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GOV. CHAMBERLAIN, GEN. BARRINGER AND LORD MACAULAY.

The conjunction of names such as head this article may well excite the surprise of our readers. Our apology for it is found in the fact that in an address before the Law Class of Yale College in June last, Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, quoting from Macaulay's Essay on Milton, uses the following language:

"Have you forgotten those words of Macaulay, 'There is only one cure for the evils which only acquired freedom produce, and that cure is freedom. The bias of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. If men are to wait until they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.'"

And this passage Gov. Chamberlain cites as authority in a labored argument in defense of Negro Suffrage, after confessing, as he does very frankly, that the "experiment had caused errors, follies and crimes to abound for the time, and had resulted in corrupt Legislatures, wasteful expenditures, burdensome taxes, ruined public credit, incapacity in high office, and frequent violence and disorder."

Our apology for thus coupling the name of Gen'l. Barringer with that of Macaulay is in like manner due to the fact that in a speech delivered Sept. 27th, in our Constitutional Convention on the ordinance prohibiting mixed schools, he is reported as having said: "And I not only have the consolation of my own conscience, but in my whole course I have been guided by the teachings of the immortal Milton as brought forth in the fierce conflicts and revolutionary struggles for Republican principles in England over two hundred years ago. I quote him as given by Macaulay, 'There is only one cure for the evils which only acquired freedom produce, and that cure is freedom. The bias of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. If men are to wait until they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.'"

In reply to them both, candor compels us to admit that if a name so great as that of Macaulay could be fairly set up even in estimation of misgovernment so frightful as is confessed, then it might well excite our alarm. In this instance, however, we might if we thought it necessary, completely neutralize the force of the quotation from the Essay on Milton by quoting in turn what Macaulay himself thought of that Essay later in life. For in the biographical sketch of him prefixed to his last work—the fifth volume of his History of England—he is made to say that "the Essay on Milton was written when the writer was fresh from College, and contains scarcely a paragraph which his mature judgment approves," and again his biographer speaks of "the paper on Milton as the one which had puzzled the critics and of which the author later in life was ashamed."

For governments to be deemed political powers are the safeguard of our liberties which in themselves are quite different things and owe their origin to an older protest. Thus all who have written of the elective franchise never speak of it as one of the rights but always as one of the privileges or immunities of citizenship. And to show that this is the sense in which Macaulay uses the word free demand that the distinction above taken is never lost sight of by him we might form among a thousand other instances refer to his Review of Mills' Essay on Government where in discussing the modern doctrine of popular representation he says "that the natural representation of the human race" and in the same Review he discusses the argument in favor of the popular franchise as drawn from the example of the United States by saying "for America we appeal to the twentieth century." And as he lived to witness the events of the recent and present time, we feel assured that he would not have deferred his approval of Bentham's Defense of Mills while combatting the same theory he puts his reply in the form of a *reductio ad absurdum* by saying that "every argument which tells in favor of universal suffrage of the masses tells equally in favor of female suffrage." And again in his Review of the Utilitarian Theory of Government he says, "the deeper we go the more reason we shall find to smile at those theorists who hold that the sole hope of the human race is in the ballot-box," and concludes that Review with the expression of the hope that he might see such a reform of the House of Commons as would render its votes the express image of the opinion of the middle orders of Britain—a pecuniary qualification," says he, "we think absolutely necessary."

Notwithstanding all this, Gov. Chamberlain and Gen. Barringer have the effrontery to claim Macaulay as an advocate of universal suffrage, and what is more, of universal negro suffrage. In their shameless harlihood they go even further, and would make him out as an apologist for all the madness and wickedness to which it has led. But the sanction of his name cannot be thus used. If it could be thus used, then we should be surprised at the haste which he makes in the same garbled Essay on Milton—his school-boy production—to vindicate his hero "from personal participation in any of the blameable excesses of his time." If it could be thus used, we should find it difficult to understand how he could have been all his life an ardent and consistent eulogist of the English Constitution with king, lords and commons, and of a House of Commons whose representation should be based upon a high property qualification. If the sanction of his name could be thus used, then we should be surprised when reading his Review of Mirabeau and Barere, to witness the meretricious exhortation with which he treats Barere and the other block-thirsty leaders of the mob, whose antitype our own evil times have so abundantly furnished, and we should feel even greater surprise at the manner in which he holds up to the derision and execration of mankind the Sansculottism of the French Revolution, the exact counterpart of which we find in the Negro race of to-day. And we should certainly have expected, when reading his most brilliant Essays on Clive and Hastings to have found that he had proposed that the British Empire in India should be based upon the votes of Rohillas and Bengalees. But the lenity is that Macaulay was a great and enlightened statesman, while Chamberlain and Barringer are noisy demagogues. He was a scholar deeply and widely read, while they are shallow charlatans whose attainments hardly measure up to the standard of the smatterer in Pope.

"With just enough of learning to misquote."

In still further proof, of his total ignorance of this matter, Gen. Barringer in the extract from his speech which we have before given, calls Macaulay the apostle of British Liberalism. Of course he means British Radicalism, for in British politics they mean one and the same thing. But all who know anything of Macaulay as a politician, know that he, although a Whig, has never borne any other relation to the Radicals there than that of the most deadly antagonism. As proof of it in his controversy with those same Radicals who, in England, call themselves Utilitarians, he uses *mutato nomine*—the following language: "As the corruption of a dunce is the generation of a Radical, so the corruption of a Radical is the generation of a jobber." We could wish no fitter words than these with which to dispose of such politicians as Chamberlain and Barringer, but for the fact that their political career renders the application wholly unnecessary.

Our readers will perhaps think that we have treated far too seriously this attempt to plead the authority of Macaulay, in order to cover the scallawagery of such men as Chamberlain and Barringer. But we have not done so without reason. For we have felt as one of his sincere admirers, that such a use of his name was an insult to his memory. Besides, it is an affront to the intelligence of the commonest sort of English Literature, thus to garble and pervert it to the dirtiest uses of the demagogue. But we by no

means hold the two offenders whom we have strangled, as equally guilty in the matter. For while the one has done us no injury, the other, as we freely admit, has done us in the profoundest ignorance of the whole subject. But there is still another and even stronger reason which has prompted us to their exposure. And this is found in the fact that the sophistry which links in their reasoning has been able to impose upon men much better than themselves. So well are we convinced of this that we are gratified if that there are to-day in North Carolina many good Democrats who are in the grip of carrying this the white against the negro race. But such misgivings can spring only from a misconception of the subject. For it is not *adversus negro freedom*, but *adversus negro power*, that we have denigrated. And this does seem to us that the deepest understanding ought to be able to grasp that it is not *negro freedom* which has brought our ruin, but that it is *negro power*, directed as it has been, by *crimes* and *malice*, which has devastated the South.

And when all this is by the present and confessed, and when, in addition to it all, a name such as that of Macaulay is invoked to uphold such a system of violence and fraud, we feel that a climax of impudence has been reached, such as can only be described in the words of Macaulay himself, who, when speaking of the equal attempt of another such charlatan, likens it to "the architectural workmanship of those barbarians who used the Coliseum and Theatre of Pompey as quarries; who built *rope houses* on *sillars of lasalle*."

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