

one Union means? Has he thought how great the territories and population to be annexed? Does he know that the territories of Great Britain in America are larger than those of the United States? Does he know that the population of those territories is made up almost entirely of those who did not like the Government of the United States? Does he know that nine-tenths of the Spanish-American race neither like the Government or the people of this country? Yet such is certainly the fact. What they would like to be is to be independent, sustained against other nations by the power of the United States; and this is what they ought to be, and what nature evidently points out. Both Canada and Mexico are separated by natural boundaries—boundaries which, I venture to say, will never be passed by the Government of the United States without danger.

Let us see what these extraneous colonies of Europe in America are:

	Sq. Miles.	Population.
British America.....	3,097,174	3,471,621
Mexico.....	793,179	8,400,236
Cuba.....	50,000	1,400,000
Totals.....	3,940,358	13,271,857

Now the territory of the United States is 3,037,000 square miles, and 40,000,000 population. We see, then, on the principle of a Union comprehending the continent, we must embrace a territory much larger than the United States, and a population already equal to one-third our nation, and utterly foreign to our principles, religion and habits. I consider the question in wholesale, because if we move one step further we shall do it for the entirety.

The idea of national aggrandizement is no sufficient to account for any mere desire for more territory. For the true idea of national grandeur is to strengthen and perpetuate what we have. If any of us are impressed (as it seems to me we must be) with the great danger of such a Union, surely we would not seek to make it. We are more like the Roman Empire than like any other people. We have risen up to imperial greatness by the agglomeration of territories and the active energy of a free people. But we have two great advantages, without which we could not maintain our freedom. First, we have representation, our great sheet-anchor; and then we have comparatively a homogeneous people. Now I grant that representation makes a Government possible over a vast extent of territory and yet be free. But even with this immense centripetal force we came near going to pieces by the superior strength of local interests over the central; but let the country be greatly extended, and the local interests be accompanied by a total want of sympathy in race and religion with the Central Government, and it seems to me it must go to pieces in a few years. I said we were like the Roman Empire, and how did the Roman Empire perish? By two facts—interior corruption and exterior breaking off. Are we not growing corrupt at a most rapid rate? I wish that some one could show that we are not. But, alas! the evidences are against us. Look at the frauds, the swindlings, the immoralities which are filling the columns of the Press. What we did really want was a broad highway to the Pacific, which we could line with settlements and open to both oceans. We got it by the acquisition of California, and from that moment all want of more territory ceased. Nothing can now be urged in favor of more territory which is not obviously the result of a selfish and vulgar ambition to make a physical show. But I admit that we shall control this country. Now, in what way shall it be done? It seems to me there is a very simple way, which will satisfy all required conditions and do no mischief. 1. Let Cuba, Canada, or other American colonies become independent—as Mexico now is—by the natural process of ripening. 2. Then let the United States Government guarantee that independence. 3. Let there be an International Confederation—commercially—as in the Zollverein, and let trade be free within that Confederation, as it is among the several States, on this condition—that the internal tariff shall be uniform for all. My idea is that of a confederation for mutual benefit, but independent in all political affairs, so that there need be no internal controversies about systems of political policy, which would involve this country in conflicts for territories and peoples which are foreign to us.

My suggestion may seem premature, but events are marching upon us with terrible force. Great internal questions—such as the Chinese movement, the woman question, the question of capital and labor—are fast coming up to be settled, and settle them as you will, we are in the midst of a revolution. I have the most undying faith in republican institutions and the intelligence of the American people, but it yet remains to be seen whether any institutions can resist the corruptions of human nature, or any intelligence is incapable of being deluded. Certain I am that unless God saves us from the corruption and the infidelity which are now pervading this land, we shall, like the Roman Empire, ripen to greatness only to fall by decay.

A VETERAN OBSERVER.

THE EXTENSION OF THE REPUBLIC

In What Form Shall it be Made—Mr. Sumner's Opinion of Canada—Cuba—Mexico—Dangers of Annexation—Differences of Races and Immensity of Territory.

THE BEECHES, Monday, Sept. 27, 1869.

The speech of Mr. SUMNER, made to the Massachusetts Convention, calls up a subject which, if it were possible, the nation ought to take counsel with itself upon. That the American Government will, in regard to power, be *de facto* extended over the American Continent is one of those obvious things which requires no great sagacity to foresee. That the Governments of Europe have arrived at sufficient practical wisdom not to go to war for any of their colonies is also, it seems to me, very obvious; but, admitting that this continent is, in regard to power, to be controlled by us, does it follow that we must receive Cuba, Mexico, Canada, &c., into our family? Must we encounter great and obvious social and political dangers merely to say that they are in our Union? This is a great question, and it is surrounded with great dangers. It seems to me that the federative system opens a clear, practical way for us to enjoy the commerce and mutual protection of other States on the continent, without endangering the unity and harmony of our country.

Mr. SUMNER, after quoting Mr. CORBEN's anticipation of the independence of the Canadas with the consent of England, says:

"Nearly twenty years have passed since these prophetic words, and enough has already taken place to give assurance of the rest. Reciprocity, which is so often desired on both sides, will be transfigured in Union, while our Plural Unit is strengthened and extended. The end is certain; nor shall we wait long for its mighty fulfillment. Its beginning is the establishment of peace at home, through which the national unity shall become manifest. This is the first step. The rest will follow. In the procession of events it is now at hand, and he is blind who does not discern it."

I do see that we shall control all these countries, but I do not see that the Plural Unit will be better off by embracing them. We have gone on the principle of receiving immigrants from all countries and ultimately making them citizens; but we have not done it at wholesale by territories already populated. The effect of individual immigration has been very great; but it has not heretofore been dangerous, because the immigrants of all sorts have never amounted to more than a sixth part of the nation, and have in regard to race been almost the same with our own people. The race of the thirteen American States have always been predominant and now make four-fifths of the American people. They were nearly homogeneous in race, religion and language. Hence it is that this nation has grown up to such immense magnitude without any internal convulsions arising from differences of race or religion. Suppose the people of the Pacific States were of Spanish or French origin and Roman Catholic religion, I don't believe you could keep them ten years without great armies. I look upon Mr. SUMNER's idea of integration as necessarily resulting in disintegration. Crookery were may be glued together, but it will break again. I have spoken of races because a proposition to take in Canada is a proposition to take in Mexico and Cuba also, and ultimately Central America. The question is one, and must be treated on general principles. Lower [Canada is French, Mexico and Cuba are Spanish, Central America is mongrel. If we ever bring them in as States of this Union we shall weaken the power of our Government and ultimately destroy it. Every foot of foreign territory we get now is an element of weakness. This is palpable to every thinking man. We saved the country in our recent war only by stretching the elastic power of the Government to the utmost limit, and in fact imperializing the Central Government. For unlately the Constitution was made elastic and I, in common with millions of patriotic people, sustained those powers to save the life of the nation. But it won't do so to create a necessity for those powers in time of peace. But you will do so if you add an immense territory and population utterly foreign to the race which has carried this country forward in a career of glory and prosperity. Mr. SUMNER's imagination carries him far beyond the bounds of true statesmanship, and his rhetoric embellishes the visions of imagination; but we must not administer the affairs of a great Government by the interpretation of dreams.

Has any man thought for a moment what embracing the whole North American Continent in