been hardly less than that of the locomotive in their im­portance to the United States. He had patented a reap­ing-machine in 1834, and this, further improved and supplemented by other inventions, had brought into play the whole system of agricultural machinery whose exist­ence was scarcely known elsewhere until the London “World’s Fair” of 1851 brought it into notice. It was agricultural machinery that made Western farms profitable and enabled the railroads to fill the West so rapidly (§ 278). A successful sewing-machine came in 1846 ; the power­loom and the surgical use of anæsthetics in the same year ; and the rotary press for printing in 1847.

1. All the conditions of life were changing so rapidly that it was natural that the minds of men should change with them or become unsettled. This was the era of new sects, of communities, of fantastic proposals of every kind, of transcendentalism in literature, religion, and politics. Not the most fantastic or benevolent, but certainly the most successful, of these was the sect of Mormons, or Latter-day Saints. They settled in the new Territory of Utah in 1847, calling their capital Salt Lake City, and spreading thence through the neighbouring Territories. There they have become a menace to the American sys­tem ; their numbers are so great that it is against Ameri­can instincts to deprive them of self-government and keep them under a Congressional despotism ; while their poly­gamy and submission to their hierarchy make it impossible to erect them into a State which shall have complete con­trol of marriage and divorce.
2. The material development of the United States since 1830 had been extraordinary, but every year made it more evident that the South was not sharing in it. It is plain now that the fault was in the labour system of the South : her only labourers were slaves, and a slave who was fit for anything better than field labour was *prima facie* a dangerous man. The process of divergence had as yet gone only far enough to awaken intelligent men in the South to the fact of its existence, and to stir them to efforts as hopeless as they were earnest, to find some artificial stimulus for Southern industries. In the next ten years the process was to show its effects on the national field.

**IX. TENDENCIES TO DISUNION : 1850-61.**

1. The abolitionists had never ceased to din the iniquity of slavery into the ears of the American people. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, with nearly all the other political leaders of 1850, had united in deploring the wickedness of these fanatics, who were persistently stirring up a question which was steadily widening the distance between the sections. They mistook the symptom for the disease. Slavery itself had put the South out of harmony with its surroundings, and still more out of harmony with the inevitable lines of the country’s development. Even in 1850, though they hardly yet knew it, the two sections had drifted so far apart that they were practically two different countries.
2. The case of the South was one of arrested develop­ment. The South remained very much as in 1790 ; while other parts of the country had developed, it had stood still. The remnants of colonial feeling, of class influence, which advancing democracy had wiped out elsewhere, retained all their force here, aggravated by the effects of an essentially aristocratic system of employment. The ruling class had to maintain a military control over the labouring class, and a class influence over the poorer whites. It had even secured in the constitution provision for its political power in the representation given to three-fifths of the slaves. The twenty additional members of the house of represen­tatives were not simply a gain to the South ; they were still more a gain to the “ black districts,” where whites were few, and the slave-holder controlled the district. Slave-owners and slave-holders together, there were but 350,000 of them ; but they had common interests, the intelligence to see them, and the courage to contend for them. The first step of a rising man was to buy slaves ; and this was enough to enroll him in the dominant class. From it were drawn the representatives and senators in Congress, the governors, and all the holders of offices over which the “slave power,” as it came to be called, had control. Not only was the South inert ; its ruling class, its ablest and best men, were united in defence of tendencies which were alien and hostile to those of the rest of the country.
3. Immigration into the United States was not an important factor in its development until about 1847. The immigrants, so late as 1820, numbered but 8000 per annum; their number did not touch 100,000 until 1842, and then it fell for a year or two almost to half that number. In 1847 it rose again to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000 ; all told, more than two and a quarter million persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. Taking the lowest estimates—$80 each for the actual amount of money brought in by immigrants, and $800 each for their in­dustrial value to the country,—the wealth-increasing in­fluence of such a stream of immigration may be calculated. Its political effects were even greater, and were all in the same direction. Leaving out the dregs of the immigra­tion, which settled down in the seaboard cities, its best part was a powerful nationalizing force. It had not come to any particular State, but to the United States ; it had none of the traditional prejudices in favour of a State, but a strong feeling for the whole country ; and the new feel­ings which it brought in must have had their weight not only on the gross mass of the people, but on the views of former leaders. And all the influences of this enormous immigration were confined to the North and West, whose divergence from the South thus received a new impetus. The immigration avoided slave soil as if by instinct. So late as 1880 the census reports that the Southern States, except Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, are “ practically with­out any foreign element”; but it was only in 1850-60 that this differentiating circumstance began to show itself plainly. And, as the sections began to differ further in aims and policy, the North began to gain heavily in ability to ensure its success.
4. Texas was the last slave State ever admitted ; and, as it refused to be divided, the South had no further increase of numbers in the senate. Until 1850 the ad­mission of a free State had been so promptly balanced by the admission of a slave State that the senators of the two sections had remained about equal in number ; in 1860 the free States had 36 senators and the slave States only 30. As the representation in the house had changed from 35 free State and 30 slave State members in 1790 to 147 free State and 90 slave State in 1860, and as the electors are the sum of the numbers of senators and representatives, it is evident that political power had passed away from the South in 1850. If at any time the free States should unite they could control the house of representatives and the senate, elect the president and vice-president, dictate the appointment of judges and other Federal officers, and make the laws what they pleased. If pressed to it, they could even control the interpretation of the laws by the Supreme Court. No Federal judge could be removed except by impeachment (§ 121), but an Act of Congress could at any time increase the number of judges to any extent, and the appointment of the additional judges could reverse the opinion of the court. All the interests of the South depended on the one question whether the free States would unite or not.