoln, M'Dowell went on, told the nation that his object in attaining to the high position to which he was promoted was to disturb the domestic institutions of the South (Oh, oh, 'fine institutions', 'What about the poor blacks?' and interruption) - had he done so he would never have been elected (loud cheers, and hisses).... The very first act of Mr. Lincoln was, in absence of proper authority granted by the Constitution, to declare war and call an army of 71,000 men into the field (a voice: 'Did he fire the first gun at Sumter?'). Not satisfied with this even, Mr. Lincoln took from the people the right of being tried by their peers (voices: 'the black men - the negroes - who were their peers?'). It was supposed by some that the South would yield, but this would only occur when there was not a man left alive (loud and prolonged cheers, hisses, and cries of 'Oh, oh!'). Many a similar part of the land had been made desolate /
desolate by the war, but the spirit of the South had not
flagged (Mr. Grant: 'The desolation of the land is a judge-
ment of God upon slavery'). That might be so, but for
himself, he thought the devil had had some hand in it (loud
cheers, and a voice: 'You are a bold man to come to Edin-
burgh to advocate such a cause as you are doing'). The
South did not ask this country for an acknowledgment of its
independence (a voice: 'You will never get that— you will
get it when you abolish slavery, and not till then'; cheer;
hisses, and interruption). The South had sent an ambassadc
to England, and President Davis has seen fit to ask him to
leave—('And high time he did so'). They had sent another
to France, and he had not been acknowledged; but was that
any reason why they should not compel their enemies to
acknowledge their independence? ('Oh, oh!', 'Whew', cheer;
hisses and uproar). He would tell them that the South had
the power to fight out their independence and that, too,
without asking aid from anybody (renewed cheers and hisses).

After further disturbance, Professor Simpson asked the
hecklers to allow the speaker to continue but order was onl;
restored for a brief period. Every sentence was challenged
by Abolitionist hecklers, and the commotion became general
when Mr. Grant produced his engraving again. In the end
M'Dowell gave up the attempt to continue, and left the
hall /
hall.

Two days later the Federal sympathisers in Edinburgh met to form the Edinburgh Union and Emancipation Society. The chair was taken by Peter Redford Scott, and the chief speaker was Peter Sinclair, now the authorised agent of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society, as well as of the American Emigrant Company. Sinclair described the origins of the former in the Lancashire working class and went on to assert that "in such towns as Paisley and Glasgow in Scotland, the great mass of the working classes were thoroughly with them. When the working man took this question in hand, they should soon have the middle and upper classes on their side also." In the course of his speech Sinclair referred to the Pampero, which he described as "the counterpart of the Alabama," and declared, "They knew that the Confederate agents who had ordered it were in hiding in Glasgow, and they knew that it was being built for the Confederates and no other body. He came to ask them to prevent it leaving the Clyde...." At the end of the meeting a committee was appointed to draw up a remonstrance on the Pampero to be sent to the Foreign Office.

On /

(1) Scotsman, 17 November 1863; see also Caledonian Mercury 17 November.

(2) Cal. Mer., 18 November 1863.
On 17th November the first meeting of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society was held in the Cobden Temperance Hotel and was addressed by the Reverend Dr. Massie, recently returned from the United States, where he had presented the anti-slavery address signed by four thousand Scottish, English, and French ministers. The chairman, David Smith, gave a Radical tone to the meeting by declaring that the cause of the Federals was the cause of the working man, and that republicanism was the best form of government, although he affirmed his personal loyalty to the Queen.

The Examiner's weekly columnist, who was connected with the New Anti-Slavery Association, gave out that the Union and Emancipation Society was led by nobodies and also expressed fears that it was dangerously extremist. Massie was criticised for not working through the older and more reputable groups, to which, the writer suggested, the new body was intended as a rival. However, James Stevenson, secretary of the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society, informed the Examiner that they were not in opposition to the older societies and they had the support of William Smeal and other Abolitionists in both camps. Evidently there /

(1) Massie, op.cit.
there was still not complete harmony between rival sections of the anti-slavery movement, for Stevenson urged that:

"If all our anti-slavery folks would lay aside any little feeling which had neither origin in nor connection with the present aspect of the question, and make a decided stand for God and humanity, they would do much towards precipitating the downfall of that detestable system which has so long been the curse of the American Continent." (1) Here again we notice the tendency for the pro-Federal movement to be led by new people, often with extreme Radical leanings, while the veteran Abolitionists divided on the war - a few, like Brougham, supporting the Confederates, some supporting emancipation but opposing the effort to restore the Union, and many like William Smeal joining actively in the pro-Federal movement.

Lord Brougham's argument that the South was threatened with "extermination" was taken up by David Smith, another member of the New Anti-Slavery Association, who declared: "Lord Brougham has hit the nail on the head when he said that the celebrated proclamation of President Lincoln was less out of love for the slave than out of hatred to their masters". Not all in the New Anti-Slavery Association were of /

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 28 November.
of this mind, however. The Reverend David Russell of the U.P. Church, declared his personal support for the Federals, although agreeing that the Association as a body should remain neutral. After Smith had carried through a resolution declaring for neutrality in regard to the war, the Reverend Russell introduced and carried through a resolution expressing horror of slavery as being opposed to divine law and human feeling. Russell referred to an article in the December issue of Good Words, describing examples of Confederate cruelty to the slaves, which had been discovered by the advancing Federal armies and had contributed to the now prevailing Abolitionist sentiment in the Northern states. The Association finally agreed to spend their funds to aid the ex-slaves in Canada.

During the following weeks the Civil War continued to be one of the chief topics of interest throughout Scotland. R. S. Aytoun, M.P. for Kirkcaldy, spoke at length on the subject to his constituents, describing the war as the most "engrossing" event going on. He called for strict neutrality on the part of the Government and expressed the opinion that this was the policy favoured by the great majority in the /

(1) Good Words, December 1863.
(2) Examiner, 5 December 1863.
the country - with minorities supporting the Federals and Confederates, respectively. He also expressed the belief that peace in America would only come about through separation. Admitting that the Alabama had violated the law, he defended the policy of the Government seizing of the Confederates rams. On the 23rd Murray Dunlop, M.P., declared at Greenock that whereas in the previous year he had thought that the Confederates would win, he now believed in the inevitable victory of the Federals. He denounced the building of Confederate warships in British ports as being illegal, a breach of neutrality, and likely to lead to war. He predicted that the victory of the Federals would lead to the abolition of slavery, and that all lovers of freedom should therefore rejoice. The Courant tried to interpret Dunlop's references to the war as showing that he did not align himself with the pro-Federal Radicals. "If we understand him rightly," declared the Tory organ, "he does not assert that the South are fighting for slavery in the sense in which these words are used by Mr. Cobden.

He /

(1) Scotsman, 3 November. The speech was made on 2 November.
(2) Scotsman, 24 November; Glasgow Sentinel, 28 November.
He steers clear, too, of the horrible doctrine that the possession of slaves disqualifies brave and civilised men for the enjoyment of political and national rights—an argument which would have been fatal to the generation of Scotsman led by Bruce and Wallace. Such doctrines should be left to the men of Manchester, who were quite willing to support slavery by buying Southern cotton while they could, and who now declaim against the South, not in the cause of Freedom but of Radicalism; it is the blow struck at the respectability of Democracy which rouses in these orators their sympathy with the negro, on whose forced labour they once fattened and grew rich."

In Dundee, the Reverend Gilfillan continued to comment at length on the Civil War. In a sermon on November 25 he predicted that the two main outcomes of the war would be the Abolition of slavery and the end of the Union. He declared that the South could not be forced back; "As soon shall Britain and the United States become as they were a generation ago—one body—as soon shall Greece and Turkey be again one nation." He attacked the idea of reuniting the South with the North, and maintained that the former had /

(1) Courant, 26 November 1863.
had established its independence. Although uncertain of the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation, he asserted that slavery was doomed, and went on to declare, in rhetoric typical of the "Spasmodic School": "I glory in the fact that on all the winds of the West that proclamation has gone forth, like the great blast of a jubilee trumpet, startling the iron earth and the brazen heaven of dollar-deifying America — lighting up joy in many a faded eye and creating hope in many a forlorn African heart — causing the tyrants of Richmond to tremble and the psalms of Stonewall Jackson to quaver and sink in the midst of their blasphemous music." However, he expressed doubt that the proclamation would of itself effect Emancipation, and expressed the fear that the slaveholders would attempt to extend their system over California, Mexico, and other territories. However, he asserted that Britain and France would finally unite to stop such a development, and that in the meantime Northern support for fugitive slaves would undermine slavery.

The biggest effort at mass agitation by the Scottish pro-Confederates was made at a public meeting addressed by James Spence in the Glasgow City Hall on 26 November. One of the uses to which Spence put the money raised from influential

(1) See Works of George Gilfillan, preface.
(2) Scotsman, 26 November.
influential, pro-Confederate Glaswegians, was to pack the
meeting with "young men of energy with a taste for agitation but little money." (1) Many of the leading Glasgow business men were also present to support Spence.

However, the pro-Federal forces were not idle. Before the meeting took place, Glasgow had been covered with posters attacking Spence and giving, in large type, some racialist and pro-slavery quotations from his book and speeches. None of the city's ministers shared the platform with Spence and Peter Blackburn, the Tory M.P. for Stirling, returned the ticket sent to him, declaring that his sympathies were with the Federals. (3) From the outset of the meeting, Spence ran into considerable opposition, in spite of his having packed the hall with his supporters. Councillor Moir presented the chairman, James Hannan, with a protest that the gathering had no right to speak as a public meeting of /

(1) Owsley, op.cit., 192, quoting a letter written by Spence.
(2) Scotsman, 27 November.
(3) Glasgow Examiner, 28 November 1863.
(4) Hannan had been a founding member of George Troup's "Committee of Reciprocity and Industrial Association", which had established the North British Daily Mail as a Liberal-Imperialist-Protectionist organ in 1849. Hannan and his associates were at the latter date in touch with W. S. Lindsay, the English shipping magnate and subsequently the leader of the extreme pro-Confederate party in Parliament. (Troup, op.cit., pp. 90 et seq.) The pro-Confederate Glasgow Gazette, in the autumn of 1863, supported Hannan for Lord Provost of Glasgow.
of the citizens of Glasgow because seats had been reserved and private tickets issued beforehand. Hannan, during his introductory speech, was severely heckled for packing the meeting.

Spence announced that he appeared as a result of a "requisition" from two hundred Glasgow citizens. He held that it was important for Glasgow to speak out on the Civil War, and denied that he had any political motive in trying to arouse public action and change Government policy. This was answered by shouts of "You're a paid agent", and "Put him out". Heckling soon began on the question of slavery. Spence attempted at length to show that he was not in favour of slavery, and maintained that the Confederates would abolish slavery themselves once they had established their independence. He argued that the South had a right to secede on Constitutional grounds, although Councillor Moir interrupted him to deny this point. After being hissed for attacking Lincoln, Spence proceeded to dwell at length upon his favourite racialist thesis that the pure Anglo-Saxon Southerners should be helped to free themselves from the mongrelised North. This was greeted with laughter and hisses from the Federal sympathisers. Spence then attacked the idea that the Federals were fighting to free the slaves and
and brought up again the theme of "extermination" which he attempted to link with the Abolitionists, "a band of fanatical men who had made the subject a passion, who were not only hounding on this bloodshed, but were ready to exterminate men of their own race and level every restraint of law and humanity in order to carry out their ends."

Spence claimed that, on the other hand, the majority in the North hated the negro and were carrying on the war for economic and chauvinistic reasons. Lincoln was termed a despot and his Emancipation programme "a complete farce". This aroused further heckling and cries of "Calumnious!" His attempt to explain Stephens' "cornerstone" speech as metaphorical was greeted with further hisses and "much disorder". After decrying the "Federal love for the negro that accompanies hatred for the white man", he took up the Reverend Beecher's recent visit: "You have recently had here a meek apostle of Federal Christianity (great applause, mingled with hisses - a large portion of the audience waving their handkerchiefs and hats - cries of 'Chair', hisses, hurrahs, and confusion)."

The chairman was finally forced to appeal to the meeting to give Spence a hearing. Eventually, some degree of order was restored, and Spence finished, to the accompaniment of loud /
loud applause and hisses, by pleading for British intervention in concert with other European powers to establish Confederate independence on the grounds that the South had the same right to nationhood as Italy and Greece.

Following the speech, Spence was closely questioned by a number of leading Abolitionists. Andrew Paton enquired whether the Confederates believed that slavery was divinely sanctioned; Isaac Morrison asked: "Does not absolute human slavery increase depravity in the human heart and nourish a train of dark and brutal passions and lusts?" Paton's question was clearly a crucial one. Spence tried to evade it by saying he could only give his own opinions and could not speak for the Confederates, but he was severely heckled and finally drowned out completely. Eventually Paton compelled him to answer in the affirmative, which caused further uproar. John Stevenson forced Spence to admit that Lincoln had been elected President on a platform calling for the exclusion of slavery from the Western territories, thus shaking the argument that Lincoln was not interested in the slavery question. Hannan was evidently becoming worried at the trend of the meeting, for he attempted to dismiss the written questions which had been handed to him.

(1) See Smyth, op.cit., passim.
him as not being to the point. This attempted evasion was met with a loud outburst from the crowd and cries of "Are they puzzlers?" and "Read them!"

Hannan read one submitted by a negro, Mr. Brooks, which enquired whether the slaveholders were guilty of cruelty in hunting escaped slaves. The chairman admitted that they were, but claimed that it was irrelevant. Ten more questions were meanwhile submitted, but loud demands grew for Spence himself to answer the question on the cruelty of the slaveholders. He would not do so and disturbance continued until the end of the meeting. A motion calling for British intervention to stop the war was put by John McAdam and O. W. Clark. Councillor Moir and J. W. Weir proposed an amendment denouncing slavery and calling for the rejection of Spence's arguments. There was apparently a majority for the motion. "A large proportion" voted to send a memorial to the Government, but another vote was necessary before "an unmistakable majority" could be ascertained for the memorial. "A smaller though still considerable" proportion voted against it. Spence himself reported /

(1) John Brooks was active in support of the Federal cause in Scotland during the war. In the following year, for example, he spoke at a pro-Federal rally in Newmilns and presented that town with an American flag, which local tradition says was a gift from Lincoln himself.

(2) This account of the meeting is put together from the occasionally conflicting reports of the Scotsman,(27 Nov.1861) NBDM,(27 Nov.); Glas.Herald.(27 Nov.); Examiner,(28 Nov.).
reported to Mason that one-fourth of the assembly was pro-
Federal. The difficulty in ascertaining the majority
for the resolution suggests that the proportion was higher.
(1) E. D. Adams describes the meeting as a success for Spence,
but it was certainly not an unqualified one. The years
of Abolitionist agitation, the Emancipation Proclamation,
and the abhorrence of the "foul blot" of slavery in Proto-
tant, Radical and labour circles prevented any active, mass
sympathy from being aroused for the cause of the Rebels.
Nor was there any large-scale demand from labour for inter-
vention to end the cotton famine.

The N. B. Daily Mail was strong in support of Spence's
speech, which it compared favourably with the recent pro-
Federal speeches of Bright, Cobden, and Murray Dunlop.
The Mail declared that a Glasgow-Liverpool school of politic
had arisen to oppose the Manchester school. Describing the
meeting as a complete success, the Mail contended that "No
one with any truth can again assert that in writing in
favour of Southern independence we have misrepresented the
public opinion of Glasgow." (3) The Glasgow Citizen also
supported /

(2) Ibid.
(3) NBDM, 27 November, 1863.
supported Spence, but admitted that the Reverend Beecher had had a great effect on public opinion. The Examiner rejected Spence's arguments and described the meeting as not having been a great success. The paper's weekly columnist held that Spence had produced no new arguments for the Confederates and described himself as more convinced than ever by Spence's speech that the Rebels were in the wrong.

Blackwood's was meanwhile striving to counter the rising tide of Federal sympathy and to support the efforts of the Confederate propagandists. In the November issue, Hamley attacked Hawthorne's recent book on his visit to Britain. Hamley declared that the novelist was too critical of Britain and concluded that "the sense of injury under which he seems to labour is national because the feeling is general among Americans." He ridiculed Hawthorne for "calling the land of conscriptions and arbitrary imprisonments 'the blessed shores of freedom'" and went on to say "Mr. Hawthorne shares in a far greater degree than we could possibly /

(1) Glasgow Citizen, 28 November. The same issue contained an article attacking the blockade.
(2) Glasgow Examiner, 28 November.
(3) Blackwood's, 1863, 610-23.
(4) N. Hawthorne, Our Old Home.
(5) Ibid, 615.
possibly have anticipated in a man of his character, the prejudices and animosities which make up the political creed of the Federal Americans. He evidently thinks that the vitality of his country depends on the existence of the Union and the Federal system. . . . We infer also . . . . that Mr. Hawthorne is an Abolitionist, and perhaps we might even suspect, an exterminator also." (1) Referring to Hawthorne's unwillingness to speak at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London, the reviewer asserted: "We can very easily believe that Mr. Hawthorne would have experienced great difficulty in finding anything kindly or friendly to say in return for the Lord Mayor's hospitalities. . . . But we suspect that had he been called upon to make a speech in Faneuil Hall in honour of Commander Wilkes, or Benjamin F. Butler, or Senator Sumner, in acknowledgment of some especially rabid and mendacious oration, or of the Reverend Ward Beecher, on the occasion of that clergyman desiring to testify his sympathy within the negro, by the utterance of some sentiments bearing the stamp of Central Africa and highly esteemed in Dahomey. . . . Mr. Hawthorne would. . . . have found no hindrance to the perfect flow of his speech." (2)

In the same issue another article by Hamley consisted largely /

(1) Blackwood's, 1863, 616.
(2) Ibid, 622-3.
PAGE
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largely of shrill invective against America and also the pro-Federal party in Britain. The influence of Gettysburg and Vicksburg can be seen in the fact that Hamley no longer dwells upon American cowardice and incompetence, but instead concentrates on the "shameless impudence" of the Federals. "Something more than chance seems to have guided them in their unerring choice of arguments that never deviate into plausibility and assertions that never stumble on the truth..

Hamley contrasted the alleged moderation of the pro-Confederates with the militancy of the Federal sympathisers, who were described as being "perhaps a little more frantic than the North in abuse of their own country and peremptory demands for sympathy." The pro-Confederates, on the other hand, were described as being too lukewarm and timid in pressing their cause, with the result that the "sheer impudence" of their opponents carried the day in Government circles. Arguing that Britain should not sacrifice her self-interest for the sake of the Federals, Hamley suggested that intervention in favour of the Confederates would relieve the cotton famine and remove the possibility of American aggression against Canada.

Denouncing /
Denouncing Russell's seizure of the rams and his new policy of stricter enforcement of neutrality, he accused Russell of submitting to dictation, either out of cowardice or political sympathy.

"The politician," Hamley suggested, "who has spent his life in trying to push us down that declivity toward universal suffrage, at the bottom of which the great Republic has gone to pieces, may still indulge some fond regrets for the failure of his project, some admiration for his model, even in ruins."

The Tory commentator went on to enumerate a list of acts allegedly showing Russell's pro-Federal bias, such as his recognition of the blockade in spite of his admission that it was imperfect and his assertion that the majority of people in Britain supported the Federals. Denying Russell's statement that Britain would be "forever infamous" if she intervened in behalf of the slaveholders, Hamley argued that it would be no more infamous than coming to the aid of Turkey against Russia, and added that the Southern rulers were closer, culturally and racially, to British "gentlemen" than were the plebeian and mongrelised Northerners. Hamley assured his readers that the military and financial /

financial collapse of the Federals, which would follow
British intervention, would not affect Britain adversely
since the real wealth of America would not be seriously
reduced.

To Radical accusations that the Tories were prejudiced
against America as the standard bearer of democracy, Hamley
replied that Lincoln was carrying out all the ideas of the
extreme Tories — conscription, arbitrary taxation, repeal
of habeas corpus, the establishment of military governors,
and a non-responsible executive. He expressed the hope
that these measures would be the means of stamping out
democracy in America, once "that venerable jester", Lincoln,
were got rid of. Hamley expressed particular annoy-
ance at the alliance forged between the Radicals and the
trade unions in support of the Federals. Scoffing at the
trade union delegates who called upon Palmerston to demand
a policy of stricter neutrality, Hamley remarked: "The
Americans think this burlesque played by 'hard-handed men
of Athens' a serious and important demonstration, because
in America the sentiments of Bottom, and Snug and Flute
represent public opinion." Accusing the Radical leaders
of hostility to their own country, he urged them to remove
themselves /

(1) Ibid, p. 650.
themselves permanently to America, "a land with which their sentiments, opinions and sympathies seem so naturally to connect them." (1)

In the next issue Hamley, in the course of reviewing a number of books on the war, (2) gave a general review of the military situation. (3) He ridiculed the unsuccessful Federal generals, described the advantageous position of the Confederate army in the eastern Tennessee, and predicted that there would soon be a "decisive success" for the Rebels in that theatre. He declared that M'Lellan, who was preparing to oppose Lincoln for the Presidency and who held defeatist views on the war, was the only good and wise leader among the Federals and described him as a competent general not motivated by hatred towards the South.

The Courant meanwhile continued its campaign against the Radicals and Federal sympathisers. On 1 December, for instance, it proclaimed that the efforts at further electoral reform /

(1) Ibid, p. 650.

(2) A. Fremantle, Three Months in the Southern States, April-June, 1863, Edinburgh, 1863; C. C. Chesney, Review of the Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland, London, 1863. The other books referred to were: E. Pollard, The First Year of the War, Richmond, 1862; B. Estvan, War Pictures from the South, Routledge, 1863; Official Reports of Battles, Richmond, 1862; and Battle Fields of the South, by an English Combatant, London, 1863.

(3) Blackwood's, December 1863, "Books on the American War", pp. 750-68.
reform had definitely failed and sneered at Cobden and Bright for being out of date, since Reform was a thing of the past. In reporting Ward Beecher's speech in America describing his British tour, the Tory organ expressed rage against the minister's contention that while the aristocrats and capitalists were for the Rebels, the "great heart" of Britain was for the Federals. The paper denied this contention, abused Beecher as a "Yankee demagogue" and his arguments as "democratic cant", but added: "Even if that were so, it would not disturb a jot the superiority of educated opinion." Beecher had argued that the opinion of the common people had prevented intervention by the upper classes, to which the Courant replied: "There is no such necessary antagonism between rich and poor in this country as our tub-thumper assumes". The Courant went on to denounce the prominent Britons who were supporting the Federals, declaring that the Duke of Argyll was the only aristocrat among them, ridiculed George Thompson and his associates as "Radical hobbyists", and criticised Mill and Francis Newman as "ultra-liberals". "A far richer mind than either of them - Mr. Carlyle - has not concealed his sympathy with the South, and for our part we never count noses /

(1) Courant, 1 December 1863.
noses without taking into consideration the size of the head." The paper echoed the line taken by Blackwood's that a Federal victory would not represent a victory for democracy since the latter had resorted to despotic measures under the pressure of the crisis. The Courant reiterated that the Civil War had discredited the Liberals, especially by revealing the split in their ranks between pro-Confederates and pro-Federals. The article concluded by asserting that Ward Beecher was an example of what happened in a country which lacked an Erastian Establishment and thus allowed the clergy to become Radical and democratic.

Whereas the leaders of the Glasgow Emancipation Society were at one with the Union and Emancipation Society, the New Association split on the question of support for the Union when the matter came up at their annual meeting in December. The appeal which liberal nationalist arguments held for some Abolitionists is well illustrated in the ensuing discussion. The chairman, the Reverend A. K. McCallum, spoke for neutrality.

"To go in for the Union and Emancipation instead of Emancipation alone is to go in for protracted and cruel warfare - a warfare that evidently intends to and will not stop /

(1) Courant, 9 December.
stop short of a nation's extermination or the accomplishment of its object the preservation of the Union....It may be that the North will cripple and exterminate the South. Is it not paying too dear a price for the freedom of the slaves? Shall we see one nation annihilated for the freedom of another?"

The influence of Lord Brougham in holding back some Abolitionists from supporting the Union is also evident at this meeting of the New Association. In a speech supporting the position of the Reverend McCallum, David Smith (another leader of the New Association), declared: "Lord Brougham had hit the nail on the head when he said that the celebrated proclamation of President Lincoln was less out of love for the slave than out of hatred of their masters."

By no means all of the Association were of this mind, however. The Reverend David Russell declared his personal support for the cause of the Union, although agreeing that the Association as a body should remain neutral. After Smith had carried through a resolution declaring for neutrality in regard to the war, the Reverend Russell introduced and carried through a resolution expressing abhorrence of slavery on the grounds that it was opposed to divine law and human feeling. The Association agreed to spend their funds /
funds to aid the ex-slaves in Canada.

In spite of the hesitations of a few of the veteran Abolitionists, the pro-Federal campaign continued to gather strength during December. Dr. Norman M'Leod's Good Words carried an important article written by the Christian Socialist leader, J. M. Ludlow, which described the evils and cruelties inseparably bound up with the system. Ludlow recounted the atrocities committed against the negroes by the Confederates, and made use of the revelations concerning the treatment of the slaves discovered by the advancing Federal armies. These discoveries had helped to prove the Abolitionist charges of sadistic practices on the part of the slaveholders, and the doctors of the Federal armies confirmed the general bad treatment of the negroes from their examination of the freedmen in the South. The latter were shown to be overworked, underfed, and often badly scarred from the beatings they were accustomed to receive. The article concluded by arguing that the bravery of the Confederates could not palliate their cruelty.

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 5 December 1863.
(2) Good Words, December 1863, pp. 826-33.
advertisements in the local press urging people to read this article.

In the middle of the month the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society held two great public meetings to reply to Spence. At the first of these, on 11 December, the Reverend Massie spoke to a crowded City Hall rebutting Spence's arguments, and thereby beginning his campaign of following up Spence's appearance all over the country with pro-Federal rallies. At the second meeting three days later, the principal speaker was the Reverend Sella Martin, who had escaped from slavery seven years previously and was now a Protestant minister. He spoke to a large audience in the Queen's Rooms on "The Social and Religious Condition of the American Slaves". The chair was taken by the Reverend Henry Batchelor, and on the platform were the Reverend William Anderson, Andrew Paton, William Smeal, James Sinclair of the Union and Emancipation Society, Councillor Moir, and other leading Abolitionists. Sella Martin attacked colour prejudice and also the plea that the Bible sanctioned slavery. He declared that it was impossible for a master to be kind to his slave for that would destroy the

(1) e.g., Glasgow Herald, 11 December 1863.

(2) NBDW, 12 December.
the latter's usefulness. The speaker maintained that there were 240,000 arguments against the alleged contentedness of the slaves in the 240,000 fugitive slaves in Canada and the free states. He described the brutalities which he had suffered as a slave and his escape and subsequent career in the ministry. After he had been loudly cheered by the gathering, the Reverend Batchelor congratulated Martin on his speech and proclaimed his own wholehearted support for the Union and Emancipation Society. A motion was then put by the Reverend Massie and Councillor Moir, and passed unanimously, to the effect that: "In as much as the Union and Emancipation Society of Glasgow has been found to watch the present struggle in America, believing as we do that the emancipation of the negro can be best secured by the maintenance of the American Union, it is hereby resolved that the Union and Emancipation Society is deserving of the moral and pecuniary support of the citizens of Glasgow."

George Thompson was also in Scotland visiting his old associates before departing for America. He stayed for four days with Elizabeth Pense Nichol in Edinburgh and addressed a meeting of the Ladies' Emancipation Society on 15 December. On the 17th he attended a tea meeting in

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(1) Glasgow Examiner, 19 December 1863.
(2) Thompson-Garrison, 19 December (Garrison Papers).
(3) Scotaman, 17 December.
his honour in Glasgow given by the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society and afterwards spoke "his views on the American struggle and contrasted the changes which had taken place in public opinion in America on the slave question since his first visit to that country in 1834." Another prominent anti-slavery visitor to Scotland at this time was Fanny Kemble, who was in Edinburgh in the middle of December giving Shakespearian readings "to numerous and fashionable audiences". The noted actress was herself a zealous Radical and reformer, and had just published her *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, a vigorous indictment of American slavery which proved a great asset propaganda to the pro-Federal party. The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society sent Miss Kemble a letter thanking her for the aid given to the Abolitionist cause by the publication of the *Journal*.

Widespread interest was aroused in Scotland by the annual /

(1) *Glasgow Gazette*, 19 December.
(2) *Scotsman*, 15 December.
(5) *Scotsman*, 17 December.
annual messages to Congress of Lincoln and his rival "President" in Richmond. The Scotsman, in spite of its abuse and denigration of Lincoln, issued a special double number on 22 December containing a verbatim report of Lincoln's message. Jefferson Davis' message, on the other hand, was praised by the Courant, which declared: "We may well agree with Mr. Davis that if the South is resolute the North is likewise. The credit of such resolution, however, is much less in the case of the Federals than in that of their enemies. The resources of the North are infinitely greater; the horrors of the war do not fall upon it directly, in the same way as on the South; and there is something in the very idea of subjugating a continent on tick which inspires like poetry its millions of bagmen. We apprehend then that the North will continue to fight for an 'idea' and the South for a principle till some indefinite period to be determined by unforeseen events. But how much longer Europe is bound to wait before recognising the South as what Mr. Gladstone long ago described her, is a question which ought to engage the earnest attention of every honest and generous man."

Comparing the two messages, the Courant professed to discover /

(1) Scotsman, 22 December.
discover further proof of the superiority of aristocratic
government. "The superiority which Mr. Jefferson Davis
has always maintained in the style and dignity of his state
papers points to one of the most characteristic differences
between North and South....The statesmen of the Federals
are unable to express themselves like gentlemen. Such a
deficiency would, however, be forgiven if Mr. Lincoln showed
in his manifestoes any of the noble and generous emotion
which a horrible civil war might be expected to excite even
in a small soul. Instead of this he discourses with the
dryness of a village pettyfogger on the convulsions of a
continent. He accepts bloodshed as a matter of course like
a butcher and offers an amnesty on intolerable terms with
the coldness of a master of a workhouse." The paper
expressed its conviction that the Confederates were holding
their own in the war and could continue to do so. It went
on to denounce the Emancipation Proclamation in the customary
terms, asserting that "social revolutions, dangerous at all
times, are particularly mischievous in time of war." The
emancipation policy was declared to derive from a mixture
of "the fanaticism of ignorant preachers with the hypocrisy
of clerical demagogues - men quite willing in pursuit of
their objects to make the gutters of democracy run with
blood." The Tory organ agreed with Davis' complaints that
Britain /
Britain had ill-treated the Confederacy by refusing recognition and stretching the neutrality law to prevent the sailing of the warships. The Courant warned that the Confederates would turn to France rather than to Britain after the war and attacked the Cabinet for lacking a decisive foreign policy.

Further strong support for the Confederates came from David Mure, Tory M.P. for Bute. Mure asserted that the Southern people were "struggling for their independence" and expressed agreement with Earl Russell's statement that the Federals were fighting for empire and the Confederates for independence. However, he complained that "It has always struck me as a remarkable fact....that the sympathies of this country have not been more enlisted than they have been in favour of the South." Comparing the Confederates with the Poles, who were then in revolt against Russia, he declared that the Federals were not sincere in the emancipation policy, and called for the recognition of the Confederates and for the breaking of the blockade in order to obtain cotton.

The tide of events, however, had now turned irretrievably against the pro-Confederate party. Their temporary elation /

(1) Courant, 24 December 1863.
(2) Scotsman, 31 December 1863; Ibid, 1 January 1864.
elation over the Rebel victory at Chattanooga was evaporated by the news of the Battle of Missionary Ridge in which the result of the former action was reversed, the Rebel forces were driven in headlong rout out of Tennessee, and the stage was set for General Sherman's capture of Atlanta and successful march through Georgia in the following year.

At the same time the successful agitation of the pro-Federals had helped to induce the Government to seize the Confederate warships and to abandon the projected intervention in favour of the Rebels, while the attempt of the Confederate agents to stir up popular sentiment in support of recognition had fizzled out, at least in so far as Scotland was concerned. The Glasgow Gazette admitted sadly at the end of the year that the defeat of the Rebels was inevitable. The paper declared that the Confederates had been doomed by their failure to win decisively in Pennsylvania and Tennessee, that their human and financial resources were nearly exhausted, and that there was no more hope of foreign intervention. The Federals on the other hand were as united and determined as ever and possessed an endless supply of men and material. The Gazette concluded that "A few more such victories as General Grant's will drive Lee and his generals /

(1) e.g., see U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence, 1863-4, I, 39, (Adams-Seward, 17 December 1863).
generals to pursue a merely guerilla warfare, if they are not compelled to surrender altogether." The Sentinel also began to turn against the Confederates. Rebuking Davis for threatening to seize British ships in retaliation for Britain's anti-Confederate measures, the labour organ declared that this "Would be an issue which would speedily consign to the bottom all the Alabamas and Pamperos that the Confederacy might commission." Thus, by the end of the year, the pro-Confederates in Scotland had been decisively defeated. On the other hand, the Protestant-Radical-labour alliance which had been formed to support the Federals had played an important part in preserving British neutrality and had seen the victory of their counterparts in America advance to within a foreseeable distance.

(1) Glasgow Gazette, 26 December 1863.

(2) Glasgow Sentinel, 26 December.

(3) e.g., see Goldwin Smith—C. E. Norton, 7 November 1863, JPMHA, XLIX, p. 107.
Chapter VIII.

THE LAST PHASE.

As we have observed in the preceding chapter, the climax of the struggle to influence Scottish opinion on the Civil War was reached in 1863 and concluded with the victory of the pro-Federal party. The situation during the last eighteen months of the war in Scotland was consequently somewhat anti-climatic, as interest in the war began to lag, and attention was diverted by the German invasion of Denmark and other Continental developments. In January 1864, the Edinburgh Review admitted "that negro slavery in America has received its death sentence," and was collapsing under the impact of the war and the advancing Federal armies. The writer pointed out that, although there had been no servile revolt, the negroes welcomed the Federals and refused to flee into the interior with their masters - thus showing the falsity of Confederate propaganda describing the contentedness of the slaves with their position. Describing the great daring shown by Frederick Douglass and other negroes who escaped from slavery before the war, the author maintained that the slaves usually knew what was going on and were preparing for their emancipation. He went on to write of the great suffering experienced by the freed men in the war zones and recounted/
recounted the efforts that were beginning to be made to help them and to reconstruct the Southern way of life on a democratic basis. The article concluded that Secession had given a great impetus to emancipation, which Lincoln was now determined to spread wherever possible. The writer made no predictions of Confederate victory and independence, and the article was, in this respect, completely different in tone from the previous discussions of the war in the *Edinburgh Review*. (1) More Scots were meanwhile joining the Union and Emancipation Society, and among those appointed officers in the organisation since the previous summer were: Professor Rogers, Glasgow; James M. M'Culloch, M.D., Dumfries; Peter Redford Scott, Edinburgh; J. MacKenzie, M.P., Inverness; Robert Nelson, Edinburgh; Robert Service, Glasgow; Doctor Alexander, Edinburgh; and the Reverend Henry Batchelor, Glasgow. (2)

On 24 March, the Edinburgh Union and Emancipation Society held a rally which was addressed by its President, John Garment. A number of Edinburgh Radicals attended, including Baillie Johnstone, who acted as chairman, Baillie Boyd, Councillor David Lewis and Neil Campbell, an advocate. After/

(2) *Scotsman*, 21 January, 1864.
After outlining the history of the United States, Carment argued that the proper administration of the American Constitution would eventually bring an end to slavery, which, he declared, was "the real and vital question at issue" in the war. He held that the American Government was justified in rejecting the demands of the slave holders, even at the cost of the Secession. He went on to maintain that the Federals were "largely entitled to the sympathy and support of this country." He described the Secession as an attempt to extend slavery rather than a Southern move for national self-determination, and pointed out that the Rebel leaders had "unblushingly avowed" that slavery was the cornerstone of the Confederates. He concluded by attacking the pro-Confederate elements and calling for full support for the Federals. Andrew Fyfe, the local Radical leader, declared that he could scarcely conceive that any thinking man would disagree with Carment, and Baillie Johnstone added that they had had to struggle for liberty in Scotland and therefore should not disparage similar efforts in America and refuse to sympathise with them because of certain faults in the North. He pointed out that slavery had never been an important institution in Britain, and so Britain had never had to face similar difficulties.

The/ (1)

(1) *Scotsman*, 25 March, 1864.
The Scotsman and the Courant continued to be strongly pro-Confederate until the end of the war, for almost as long a period they continued to maintain stoutly that re-union was impossible. In this they followed the supposedly omniscient Times, which gave a completely erroneous picture of the war during its last year or so.  When the Federal Government called up another half million men for military service early in 1864, the Scotsman published a long leader in which it proclaimed its confidence in the ability of the Confederacy to hold out, and condemned the "lying statements" made by the Federals concerning the declining powers of the Rebels and the ability of the Federals to win. Attacking the Federal war of attrition as a "bloodthirsty theory", the Scotsman declared that it did not believe "the rest of the world would stand by and permit so horrible a barbarity."

The recent Rebel retreats were represented as strategic victories which shortened the Confederate lines and lengthened the Federal ones, and the paper assured its readers that the Federal armies would be unable to advance much further.  

On Clydeside, many of the Liberal politicians straddled the


(2) Scotsman, 24 February.
the fence during these months. Robert Dalgleish, M.P. for Glasgow, declared that the Federals had gained a slight advantage in the war, and predicted, to the applause of his audience, that the war must end in emancipation. He suggested that the South be readmitted to the Union on the basis of compensated abolition of slavery, although supporting the Government's neutrality policy, he repeated the old charge that the Abolitionists wished to exterminate the Southern whites. The issue of the war came up again in the course of a bye-election in Fife in April. A Radical had entered the contest, but later retired, thus enabling the right-wing Liberal candidate, Sir Robert Anstruther, to win. During the course of the campaign, Anstruther expressed strong sympathy for the Rebels, and hostility towards the Federals. Denying Tory allegations that the Civil War had been a setback for British Liberals, he maintained that it would make them "better," because wiser, Liberals." He indignantly denied any suggestion that he was a Radical and proclaimed his opposition to the secret ballot and universal suffrage

The Scottish Tories continued to attack the Government for seizing the Confederate rams. At the third annual dinner of the Edinburgh University Conservative Club/}

(1) Ibid, 2 February.
(2) Scotsman, 8 April, 1864.
Club, George Patton accused the Foreign Secretary of submitting to interference from Washington and of following "a course of policy unworthy of our country (cheers)."

(1) Early in the year, the Confederates acquired a new champion in the figure of the Reverend Isaac Nelson, a Free Church minister of Belfast and a veteran Abolitionist who had opposed Chalmers at the time of the "send back the money" controversy. (2) In the course of a speech, later reprinted as a pamphlet, Nelson argued that the Confederates had a right to independence on the grounds of national self-determination, and accused the Federals of fighting for empire and for the extermination of the Southern Whites. He accused most of the American Abolitionists of the day of being latecomers to the field and of using Abolitionism as a facade for Yankee imperialism. He repeated the old Garrisonian doctrine that the cause of Abolition would be better served by an independent South, and maintained that if the Confederates stood for democracy, the Federals would profess to be crusading against the latter. (3) Nelson's stand received great praise from the Scotsman, which rejoiced over the fact that/

(1) Ibid., 20 Feb.
(2) See Shepperson, 139, f.n.10. SHR, XXX, (1951).
(3) Scotsman, 10 Feb., 1864
that there was a Free Church Abolitionist who did not go along with the prominently pro-Federal trend of his denomination. (1) In the Spring of 1864, another drive for Confederate recognition was launched - this time under the leadership of Lindsay, the shipping magnate - and there were a series of public meetings, letters to the press, and Parliamentary intrigues. However, the pro-Confederates were again unable to match the Federal sympathisers in organisation, elan, and popular appeal. At the same time, the ramshackle coalition which made up the pro-Confederate movement, was beginning to break up into its component parts. On the one hand there were those middle class Liberals who supported the Confederacy on the grounds that it represented an oppressed nationality, - but who abhorred slavery and clung to the old Garrisonian idea that Southern independence would somehow lead to emancipation. On the other hand, there were the extreme Tories who viewed the Rebellion as a successful aristocratic counter-revolution against democracy, and who looked upon slavery as a quite satisfactory solution to/

(1) Scotsman, 20 Feb., 1864.
to the labour problem. This inherent contradiction led to a split in the pro-Confederate movement while Lindsay was in the midst of his effort for recognition. Palmerston, however, lent some encouragement to the new campaign; the Prime Minister was in serious difficulty over the Danish question and he needed the votes of the pro-Confederate Liberal M.P.s in order to defend the Government against the Opposition vote of censure. Thus he played Lindsay along until July when the motion of censure, which had passed the House of Lords, was finally narrowly defeated in the Commons with the aid of the pro-Confederate Liberals, (July 8th). Palmerston then decisively turned down the project of intervention in the course of an interview with Mason on 14 July.

Leading this new pro-Confederate drive, L.B. Hamley, writing in the April issue of Blackwood's, (2) criticised the reticence of the Rebel partisans: "All the clamour has been made by friends of the North; meetings have been convened, violent articles written, claptrap appeals made, and prosecutions instituted, all in the interests of the Federals." He declared that the time had come for a powerful campaign on the part of the pro-Confederates to counteract Russell's increasingly pro-Federal policy. Accusing the Foreign Secretary/

(2) Blackwood's, 1864, pp. 447-61.
Secretary of persecuting the pro-Confederate shipbuilders and accepting American dictation, Hamley hinted darkly that Russell was a crypto-Radical - "In his Blairgowrie speech he revealed clearly the predilections of the ancient democrat and unsuccessful advocate of universal suffrage in favour of a country where democracy has certainly had rope enough given it and has made of it the use that might be expected."(1) "Sometimes justice is evaded," Hamley went on, "on the plea of indulgence and forebearance to 'our cousins' in consideration of their difficulties - their difficulties arising from the absorption of their energies in their effort to effect the strangulation of the South. Sometimes sentiment is dropped and our interests only are considered, which somehow always appear to go against the interests of the South."(2) Hamley insisted that Britain must interfere in the war if the Rebels seemed about to be defeated, a possibility which he now admitted for the first time. Rejecting the argument that a policy of friendship toward the Federals would give Britain a claim on America in the future, Hamley enquired: "But on whose gratitude shall we count? On Mr. Seward's? That great moral and didactic writer may have been consigned to some revolutionary limbo/ 

(1) Blackwood's, 1864, pp. 447. 
(2) Blackwood's, 1864, pp. 453-4.
limbo long before we make our appeal. A king may have arisen who knows not Lincoln." Hamley went on to argue that, on the contrary, British concession to America would be remembered as cowardice to be exploited in the future.

During the autumn there was a renewed flurry of interest in America, stimulated by the Presidential election campaign between Lincoln and General McLellan, who was widely suspected of desiring a compromise peace. The Scotsman continued to give a wildly erroneous picture of the military situation. On 6 September, for instance, it scoffed at "the few on this side of the water who still believe, or obstinately profess to believe, that the North can conquer the South."(1) The election campaign prompted a temporary revival of pro-Confe-derate agitation. (2) As a part of this renewed effort, Blackwood's published The Southern Secession, by the Marquis of Lothian, a leading Scottish Roman Catholic and Confederate sympathiser. (3) The Marquis argued that the South had been oppressed by the North for fifty years and that the real issue of the war was between protection and free trade, whereas slavery/

(1) Scotsman, 6 Sept. The Cal. Mer., on the other hand, was one of the few papers in Britain to give a correct picture of the war during this period.
(2) E.D. Adams, op. cit., II, 223.
slavery was not directly involved. The author argued that the Federals were not really anti-slavery, and that, in any case, slavery was not as bad as it was painted by the Abolitionists. The book concluded by calling for the recognition of the Confederacy. (1) The new movement in support of the Rebels received further encouragement from E.P. Bouverie, the Liberal M.P. for Kilmarnock, who, we have seen, acted as one of the Parliamentary spokesmen for the builders of the Confederate warships on the Clyde. Speaking to his constituents on 16 November, Bouverie deplored the continuation of the Civil War and asserted that the Union was hopelessly shattered and could never be restored. He maintained that the collapse of the Union had been predicted for years, but the Americans would not listen and still refused to accept the fact. He suggested intervention by the British and European Governments to end the war "in the interests of humanity." (2)

The Scottish pro-Federals had achieved their basic objectives by the end of 1863, but they continued their activities, although on a reduced scale, during 1864.

The/

(1) At the same time the pro-Confederates got up a "peace petition", which was forwarded to the Governor of New York with 350,000 signatures, including "names of nobility, clergy, gentry, town councils, heads of colleges, public officers, members of learned professions... (and) a large number of the Catholic clergy of Ireland." (Scotsman, 10 Oct.).

(2) Scotsman, 17 Nov., 1864.
The Duchess of Argyll, continuing her conciliatory correspondence with Sumner, expressed her pleasure at the repeal of various pro-slavery laws in America, but rejected Sumner's assertion that Britain was still aiding the Rebellion. "Surely," she wrote, "two or three privateers do not cause the 'to be or not to be' of the Rebellion. I assure you our consciences are much at ease on this score since the stoppage of the rams." (1) At the same time the Lamp of Love continued its campaign against slavery and racialism with the inclusion in its August issue of a biographical article on Lott Cary, a slave from Richmond who had purchased his freedom and subsequently emigrated to Liberia because of racial discrimination in America. In Liberia he became a missionary and fought against the slave traders. Cary was held up as an exemplary Christian figure, and at the same time the evils of the slave trade were stressed.

P.B.S. Smollett, M.P. for Dumbartonshire, called for the continuation of strict neutrality, and William Ewart, M.P. for Dumfries and a leader of the movement for free libraries.

(1) Argyll-Sumner, 21 July, 1864. (JPMHA, XLVII, 104.)
(2) Lamp of Love, August, 1864, pp. 169-73.
(3) In a speech at Helensburgh on 1 Oct. - Scotsman, 3 Oct.
libraries in Scotland, also supported the Government's neutrality policy and predicted that the war would end in emancipation, whichever side won. (1)

During October, Scotland was visited by the Episcopalian Bishop of Minnesota. Bishop Whipple preached in St. John's Episcopalian Church on Princes Street on 9 October, where, according to the Scotsman, he was "listened to with the deepest attention by a crowded congregation." Whipple pointed out that his denomination in America looked to the Scottish Episcopalians as their mother church, since their first American Bishop had been consecrated by three Scottish Bishops in 1784. (2) The Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society was meanwhile maintaining its propaganda efforts on behalf of the Federals. On 11 October it held a rally to support the re-election of Lincoln and Federal sympathisers were urged to write to friends and acquaintances in America urging them to vote for the President. (3) At the same time an address of sympathy for Garrison was passed by the Society and sent to the American leader by James Stirling, the Secretary of the Society. In his accompanying letter, Stirling/

(1) In a speech at Dumfries on 11 Oct. - Scotsman, 13 Oct.
(2) ibid.
(3) E.D. Adams, op.cit.II, 237.
Stirling described the "deep interest in American matters" shown in Glasgow during the war which had led to the format of the Society, designed to counter the effect of the Glasgow newspapers and mentioned other activities such as the memorials sent to the Government calling for the detention of the Confederate warships. Stirling added that the diversity of commerce in Glasgow had led to a diversity of views on the Civil War.

The Scotsman entered the American Presidential campaign of 1864 by denouncing Bright for supporting the re-election of Lincoln. The paper argued that this stand was contrary to Bright's peace principles and showed that he was a fanatical supporter of Republicanism. The Scotsman repeated its arguments that the condition of America showed the fallacies of republicanism and democracy.

When news arrived of Lincoln's victory, the Whig organ described it as a blow to the hopes of peace. Describing the continuation of the war by the Federals as "a crime against the race", the paper echoed Bouverie's call for intervention, "to stay a great crime against the common good of the world."

Denying contentions that the Federals were upholding the cause of Radical democracy, the Scotsman argued that on the contrary, the

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(1) Stirling-Garrison, 15 Oct. (Garrison Papers).
(2) Scotsman, 1 November, 1864.
(3) Scotsman, 22 November, 1864.
contrary, the Federals represented militarism and protection. Lincoln's re-election was the signal for further pro-Federal demonstrations.

The Emancipation Society sent a delegation to C.F. Adams to present congratulations to Lincoln on his re-election, and among those invited to serve on the deputation was the Reverend George Gilfillan. In reply, Gilfillan denied that he had any sympathy with the Federals, and described Lincoln's victory as "a heavy blow and great discouragement to the real interests of America." Although deploring slavery, the minister went on to praise the Rebels for showing "a constant self-denial, a unity, and a generosity of conduct which have seldom been paralleled." He denounced the Federals as imperialist aggressors and for showing "savage ferocity" in their conduct of the war. The Secretary of the Society, F.W. Chesson, then pointed out that Gilfillan had volunteered to join the organisation and that he should have resigned when he changed his mind. Gilfillan replied that he was as much in favour of emancipation as ever, but that he had not thought that belonging to the Society implied support for Lincoln's policy. He declared that he was not in/
in favour of effecting emancipation "by the extermination of a brave and chivalrous race," and that Chesson was at liberty to withdraw his name.

The closing weeks of 1864 saw the launching of the Freedman's Aid Movement in Scotland. The movement, which aimed to assist the liberated slaves in the South, drew wide support from Abolitionists, ministers, and other philanthropists, and was active during the closing months of the war and the early years of the Reconstruction period. On 1 November, Dr. Massie and Levi Coffin, a leader of the Underground Railway in America, addressed a meeting on the subject in Edinburgh. The Chairman, Baillie Johnstone, urged that people in Britain, where emancipation had been effected a long time previously, should be patient with American attempts to fight against slavery. "We were slow to understand and still slower to sympathise with the principles which were gaining ground and the victories which were being won in new fields for the human family (applause)."

Johnstone described slavery as a violation of human rights and as a question not of politics but of humanity. He maintained that although slavery might not be the avowed issue/

(1) Scotsman, 21 Dec., 1864.
issue of the war, "the cause of progress has been going on." Saying that he would not altogether vindicate the Federal leaders, or entirely condemn the Rebels, he still believed that "the cause of progress and the future liberties and greatness of the next great nation in the world to our own were to be decided by this struggle......In the midst of violence we could see the form of liberty rising up."

Messages of support were then read from Duncan M'Laren, Andrew Fyfe, Thomas Russell, and Dr. Andrew Thomson. Levi Coffin in his speech declared that he was not advocating either side in the war but was appealing solely on behalf of the liberated negroes. He described the work of the Freedman's Aid Society in America and spoke of the desire of the ex-slaves to make a success of their new freedom. He described their repugnance at the thought of returning to slavery, and concluded amid applause, that all the freed slaves he had talked to, preferred death to a renewal of slavery. (1)

In Glasgow, a Freedman's Aid Society was established by the Emancipation Society at a rally in the Trades Hall on 7 November, at which Levi Coffin and Dr. Massie spoke. On the committee of the new organisation were a number of the leading Abolitionists and Federal sympathisers of Glasgow, including/

(1) Scotsman, 2 Nov.
including Councillor Burt, Alexander, James Thomson and James Moir; and William Smeal, Andrew Paton, John Knox and James Sinclair. A leaflet issued by the Society declared that its purpose was to help to feed, clothe, educate, and otherwise help the freed slaves, and added: "As a Society it has no concern with the party politics of America, or opinion on the present war. It finds an innocent and industrious people, numbering more than a million, in danger of starving through no fault of theirs. It believes in their right to form families, to obtain education, to dispose freely of their labour. It accordingly seeks contributors in this country to lighten their sufferings." (1) Two days later, a Ladies' Committee of the Glasgow Freedmen's Society was formed at another meeting. (2) According to its minute book, the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society ran a smooth course with no political complications. Its activity was confined to raising money for the freed men by means of meetings, circulars, and advertisements. At a meeting of the committee on 30 November, William Smeal was elected Secretary and Treasurer. (3)

As the war entered its last stage, the Edinburgh Review/

Review published a long article (in its issue of Jan. 1865) "The Last Campaign in America" which stressed the great importance of the Civil War for modern strategy and tactics, and criticised those who dismissed the struggle as unimportant. The article maintained that the most important development of the 1864 campaign was the appearance of first-rate generals on the Federal side. The writer gave great praise in particular to Grant and Sherman for their brilliant strategy, and declared that their campaign "seems not unworthy to be classed with the highest achievements which the annals of modern war record."

At the beginning of the new year, when the news of the successful completion of Sherman's march through Georgia was received, the Scotsman was forced to admit that the outlook for the Rebels was worse, but the paper asserted that they could still hold out. Sensing the nearness of the end, Robert Buchanan, the Glasgow M.P., declared that the Government's policy of neutrality had been proved correct and that intervention on either side would have been disastrous.

(2) Scotsman, 4 Jan., 1865.
disastrous. Intervention in favour of the Federals would have led to the establishment of the "War Democrats", who stood for reunion based on the continuance of slavery, while intervention in favour of the Rebels would have led to separation and slavery. Buchanan maintained that slavery was being abolished by the war, which was advancing the cause of humanity. (1) Meanwhile the Federal sympathisers in Scotland were openly celebrating the approaching demise of the Confederacy. Addressing a large meeting in Blairgowrie on 17 January, W.E. Baxter expressed his wholehearted support for the Federals, the Republican Party, and the programme of Lincoln, and described the Confederacy as "one of the most unwarrantable revolts in history." He argued that the war was now in point of form, as it always had been in point of fact, a struggle between freedom and slavery, and maintained that a violent and decisive solution was better than the continuation of slavery. He went on to assert that the success of the Rebellion would have been a blow to free government everywhere and expressed his confidence that the Federals would be able to arrive at "a most satisfactory/"

(1) Scotsman, 11 Jan. See also editorial in Ibid, 12 Jan., which contrasts the attitude of Buchanan and Dalgliesh with that of Cobden, Bright, Forster, as showing the difference between English and Scottish Radicalism.
satisfactory solution." Referring to Earl Russel's
admission that the majority of people in the country were
for the Federals, Baxter stated: "Everyone who knows the
working class, knows also that the statement of the noble
Lord is quite correct; but he might also have added with
truth, that the bulk of the territorial aristocracy and
the grandees of commerce were on the other side. They
regard the United States with feelings of jealousy if not
alarm." He attacked the idea that the Confederates were
fighting for freedom and declared that they had dominated
America for years and had then refused to accept the
result of the 1860 election. He pointed out that any free
government would break down if a minority were allowed to
disrupt it in this manner. Admitting that he might be
accused of fanaticism, he stated that he had seen American
slavery with his own eyes; and that even bloodshed was
justified in the cause of emancipation. Confederate inde-
pendence, he argued, would lead to the extension of slavery
the re-opening of the slave trade, and the end of free
government in America. He emphasised the need for recon-
structing the South according to the principles of Radical
Democracy, and concluded by reiterating that "This daring
revolt/
revolt of the slaveholders must be put down now." (1)

Speaking in Paisley at the end of the month, Crum Ewing, M.P., declared that the re-election of Lincoln showed that the North was solidly in favour of Abolition and Reunion. He pointed out that everyone in Scotland supported the former, while there were differences regarding the latter. He maintained that the Confederates were now being forced by the war to consider Abolition and expressed the opinion that reunion might not now be so necessary for emancipation and therefore not worth much further sacrifice. He concluded by agreeing that Britain must remain strictly neutral. (2)

The close connection between the American struggle and the political situation in Scotland, and the great impetus given by the Federal successes to Scottish Radicalism is well illustrated in the bye-election campaign held in Buteshire in the opening weeks of 1865. The exclusion of the working class and a large part of the middle class, as well as the power of the landed gentry made the constituency a safe Tory seat. G.F. Boyle, the Tory candidate, who

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(1) Scotsman, 18 Jan., 1865.
(2) Ibid, 1 Feb.
amaila—was a large territorial magnate and a staunch
Episcopalian. He avowed his support for the Rebels, and asserted that the Government was unfairly discriminating against the Confederacy by failing to recognise it. After expressing great praise for the fighting spirit of the Rebels, Boyle denounced the blockade and asserted that the Rebels should be allowed to build warships in Britain to break it. In a speech at Rothesay, Boyle declared that he favoured peace and Abolition in America, but that slavery was not the main issue of the war. He predicted that the Confederates would have to emancipate their slaves soon, but expressed the hope that the negroes would not be freed "too soon", before "they are qualified to act as free men." (Applause and some hisses). Boyle's opponent was James Lamont, a Presbyterian Liberal, who waged a vigorous campaign in spite of his hopeless prospects. He denied that he was a Chartist or in favour of universal suffrage, but demanded a large extension of the franchise. Devoting considerable attention to the Civil War, he supported the Government's policy of neutrality and warned of the disastrous consequences of a war between Britain and America.

(1) Scotsman, 16 January.
(2) Ibid, 18 January.
He also asserted to an audience largely composed of workers, that "A war with the great Republic of America .... is a favourite measure of the Tory opposition". When the nominations were held at Rothesay, there was a stormy and bitter agitation against the Tories and in favour of Reform. Angry crowds booed and hissed Boyle and other Tories, and militant leaflets were distributed suggesting that the people should "boil the Conservative candidate in tar." When Boyle spoke, he was heckled fiercely by a large Radical crowd, while a smaller group of Conservatives cheered.

Although claiming to support a certain amount of Reform, Boyle declared "But I could not desire to see it so extended as that all political power would be placed in the hands of one class. I think our institutions should be preserved as nearly as possible." Boyle also expressed his wish to preserve "gradations of class .. " "I am not inclined to exchange British freedom for Continental freedom or even for American freedom." (Cheers and loud hisses). Lamont, on the other hand, proclaimed his enthusiastic sympathy with the United States Government in/

(1) Scotsman, 21 January.
in this Civil War." Declaring his support for the continuance of strict neutrality, Lamont declared: "I should strongly oppose any motion for the recognition of the slave holding oligarchy of the South." Recognition, he warned, would lead to war with America. In the religious field, Lamont attacked the Tories for supporting the Ultramontanist Movement. (1)

Although Boyle won the election, Lamont received a majority of the votes in Bute itself. (2) The rising temper of the people came to a head after the Conservative victory, as rioting broke out in Rothesay, where the houses of Boyle's factor and other Conservatives were attacked and stoned. (3)

Meanwhile, the Scottish Abolitionists were working steadily in behalf of the Freedmen. The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, under Eliza Wigham's leadership, was collecting clothing and Bibles for the liberated slaves. (4) At the beginning of March, the Society's annual report spoke of the great progress of the struggle for emancipation in/

(1) Ibid., 2 Feb., 1865.
(2) Ibid, 4 Feb.
(3) Scotsman, 6 February.
in America and declared: "There is nothing left in which we can aid it except by extending true sympathy to those, who, having known many long years of ploughing, sowing, and watering, now see the rapid approach of the period of fruition. The stronghold of slavery is shaken to its foundations, and its prisoners are escaping into the light of freedom by thousands... in a spoiled and crippled condition. But they are freed; and when gradually they become accustomed to the light so as to take their places as free men and women, there are good grounds for believing they will become a nation strong to labour, able, intelligent, and independent." The report described the chief task of the Society during the past year as having been to watch over and assist the progress of the freedmen. The report concluded by tracing the progress of emancipation in America over the previous year. (1)

George Gilfillan continued his support of the Confederates until the very end of the war. Speaking at Dundee on 5 March, he attacked the various religious revivals which had occurred in America and declared that they were backed by the very men who were now "letting slip the hell hounds/"

hounds of war upon their Southern brethren." Gilfillan argued that the Confederates were only doing what the Americans had done at the time of the American Revolution. "These bloodthirsty Christians were the genuine spawn of the revival", declared Gilfillan, who went on to express his deep sorrow at the fall of Charleston. "The fall of Charleston ought to make Britons tremble. If followed by complete success, it would rob us of Canada, and greatly accelerate that process by which we are already sinking into a second-rate power."

Indeed, during the closing weeks of the war, Scotland was affected by a sudden fear, encouraged by the Times, that the Federals would follow up their victory in the South by going to war with Britain and invading Canada. In a speech at Alloa on 11 April, Wm.P. Adam, Liberal M.P. for Clackmannan and Kinross, warned that America would pick a fight the end of the Civil War, and asserted that preparations must be made to defend Canada. Adam, however, supported the Government's policy of neutrality and declared that he supported the Federals against the Confederates, who, he declared, were not justified in seceding in order to preserve slavery.

Speaking at Wigtown on 12 April, George Young, the Solicitor/
Solicitor-General, also defended the policy of strict neutrality, declaring: "The lesson which the Civil War is intended to teach, is not yet read out. When the war is over, we shall be able to see the full meaning of it and the instruction which it was intended to convey."

Referring to the great suffering which had been caused by the cotton famine, Young asserted that new sources of cotton were now being opened up, and that Britain, on the whole, was prospering. (1) The following day at Whithorn he again defended the neutrality policy, but rejected the doctrines of the pacifists.

Shortly after the surrender of General Lee with the remnant of his army at Appomattox, Lincoln was murdered in Washington. (3) The news of the latter event caused a wave of profound emotion throughout Scotland, and resolutions on the matter were issued by official bodies and public meetings all over the country. Dr. Norman MacLeod noted in his journal:

"Heard of Lincoln's death. It will, under God, be a huge blessing to the North and be the ending of the accursed South. Had Lee or Jefferson Davis been assassinated, what?"

(1) Scotsman, 14 April.
(2) Ibid, 15 April.
(3) Ibid, 14-15 April, 1865.
what a howl! This is a mighty era in the world's history. I am ashamed of my country. This sympathy with the South is an inscrutable mystery to me: I cannot make it out. But I fear we shall have to suffer for our grievous pride. I still hope that America will be our noblest and staunchest ally. Oh, that the Churches would rise in their strength above mere politics and say before God, 'We shall be one in heart for the good of the world!' I have never swerved in my sympathy with the North, and I believe the day is not far off when we shall hardly believe that Britain's sympathy was with the South. Oh, my country! Oh, Christian Churches! Repent in dust and ashes.' I cannot comprehend man's blindness on this question. I rejoice in the unity and prosperity of the great Republic: its strength is a blessed counterpoise to continental despotism and mere kingcraft. I have the brightest hopes for its future, but chiefly through the influence of its Churches. It is to me a mystery that Britain does not rejoice in America as I do."

At a meeting of the Dundee Town Council, Provost Parker moved an address of condolence to Mrs. Lincoln and to Seward, who had been seriously wounded by the plotters.

(1) D. MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, 2nd edition, London, 1882, pp. 354-55. Dr. Guthrie was in Naples when he heard of the murder and was deeply moved. (T. Guthrie, Autobiography, 662).
It was then decided that a public meeting should be called for May 2nd to allow the citizens to express their feelings on "the atrocious deed". On the same day, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce held a special meeting to express "their abhorrence of the deed itself and their sympathy with the people of the United States." Henry Dunlop of Graigton spoke, deploring the murder and eulogising Lincoln as a humanitarian genius. He declared that although there was disagreement over the question of secession, Lincoln had nevertheless clearly done his duty, and there was universal respect for him. A unanimous resolution of sympathy was voted.

In the Aberdeen Town Council, the Provost moved for a committee to draw up a resolution expressing horror felt universally by the community, while at the same time and address of sympathy was passed by the Perth Town Council. On the same day, a number of Scottish County Meetings (of Commissioners of Supply and J.P.s) took up the matter. At an Aberdeen County meeting, W. Leslie, M.P., spoke on Lincoln and the world-wide indignation aroused by his murder, and moved a committee to forward an address of sorrow and indignation to America. At the Stirling County Meeting, on/
on the motion of Peter Blackburn, the pro-Federal Tory M.P., an address was sent to the American Ambassador, expressing sympathy with the Americans over the assassination. At the Lanarkshire County Meeting, Lord Belhaven called for a committee to draw up a similar resolution and added: "You are of course aware that this country, with the exception of Lancashire, has the greatest connection with America of all countries in the United Kingdom." The Sheriff, Sir Archibald Alison, observed that everyone in Scotland had regretted the war and thought with horror of the catastrophe in which it has terminated." He expressed the hope that it would not further embitter feeling in America. - "And as regards the relations existing between America and this country, I trust that the expressions of sympathy which have so generally been sent from this country, will have the effect of drawing closer and closer the bonds of affection and mutual interest between the two countries which were originally brothers and will, I trust, lead to a renewal of a warmer interest between them." A committee then drew up an address on the subject to be sent to America. Similar resolutions were passed by the County Meetings of Fife and Roxburghshire.

On the following day, the Elgin County Meeting passed

(1) Scotsman, 2 May, 1865.
a unanimous resolution of sympathy with the United States "in the serious loss they have sustained as a nation and the world at large in the death of Abraham Lincoln." On the same day, Leith Town Council and Chamber of Commerce passed declarations for the American people and for Lincoln's wife and family. In Dundee, a mass meeting which included a "large attendance of the most influential citizens" passed a resolution of "sorrow, indignation and sympathy." One of these resolutions was put by Mr. Sharp President of the Chamber of Commerce, who gave a speech in praise of Lincoln. Another speaker, W. Thoms, expressed the hope, that the great sympathy evoked would promote goodwill between the two nations. In the Edinburgh Town Council, the Lord Provost moved an address of "deep sympathy with the American people under the circumstances of unprecedented trial and difficulty under which they are placed." (1)

In Edinburgh, Elizabeth Pease Nichol wrote to the Scotsman, urging that a public meeting be called. The meeting was quickly arranged, and Mrs. Nichol herself was called upon by the Emancipation Society Committed to frame the/

(1) Scotsman, 3 May.
the chief resolution and to compose a letter to Mrs. Lincoln. (1)

On 3rd May, a mass meeting was held in Edinburgh at 2 p.m. in the Music Hall. The Lord Provost and Sheriff Gordon spoke with great praise of Lincoln and his work. Gordon also stressed the theme of British-American friendship stimulated by the wave of sympathy, and moved the first resolution, expressing sorrow and indignation at the murder. In seconding the motion, Duncan M'Laren declared "President Lincoln, whose loss we all deplore today, was a man singularly fitted for the times in which he lived, and for the duties to which he had been called (applause). Although he had originally disavowed any intention of entering into political discussion, M'Laren proceeded to read out a resolution of the American Congress praising Lincoln as an example of the product of Republican institutions. He went on to describe the great anti-slavery rally in 1833, at which Dr. Andrew Thomson declared, as the then Lord Provost left the chair in horror, "that slavery was an evil of that magnitude that it should be totally and immediately abolished." (applause) "Since then," the Radical leader stated, "the anti slavery feeling/

feeling of Edinburgh had been unmistakably strong." To the applause of the audience, M'Laren referred to the Emancipation Proclamation declaring that many, including himself, had been doubtful about it, but that it was in fact an example "of his wonderful sagacity, for look now at the result. Wherever the Union flag is unfurled in the territories of the insurrectionary states, there slavery ceases to exist. (applause) .... The down-trodden slaves of America, wherever the flag of the United States is unfurled, have but to look upon that ensign, and that moment their chains fall off and they are free. (loud applause). And for that fact we are indebted to President Lincoln." Dr. Candlish then moved a resolution of sympathy with the Government and people of the United States. The Free Church leader pointed out that Lincoln had been assassinated on the fourth anniversary of the lowering of the flag over Fort Sumter, and that on the day of the assassination, by order of the President, the flag was again over the Fort, indicating that the war had reached its end. Candlish maintained that the magnanimous terms of surrender accorded to the Confederate army was chiefly due to Lincoln, who stood for a policy of forebearance to the South, so that his death was therefore a great loss to the latter. The minister went on to quote from a letter written by Lincoln to/
to the Governor of Kentucky, which showed that Lincoln was anti-slavery in his personal convictions, but that his Constitutional position did not allow him an unrestricted right to act along these lines. "We cannot too strongly deplore the loss at such a crisis of a man like this," Candlish asserted, and went on to praise Andrew Johnston - reading letters from an American minister and a merchant, reassuring the people that the new President was sober-living, and not a drunkard as had been rumoured. He expressed the hope that the death of Lincoln would be the beginning of closer understanding between Britain and America: emancipation had been removed the chief difference between the two countries, and they both now stood for freedom and the rights of man. He urged that closer unity between the Churches of the two countries was the best way of maintaining peace.

In seconding the motion, Sir John M'Neill pointed out that the South, as well as the North, had been settled from Britain, the Carolinas having been colonised largely by Scots, and that the calamity affected the South as well as the North in that the former lost thereby its best chances for a generous peace. M'Neill urged that the best way the Federals could honour Lincoln, would be to carry out his programme/
programme of reconciliation. Another motion was passed expressing indignation at the attack on Seward. Professor Simpson then moved that these resolutions be transmitted to the American Ambassador and Mrs. Lincoln. He asserted that "He was proud of the Meeting," and predicted a great future for America. The Reverend W.H. Gray seconded the latter motion, declaring that the only light spot in the dark picture was the world-wide outburst of sympathy. "Surely it was well that such an address should go forth to the Americans in their own language and from their own fatherland (applause). It was not so much what we could do, but we could at all events show the American people that we had no bad feeling."

A letter, including the resolutions, was sent to the American Embassy by the Lord Provost. There was, however, resentment among the workers that they had been allowed no part in the proceedings. In answer to Elizabeth Pease Nichol's call for a public meeting on Lincoln's assassination, a letter appeared in the Scotsman asking "Who are the public?", and pointing out that the working class, which formed a major part of the public, was prevented from/

(1) Scotsman, 4 May, 1865.

(2) Ibid, 19 May. On 12 May an acknowledgement expressing gratitude was received in Edinburgh from the Embassy.
from participating unless the meeting was held in the evening. Otherwise the workers "have not even the opportunity of simply hearing: they must remain silent while the fire of indignation burns in every soul. If Abraham Lincoln had been submissive to such usages as these, our transatlantic brethren would never have known him, never missed him, and never mourned for him." The writer demanded that evening meetings be held on important questions "lest there be any such 'rough-hewn' men among us." (1)

The following day, the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce expressed "deepest grief and indignation" at the murder, and recorded "their admiration of the ability, integrity and patriotism of the late President" and their "warmest sympathy" with the American Government and people. The resolution was agreed to unanimously, and sent to the American Government. (2)

At their monthly meeting, the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society adopted a minute to be sent to America expressing "grief and indignation" and sympathy for Mrs. Lincoln and the American people: "We feel as if a great personal loss had befallen ourselves; for we have long believed/

(1) Scotsman, 3 May, 1865. (2) Ibid, 5 May.
believed that the interests of the slave were safe in the hands of President Lincoln and have fondly hoped the cause we long had at heart was about to be brought to a triumphant issue. We the more deeply deplore this mysterious event from its occurrence at a crisis of the nation's history, when the wise, magnanimous, and merciful policy of President Lincoln was so peculiarly needed to readjust the sorely troubled elements of the Republic and to effect a reconciliation between North and South with freedom as its basis. We can only bow before this awful dispensation."

The Society urged that Andrew Johnston should carry out Lincoln's policy and that the great Republic may, ere long, be again united in the bonds of peace, the plaguespot of slavery (the true secret of its past weakness) forever wiped from its escutcheon. Then, in connection with this glorious consummation, the name of Abraham Lincoln will be held in grateful and loving remembrance by generations yet unborn. (1)

In Hawick, "the friends of Union and Emancipation" were summoned by handbill to meet "to consider an address to President Johnston sympathising with the American people under the heavy loss they have sustained in the untimely close of President's Lincoln's great career and congratulating them on their recent military successes." The meeting was/

(1) Scotsman, 5 May, 1865.
was held in the Town Hall on 5 May with Baillie Waugh in the chair. The Reverend J. M'Ewen of the East Bank U.P. Church, in moving the address to Johnston, expressed sorrow for the loss of Lincoln and congratulations for Grant's victories. "We cannot doubt," declared the resolution, "that the same policy which was so steadfastly and ably carried out by Mr. Lincoln, will be continued by yourself on whom the highest responsibilities of the State have now devolved, and we trust that ere long the great issues of union and emancipation may be fully and happily consummated, and that the United States, emancipated from the evil and disorganising institution of slavery and free from the dominating power of a slave aristocracy may come out of this crisis a yet purer, stronger, and freer nation, and that between her Government and ours, and her people and ours, feelings of amity and brotherhood may ever be maintained and that the two nations, advancing together in righteousness, in commerce, and in moral power, may lead forward the nations of the world to higher conditions of prosperity, happiness and justice than any that have yet been maintained." The address was seconded by Robert M'Ewen, a local manufacturer, who "in forceful language, eulogised the policy of the North and the character of the men who had so successfully carried it out." The motion was unanimously adopted and sent to the American Government.

(1) Scotsman, 8 May, 1865.
Other addresses and resolutions from Scotland were continuing to pour into the American Embassy. The Burnt-island and Hawick Town Councils sent addresses on 2 May. On the 3rd, the Glasgow Merchants' House, presided over by the Dean of Guild, sent a similar resolution expressing "horror and pain" at the murder and sympathy for the American people. The House deplored the deed as "subversive of the social order" and recorded "high respect" for Lincoln's character, and especially for his efforts on behalf of British-American friendship. Similar expressions came from the Town Councils of Montrose, of Falkirk, of Berwick, of Jedburgh, of Ayr, and of Musselburgh.

Most of the pro-Confederate papers, including the Scotsman, which had consistently abused Lincoln throughout the war, now joined in praising him. The Scotsman attempted to argue that the universal sympathy expressed for Lincoln was not "in most cases" impelled by sympathy for the Federals. The paper agreed, however, that the public reaction/

(1) Ibid, 4 May.
(2) Ibid, 5 May (on 3 May)
(3) Ibid, 6 May (" " " ")
(4) " 9 " (" 8 " )
(5) " 10 " (" 8 " )
(6) " 11 " (" 8 " )
reaction in both countries would strengthen British-American relations. At the same time, the *Scotsman*, like other papers, attempted, with indifferent results, to work up sympathy for General Lee as a tragic hero. A few other extreme Confederate partisans joined in the effort to build up a nostalgic myth around the Rebellion. A letter in the *Scotsman* praised the bravery of the Rebels "against fearful odds" for what "they conceived to be their undoubted right." The writer urged respect for "their great forebearance under extraordinary provocation" and went on to describe "their widely bereaved and desolated homes." In the veins of the Rebels, he declared, "flows pure, and unmixed, much of the high patrician blood of the English nation."

Adopting a similar line, George Gilfillan eulogised Lee and predicted that the South would make a renewed attempt at independence. He went on to describe Stonewall Jackson, (whom he had denounced during his *Gilfillan's* pro-Federal phase) as "the daring, the patriotic, the pious and prayerful Stonewall Jackson — that thunderbolt of war, that Rupert-Napoleon-Cromwell of the Confederate cause." He spoke also of "the multitudes of young heroes, who, barefoot and ragged, but with the best blood of the South

(1) e.g. *Scotsman*, 4 May.
(2) Ibid, 1 May.
South in their veins, rushed with fell defiance against superior numbers and fell in myriads, "dying hard amidst their dying foes." According to Gilfillan, Lee was "not beaten in fair warfare, nor deserted by his troops, but overpowered by mere brute force and overwhelming numbers." The minister compared Lee with Napoleon and asserted that he was the greatest figure of the Civil War: "He is dearer for his defeat, and he is more magnificent in his departure and the real King of America sits now crowned with immortal honour and a glory that shall shine and only get brighter when it shall one day shine upon his grave." Gilfillan expressed regret at Lincoln's assassination, but only after a long and rather equivocal dissertation on heroic assassins, One letter to the Scotsman attacked Gilfillan for praising rebellion and assassination, and asserted: "So far from deprecating all assassinations as a crime he declares it may sometimes only be a blunder, and goes deliberately into consideration of the prudential reasons which should cause men to hesitate before committing it." The writer concluded that this line of reasoning was unbecoming in a Christian minister.

The/ 

(1) Scotsman, 9 May, 1865.  
(2) Ibid, 11 May. Letter signed "B".
The Blackwood's circle also indulged in this Southern nostalgia. Towards the end of the war, Blackwood fell in with Johann Heros von Borcke, a Prussian Junker, who had been chief of staff to J.E.B. Stuart, the Rebel cavalry commander. Blackwood published von Borcke's memoirs in serial form and later brought them out as a book. (1) Von Borcke took Blackwood to a meeting of soldiers who had returned from the Rebel service, at which there was a great deal of reminiscing and striking of swashbuckling poses. In the following autumn, the Prussian stayed with Blackwood in Scotland. (3) Preparations were made for publishing the Memoirs, and in the following January von Borcke reported that Johnstone, the owner-manager of the London Standard was enthusiastic over the manuscript, and had promised "to do everything in his power" for the book, including the publishing of "a long and favourable review" after its publication. (4) Von Borcke complained, however that "even the most violent American journals speak more favourably of the Memoirs than some of the Yankee journals in this country,"

Another/

(2) von Borcke-Blackwood, 15 July 1865 (Blackwood Papers)
(3) Ibid, Oct. 1865, passim.
(4) Ibid, 26 Jan., 1866.
(5) Ibid, 8 Jan., 1866.
Another former Confederate officer with whom Blackwood became friendly, was Fitzgerald Ross, a free-lancing Scottish mercenary. The latter had a fierce hatred for the vulgar and plebeian Yankees and was convinced up until the very end of the war that the Federal armies were about to be destroyed by the Rebels. After the war, Ross developed an amazing scheme with a wealthy Southern friend of his who owned plantations in Louisiana, Kentucky and Arkansas. The planter wanted workers to replace his freed slaves and offered to split his profits with anyone who would supply the labor. He declared that his property was intact and there were possibilities of immense profit. Ross wished to enlist the support of Gordon of Cluny, who had told him that "he had a great many more tenants on his estates than he liked, and it strikes me (Ross) that there would be an opportunity for him not only to get rid of some of his surplus population, but thereby also to increase his wealth to an enormous extent, which I am told even rich people do not object to." Ross wished Blackwood to act as go-between to arrange for the depopulation of the necessary number of Gordon of Cluny's tenants to the Southern plantations. Unfortunately, the Blackwood Papers do not reveal what eventually became of this project. The last glimpse we have of John Blackwood's views/

(1) Ross-Blackwood, 3 Dec., 1864, et seq.
(2) Ross-Blackwood, 12 Jan., 1866.
views on the Civil War, is the account of his reaction to the American claim for damages caused by the Alabama. "The astounding impudence of these Yankees puts me into a fury," exclaimed the old Tory. "Confound the scoundrels! They ought to have gone down on their knees and thanked us for not joining the South, which in my opinion we ought to have done."(1)

Meanwhile, Scottish Church bodies were concerning themselves with the murder of Lincoln and the final success of emancipation. At a meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery of the U.P. Church on 9 May, it was urged that the Presbytery petition the National Synod to prepare an address to the American U.P. denomination "expressive of the cordial satisfaction with which the Synod contemplates the Abolition of slavery in that country and also expressive of the sympathy with our brethren .... "over the loss of the valuable services of such a humane and Christian President." Remarks were then made by some of those present "in which a warm tribute was paid to the character of the late President." The memorial was passed by a vote of seventeen to nine. The overture was put before the Synod in Edinburgh/

(1) quoted in Oliphant and Porter, William Blackwood and His sons, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1898, p. 284.
(2) Scotsman, 11 May, 1865.
Edinburgh on 20 May. Mr. Stark of Glasgow argued that the resolution should be passed immediately, in spite of the rules of the Synod against such proceedings. Pointing out how the expressions of sympathy to America had improved relations between the two countries, he asserted that as a Church body they should also contribute. He went on to praise Lincoln, declaring that "the more he was known in public, and in private, the better he was loved as President, as philanthropist and as a Christian." To the loud applause of the gathering, Stark added that Lincoln had stood highest with his people on the day of his assassination, and suggested that the message be sent not to the American Government, but the American U.P. body to emphasise the unity of the Church in both countries. Stark pointed out that the loss of Lincoln was balanced by the accomplishment of Emancipation, which had always been a principle aim of the U.P. Church. He regretted, however, that they had not spoken on the American situation since 1861, and that they had not given more official support to the anti-slavery struggle. He maintained that, although there might be great differences on American politics, they were only passing judgements against two sins, - murder and slavery. Supporting speakers urged that the denominations should work more actively for friendlier relations with America, in order to counteract the influence of the press and other sources of ill-feeling. The motion/
motion was carried unanimously. (1)

On the same day, members of the Free Church General Assembly, with support of Dr. Candlish, introduced an overture into the latter body urging an address to the Evangelical denominations of America on the restoration of peace and the abolition of slavery. On 31 May, the draft of the address to the American Church was read to the Assembly. It expressed sympathy for the American Church in the recent struggle and approval of the establishment of peace and Abolition. A note of controversy was added when the Earl of Dalhousie, speaking for the pro-Southern element in the Church, declared that the war had not been for Abolition, which had merely been an unforeseen result. Declaring that no thanks were due to either the North or the South, he praised Lee and Jackson, but also deplored the assassination of Lincoln, whom he described as a great patriot and statesman, who had done his duty throughout the war. Defending the Federals, Dr. Buchanan argued that the Confederates had fought to uphold slavery and had forced the rest of the country to go to war. He pointed out that the tide of the war had turned "from the day the North, under leading of that noble man, President Lincoln, determined to take its ground on/ (1) Scotsman, 22 May 1865.
on the side of freedom." The address was unanimously adopted and sent to America. (1)

On 2 June, Dalhousie's speech was answered in the Free Church Assembly by the Duke of Argyll, who argued at length that slavery was the cause of the war. The Duke quoted from various speeches and documents to prove that Lincoln and the Federals acted against slavery to the maximum allowed by the Constitution, while the Rebels stood specifically for slavery. He asserted that it was easy to present the policy of the Federals in an invidious light, but that it was a strange time to do so now that America had repented and changed its policy in regard to slavery and had suffered such losses in putting down the slave-holders. The Duke quoted the anti-slavery sections of the Republican platform of 1860 and referred to the fact that President Buchanan had blamed the Secession on Abolitionist agitators. Argyll also warned that anti-Federal statements would hinder the campaign of the British Freedmen's Aid Society to help the readjustment of the ex-slaves. He observed that people would not give "in support of this demonstration of good feeling toward America if they believe that the people of the United States have been actuated by nothing better than "evil passions." He added that even those who refused to consider that slavery was the avowed aim of the Secessionists ought/

(1) Scotsman, 31 May, 1865.
ought to recognise that the Federals had something better than evil passions in fighting a movement "which was incompatible with their continued existence as a nation."

He pointed out that Britain had fought, in the Crimea for instance, for lesser reasons.

The Duke of Argyll was particularly active in support of Freedmen's Aid and in attempting to repair relations with America. On 17 May he acted as chairman at a conference of Freedmen's Aid Societies from all over Britain in the Westminster Palace Hotel in London. Speaking on the connection between slavery and the American struggle, he pointed out that slavery had entered into the Presidential election campaign of 1860, and that Lincoln was openly anti-slavery, although forced to keep his programme within Constitutional bounds. The slaveholders had viewed the election of Lincoln as a threat to their power and had seceded, thus permitting Lincoln to proceed with Emancipation. He urged that Britain should show that she still had the same attitude towards slavery as she had had in the past and reminded his audience of the horrors of slavery reported by travellers in the South. After giving facts and figures concerning the slave trade and slave breeding in the border states, Argyll praised the Society/

(1) Scotsman, 5 June, 1865.
Society of Friends for collecting so much of the evidence and doing so much of the work against slavery. He urged that Britain should be aware of the great events going on and should help "towards the attainment of the blessed effects which must follow negro emancipation in America." (cheers) (1)

The Freedmen's Aid Movement continued its efforts during the immediate post war period. On 6 June the Glasgow Freedmen's Aid Society reported that £100 had already been sent to America. At the same time the Glasgow organisation affiliated with the British Freedmen's Aid Society in London. (2) On 25 July the Reverend Sella Martin, now a minister in New York, addressed the Society as a representative of the American Missionary Society, which was disbursing the Freedmen's Aid contributions of over 3000 American churches. A resolution in support of Sella Martin was passed by the Society and subsequently printed. (3) At the end of August, Councillor Moir and Peter MacLeod were sent as delegates to a British Freedmen's Aid Convention in Bristol: their expenses were paid by "two members of the Society of Friends". On 18 September, the/

(1) Scotsman, 20 May: see also Duchess of Argyll-Sumner, 12 May, (JPMHA, loc.cit., 105)
(3) Ibid, entry for July.
September the two delegates brought back an enthusiastic report of the Convention. (1) The Glasgow Society remained active for four years.

Although it is not within the scope of this work to make a detailed analysis of the relation between the Civil War and the 1865 general election in Scotland and the agitation leading up to the Second Reform Act in 1867, there are indications that there were close connections, and certainly the British political scene as a whole was affected. (2) The Conservatives who had in the early part of the war based their argument against further Reform on the alleged failure of democratic government in America, were seriously discredited by the success of the Federals against the slave holders. By the same token, the Radical cause received a major impetus. Since both Radicalism and Federal sympathy were proportionately stronger in Scotland than England, we can anticipate that the Federal victory played an important part in the development of Scottish Radicalism during the years after the war. At the same time/

(2) The relation was generally considered to be close on the British scene as a whole, e.g., see letter of Goldwin Smith-Norton, 26 July, 1865, (JPMHA, XLIX, pp. 120–3, 1015–16), who attributes the great Liberal electoral victory of 1865 to the successful vindication of democracy by the Federals, their freeing of the slaves, and magnanimous treatment of the Rebels: also Bulloch, op. cit., II, 5–12, 303, et seq., who identified the Radical as the pro-Federal party and blames them for arousing hostility to the Confederates: also Monaghan, op. cit. and Randall, op. cit.
time, the Labour movement, which, with certain exceptions, had taken up the cause of the Federals, was also greatly strengthened and contributed in turn to the success of Reform. Marx observes: "As in the eighteenth century the American Revolution sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the nineteenth century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working class."(1)

This fact is clearly indicated in the course of a workers' demonstration for Reform in Edinburgh on 27 June 1865. The chief speaker, George Lorimer, leader of the construction workers in Edinburgh, denounced the increasing militarism of the upper class and described the various foreign bogies which were used to stir up chauvinist sentiment. After enumerating several of these, he went on: "Then comes the Republican spectre of America (laughter.) I don't pretend to understand much of American life; - but we might all know this, that the Republic has passed successfully/

successfully through a fiery trial (hear, hear and cheers) and that nothing has taken place there but what has taken place before under every, even our own, mixed monarchical government; and as for their universal suffrage, it has placed men into the Presidency, even to the twice-elected and lamented old, honest Abraham Lincoln (loud and prolonged cheers) who can stand comparison with the hereditary nobility of any country or age."(1)

The issue of the Civil War was injected into the political scene in Leith, where a meeting of Liberals was called by John Adam to consider the conduct of Miller, the pro-Confederate M.P. for the borough. "A great portion" of the meeting belonged to the working class, and there was fierce heckling of the various speakers by both the supporters and opponents of the incumbent. After Adam had attacked Miller as unfit to be an M.P., a Mr. Rendall, who declared himself to be a former supporter of Miller, also attacked the latter, primarily on the grounds of his stand on the Civil War. Rendall was particularly critical of Miller's hostility to America during the Trent affair and went on to thank God for the suppression of the "impious rebellion" in America. He was frequently interrupted by Jingoist/

(1) Scotsman, 28 June, 1865. The progress of Trade Unionism in Scotland at this time extended even to the countryside, where the Scottish agricultural workers began organising (1865-6) the first agricultural trade union in Britain since the suppression of the agricultural union in the 1830's. (Marx, op. cit., 237, f.n.2).
jingoist outbursts from the supporters of Miller, who included among them the chairman of the meeting. When Rendall referred to the British stand on the Trent affair as "an outrage", the chairman announced that he "refused to hear any observations made which are repugnant to our national feelings and drove Rendall from the platform; the meeting was then taken over by the pro-Miller forces, with the aid of their chairman.

In Edinburgh itself, there was a powerful resurgence of Radicalism, with the energetic backing of the Labour movement. The efforts of the latter were directed in particular against Adam Black, the Whig M.P., and publisher of the Edinburgh Review. Black had renewed on a previous campaign promise to support Reform and had expressed strong hostility toward trade unions, strikes, and working class franchise. On 7 June, 1865, Black appeared at a public meeting in the Music Hall with his colleague, Moncrieff, the Lord-Advocate, who had made himself unpopular with the Radicals for compromising with the Erastians on the Annuity Tax. Just previously Black had voted against the Baines Bill to extend the franchise, and had thus further irritated the workers. He noted in his diary:

"This meeting being advertised, our opponents were not idle. Every means was used to prevent us being heard. Placards were posted in the streets urging the working men to/

(1) Scotsman, 21 April, 1865.
to be early at the meeting and crowd the hall. The Lord Provost was in the chair but could hardly get a hearing. When the Lord Advocate and I appeared, we were received with yells and tumult, joined in by men apparently respectable, and it was said that even clergymen were not ashamed to help in the disturbance. I tried to be heard, and stretched my voice to the utmost but in vain, and had to speak just to the reporters. By the time the Lord advocate got up to speak, the audience had expended much of their fury, and he, though amidst fury and interruption, was better listened to.\(^{(1)}\)

The Scotsman, which was particularly hostile to the working class at this phase and opposed any electoral reform in their favour,\(^{(2)}\) described the meeting as "on the whole, of the most disgraceful and extraordinary character ever witnessed at a public meeting in Edinburgh."\(^{(3)}\) A motion in favour of the two M.P.s was, however, finally passed, but on 16 June, Black (back in London) voted for the secret ballot, although "with considerable doubts."\(^{(4)}\) In the ensuing election, Duncan M'Laren was returned as one of the Edinburgh M.P.s, and in the municipal election later in the year, the Radicals were swept back into power in the capital, revenging their/

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\(^{(1)}\) Memoirs of Adam Black, ed. A. Nicholson, Edinburgh, 1885, pp. 227-8. Nicholson writes: "Some of the reporters on this occasion, finding it impossible to take down consecutive sentences of Mr. Black's speech, made their way to the platform and took up their seats on the speaker's right hand." (loc. cit.)

\(^{(2)}\) e.g., Scotsman, 12 June, 1865.

\(^{(3)}\) Ibid, 8 June.

\(^{(4)}\) Memoirs of Adam Black, 228.
their defeat in 1862.

In Dumbartonshire, James Stirling, another leader of the pro-Federal party, stood as Liberal candidate in an unsuccessful attempt to oust the Tory incumbent, P.B. Smollett. Taking the American question as a central issue in his campaign, Stirling pointed out the good results of the Liberal policy of non-intervention in the Civil War, which enabled Britain to come through the war safely. Stirling implied that the Tory would have intervened had they been in power. Smollett replied that he was not an interventionist on general principle, but that he believed there were occasions when such a policy was necessary, and added: "A country like Great Britain could not allow her flag to be insulted without resenting it." In Selkirkshire, the Liberal candidate, William Napier, praised the behaviour of both Britain and America during the Trent affair, and rejoiced that the possibility of war between the two countries had passed away and that future relations would be peaceful. In Buteshire, James Lamont, the pro-Federal Radical, revenged his recent defeat by ousting Boyle, the Tory incumbent.

In the years following the Civil War there were two major groups in Scotland which showed intensely pro-American sentiments.

(2) Scotsman, 29 June, 1865; the speech was made at Kirkintilloch on 27 June.
(3) Ibid, 30 June.
(4) In a speech at Selkirk on 24 June - Scotsman, 26 June. Napier was defeated by Lord Scott, the Tory incumbent.
sentiments. The first of these was the large depressed section of the working class, which repudiated the existing society and class structure of Britain which condemned them to perpetual degradation and transferred their hopes, and if possible their persons, to America, which held out to them a promise of economic betterment and a respect of the dignity of labour. On 22 November 1865, for instance, the American consul in Glasgow reported to Seward:

"I have the honour to enclose a "Memorial of Handloom Weavers of Scotland' addressed to His Excellency the President of the United States and accompanying it some proceedings relating to emigration.

I am constantly being called upon by a class of persons wishing to emigrate who have no money but who say if they could be sent to the United States, they are willing to obligate themselves to repay the passage money with labour at the usual rate of wages. An intelligent weaver informed me a few days ago since that there were in this city as many as 4,000 able-bodied males and females, principally weavers, foundry hands and dockyard hands, who would be ready to leave for the United States in ten days if their passage across the Atlantic could be paid.

An immigration officer located some point in Scotland with/
with authority to contract with ships for the carrying of emigrants would, I think, do much toward supplying our people with the labour they so much need...

These statements help to explain the pro-Federal sympathies of most of the Scottish workers, including even those in the depressed weaving towns, such as Paisley and Newmiln. It also helps to illustrate how the large-scale emigration of depressed and malcontent groups to America in the latter part of the nineteenth century helped to avert or at least postpone the violent social upheavals predicted by Marx and other Socialist theoreticians.

The other intensely Americanophile group in Scotland were the Radical entrepreneurs, of whom Carnegie was the archetype. Many, if not most, of these men sprang from lowly social origins and therefore shared from the start the Radical ideals cherished by the lower middle and working classes in Scotland and which they had now seen triumph in America. They sympathised warmly with the free enterprise principles of the Republican Party, and were at the same time sufficiently Philistine not to be taken aback by the general vulgarity of the "Gilded Age" in America. At the same time they/

(1) Bailey - Seward, 22 November, 1865 (Glas. Cons. Records). The memorial from the hand loom weavers is enclosed.
they viewed the expanding economy of the West as an ideal field for investing their surplus capital. Duncan M'Laren was a prime example of this type. So was his Radical colleague, Charles Cowan, who visited America in 1867 and was deeply impressed. Upon returning, he urged better acquaintance and an entente cordiale between Britain and America, with the object of increasing the economic prosperity of both countries and protecting world peace. W.E. Baxter, of the Dundee dynasty, was another such figure. Sir David Wedderburn, whose family fortune was, as we have noted, invested in America, also toured America shortly after the war and returned overflowing with enthusiasm for the Republicans and the North in general. Lecturing on America during 1867-8, he expressed great praise for the country and its institutions, declaring, for instance, that: "All that is grandest and most promising in the future of the human race...is bound up in the fortunes of the youthful giant who already overshadows the entire New World." Predicting that America would eventually overshadow Britain, Wedderburn urged the development of close bonds with, and a better understanding for America by Britain. Wedderburn also praised America's political and religious liberty, the sacrifices made during the war to maintain the Union and free the slaves, the free public school system, and the absence of an Established Church (Wedderburn himself was a Rationalist). Summing up his thoughts on America, Wedderburn asserted: "The United/
United States are not a terrestrial Paradise, indeed, for the wealthy and refined there are many pleasanter countries to live in. But for the man who lives by the sweat of his brow, for him who has a large family and small means, for him who wishes work but cannot find employment, and for him who longs to own the soil he cultivates, indeed, for about nine-tenths of the human race, America is the best country ever yet seen. (1)

The bonds between the Scottish and American Churches were also undoubtedly strengthened by the developments during the war. Scottish Christians viewed with favour the successful carrying out of the Abolition programme long advocated by such prominent divines as Ward Beecher and Dr. Cheever, while Americans were grateful for the widespread mobilisation of Presbyterian opinion and influence in their favour by leading Scottish Churchmen. In 1867, Dr. Guthrie, together with Principal Fairbairn and the Reverend J. Wells, were delegated to represent the Free Church on a goodwill mission to the American Presbyterian Church. A great ovation was prepared for Dr. Guthrie in America, but at the last moment the heart disease from which he suffered, took a turn for the worse, and he was forced to cancel his trip. However, he promised in a letter to the Reverend G.H. Stuart of Philadelphia, that he would/

would "do what I can to present the States in such a light to the people here as shall make some ashamed of themselves and their feelings and go to foster and ripen that kindlier disposition which has begun to become more general and developed toward our brothers across the sea." (1)

The ideological conflict which the Civil War had generated between reactionary and Radical continued to rage until the passing of the Second Reform Act. As an illustration we might quote the clash between those two rival prophets, Carlyle and Marx. In August 1863, Carlyle had published a feuilleton in MacMillan's entitled Ilia (Americana) in Nupe," in which he did his best to confuse the increasingly clear issue of emancipation versus slavery. Carlyle attempted to show that there was no essential difference between slavery and free labour: the former merely meant hiring servants for life instead of for months or days. It was therefore simply pointless malignity which caused "Peter of the North" to fight "Paul of the South" over this issue. Marx dealt the "Sage of Chelsea" a devastating counterblow several years later: when he wrote in Das Kapital: "Finally spake the oracle Thomas Carlyle, of whom I wrote in 1850, 'Zum Teufel ist der Genius, der Kultus ist geblieben,' In a short parable he reduces the one great event of contemporary history, the American Civil War to this level/

(1) Guthrie, op. cit., 667-8.
level, that the Peter of the North wants to break the head of
the Paul of the South with all his might, because, the Peter
of the North hires his labour by the day, and the Paul of the
South hires his by the life. Thus the bubble of the Tory
sympathy for the urban workers - by no means for the rural
- has burst at last. The sum of all is - slavery!" (1)

Carlyle greeted the Second Reform Act with a long and
violently reactionary article in M'Millan's. (2) Launching
a bombastic attack on democracy, he declared that Britain was
heading for ruin because of the Act, and contrasted the decay
of Britain with Bismarck's establishment of Prussian despotism
over Germany, which Carlyle praised as the only healthy con-
temporary development in Europe. Carlyle went on to urge
the officer class and the energetic section of the aristocracy
to begin organizing for a military putsch to suppress demo-
cracy and Parliamentary government and to set up a military
dictatorship. He deplored the decline of the Protestant
Church as shown by its support for liberty of conscience and
social reforms. Denouncing the carrying out of emancipation
in America, Carlyle informed his readers that: "The Almighty
has appointed him (the negro) to be a servant. Under penalt-
of Heaven's Curse, neither party to his pre-appointment shall
neglect/

(1) Marx, op. cit., 240. f.n.1.

(2) entitled "Shooting Niagara and After", M'Millan's, XVI,
319-36, (August, 1863).
neglect or mis-do his duties therein." He proceeded to argue that slavery was the best solution to the labour problem and called for the enslavement of the entire working class. After sneering and raving at the Abolitionists, and at the Americans for fighting for Emancipation, he attacked the cowardice of the British rulers for not resisting resisting democracy, and urged the younger sons of the aristocracy, in particular, to band together and prepare a counter attack on democracy. Carlyle looked for salvation to the drill-sergeant, asserting: "One often wishes the entire population could be thoroughly drilled......That of commanding and obeying, were there nothing more, is it not the basis of all human culture? Ought not all to have it; and how many ever do?" The masses should therefore be drilled and taught obedience by a "wise Hero-Aristocrat", who would build up a private army in preparation for the struggle against Parliamentary democracy. "It would in no moment be doubtful to him (the Hero-Aristocrat) that between Anarchy and anti-ditto it would have to come to sheer fight at last: and that nothing short of a duel to the death could ever avoid that great quarrel. And he would have his hopes, his assurance, as to how the victory would lie.....To Anarchy, however million-headed, there is no victory possible. Patience, silence, diligence, ye chosen of the world! Slowly or fast, in the course of time you/
you will grow to a minority that can actually step forth, (sword not yet drawn, but sword ready to be drawn) and say:

'Here we are, Sirs: we also are minded to vote, to all lengths as you may perceive'. . . . . . What are the noisiest anarchic Parliaments, in majority of a million to one, against such? Stubble against fire, Fear not, my friend: the issue is very certain when it comes so far as this!"

In Edinburgh, the leading champion of die-hard conserva-
tion was Professor Blackie, who, however, did not go to such reactionary extremes as Carlyle. Duncan M'Laren, for instance expressed great admiration for Blackie, telling the latter that he respected him as an honest Conservative who opposed Reform openly, unlike a section of the Liberals, who publicly supported Reform while working behind the scenes against it. (1)

As the Second Reform Bill gathered headway, a debate was held in Edinburgh between Blackie and Ernest Jones on the subject of Democracy, in which both speakers gave succinct expression to the opposing sides of the conflict. Opposing Reform, Blackie expressed fear of the effects of democracy, especially of the growing power of the Trade Union movement.

(1) M'Laren - Blackie, 26 October, 1866. (Blackie Papera, Nat. Library of Scotland). Democracy: a Debate between Professor Blackie and Ernest Jones, 2nd. edition, Manchester, 1865. Jones' speech was also published - as Democracy Vindicated, Edinburgh, 1867.
He pointed to such abuses of democracy in America as the persecution of dissenting minorities and the corruption and bribery in political life, particularly in New York. He argued also that democracy meant loss of reverence for one's betters and declaimed: "In one word, save us from America.... One thing is certain: a Reform Bill in the direction of American democracy in this country at the present moment will lead us to an inevitable tendency to overthrow the British Constitution.... One false step in the direction we are now moving in can never be retracted. The same complexity of parties, the same compliance with clamour, the same cowardly compromise with absurdity which may lead to the triumph of the present movement, will in course of time, of another thirty years, lead to another instalment of American liberty; and then comes, according to M. Bright, Paradise: according to New York precedents - Pandemonium. Before a House of Commons nominated by Trade Unions and overawed by fervid demagogues, the constitution of this country would not last a year. The House of Lords, that wonderful incarnation of all that is stable, graceful, and chivalrous in society, would be voted an encumbrance; the Crown denounced as an expensive toy; and the Multitude and Mammon - the mechanised forces and the material interests - would enter into the indisputed heirship of the world-renowned British Constitution. May God long preserve us from such a consummation!"

In reply, Ernest Jones based much of his case on the example/
example of America. He admitted widespread corruption in New York, but explained that this was due to the different ethical standards of Irish Catholicism, the dominant force in the city. He asserted that the rest of the country was sound and pointed to such favourable features as the rising standard of living. "You say look at New York," declared Jones, "I say look at America! Turn from a New York row to that noble spectacle, the re-election of President Lincoln; when after years of civil war, the bitterest ever waged - when every passion would be stirred to its profoundest depth and faction did its utmost to inflame the partisan - two hostile parties went to the ballot of democracy, and not a riot disgraced the wide circle of the Northern States, but in majestic peace and order, that unequalled people register, the fiat of its will. You have seen in New York the creation of European class rule: again, I say, behold the creation of democracy!" In defence of the trade unions, Jones pictured the evil conditions which had given birth to them. He argued that the right to strike for better conditions was fundamental and that to be severe with blacklegs was as just as to imprison or shoot deserters in the army. Summing up his political philosophy, Jones concluded: "Democracy is but Christianity applied to the politics of everyday life."

In/
In conclusion we might note the visit of Garrison to Scotland in 1867. In June of that year, Garrison stayed with the Duke and Duchess of Argyll at Kensington. On the 29th, the Duke was chairman of a public meeting in London in honour of the Abolitionist leader, and spoke in praise of Lincoln, Emancipation, and British-American friendship. 

In July, Garrison stayed for a week with Elizabeth Pease Nichol and became the first American to be presented with the freedom of Edinburgh - a ceremony which had been "quietly suggested" by the Lord Provost by Mrs. Nichol. He then went on to Glasgow where he was presented with addresses at two public meetings. The first of these was a public breakfast given for Garrison by the Smeals, the Patons, and other Abolitionists at which Dr. William Anderson read the address. The second was at an evening meeting of the Scottish National Reform Association at which the principal speaker was Councillor Moir. The latter aroused some opposition from the audience by his strong attack on the Rebellion "and the attitude of the governing classes of Great Britain respecting it."

Garrison was, however, greeted with unanimous enthusiasm. He endorsed Moir's statements, and pointed out that there had been "no extermination whatever" for the slave holders. He maintained/

(1) Garrison, op. cit., IV, 193.
(2) Ibid, 220-2.
maintained that slavery was not a product but a violation of Republicanism, and rejoiced that now "those principles or ideas stand untarnished before the world. Whatever freedom for the people - all the people - shall be wrought out on our soil, will be an example to the peoples of all parts of the world.... The best and strongest government in the world must be that where the greatest number are interested in its administration..... The people may err.... they may be badly deceived..... but they will by and by understand the deceptions and deal with the deceivers." He concluded by calling for universal suffrage in Britain.

The Association then adopted with great enthusiasm the following address: "We rejoice with you that the Slaveholders Confederacy.... has sunk to rise no more. The eager joy with which the enemies of liberty in Europe and their allies among the aristocracy of Britain hailed that infamous attempt to solve all question affecting capital and labour by making the labourer capital, aroused our countrymen from that political apathy which is fatal to a free state, and so encouraged the advocates of popular liberty in this country again to raise the standard of Reform. Your success won half the battle. Though our efforts to secure for all our country-

men the/
the rights of citizenship have not, like yours, been crowned with complete success, yet we rejoice that political monopoly in this country has just received another heavy blow and ere long must totter to its fall. We look forward with hope to the time when the British people, truly represented in a reformed Parliament, in firm and friendly union with the American people, may jointly lead the nations toward a nobler civilisation, true liberty, and lasting peace. We shall ever remember, Sir, that to your labours much of our success is due, and as the memories of the early founders of our national liberty and greatness are today cherished equally by Britain and America, so in the future we believe shall your name, and the names of your noble co-adjutors, be held in honour by both branches of the Anglo-Saxon race."

(1) Garrison, op.cit., IV, 222-5.
CONCLUSION.

Owing to the wide scope of this topic, and the newness of the material, I have felt justified in ranging wide, while dropping detailed shafts only in certain fields. However, it has been definitely shown that the Civil War had a great impact upon Scotland and that it acted as a major focus for Scottish developments and conflicts, as well as having important repercussions on Scottish economic life. The success of the Federals effected for America what Lincoln described as "a new birth in freedom", which vindicated the cause of democracy and stimulated a great revival of Radical and working class activity which led up to the establishment of democracy in Britain. As we have seen, there were crosscurrents relating to the war in all of the Scottish groups. Some liberal and labour elements followed Gladstone in espousing the Confederates on the ground that they represented a suppressed national entity like the Hungarians, Italians and Poles. On the other hand, an aristocrat like the Duke of Argyll, was an extreme partisan of the Federals. On the whole, however, and particularly after the Emancipation Proclamation, the radical and labour forces identified their cause with that of the Federals, whereas from the beginning of the conflict, most of the spokesmen for the Tories and Whigs/
Whigs had regarded the apparent success of the Southern aristocracy as proving the bankruptcy of democracy and the necessity of preserving the constitutional status quo in Britain. The latter were completely discomfited by the eventual victory of democracy in America and were forced to give away before their radical and labour opponents.

The great influence of the Abolitionist movement is seen in the creation of a climate of opinion hostile to slavery and ready to respond to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The groundwork laid by the Abolitionists and their experience in organisation also helped to frustrate efforts to raise up mass support for a policy of intervention in favour of the Rebels. A parallel development was the mobilisation of the Protestant conscience in Scotland in favour of the Federals after emancipation, although here again there were important cross-currents. Interrelations between the Scottish and American Churches played an important part in the moulding of Scottish opinion on the war issues: Scottish Churchmen who were fighting for the freedom of religion with the Free Church Protestantism of the North, identified 'the crusade of the latter against the slaveholders with their own struggle against state control at home. The religious reactions and repercussions caused by the war in Scotland, are indeed an illustration of the historical working of the Protestant ethic, which had been one of the major/
major catalytic forces in Britain since the sixteenth century. From the "send back the money" campaign in 1846, to the end of the Civil War, one can observe how the tension between Erastian and Evangelical, between Free Church, United, Presbyterian, Independent and Quaker, and between moderate and extreme anti-slavery forces within these groups, formed part of a dialectical process whereby reforms in various fields were worked out. The forces which were united in support of the Federals were the same Protestant, humanitarian, Radical and labour elements which joined together in the ILP and the Labour Party a generation later.

The social effect of the war can be seen in the treatment given to it by the periodical press, which shows the great interest taken by the middle class reading public in the American crisis. The periodicals and newspapers also show the intense ideological conflict occasioned by the war. Unfortunately, the lack of adequate labour papers and records in Scotland prevents one from drawing a fuller picture of the opinions and attitude of the workers. However, it is evident that most of the workers identified their cause with that of the Federals, particularly after the anti-slavery nature of the war had been made evident by the Emancipation Proclamation. The genesis and influence in Scotland of two important historical myths has also been pointed out. In the first place, there was/
was the Lincoln myth which served as an inspiration for Radical and working class forces, and in the second place there was the myth of the Old South, cherished especially in upper class circles, which has had a widespread influence since that day.

In the economic sphere, the impact of the Civil War was every bit as important as in other fields. Several important developments in the Scottish economy were caused, or at least greatly accelerated by the conflict. In the first place the cotton industry, once Scotland's chief manufacture, was dealt its death blow by the blockade and famine. On the other hand, shipbuilding and similar heavy industries received a great stimulus, as also did the jute industry of Dundee and the woollen manufacture in the Borders. The victory of the forces of centralism and "free enterprise" in America also helped to make America a more profitable field of investment for surplus Scottish capital.

Another wide field of research which I think is indicated by this work, is the influence of Scotland on America. During the Civil War, the Scottish press was full of accounts of various Scots who were serving in one or another army (usually the Federal) and we have already referred to the Scottish-American regiment known as the New York 79th. In the South, the influence of Scottish Romanticism, as surveyed by Walter Scott, /
Scott, was a powerful influence, and the myth of the Old South was obviously modelled on the sentimental Jacobitism of which the Sherra was the leading exponent. The Clyde was in a sense one of the chief naval bases of the Confederacy, from which they obtained several of their warships, and from the Clyde ports came the major part of the blockade running fleet which enabled the Rebels to prolong their resistance. On the other hand, the Scottish Abolitionists played a direct part in the war by stopping the sail'ng of the Pampero, and indirectly the Clyde ram, thus preventing a Confederate counter-offensive at sea which might have changed the course of the war. At the same time, the popular demonstrations by Scottish Radical and Labour forces played an important part in forcing the government to discard its pro-Confederate policy which threatened to precipitate war with America.

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasise again the newness of the subject and also to point to the need for a regional approach to such topics to counterbalance the work of those who have concentrated unduly on State Papers and the London press. Such standard authorities as E.D. Adams and Jordan and Pratt make practically no reference to Scotland in their respective works. There is need for several more specialised studies on the impact of the war on Scotland, and also of its effect on Ireland and Wales.
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Note: This bibliography contains all the sources quoted or referred to in the footnotes together with a selection of the background material. Subsequent research has cast serious doubts on L. B. Schmidt's article ("The Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War") referred to above. Schmidt argued that British policy was influenced mainly by the need for Southern cotton and Northern wheat, and that the Government's final decision to enforce strict neutrality (e.g. by seizing the Rams and the Pampero in 1863) represented a "victory" of wheat over cotton. It now appears that Northern wheat was not an important factor in influencing British policy; a sufficient supply could have been obtained from Russia if it had proved necessary (see E. D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, and P. Owsley, King Cotton Diplomacy). Hobart Pasha's autobiography (Sketches from my Life) is in parts unreliable, if not actually fictitious. The section on blockade running is, however, accepted as historically authentic.
APPENDIX I
Blockade Runners from Clydeside

Sources: Glasgow Consular reports (esp. list of blockade runners in Cook-Seward, 18 January 1865); Foreign Office Documents relating to American affairs during the Civil War period (PRO)(see bibliography); ORR; ORN; Caledonian Mercury; Scotsman; Glasgow Herald; Morning Journal; Glasgow Sentinel; M. W. Price, "Ships that tested the Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865", American Neptune, VIII (1948), 196-241; M. W. Price, "Ships that tested the Blockade of the Gulf Ports, 1861-1865", American Neptune, XI (1951), 262-90; XII (1952), 52-63; 154-62; 239-40; and the cited works of Bradlee, Bulloch, Scharf, Morgan, Hobart Pasha, T. E. Taylor, and Lubbock.

This list may not be accurate in every detail and is probably not exhaustive. Blockade runners resorted to many devices to conceal their activities; they sometimes changed the name of one of their vessels several times, while sometimes there were two or more vessels of the same name running at the same time. Also, port and customs formalities were usually waived for blockade runners entering or leaving the Southern /
Southern ports, so that port records are often of little help. Price's series of articles in the American Neptune are the best secondary source of information, although he admits that his lists are probably not complete. He dismisses the lists of successful runs contained in the consular reports and records only the number of runs he can definitely ascertain from other sources. It appears to me that Price probably underestimates the number of runs made by many of the ships, some of which are only credited with one or two runs in the course of a year. Towards the end of the war, Cook, the American Consul in Glasgow, submitted to the State Department a list of blockade runners from Clydeside and included a list of the successful runs made by various of the ships (Glasgow Consular records: Cook-Seward, 18 January 1865). The consul attributes a larger number of runs to most, but not all, of the ships than Price does. At the same time the data given in Bradlee and other secondary sources sometimes conflicts with both of these authorities. I do not dismiss completely the figures given by Cook and others, and I believe that the larger figure may often be more accurate. Although some of the figures can be definitely ruled out, I have in a number of cases included both the minimum /
minimum and maximum number of runs reported to have been made by a given vessel. I have followed Price's figures of the tonnage of the various ships (when he gives them) as his figures are obviously more precise and reliable than the conflicting information in other sources. The words "Carolina" or "Gulf" in parentheses after a ship's name indicate that the ship was running into ports on the Carolina or Gulf coasts. The vessels are all steam ships, unless otherwise mentioned.

1861

Fingal: new steamer, sailed 11 October, under command of J. T. Bulloch, ran blockade into Savannah, later transformed into armoured warship Atlanta, forced to surrender 17 June 1863 to U.S.S. Weehawken after naval battle off Savannah.

1862 - ships whose approximate date of departure is known

Leonard-Stonewall Jackson: "A swift side wheel boat" (Prettyman-Seward, 16 May), 862 tons, 320 horse power, commanded by Capt. Peck, owned by J. Fraser & Co. of Charleston, sailed 15 May, made from one to five successful runs, destroyed off Charleston, 11 April 1863 (Carolina).

Columbia-Memphis: iron steamer, 791 tons, sailed 15 May with
a load of coal and 8 guns, commanded by Capt. Cruikshank, made one successful run (Carolina), captured on second attempt, 31 July 1862.

**Adela**: 600 tons, 250 h.p., sailed 15 May, captured in 1863. Prettyman describes the above three ships as "first class iron steamers, well fitted for sea service and very fast sailors. Only the swiftest of our gunboats can overtake them." (Prettyman-Seward, 16 May 1862).

**Iona**: 500 ton fast river paddle ship, crew of 12, commanded by Capt. Copper, owned by Cunard & Wilson, Liverpool, sailed at end of September, sunk in collision shortly after departure.

**Pearl**: 500 ton river paddle steamer, similar to Iona, crew of 14 commanded by Capt. Irving, owned by Cunard & Wilson, sailed 15 October, ran the blockade to Charleston, captured 20 June 1863, subject of a dispute between Britain and America (see P.R.O.: F.O.5/1154).

**Ruby**: Fast Clyde river paddle steamer, sister ship of Pearl, 200 ft. long, 19 ft. beam, 6 ft. deep in hold, no upper deck or superstructure except for one mast forward and a small bridge from one paddle box to the other, 400 tons, crew of 22, owned by Alexander Collie & Co., commanded by Capt. A. Swazey, eight runs (six to Charleston, two to Gulf ports), captured /
captured 27 February 1865, lat. 26°, 10'N., long. 82°, 10'W.

**Giraffe—Robert E. Lee:** 360.39 tons, 290 h.p., crew of 62.

"Giraffe's length was 279 ft., her beam was 25 ft., and the depth of her hold was 13 ft. 8 in. She had a single deck, two pipes, and two masts. Her pipes and masts were very raking. Her draft, light, was 7 ft. forward and 8 ft. aft. She had two oscillating engines, with 65 inch cylinders and six-foot stroke, built by James and George Thompson in 1863. She had Morgan's patent wheels, and six horizontal tubular boilers, three forward and three aft the engine, with two furnaces and 158 three-inch tubes in each boiler." (M. Price, "Ships that tested the Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865", American Neptune, VIII (1948), 202-3), speed of 13½ knots, formerly on Glasgow Belfast run, owned at first by Alex. Collie, later bought by Confederate government, commanded by Capt. Wilkinson, ran blockade 31 times carrying out between six and seven thousand bales of cotton. In October Wilkinson was transferred, and she was captured on her next attempt (under Capt. William Wilkinson) off Wilmington by the James Adger, 9 November 1863.

**Thistle—Cherokee:** 206.29 ton screw steamer, crew of 31, owned by Confederate Government, commanded by Capt. Murray, 5 runs (Charleston), captured 7 May 1863 off Charleston.

**Antona:** /
Antona: 246 ton screw steamer, bought for blockade running in October, captured 6 January 1863, SSE of Cape San Blas.

Princess Royal: 800 ton screw steamer, left in November, destroyed 29 January 1863, off Charleston.

Havelock-General Beauregard: 824 ton, 340 h.p. paddle steamer, left in November, made 13 or 14 runs (Carolina), destroyed off Wilmington, N.C., 12 December 1863.

Cornubia-Lady Davin: 259.23 new screw steamer, crew of 44, commanded by Capt. Davidson, sailed December 1862, captured 8 November 1863 off New Inlet.

Herald-Antonica: 563 ton, 350 h.p. paddle steamer, crew of 36, formerly on the Dublin-Glasgow run, bought by J. Fraser & Co., which later sold her to the Chicora Co. of Charleston, which changed her name to Antonica - commanded by Capt. J.M. Coxeter, carrying capacity 775 bales. "Fore and aft schooner rigged, with a flush deck, a single stack, a copper steam funnel. Her draft fore and aft when loaded was 12 feet."

(M. Price, "Ships that tested the Blockade of the Carolina Ports, 1861-1865", American Neptune, VIII, 204). Although a slow vessel, with a speed of only 6 or 7 knots, she made 28 runs (Carolina and Gulf) before she was sunk off Frying Pan Shoals, 20 December 1863.

Ships /
Ships leaving in 1862 – approximate dates of departure unknown.

Tubal Cain: 194 ton, 100 h.p. screw steamer, captured lat. 32°N., long. 78°, 14°W., 24 July 1862.
Kelpie: 400 ton river paddle steamer, captured 1862.
Leeburgh: 600 ton new screw steamer, captured in 1863.
Wave Queen: 464 ton new screw steamer, destroyed 25 February 1863 off North Santee, S.C.
Queen of the Clyde: 600 ton new screw steamer, captured in March 1863.
Minho: 253.61 ton new screw steamer, 4 runs (Carolina), destroyed off Charleston 1863.
Corinth: 1200 ton new screw steamer, captured in 1863.
Ranger: 400 ton new screw steamer, destroyed off Lockwood's Folly Inlet, 11 January 1864.
Britannia: 400 ton screw steamer, crew of 36, commanded by Capt. Zachison, 5 or 6 runs (Charleston), captured 25 June 1863 off Eleuthera Island.
Dolphin: 400 ton paddle steamer, captured April 1863 off Wilmington.
Amelia: 550 ton new screw steamer, later captured.
Granite City–City of Dundee: 327.20 ton new paddle steamer, crew of 25, 2 runs (Carolina), captured 22 March 1863.
Price /
(Price also lists a Granite City-Three Marys, formerly of U.S. Navy, captured by Confederates 6 May 1864, operated in Gulf in 1865, no recorded runs – possibly identical with above.)

**Georgia**: 750 ton new screw steamer, one run, acted for a time as tender to the Alabama, reputed to be owned by Matheson, Boyd & Co. of Glasgow.

**Neptune**: 500 ton, 100 h.p. river paddle steamer, "the best and fastest of all the Clyde boats" (Prettyman-Seward, 27 September 1862); "low, rising about nine or ten feet only above the water, has two masts and two chimneys. Her speed has been tested and is between eighteen and twenty miles per hour.... She was bought by the Confederate agent at £8500 and is flat-bottomed and of light draft..... Her captain's name is Campbell – her owner's Rickerby – said to be a Southern planter, but of what state I have not ascertained. He is a Highlander of Scotland and has on board some sixteen Highland labourers to put to work on his plantation." (Underwood-Seward, 16 January 1863), made one run between Havana and Mobile, captured in May 1863.

Ships /
Ships leaving in 1863 (approximate dates of departure known).

**Fanny-Orion**: probably Clyde-built, formerly ran between Lübeck and Cronstadt, 803 ton, three masted paddle steamer, with three funnels and standing unusually high out of the water, crew of 42, owned by the Bee Co., returned to the Clyde for repairs in July 1864, made between 10 and 16 runs, survived the war and returned to the Clyde at the end of it - rumoured to have cleared profits worth three or four times her cost on each of her runs.

**Gertrude**: 438 ton, 75 h.p. new screw steamer, left in mid-January, 3 runs, captured 16 April 1863 off Eleuthera Island.

**Emma**: Sister of Gertrude, 191 tons, crew of 31, left in mid-January, commanded by Capt. Hutchins, captured later in 1863.

**Anna Bell**: Sailing vessel, left at end of January "heavily armed with arms, ammunition, and medicine to run the blockade" (Underwood-Mills, 3 June 1863).

**Lord Clyde-A.D.Vance**: 902 ton, 250 h.p. paddle steamer, crew of 55, formerly on the Glasgow-Dublin run where her speed reached twenty to twenty-one m.p.h., left Greenock 22 May with cargo of ammunition. The state of North Carolina owned 25% of her (some sources say she was owned entirely by North Carolina), 6 to 18 runs (Wilmington), captured 10 September /
September 1864, incorporated into the American Navy as the Advance.

**Juno**: 247 ton, 100 h.p., river paddle steamer, owned by Confederate Government, left in May under command of Capt. Depoid, engineer: M'Gregor, first mate: Beaton, second mate: F. Tully, made 1 to 3 runs (Charleston) under command of Capt. Porcher, captured 22 September 1864 off Wilmington.

**Jupiter**: Similar to Juno, left in May, reported to have made several runs into Charleston, captured September 1863.

**Spunkie**: 400 ton river paddle steamer, left in May, six runs (Carolina), wrecked at Fort Carswell, N.C., 16 Feb. 1864.

**Mail-Susana-Susanna**: River paddle steamer. "She was 18 ft. long, with 14 foot beam, had one deck, one mast, one smoke stack, and was very low in the water." (M. Price, op.cit., *American Neptune*, XI, 276). speed: 12 m.p.h., capacity 275 bales. Cook (loc.cit.), reports her as being of 400 tons burden; Price gives two contradictory figures: 344 tons (loc.cit.) and 198 tons (op.cit., *American Neptune*, XII, 158), crew of 14, captured 15 October 1863, lat. 27°57′N., long. 83°09′W. She was condemned and sold by a prize court, but subsequently fell into the hands of the blockade runners again and returned to the trade. She was captured for the second time off Campeche Banks, 27 November 1864, having made /
made a total of 15 runs. Her last commander was Capt. Marcy.

Tuscar: 500 ton screw steamer, left in May, captured later in the year.

Roe: River boat, left in May.

Lord Gough: River boat, left in May.

Victory: River boat, left in May.

Vanguard: River boat, left in May.

Lord Raglan: River boat, left in May. (Several of these ships mentioned here as having left in May, and about which there is little information, may either not have run the blockade, or may have operated under other names, which are not identifiable.)

Lee Bonny: 250 ton brig, left the Clyde 15 May with arms and supplies (may have only run the first leg of the journey - i.e. to the West Indies).

Coquette: 300 ton new screw steamer, built at Renfrew, iron, double propeller, 228 feet long, 25 feet broad, 12 feet 2 inches deep, fore and aft schooner rigging, "powered by diagonal, oscillating engines of about 200 nominal h.p. Coquette had a straight stem, an elliptical stern, was double plated amidships, and had a powder magazine under her storeroom. The largest number of bales of cotton she is known to have carried on a single run was 1259" (Price, op. cit., American Neptune, VIII, 307). Owned by Confederate Government /
Government, light draft, speed of 12 knots, carrying capacity three times that of the average runner, commanded by Lt. Carter of the Confederate Navy, left in the autumn carrying a marine engine for a Confederate warship, 16 runs (Charleston and Wilmington).

**Fergus-Presto:** "Low, light, and narrow paddle steamer" (Underwood-Seward, 9 October 1863); "paddle wheeled, two chimneys, two masts, has two bars riveted across her funnels. The steam chests of her boilers project above her decks around both funnels - is very sharp forward - stands about eight feet above the water and has a forecastle deck to break the sea - distance between smoke stacks very great and she is unusually wide" (Ibid), 2 runs (Carolina), steered poorly, destroyed off Charleston 2 February 1864, when she collided with the wreck of the Minho.

**Dare:** Sister of Fergus, left in early October, two runs, destroyed in January 1864.

**Star:** "An inferior river steamer, one funnel.....no forecastle deck" (Underwood-Seward, 29 October 1863), sailed in October.

**Wave Queen** (2nd): 700 ton new screw steamer, built to replace the first ship of that name, sailed in October.

**Caledonia:** 415 ton river paddle steamer, crew of 27, formerly ran between Glasgow and Rothesay, 2 to 4 runs (Carolina /
(Carolina), captured 30 May 1864.

Nola: 700 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, left in early December, lost at sea January 1864.

Florie: 215 ton, 100 h.p. new paddle steamer, commanded by the former captain of the Eagle, reported to be owned by Lafour & Co., of Liverpool, taken out to the West Indies by Capt. Maffitt in December, 8 or 9 runs (Carolina), destroyed off Wilmington 10 September 1864.

Greyhound: 290 ton, 80 h.p. new screw steamer, left towards the end of December, 1 or 2 runs, captured 10 May 1864.

Amalia: Described as "inferior" (Underwood-Seward, 24 Dec. 1864), possibly the same as the Amelia mentioned above.

Julia: 276.13 ton 180 h.p. new paddle steamer, speed of 17 knots, also described as "inferior" (Ibid), "long and wide between paddles, no poop, has nose piece or track water over bow, two side houses in front of paddle boxes, two red funnels wide apart, and four boilers." (Ibid), commanded by Capt. Boucher, returned to the Clyde for repairs in 1864, left again 3 August 1864 under Capt. McHare, 2 runs (Carolina captured off Charleston 33 December 1864.

Ships /
Ships leaving in 1863 - approximate dates of departure unknown.

Mary Ann: 341 ton new paddle steamer, variously reported to have made 1, 7, and 12 runs (Carolina and Gulf), captured 6 March 1864 off Wilmington.

Gem: 300 ton river paddle steamer, commanded by Capt. J. Johnson, owned by the Cobia Co. of Charleston, made 2 runs in 1863.

Diamond: Same type as Gem, captured in October 1863.

Scotia-Fanny and Jenny-Gen. Banks: Similar to the above two, 727 tons, crew of 27, 2 to 5 runs (Carolina), captured in February 1864.

Rothesay Castle: 177.02 ton river paddle steamer, 2 runs in 1864 (Carolina).


City of Petersburg: 426 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, crew of 32, 15 to 30 runs (Carolina).

Will o' the Wisp: 117 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, crew of 28, described as "shamefully put together and most fragile" (T. E. Taylor, op. cit., 101), owned by a Liverpool firm, 11 to 20 runs (Carolina and Gulf), destroyed off Galveston, 9 February 1865.

Nola /
Nola: 700 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, lost in January 1864.

Emily: 430 ton, 80 h.p. new screw steamer, destroyed in February 1864.

Alliance: 400 ton river paddle steamer, captured in April 1864.

Kate Dale: Formerly ran between Ardrossan and Belfast, captured off Mobile, 14 July 1863.

Venus: 365.74 tons, 250 h.p., 150 ft. long, 22 ft. wide, crew of 53, completed on the Clyde late in 1863, one of the first twin screw steamers to be built, constructed specially for blockade running, described as "a fine craft in all respects" (Bradlee, op.cit., 142), commanded for some time by Capt. Lionel Campbell Goldschmid, a naval mercenary who had served in the Crimean and Italian wars, and was one of the leading blockade running captains, subsequently commanded by Capt. (later Admiral) Murray-Ainsley, R.N., sailing under the alias of "Capt. Murray", 11 runs (Carolina) wrecked at New Inlet, N.C., 21 October 1863. Her remains were still to be seen there as late as 1926.

Dawn: Sister of the Venus, commanded by Hobart Pasha, sailing under the alias of "Capt. Roberta", who claims to have made 1100% profit on the first cargo which he brought into /
into Wilmington. After six successful runs he "gave her over to the chief officer and went home to England with my spoils" (Hobart Pasha, op. cit., 152). She was captured on her next attempt and incorporated into the American Navy as the Admiral Dupont.

Ships leaving in 1864 - approximate dates of departure known.

Fairy: 300 ton, 80 h.p. fast paddle steamer, formerly the regular summer trader between Staffa and Iona, left at the beginning of 1864, later captured.

Little Ada: 94 ton, 80 h.p. new screw steamer, speed of 12 knots, left at the beginning of 1864, 2 runs (Carolina), captured 9 July 1864 by the Gettysburg.

Ionq: (2nd) 500 ton, 150 h.p. river boat, top speed of 22 knots, reported to be the fastest ship to leave the Clyde for blockade running up to that time, 244 ft. long with 2 masts and 2 funnels. Her passenger saloons and other superstructure were stripped down before she departed on 16 January. Although considered very suitable for blockade running, her light draft and construction made her unfit for a winter crossing of the Atlantic. She ran into difficulties while /
while crossing the Irish Channel, and when she reached Queenstown 13 of her crew refused to serve on her any longer and were consequently arrested. After leaving Queenstown she encountered more bad weather and was driven back as far as the Bristol Channel, where she foundered off Lundy Island.


Tristram Shandy: 500 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, bought by a Liverpool firm, left in February 1864, ran into Wilmington, but was captured on her return voyage, 15 May 1864, lat. 34°6'N., long. 77°27'W.

Constance: 163 ton, 120 h.p. new paddle steamer, crew of 29, "long, paddle-wheeled, wide between funnels, has top-gallant forecastle extending far back and unusually wide and oval, has a small roundhouse far aft, speed short - Stewart is the name of her captain.....Her captain, mate, and steward are her ostensible owners. D. MacGregor her real one..... has two masts, lightly rigged." (Underwood-Seward, 23 Feb. 1864), left 22 February, driven ashore and wrecked off Charleston, 5 October 1864.

Hawk: 531 ton, 250 h.p. screw steamer, one funnel, 230 ft. long, 14 ft. draft, iron plates ¾ in. thick, owned, ostensibly at /
at least, by Thomas Begbie, the London blockade running merchant, probably intended to operate eventually as an insurgent warship, left early in 1864, picked up a cargo of "hardware" in London and sailed to Bermuda under command of Lt. Knox of the insurgent navy. According to Foreign Office documents she remained at Bermuda for six months, returning to London early in 1865, subject of a correspondence between C. F. Adams and Lord Russell (PRO, F.O.5/1050). Price reports a Hawk as having made 2 runs in 1864 and 1865 - possibly the same ship.

Matilda: 500 tons, 100 h.p. new screw steamer, foundered in March while attempting to cross the Atlantic.

Let Her Rip—Victoria—Wando: 220 ton, 180 h.p. new paddle steamer, built by Kirkpatrick and M'Intyre, owned by the Chicora Co., commanded by Capt. H. Holgate, left in mid-April, 3 runs (Charleston), captured 31 October 1864, lat. 33°5'N., long. 76°40'W.

Emma: 300 ton, 75 h.p. new screw steamer, left in mid-April, 8 runs (Charleston), captured later in the year, owned by Collie & Co., commanded by Capt. Hutchins (according to Cook; not mentioned by Price).

Lilian: 475 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, "two masts, and /
and two funnels well apart... has a large poop for officers aft and a small companion near the binnacle - has a large engine house between funnels and the deck - master is J. Gilmer of the Confederate States, a young man. Dawson is her first officer, Anderson her first engineer, Cunnecky her steward. Her name is written on stern. Her freight is partly in barrels, content unknown, the remainder, coal. She is perfectly new, draws about twelve feet of water, and is long - say 250 feet - and made of iron - is quite narrow" (Underwood-Seward, 13 April). She was built by J. & G. Thompson for Lafour & Co. of Liverpool. She sailed on 30 April, made 4 runs (Wilmington), captured 24 August 1864 by the Gettysburg.

Ivanhoe: 400 ton, 120 h.p. new paddle steamer, built for the trade by Messrs. Scott, 2 runs (Gulf), chased ashore and destroyed off Mobile 4 July 1864.

The Lilian and the Ivanhoe were described as: "both splendid pieces of naval architecture" (Underwood-Seward, 13 April).

Ella: 124 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer built by William Denny & Brothers, engines supplied by R. Napier & Sons, christened by the daughter of John Robson, a prominent Glasgow banker, 4 runs (Carolina), run ashore on Bald Head Beach, 3 December 1864.

Little /
Little Hattie: Sister ship of the Lilian, built by J. & G. Thompson for Lafour & Co., 246 tons, same general characteristics as the Lilian except that she was not so fast, her speed being about 16 knots, left in the middle of May, 7 runs (Carolina),...

Virgin: Built by Akeman & Manson of Whiteinch, left 14 May. "The Virgin is a paddle wheel steamer with two funnels wide apart - her engine house on deck between funnels - has a poop and topgallant forecastle - is about 100 h.p. and of about 300 tons register - has two masts - makes sixteen or seventeen knots per hour and draws eight feet of water..... Her captain's name is Robert C. Gilpin, an Englishman..... Her first officer is named Hutcheson..... The vessel is owned in London." (Underwood-Seward, 17 May). Made one or more runs between Havana and Mobile and was finally blockaded in Mobile Bay where she was used as a despatch and transport ship. After the war she was used with other runners for filibustering expeditions against Cuba. "Her lines were most symmetrical and her engines remarkably powerful for her size, making the Virgin one of the swiftest vessels ever constructed up to that time." (Bradlee, op.cit., 114-5).

Redgautlet: 400 ton, 120 h.p. new paddle steamer, left a few /
few days after the Virgin, one run in 1864 (Gulf).

Falcon: 300 ton approx. (600 according to Cook), 200 h.p., new paddle steamer, attained a speed of 21½ m.p.h. on her trial run, left in mid-June, 4 runs in 1864 (Charleston).

Mary Bowers: New paddle steamer, built by W. Simons and Co. at the London Works, Renfrew, 200 feet long with two funnels and a wide covered forecastle, wrecked and sunk off Charleston, 30 August 1864.

Stag: 900 ton, 250 h.p. paddle steamer, "of almost first class.....She is well fitted for the sea in all seasons, has two masts.....two funnels (I think)" (Underwood-Seward, 8 July), bought by one of the blockade running companies, sailed for the West Indies about 8 July, 4 runs (Charleston), captured in Cape Fear River, 19 January 1865.

Flamingo: 600 ton, 200 h.p. paddle steamer, 3 funnels, 225 feet long, 3 boilers of the "haystack" type, maximum speed: 21 m.p.h., "has a small poop aft, round stern - engine house and boilers are cased on deck - covered forecastle - has a crew of about 30 men. Her captain's name is John Atkinson - mate's is Dixon - chief engineer's is also Dixon - her draft is about seven feet - width of beam about 25 feet - two masts in one strip, far aft and forward" (Underwood-Seward, 8 July 1864), built by Randolph, Elder & Co., launched /
launched in June, left in early July, on her outward voyage she took £20,000 worth of arms, including three full batteries of rifled cannon and 60,000 rounds of fixed ammunition. After successfully running the blockade she returned to the Clyde for repairs later in the year. She made two runs of the Gulf Blockade in 1865.

Elsie: 400 ton, 120 h.p. new paddle steamer, two stacks, very long and low in the water, wide beam, left in July, 1 run, captured at sea, 5 September.

Lizzie: 600 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, built by Henderson, Coulborn & Co., 230 ft. long, 22 feet wide, 9 ft. deep in hold, built specially to run between Havana and Galveston, with an extremely light draft (less than 8 feet) to enable her to pass over the bar at Galveston, engines on the diagonal oscillating principle, on her trial trip maintained a speed of 22 m.p.h., then considered unprecedented" (Bradlee, op.cit., 119), and reached a top speed of 24 m.p.h., "which is said to be the greatest speed yet attained" (Underwood-Seward, 27 May) - "rigged fore and aft as a schooner, two funnels, one forward from the front of the bridge, the other aft, and in addition, two large ventilators attached to each funnel leading to the stock hole. Tubular boilers, a small deck house for captain's and officers right aft, a cabin in front of forward funnel, and /
and the men's quarters covered in as usual forward" (Ibid). She left in August and made 2 runs (Galveston).

Agnes E. Fry: 500 ton, 250 h.p. paddle steamer, bought by a Liverpool firm to run the blockade. "She has two funnels, well-raked, between two masts, stands well up out of the water, about 25 feet long, draws eleven feet of water, has the figure of the head and front of a fox in the ornament mouldings on her stern and wheelhouse - has five boats aft of wheels and fixtures for several in front, but no boats, has a steam escape pipe in front and touching after funnel and another behind and touching forward funnel - has a small pilot house and wheel in platform or bridge in front of after funnel and another wheel on deck at stern. The bridge or platform covers the space between wheel and houses and takes in both funnels, with a narrow walk extending on same level, back say about twelve feet to stair and steps descending near front of companions and side rooms which are built on deck at stern, has a row of large bull's eye lights in the bulwarks and another smaller one in the hull, both extending around her. Her platform and bridge are enclosed around with iron railing open and light" (Underwood-Seward, 30 July; see also Bradlee, op.cit., 116, and ORN, s.4, II, 735-6). She sailed from Greenock on 7 August, taking out 17 skilled machinists whom Bulloch had employed to serve in the /
the Confederacy - 4 runs, grounded off Wilmington in 1865.

**Tartar:** 250 h.p. paddle steamer, launched at the beginning of August by Henderson, Coulborn & Co. of Renfrew - 230 ft. long, 25 ft. wide, 11½ ft. deep, fitted with a pair of the builders' diagonal, oscillating engines - christened by the wife of Lt. Col. Campbell the younger of Blythswood - took out two pairs of marine engines for the Confederates.

**Stormy Petrel:** 550 ton new paddle steamer launched at the beginning of August by Simons & Co. of Renfrew - 225 ft. long, 25 ft. wide, 11½ ft. deep, with oscillating engines of 100 h.p., owned by a Liverpool firm, 1 run (Carolina), beached and destroyed off Wilmington, 9 December 1864.

**Beatrice:** (approx.) 200 tons (400, according to Cook), 100 h.p. new paddle steamer, "wheel houses disproportionately high, one funnel, wide platform or engine house, and galley between wheels on top of which is a circular or octagonal lookout house - also two large metallic ventilators painted white" (Underwood-Seward, 30 July 1864), 2 runs, destroyed off Charleston, 27 November 1864.

**Wild Rover:** 550 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, speed of 15 knots, same general construction as the **Jupiter**, built for the trade by J. & G. Thompson, "having two funnels, two masts.....her foremost is square rigged with two yards - mizzen mast schooner-rigged - rakish - covered poop, companion /
companion and side rooms on deck aft - engine house and galleys large between wheel houses....hull painted black - wheel houses white - speed about nineteen knots....carries eleven firemen and nine seamen - captain's name is J. H., or Hugh, Hawkins, a tall elderly man and southerner - one eye defective and wears a cover over it. Chief officer is W. Smith" (Underwood-Seward, 8 August 1864). T. E. Taylor, (op.cit., 114) praised strongly the quality of the Wild Rover and the Stormy Petrel, describing them as great improvements over earlier runners - left early in August, 12 runs (Carolina).

**Armstrong:** 550 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer, built by Thomas Wingate & Co. of Whiteinch, Partick, "She is 230 ft. long, 26 ft. beam, and 10½ ft. deep.....The ceremony of naming her was gracefully performed by Mrs. Gilley of Torquay, the wife of Captain Gilley, who is to command her." (Underwood-Seward, 8 August), 3 runs (Carolina), captured 4 December 1864, lat. 32°N, long. 77°W.

**Banshee:** (2nd) 628 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, crew of 53, launched early in August, commanded for a time by T. E. Taylor. There are conflicting reports of her career, but Taylor's own version appears to be basically correct (Taylor, op.cit., 139-64). Bradlee asserts (I think erroneously /
erroneously) that she was captured on 23 August 1864, while
Cook lists her as having been captured in September. Price,
whose facts here correspond roughly with Taylor’s, credits
her with 7 runs (5 of the Carolina ports and 2 of the Gulf)
and makes no mention of her being captured.

Condor: 600 tons, 200 h.p., last of the series of 3-funnel
paddle steamers to leave the Clyde to run the blockade. She
carried out a large cargo of arms and supplies valued at
nearly £3000. Underwood gives the following cargo list:

- 49 boxes of "hardware" valued at £420
- 1,500,000 percussion caps 285
- Surgical instruments 1046
- Chemicals, medicines, etc. 3665
- Brandies, spirits, etc. in large
  quantities, of value not less than 2500
  £ 7916

She was lost in October.

Talisman: 400 ton, 130 h.p. paddle steamer, covered fore-
castle, owned by the Universal Co., 3 runs (Wilmington).

Mary: Underwood mentions a Mary of the same class as the
Talisman, but gives no further information – probably
identical with the 279 ton Mary, which Price records as
having made 5 runs in the Gulf in 1864.

Charlotte: 650 ton, 290 h.p. new paddle steamer, 200 ft.
long, "painted white with flush deck, two spars, two funnels,\nrakish build.....strong and fleet" (Underwood-Seward, 8 Aug.)

left /
left 31 August under command of Capt. McNivan, captured 19 January 1865, in Cape Fear River, N.C.

**Caroline:** 850 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer, left Dumbarton 31 August, 1 run (Charleston).

**Vulture:** 650 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, 2 funnels, 2 masts, covered forecastle, long, low, sharp construction, left at beginning of October, commanded by Capt. Green, 2 runs (Carolina).

**Helen Denny:** 728 ton, 180 h.p., built by Robert Duncan of Port Glasgow, after the war she ran between South Africa and New Zealand until 1913, when she was converted into a coal hulk. Underwood describes the *Vulture* and the *Helen Denny* as "splendid steamers" (Underwood-Seward, 3 October).

**Emma Henry:** 550 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, left in mid-October carrying four pairs of marine engines for the insurgent navy, 1 run (Carolina), captured 8 December 1864.

**Susan Beirne:** 750 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, left toward the end of the year with 6 pairs of marine engines.

**Hattie:** 450 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, sailed mid-November, commanded by Capt. H. S. Labby, owned by Collie & Co., not listed by Price; Cook asserts that she made 1 run of the Charleston blockade.

**Alice-Sirius:** 803 ton, 250 h.p. paddle steamer, crew of 42, built /
built in 1859 by Caird & Co. for the St. Petersburg and Quebec Steam Navigation Co., originally called Orion, bought for blockade-running in 1862 by the Bee Co., 5 runs (Carolina 1863–4, returned to the Clyde for repairs in the autumn of 1864, left again in December, commanded by Capt. Kennedy. Marmion: 400 ton, 120 h.p. new paddle steamer, left in mid-November.

Mary and Ella: 550 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, left in November carrying 2 marine engines for the insurgent navy, owned by the Bee Co., commanded by Capt. Egan. Cook asserts that she made one run of the Charleston blockade; Price does not list her.

Amy: 650 ton, 260 h.p. new paddle steamer, built and owned by Robert Duncan of Port Glasgow, speed on trial run: 13\(\frac{1}{2}\) knots, left 23 December. (A newspaper report, enclosed in Cook–Seward, 11 November 1864, asserts that she was of 1000 tons burden and 250 h.p.) Cook asserts that she made one run of the Charleston blockade - not listed by Price.

Maude Campbell: 800 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer. On the advice of Capt. Carlin (a veteran blockade runner), she had been constructed with her deck flush with the mainsail and with no bulwarks. Carlin believed that the greatest danger encountered by the runners was shipping water while carrying a deck load of cotton. He believed that this special /
special construction would enable the ship, if chased by a cruiser, to steam to windward without shipping water.

Two other vessels were built to this plan.

Emily (2nd): 550 ton, 150 h.p. new paddle steamer, built without bulwarks and with decks level with the sails, after the style of the Maude Campbell.

Lizard: 600 ton steamer, fast, reported preparing to leave at the beginning of December.

Florence: 750 ton, 250 h.p. new paddle steamer, launched by Aitken & Munsel of Whiteinch, constructed on same lines as the Banshee, left early in December.

Edith: 500 ton, 100 h.p. new double screw steamer, owned by the Bee Co., left 25 December under command of Capt. Hoffman, very light draft and fast.

Other ships leaving in 1864

Rouen: (possibly Clyde-built), captured 2 July 1864, lat. 32°50'N., long. 75°40'W.

Dieppe: (possibly Clyde-built).

Stap: 900 ton, 250 h.p. paddle steamer, bought by the Confederate Captain Rollins, formerly commander of the Nola. Left the Clyde in the latter part of 1864, 4 runs (Charleston /
(Charleston), captured 19 January 1864 in Cape Fear River, N.C.

Minnie: 250 ton, 170 h.p. new screw steamer, 1 to 3 runs (Carolina), captured 4 May 1864, lat. 34° N., 75° 28' W.

Virginia: 650 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer, 1 run (Carolina), in 1865.

Blenheim: 650 ton, 160 h.p. paddle steamer, 4 runs (Carolina), captured 25 January, 1865, in Cape Fear River, N.C.

Laurel-Confederate States: 386 ton, 140 h.p. screw steamer, 2 runs (Carolina).

Kenilworth: 400 tons, 120 h.p.

Evelyn: 600 tons, 200 h.p.

Ptarmigan: 600 ton, 200 h.p. new paddle steamer, 4 runs (Gulf) in 1865.
APPENDIX II

Extracts from the correspondence of Eliza Wigham, Secretary of the Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society.

During the Trent crisis John Epps, the English Baptist Radical, suggested to Eliza Wigham that the Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society should publish a report on slavery based on the accounts of the slaves which had been liberated by the Federal armies. Miss Wigham replied: "It is an idea that has been in my mind ever since the dissolution of the American Union, that we ought to do all in our power to hold up to the public the exact character of the slave holding Confederacy, and to some extent I have tried to act upon it. It is a great business to overtake all the newspapers in Britain, and I fear we can scarcely afford it in a pecuniary point of view, as our funds are very low this year and there are few helpers; but as far as we can, we shall try to uphold the true picture of the South; if we can do no more, we can at least try to keep the poor slave in remembrance in the midst of political and party strife, of wars and rumours of wars. Some of the stories of the contrabands are very striking illustrations of the horrible system from which they have escaped - I hope to get some of them into the /
To Samuel May, Jr., 5 December 1861.

"Our sympathy with the cause is as great as ever, and I do not think that the anti-slavery feeling has any whit diminished in Britain. And it is no evidence of its being less that we have failed in hearty unity with the northern side in this sad war among you. The little parenthesis covers the whole ground ('for we have not yet done our duty'). I fully believe that if the Federal Government and the Northern people had proclaimed an anti-slavery war, and acted in accordance with such proclamation, that the voice of Britain would with one hearty acclaim have wished you Godspeed. We, like you, hope that this war may eventuate in the abolition of slavery. We hope that it may be the means of blowing the mists away and showing the true state of matters and revealing the horrors of slavery and the complicity of the North in maintaining them. But this is a very different thing from believing the motive of the war to be anti-slavery. Almost every move made by your authorities has tended to dispel the possibilities of such belief; and yet your people are carping and cavilling because we have /

(1) Diary of John Epps, ed. Mrs. Epps, London, n.d., pp. 594-5. Epps had been a regular contributor to the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society; Miss Wigham asks him in this letter if he is going to make his usual annual subscription to the Society.
have not once sprung up and urged them to fight for the Union, a Union you have taught us to believe, and which we still believe, to be based on the subjugation of the poor slaves. Surely we have been bad scholars if we have not learned that the slave-holders have ruled your Union and Government, till a seeming anti-slavery victory was gained, and then they could brook it no longer and went off. We were glad to be released from such association, and thought that you, too, would in consistency only regret that all the slave states had not gone and that thus the point for which you (abolitionists proper) had been working had at length been attained. But on the other hand your Government and people determined to coerce back these seceders, to prepare the way for binding the neck once more under the yoke of slavery; and to our intense surprise, our abolitionist friends went with the current and gave a cheer to those who went forth to battle for the Union and joined the cry of denunciation against us who still occupied the high ground on which they had placed us! I can assure you that it was from no lack of anti-slavery sympathy, but rather from the opposite, that we could not see any true abolitionist spirit in this Union-saving movement. But we are very thankful to be informed by thee that there is a strong undercurrent of
of the genuine anti-slavery motive and feeling among the people. We trust it may increase and bear fruit abundantly. In the meantime this bitter feeling against England has been fostered and now your officers have committed an outrage on liberty which we fear may bring on war between us. Oh, how our hearts sink at the thought! There would be unqualified distress in such a war. War with you, among whom are we bound to by closer than kindred ties! War for such a cause and at a time when it would give courage to the South, who would look upon the passengers taken from our mail steamer as their commissioners and in this light would glory...."

To Samuel May Jr., 24 January 1862.

".....We have all read it (May's most recent letter) with attention and interest, and with many parts of it we fully unite. We are not at all surprised that your Government is not anti-slavery. I think you have taught us too much about it for that; and we could expect no miracle in this matter; and if any surprise exists it is that the Government in self-interest does not see how greatly to its advantage an emancipation policy would be. It has hitherto resisted every advance in this direction, and yet we do rejoice with you that so many advances have been made, and as the people rule the Government I hope the people may gradually/
gradually move right and compel the administration to move right too; and may you Abolitionists who lead them keep still on the highest ground. I am very glad to hear from thee that there is so much progress among the masses, and we hail with delight all the motions in Congress on behalf of the slave. Proclamation of General Phelps, etc., etc., are great tokens of advance, each one of which moves more stones from the paths of others than we can well estimate. The second article in the Standard of January 4 exactly, I think, expresses our sentiments regarding your administration. The extracts from the Tribune on the first page indicate how deeply tainted the Northern people are with the evil influence of slavery and all afford some excuse to the British anti-slavery sympathisers withholding hearty sympathy from the North. Thus far we see eye to eye, do we not? I always wish to see with you because we love and honour you so much and have known you so long, unswerving from the straight path of uncompromising anti-slavery, and now that we do not see exactly alike on some things, is that we perhaps only look on our own side of the shield. My idea is that you Abolitionists look more on your side than we /

(1) J. S. Phelps, 1814-86, a Federal commander in the West, and for a time, Military Governor of Arkansas.

(2) Anti-Slavery Standard - a Garrisonian publication in America.

(3) New York Tribune.
we (Abolitionists here) do on ours. I do not feel so intensely British but that I can look round the corner, and so, I think, can R. D. Webb and see a little of your side, too.

"The greatest hindrances we have from seeing clearly is the newspaper press of both countries. The Times, Punch, etc., here, and your newspapers almost universally, have done all they can to provoke hostility and keep up angry feelings. When these are roused it is very easy for breaches to be widened and animosities to continue till they are almost incurable. It is annoying to see the anti-slavery Standard to adopt this common newspaper failing and write such a fierce article as the leader on January 4. We are anxious to have the breaches healed, and those little words come from time to time to prevent our wishes from being accomplished. I imagine you will not mind Punch, etc. and will try to be forebearing and charitable, and in a little while things will right themselves. Otherwise you will create and foment this hostile feeling here which you condemn so greatly, and your blustering papers give abundant cause to retaliate on them. Who will set the example of

(1) There is an interesting analogy here with the break up of the Socialist International under jingoist pressure in 1914.
the soft answer that turneth away wrath? This matter of
the stone blockade of Charleston harbour has created intense
disgust here and had given rise to the proposition of France
to raise the blockade.....(the stone fleet) was so represen-
ted to us that a feeling of revulsion took place in regard
to the perpetrators of the cruel deed, but our minds are
altering when we understand it a little better, and I hope
that we shall soon know that your Government had no such
inhuman intention.....

"As for the Mason and Slidell difficulty, we are so
thankful for its termination and the hopes of peace it
brings to dwell on the misunderstandings of the case. Men
may differ on points of law and on the measures required
for their own protection without wishing to go to war with
any one nation. I am sure the desire for peace here was
general and the thankfulness for its assurance (the news-
papers and a few interested parties no doubt were exceptions).
We have had manifestations of many kinds on this head.....I
enclose the speech of Mr. Baxter of Dundee, which I think
you will agree with. He has a considerable cotton interest
so his testimony is the more valuable. I wish I was
competent to collect all the right paragraphs that I have
seen to show that we are not hostile to the North unless
her /
her words and deeds compel us to be so.... I had a note from a gentleman from London, suggesting our sending the newspapers some little sketch of what things are done in the South, some illustrations of slavery and its workings with an appreciation that any recognition of the Southern States will sustain such horrors and prop up the system which practises them. The suggestion is a good one which I have had in view all this time, but it is hard to accomplish all we wish; when we think of the atrocities of slavery our hearts burn to do something, and we become impatient at our small powers—but then comes the thought that God is all powerful, and we can never doubt his working, although sometimes we cannot see them. We are very anxious that the Standard should be sustained, and we are anxious it should help us to show forth the Southern Confederacy as it is and the wrongs of the slaves. It is far better for us to be won to the Northern side in this way than to be repelled by bitter recriminations."

A section of the letter, beginning a few sentences later on, is missing but evidently deals with the dissensions within the Emancipation Society over questions relating to the war. As we have seen from Miss Wigham's letter to Epps, there /

(1) This evidently refers to the letter from Epps, quoted above.
there was some falling away from the Society, due to Garrison's changed line in regard to the Union, and the Society's finances must have suffered from this development. When the extant portion of the MS is resumed, Eliza Wigham is promising to send what she can to support the American Society and afterwards returns to attempting to smooth over the differences between the two points of view.

"...I was never good at argument and have no wish to argue with thee, I only wish to let thee feel assured that we Abolitionists are not hostile to the North as such - quite the contrary - and all we wish is to see the cause of the slave triumph - and if the cause is the cause of the North, it will command our sympathy - and I hope and believe the sympathy of nearly the entire British nation. It is very pleasant to be informed by thee that the Abolitionists stand where they did; that they will not give up their vantage ground, and that they will object most strenuously to the Union still. Their expressions of sympathy for the North which was fighting for the Union led us to the idea that their disunion standard had been lowered. Now, surely, all danger of a Union is at an end, and we hope that the Northern states will form a free republic. I really think we have quite as much to complain of you as you of us. I hope /
hope you will speak more gently to us in the future. . . . . Wilt thou excuse this poor rejoinder to thy letter and be assured of our continued sympathy in your labours for your and our cause and the more we keep to the one point that has allied us, independent of our national feelings, the better it will be. 'Our country is the world; our countrymen all mankind', said Garrison long ago, and we shall find that the truest wisdom now. . . . .

To Samuel May Jr., 12 February 1862.

Eliza Wigham is explaining why the financial contribution from the Edinburgh to the American society has fallen off. "The reason alleged in many quarters is that you have deserted the high ground and been swayed by the general movement which has been for the restoration of the Union. Some have deplored you leaving the peace principle, and some have grieved over your bitter feeling against England, but I have told thee all these things before, and now I hope there is a subsiding of the contentions between us, and we are coming to a better state of things. Oliver Johnston, or the editor of the last Standard, is moving to a better mind. He is calm and willing to look at matters from a wider point of /

(1) E. Wigham-S. May Jr., 24 January 1862.

(2) A leader of the Progressive Friends, a Quaker Abolitionist group in America.
it has refused, that we cannot but fear the judgments that may yet be in store for you. I see a proposition again before Congress to emancipate the slaves of rebels and secure some territory to which they can be sent, 'if they are willing'. The latter proviso is a great improvement, but why should a nation send away its most productive class of labourers? It is not usual when countries seize and subjugate other countries that they send away the labourers.

"But this problem will work itself out if your Government would only proclaim emancipation to all whom such proclamation can reach - slaves of the 'loyal' as well as of the 'rebel' - and to the slaves in the District. Then there will be hope for you, for righteousness is better for a nation's safety than armies and guns. We have had a motion suggested in Parliament to raise the blockade, but I hope it will go no farther. We should grieve exceedingly that such a proposition should gain ground.

"We have sensible expressions of opinion from many quarters, and I hope the national heat on both sides will now cool down to the temperate point.

"I would send a special message to W. L. Garrison, to whom I thought of enclosing a few words....I have been living with W. L. O. and others over again the scenes of -35. I can only hope for you all that the declaration of the first /
"first Liberator will still be the editor's watchword to the very end. 'I will not equivocate. I will not retract a single word. I will be heard', and he has been heard to some purpose, has he not?"

To Samuel May Jr., 23 March 1862.

May replied to Eliza Wigham's letter of 12 February with a long, careful explanation of the present stand of the American Garrisonians and even offered to send money to help the Edinburgh group in view of the financial difficulties caused by dissension among the latter.

Eliza Wigham replied with "a few lines to thank thee very heartily for all the pains thou hast taken to meet 'our state of mind'. I have not thy letters here to answer, as I sent the three last to Richard D. Webb, that he might read them and extract from the first of them a portion for the Advocate, which he tells me he is very glad to do, and so I cannot possibly answer thy letters, but I can say they interested us very much, and their exposition of the course of principles of the Abolitionists is very useful, and I think satisfactory. I believe we shall /

shall say quite satisfactory in a short time. Thy long letter is the very best we have seen written on the matter (I except Parker Pillsbury's which referred to other branches of the question). The heat has been laid aside which characterised some of those in the Standard, and therefore thy explanations come home to us gently. I don't think even dear Garrison's explanations are so good as thine, or perhaps thou wilt say he does not meet our state of mind. I think he aims more to clear the Administration and to prove that the secession is a rebellion, than to illustrate his own position. We think you have gone a little too far in defence of the North, but we shall rejoice if now the North comes forward decidedly through its administration to carry emancipation. I believe this policy will be the very best method of crushing the rebellion, restoring peace, and securing the sympathy of England. Our papers are all rejoicing over Lincoln's proposition — small as it is — and on Thursday when the news came, I may truly say, 'the noise of them that walked the street' was 'Have you heard the good news from America?' Of course we Abolitionists saw rather less in the message than many did, but we thought we saw the thin edge of the wedge, which every circumstance will drive further in, and which will prevent the poor slave ever being overlooked in this conflict.

Slavery /

(1) For emancipation by purchase.
Slavery is now recognised at the root of the rebellion and emancipation as the way of escape from national distress. We need not enquire how much of this movement has been brought about by the outside pressure of our friends and abolitionists and of the nation's distress, but we shall be thankful if at length the slave goes free. The support to the association of the refugees by the government is very good and encouraging — so are the Washington movements. If we had had such twelve months ago much bitterness and distress would have been spared. Only as thou sayest, we could not expect miracles, and we must gladly accept what we have got. Yet, I think we must be cautious in attributing too much to the Administration, lest we seem satisfied with lower things than our friends have always held up to us.... As for Blackwood, his articles are disgraceful. I am surprised any abolitionist can bear to read them, and wilt thou allow me to say I am surprised thou shouldst have allowed them to affect thy opinion of the state of matters in England and Scotland. I said, no wonder thy newspapers were exasperated when they read such articles, but do not think our own friends would do more than glance them over and cast them aside. I hope thou wilt not in future accept such things as exponents of British feeling."

To /
To Samuel May Jr., 16 January 1863.

"The events in your country are of such intense interest that we are kept very close to you in sympathy and anxious watching and so eagerly read the newspapers from week to week and grieve over the terrible losses in battle, the young lives, the young hopes and promise, all the broken hearts and dissolved homes that these losses involve. It is dreadful to contemplate even from afar, and what it must be to you! We sympathise with you very affectionately, and when there is cause for rejoicing, we rejoice with you. These terrible things in righteousness seem to have driven your nation to the contemplation of their cause, and we are very thankful that the slave is now recognised throughout the Republic as having certain rights, the withholding of which has brought down the vengeance of the Almighty in such calamities as have prevailed. I hope before long the nation will see a little further and liberty to the slaves will be granted, not as a measure of self preservation, but as a measure of justice and righteousness. In the meantime we are glad to have the President's Proclamation, such as it is, and we hope it will wish well for the slaves. We are tremblingly anxious for the next tidings. May God rule all! and avert the sufferings that may possibly arise by the /
the revenge of the Southern slaveholders'.

"I am very glad the President does not in so many words exempt loyal slaveholders from the Proclamation.... It does not read so grossly as when the right to hold slaves was plainly set down as a premium to loyalty. We were exceedingly grateful for the supplies sent to Lancashire (from America). Such generosity and the noble forebearance of the sufferers there will do more to foster a right feeling between our two countries than all the red tape in the world — and, my dear friend, let us do all we can, by word and prayer and kindly thought to promote love and friendship between us; we may be of very little significance, but one word added to another makes up a public voice, and it is very important to have the public voice on the right side. Let us check all feelings of anger, whatever may have seemed our provocation, and I think we shall find the blessing even if we are not able to communicate it. I hope our Lancashire distress is a little abating, and that much good has come from the fearful exposure we have had. If we had taken the advice of George Thompson and other far-seeing philanthropists in 1836 and 7 and prosecuted the cultivation of cotton in other parts of the world, we should not now have had those sufferings and possibly the war.
war in America might have been averted—a commercial motive
being given for slavery long ago. We have of course a
little more difficulty in collecting money this year on
account of the Lancashire distress, and so our little dona-
tion to the general funds in response to the appeal is but
small, but we send it in token of our sympathy in your past
and present labours for the slave. We like to see the
slaves' cause always uppermost in the papers and in your
letters, speeches and addresses. We get troubled if space
is taken up in vitiuperating England or in undue defence of
the North. Mrs. Stowe has sent us a long letter, and while
she has much in it which is right and true, we think we also
can offer some reason for not giving entire sympathy with
the North, for the policy of the North has not been entirely
anti-slavery. We do not, as a nation, at this distance,
see all the bearings of the onward movement, for we some-
times feel checked in believing in Government anti-slavery
when we read of slaves returned to their masters even within
the last few weeks, the right to hold slaves offered as a
premium to loyalty, the President saying he would rather
restore the Union with slavery than have it not restored,
etc., etc., and so the national sympathy is checked. . . . So
we have something to say in self-defence, although we must
sorrowfully admit we have not done all we might have done
for /
for the slaves. We are thankful for the freed men and women of Carolina and Virginia, and we earnestly hope that there may be many more in a very short time, and that Emancipation will go onward until every yoke is broken..." (1)

To Samuel May Jr., 29 April 1865.

Following the murder of Lincoln, Miss Wigham wrote of "the terrible events of the last weeks, news of which only came to us a few days ago and fell like a thunderbolt, exciting dismay, horror, and indignation. How wicked and cruel and cowardly was the deed! Fit and characteristic of the slaveholders course, but surely even the South will repudiate the infamous deed! President Lincoln was a noble /

(1) The following itemised contribution was enclosed:

"Subscription to the Liberator sent through E. Wigham's hands - 16/1/1863.

Mrs. Birrell, Canongate, Edinburgh £- 15 -

Elizabeth P. Nichol, Huntly Lodge, Edinburgh - 10 -

Mrs. Scott - 11 -

Henry Wigham - 12 -

Subscription to A.S. Standard, 2 copies, Edin. Ladies' Emanc. Soc. 1 5 -

Towards paying any incidental expenses and copies of Mrs. Childs' Right Way the Safe Way - 7 -

Towards the exigencies of the labours of abolitionists response to appeal of subscription anniversary 26 - -
noble man and a man of progress with no retrogression, and the magnanimity he had shown in the preliminary negotiations led us to hope that mercy and freedom might soon blend with peace to restore prosperity to your nation. But then, our God Omnipotent reigneth! And in Him must be our trust— with sincere and deep sympathy in which my mother, and I think the whole British nation, unites."
APPENDIX III

Documents, etc., relating to the Pampero.

(A)

Portion of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819 relevant to the building of the Confederate warships on Clydeside

The relevant section of the Act described "acts which ought to be prevented within neutral territory during time of war." The following acts were forbidden:

"(1) The recruitment of subjects or citizens of the neutral to be employed in the military or naval service of a foreign government, or of persons assuming to exercise the powers of government over any part of foreign territory, or the acceptance of a commission, warrant, or appointment for such service, by such persons; or the enlisting or agreeing to enlist in such service; the act in each case being done without the leave or license of the Sovereign.

"(2) The receiving on board a vessel for the purpose of transporting from a neutral port persons who may have been so recruited or commissioned; or the transporting of such persons from a neutral port. Authority is given to seize the vessels violating these provisions.

"(3) The equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming
a vessel with intent or in order that it may be employed in the service of such a foreign government, or of persons assuming to exercise the powers of government over any part of a foreign country, as a transport or store ship, or to cruise or carry on war against a power with which a neutral is at peace; or the delivering a commission for such license vessel; the act in each case being done without the leave or of the Sovereign.

"(4) The augmenting the warlike force of such a vessel of war by adding to the number of guns, by changing those on board for other guns, or by the addition of any equipment of war, if such vessel at the time of its arrival in the dominions of the neutral was a vessel of war in the service of such foreign government, or of such persons; the act being done without leave or license of the Sovereign."

(Quoted in F.O. papers: "The Geneva Arbitration; the American Case", pp.29-30.)
"The Statute itself is drawn almost entirely in reference to English procedure, but the course specifically directed to be followed is not inapplicable to Scotland, although as regards criminal prosecutions under it, it does not appear to contemplate the ordinary action of the Public Prosecutor. The procedure directed by the fourth section of the statute may be held to exclude the interference of the Sheriff who is the ordinary executive and magisterial officer through whom the Public Prosecutor in Scotland acts; and it is certainly doubtful whether in criminal prosecution in Scotland it might not be successfully contended that the fourth section of the statute must be implicitly followed.

"We are not therefore prepared to say that this statutory offence could competently follow the ordinary course pursued in public prosecutions in Scotland. Mr. Underwood, however, is entirely mistaken in supposing that the law of Scotland allows examination under oath of the persons accused of crime. It permits them to make what is called a declaration before the magistrate at which time they /
they may be asked questions by the Procurator Fiscal, which they may answer or not as they choose, and they are uniformly warned to that effect before the declaration is taken.

"The Public Procurator has the right in the course of initial investigations before trial, if a witness refuse to answer questions which he is asked, to apply to the Sheriff for a warrant to examine such witness upon oath. But this is a right very rarely and very scrupulously exercised, and the more so that it is generally held that a witness so examined upon oath is afterwards exempt from prosecution. The Public Prosecutor may also, in cases in which he thinks there is an urgent necessity, apply to the Sheriff for a warrant to seize books or papers belonging to parties accused of crime, as well as for the seizure or detention of property if these steps appear to him to be necessary to the ends of justice. But they are proceedings never resorted to except in cases of great and manifest crime. In the circumstances described by Mr. Underwood we are very clearly of opinion that it is inexpedient and have great doubts if under the Foreign Enlistment Act it would be competent to adopt any such proceedings as these which we have referred to, even if their competency were not doubtful. We should think that it would be an unjustifiable stretch /
stretch of the powers of the Public Prosecutor to resort to them in a case in which it still remains a matter of dispute whether the facts alleged against the parties amounted to a crime.

"We are, however, of opinion that the object which H.M. Government has in view of detaining the vessel in question and having its character under the Foreign Enlistment Act ascertained may be accomplished by having recourse to the civil tribunals in an action for forfeiture of the vessel combined with an interdict against the sailing of the vessel until the question under the act is disposed of. If a prima facie case can be stated on the part of the Government in regard to the character and destination of the vessel in question so as to bring it within the scope of the Foreign Enlistment Act, we think it probable that the court would at once interdict the removal of the vessel until the legal question should be determined; and it would be also competent for the court, and we think it not improbable that they would exercise that power, to grant an order for the recovery of all books and papers relative to the vessel under which the party would be examined upon oath and would be obliged to produce what documents they held and explain whether any of those called for had been destroyed or were in the hands of third parties. If such an order were /
were granted its execution would probably be the most effectual means of obtaining the information desired."

(C)

Statements of Comb, Reid, and Goldie regarding the investigation of the Pampero

On 2nd December John Comb, a foreman iron ship builder at the yard of A. & J. Inglis, who had been accused of soliciting information from the workers in the Thomson's shipyard, gave his version of the encounters. Testifying before the J.P. for the County of Lanark he declared:

"A fortnight or three weeks ago, I met casually Peter McGowan on Finnieston Quay. 'I asked how are you getting on with your rigging?' He answered 'Quite well'. I then said: 'You had better look out for some of the men you lately discharged have been giving out that you have been getting orders from American inspectors in the yards.' He replied: 'If they say that, they are liars.' Whereupon I parted from him remarking only, 'Take care that they don't make you a liar.' In the middle of August, while on my way to Govan, I met Goldie, who is a nephew of Messrs. Thomsons, shipbuilders. I remarked to him that the ship (meaning /

(1) Moncrieff and Young-Grey, 6 November 1863. ("Case of the Pampero", PRO, F.0.5/1051).
(meaning the vessel now known as the Pampero) had fine long masts, and I asked 'What is the length of them?' He said he couldn't tell, but if I wanted the lengths for my own private use, he would perhaps get them for me. In about three or four weeks afterwards I called at his house and asked if he would be good enough to come with me to a hotel and see if he could identify a party whom I had been requested to meet but whose name I did not learn until afterwards. At the same time I told him to be cautious, in case the party was an American. He went to the hotel with me, and there we met the party referred to. The conversation turned upon the Clyde shipbuilding generally. The party asked me what we 'had on' in the Inglis yard. 'Have you any blockade runners?' I said 'Not that I was aware of'. After a little turning to Goldie, he said 'You have got a ram on in Thomsons' yard: do you know who she is for?' Goldie answered 'No'. Then the party said 'You have another vessel; what trade is she for?' Goldie answered 'For the China tea trade.' Then the party then asked Goldie 'Have you got inspectors?' and he gave two names and inquired whether Goldie knew them. Goldie said 'No'. I did not then know the name of the party referred to, and I only learned it afterwards from Goldie himself. I did not cross /

(1) Presumably North and Sinclair.
cross-question Goldie. I did not ask him whether the Pammero has war fittings, nor did I show any anxiety in the matter. I did not ask him to furnish me with the plan or tracing of the ram or ship. Neither did I ask him to inform me of the residence of the inspectors. A few days afterwards I met Goldie on the south side of the river, when I said 'Have you got the length of the spars yet?' He answered 'No'. Whereupon I remarked: 'Then never mind'. I did not wait on him as he stated; but I asked him casually whether he did not know of the names referred to the other day; and he answered that he did not. We then parted and have not met since. About eight or ten days ago I met Kinloch on Finnieston Quay. When addressing me he said 'How are you getting on?' I replied 'Well enough; how are you getting on?' He replied that he was just finishing a bulkhead for that ship, pointing in the direction of the Pammero. I then asked 'Is there any truth in the story that you have been offered money to tell about the fittings of the vessel?' He answered 'Yes'. I then asked, 'Did you take it?' He answered 'No, I have got the offer of more if I hold my tongue.' I did not either directly or indirectly tell him or press him to take the money.
money or indicate one thing or another. In all the conversations now referred to I never mentioned the name of Messrs. Inglis, nor did I allude to them in any way; neither did I say to Goldie that I wanted the model or drawings of a steamship, or that I wished his assistance. Further in all these conversations I spoke as for myself alone, and without the sanction or knowledge of Messrs. Inglis in any way whatever. I never influenced any of Messrs. Inglis foremen or workers in the matter, or indeed even spoke to them on the subject."

John Reid, one of those whom Robert Kinloch had accused of attempting to buy information concerning the Pamphlet, also wrote to the Herald protesting that Kinloch had misrepresented him. Reid declared:

"...I beg to remark that it is worthy of notice the handle made of my passing one tavern to go to another. Certainly I did that but my reason for so doing was because I wished to go to the house I was best acquaint in. And I here assert that I knew nothing of the two gentlemen being there wishing to get information about the steamer Pamphlet, far less there was any person in the room we went to, until I /

(1) Glasgow Herald, 3 December.
I saw them sitting there. Further, if the person in attendance said the room was occupied, I did not hear him; and after being in the room I saw no necessity for leaving it as there was plenty accommodation for all parties. In course of conversation, reference was made to the steamer Pamnero and no wonder, for it was general talk. The other two gentlemen then introduced the subject of the war now going on in America, and asked our opinion regarding it; after which, on learning we were ship's carpenters, one of them said he was a joiner, and asked if any of us could get him a job. Kinloch then referred to me stating I was a foreman, when I said we were not taking on any hands just now, after which Kinloch said he would speak to their foreman joiner on the following day and let him know at night. The company then separated, Kinloch and I going part of the way together; and on Kinloch leaving me I was accosted by one of the gentlemen who told me he was trying to get all the information he could regarding the steamer Pamnero, and said that as Kinloch was working at her, he would be able to give the particulars. He also stated that he would give him £50 or more, if he would give him the information he required and wished me to broach the subject to him, when I said I did not want anything to do with it. He then gave me /
me a sovereign, saying I could give 5s of it to Kinloch whether he gave the information or not, if he would not speak about it. Now Kinloch did not need to be urged to take the money. He took it freely and put it in his rule pocket and kept it; and if he spent it, it was not in my presence. I spent 1s of the 15s. and returned the 14s.

Now, I did not ask him (Kinloch) to give me any information about the Pampero at all; I only told him what was wanted and left the matter to himself. Kinloch has since told me that he never took 5s on condition that it was to be drunk - further he said that the whole case was represented in the worst light possible.

"Now I submit that there is always two ways of telling a tale and I declare the foregoing to be the correct one. I did certainly come in contact with the parties, but it was purely accidental, and I told Kinloch what they said to me; but to use influence over him, or advise him to give any information about the steamer Pampero, I never did." (1)

In another letter to the Herald, Goldie replied to the assertions of Combe in the following manner:

"Previous to my accompanying him (Combe) to the hotel, he had called twice for me at my house. He also came to my..."

(1) Glasgow Herald, 5 December. Ibid, 7 December.
my place of employment and sent a party for me. He also waited four times for me on the road from my work, and on all these four occasions he introduced the subject of the Pampero. When I accompanied him to the hotel, he stated distinctly that Messrs. Inglis not only were aware of his mission, but that it was at their request; and when in the hotel he made an appointment in my hearing to meet the American gentleman in Messrs. Inglis' yard next day. Instead of warning me against an American (as he says) he stated that Messrs. Inglis thought the party a Confederate agent; and that he showed me some particulars of a steamer to run 14 knots an hour, on a draught of 9 feet of water, which he says Messrs. Inglis were in treaty with this gentleman to build. He remarked at the time they would not likely undertake it as they were so busy.

"As to drawings, not only did he wish them from me, but I am prepared to prove that he applied to Messrs. John Black & Co. (who made the sails of the ship) for the rigging plan. It was Combe who asked me about the Inspector, and likewise put the question to me if the ship was not fitted for war purposes. During the last meeting he refers to, the spars of the ship were never mentioned, but on my asking the gentleman before referred to he denied knowing it but stated that /
that Messrs. Inglis had his letters and knew his name, although from circumstances that have since transpired I feel assured Messrs. Inglis were ignorant of the whole matter."

(1) Glasgow Herald, 4 December.
APPENDIX IV

The Caledonian Mercury's editorial on Lincoln's annual message to Congress following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862.

"The more the text of the President's Message is considered, the higher must be our appreciation of its calm thoughtfulness, so different from the rowdiness we were wont to receive from Washington when pro-slavery Cabinets were in the ascendent. President Lincoln speaks of the attitude assumed toward the United States by European Governments without irritation, conscious in the justice of the cause he represents and in the power of the great people over whom he rules. He speaks without acerbity even of the Rebels, who have done so much to bring calamity upon the country; and we believe were the miscreants of the Confederacy at his feet tomorrow, Mr. Lincoln would merely bid them depart and try for the future to be wiser and better men. When we recollect the rancorous hate entertained in this country toward the Indian rebels, we still feel humiliated that this 'village attorney', this 'rail-splitter from Illinois' should have shown himself superior to the mass of monarchical statesmen. If some Confederate Gorge should be found to lay down his arms and /
and yield up the cause of the rebels; in place of the massacres of Arad, we should have a feast of brotherly kindness, Mr. Lincoln addressing the rebels as wayward children. He truly acts and speaks as the father of his country, and yet this man, so kind and merciful—lenient even to a fault—is made the sport and butt of all the idle literary buffoons in Britain. The day will come when the character and career of Abraham Lincoln will get justice in this country, and when probably even his causeless assailants will blush for the share they took in lampooning a noble, brave man, who in a fearful crisis possessed his soul in patience, trusting in God and that "in His own good time and wise way, all will be well!" Too truly does he say that "the fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honour or dishonour to the latest generation!"

There can be little doubt what the verdict of future generations will be if President Lincoln proceeds to the end of his career as he has begun. Before two years of his administration have been completed, he has reversed the whole constitutional action of America on the subject of slavery. He has saved the Territories from the unhallowed grasp of the slave power; he has purged the accursed institution from the Congressional District; he has hung a slave-trader in
in New York, the nest of the slave pirates; he has held out the right hand of fellowship to the negro republics of Liberia and Haiti; and he has joined with Great Britain in endeavouring to stop the slave trade from the coast of Africa. There can be no doubt of the verdict of posterity on such acts as these. Within the light of the fiery trial of which the President speaks another light has shone clear and refulgent - the torch of freedom - to which millions of poor slaves look with eager hope. While the election was in progress which resulted in Lincoln's return to power, the slaves in the South prayed for his success. As a fugitive recently expressed it, Mr. Breckinridge, the slavery candidate, had all the Southern white votes and a part of the votes of the North; Mr. Lincoln had a large part of the votes of the North and the prayers of all the slaves, and he prevailed.

"But are these measures all that the President proposes to do for slavery? By no means. He knows, as every man knows who is not hopelessly stupid, that slavery is the cause of the war - and in the larger half of his message he boldly encounters the difficult problem of other measures than those already passed in the interest of freedom. It is above all most satisfactory to the British anti-slavery party /
party - which happily has arisen from its slumbers and every day is giving fresh proof of its vitality - that the Emancipation Proclamation is preserved in full force."

The Mercury pointed out that even Lincoln's toleration of slavery in the Border States and his offer to tolerate slavery in any of the Southern states which would rejoin the Union before 1 January 1863, were linked with plans for gradual and compensated emancipation.

"There is no hope whatever of the Rebels accepting the conditions. We are not anxious that they should do so; for the last of January is so near that it would be like dashing the cup from the lips of the poor slaves if the war should stop before then in any State.....They (the slave holders) are determined to persist in their hopeless warfare. While we pity them for the misfortunes they have entailed upon themselves and admire the desperate valour with which they have defended their bad cause, we cannot but rejoice that from the evil they have produced, the glorious blessings of freedom should be educed - freedom for the slave and freedom also for the slaveholder; for the system has been so long a mill stone around the neck of the South, and rendered everything like constitutional and orderly progress impossible.

"President /
"President Lincoln on another occasion uttered the memorable words, 'He who would be no slave must have no slave.' The sentence deserves to be written in letters of gold. The slaveholder may not now admit its truth while he prates of fighting for his independence to keep men in bondage, but the slaveholder’s children will understand its full efficacy and bless the memory of the first American President who ever dared to utter these grand truths. A similar utterance from the present Message should be placed beside it: - 'In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free; honourable alike in what we give and what we preserve.' Are these not the sentiments from the political gospel which they have ever espoused? Then why do they not give their hearty and grateful thanks to a man who in a position of peril and vast difficulty, utters these sentiments from his proud place among a kindred people? Why carp and sneer at and satirise one who can speak so at such a time? It is true that he has the horny hands of a labourer, and we can scarce therefore expect the red-gloved asses of our land to give him their sympathies; but we appeal to the mass of the people and ask them whether they do well to countenance or applaud any policy which would separate Great Britain from /
from America when for the first time in his history, these
glorious words are maintained by the First Magistrate of
the First Republic in the world?"

(1) Caldonian Mercury, 22 December 1862.