

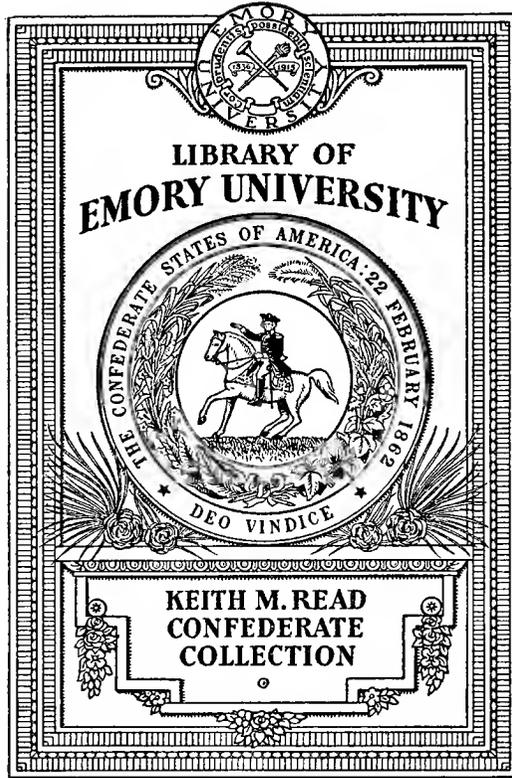


THE BATTLE OF FORT SUMTER:

Its Mystery and Miracle:

God's Mastery and Mercy.





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Miracle : God's Mastery and Mercy.

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A DISCOURSE

PREACHED ON THE DAY OF

NATIONAL FASTING,  
THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER,

IN THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHARLESTON, S. C.

JUNE 13, 1861.

BY THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

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# THE BATTLE OF FORT SUMTER:

## ITS MYSTERY AND MIRACLE:

### GOD'S MASTERY AND MERCY

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When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it.—Deut. 20 : 10, 12. Also, 2 Chron. 32 : 5-8; Ps. 22 : 7-9; Is. 25 : 11, 12; Num. 31 : 49; Is. 29 : 3, 4.

We have been called together to the sanctuary—the house of prayer, of promise, and of God's presence and powerful interposition—originally by the generally expressed sentiments of this community, and more recently by the unanimous voice of our Southern Congress, and the proclamation of the President of the Confederate States, and our own Government. Never was there a louder appeal, and never a more imperious necessity. We have been coerced into a war. It is a religious, and yet an irreligious and anti-Christian, war. We have crossed swords with the Northern confederacy over the Bible. We have met each other face to face at the same altar, invoked fire from heaven on each other, and appealed to the God of battles, to whom belongeth vengeance, to avenge us against our adversaries. The fearful guilt and amenability to the righteous judgment of God is confidently transferred, by the judgment of each party, to the other, and Heaven's impartial tribunal appealed to for its infallible and inexorable verdict. The Word and providence of God are appealed to, with self-

conviction, by both parties. This is a religious country, and religion is made to lend its sanction, and to consecrate the war as holy and sacred. This is a Christian land, and Christ is now entreated to send—not peace, but a sword. This is a Protestant nation, and yet liberty of conscience, of thought, and speech, and action, can be maintained by eleven sovereign States, and ten millions of its free-born citizens, only at the point of the bayonet, the edge of the sword, and the flash of dread artillery. This is a land of freedom, where thirty-four sovereign States or nationalities were united, by voluntary compact, in a constitutional confederacy, for the greater security of their individual sovereignty, by providing for the equal and impartial interest of each and all; and yet eleven of these can confederate together, under a similar compact, for the preservation of their own original and inherent rights, and the prevention of an ever-aggravating political controversy and national strife, by resisting unto blood, and conquering a peace, from some twenty States, and as many millions of professing republicans and Christians, now in arms to subjugate, enslave, or annihilate us.

All forms of religion, Jewish and Christian, and all forms of Christianity, Romish and Protestant, High Church and Low, are now found ranged side by side, under common leaders and common chaplains, and uniting in acts of common worship, praise and prayer.

What a spectacle to God, to angels, and to the world! What lamentation in heaven! What a jubilee in hell! What a triumph to despotism and infidelity! See how these Christians hate one another, and how Republicans, by a sectional majority, take the Government out of the hands of a million majority, and put it into the hands of a military despotism; which sets aside the Supreme Court; tramples on the Constitution; ignores, and even opposes Congress; against all constitutional authority sets up

Scott as a military dictator; calls for seventy-five thousand and accepts two hundred and fifty thousand troops; proclaims war; creates a self-chosen military Board to supercede State authorities; declares martial law; sets at defiance the fundamental right of *habeas corpus* and the decrees of Courts, even of the Supreme Court; abolishes trial by jury; not only raises armies, but orders their number and term of service, and compels them to take a test oath of allegiance; builds, purchases and hires ships of war; mans, equips, and gives them secret and peremptory orders; blockades ports of States still declared to be in the Union; divides such States into military districts; takes military possession of Maryland, against the declarations of her authorities; shoots down her citizens, forcibly seizes her arms, dwellings and property; imprisons her citizens without charge or trial; establishes a hostile camp commanding Baltimore, and opens the batteries of Fort McHenry on the city; takes military possession of St. Louis, and shoots down men, women and children in her streets; foments and aids civil war in Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and Missouri; invades Virginia, and takes military possession of Hampton and Alexandria, where it brutally murders a peaceable citizen defending his own house, family and property against an infamous soldiery who were permitted to rob and pillage an unarmed and unresisting population, and to outrage helpless women; has destroyed public property in ships, buildings and forts, to an amount of some twenty millions of dollars, and involved the country, even in the period of a few months, in a loss of not less than one thousand millions of dollars; which has justified the cowardly assassination of a resident citizen of Wash-ton, at the door of his own house, to which he had been summoned for the cold-blooded purpose of murder; hung, without trial, a merchant of Hampton, Virginia, for shooting an officer who took forcible possession of his

store and goods, and struck him in the face with his drawn sword; stripped a gentleman of the same town stark naked, and in that condition marched him as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe; destroyed crops and houses, and other property, in a single county, and in a single week, to the extent of five hundred thousand dollars; commended the retention of all fugitive slaves; attempted through a slave cook to poison the food of the soldiery; plots the assassination of President Davis; violated all the confidential sanctities of the telegraph and the post-office; established a reign of terror, by a system of espionage and threats, over men and women, over the press and free speech; and against all law, human and divine, is now proceeding, unless God prevent, to carry devastation throughout the South, until it is brought into prostrate subjection; who privateers, while proclaiming it to be piracy and worthy of death; and who employs mercenary foreign hirelings to invade, ravage, and destroy unarmed and unsuspecting towns of a neutral State, shooting its inhabitants, and barbarously trampling and kicking to death an infirm old man, eighty years of age.

ALL THIS, and MORE, has been done within the space of a few weeks. All this has been perpetrated, after the refusal of power, even by an almost exclusively *Republican Congress*, and without waiting for another, which is called only to ratify these acts, and prostrate themselves and the Constitution before the usurping despot, and while the Constitution, which Lincoln swore to "preserve, protect, and defend," neither authorizes *him nor Congress* to make war against a State, much less against eleven, and, we may say, fourteen States, such power having been expressly withheld by its framers, after full deliberation. Mr. Lincoln is, therefore, not only a usurper and a military despot, but a perjured traitor, as is now declared by the recent judgment of Chief Justice Taney, who administered to him

the above solemn oath, in the presence of multitudes, and before the righteous tribunal of Heaven's avenging justice. Military officers are permitted in Virginia to command the silence of the press; prisoners are detained at Washington who surrendered under protest against violated faith, and refused a hearing, although taken by a subordinate officer while preparing to evacuate Alexandria within the time agreed upon, under a flag of truce sent from the *Pawnee*, the commanding officer declaring that he knew of no agreement. This unscrupulous and audacious tyrant sanctions acts of military dictatorship which transcend the power of any monarch upon earth, and overwhelm in oblivious ruin *magna charta*, the bill of rights, *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, and every right for which Englishmen and our fathers have contended, unto blood, for ages past. Might now makes right, and unchained devils, with all the shameless passions of brutish beasts, are let loose to ravish and ravage, even neutral States. Not only at Alexandria, but at Hampton, are these rascalities perpetrated, and near Norfolk, a father was compelled to witness the brutal outrage of his own daughter, a young lady of sixteen years of age.

“Oh, thou Almighty! awful and supreme!  
Redress, revenge an outraged nation's wrongs!  
Shower down your curses on the tyrant's head!  
Arise, the Judge, display your vengeance on him!”

Such, alas! is the opprobrious spectacle now exciting the contumely and ridicule of patriots, philanthropists and Christians throughout the world. The war upon the South now is, not to subject them to the Government and Union of the United States, as they existed, but to a new Government—without law or constitution—fanatical, remorseless and tyrannical.

To sustain us in encountering such a war, against such an enemy, we must be able to satisfy our conscience, from

God's Word, that we may properly pray for and expect God's powerful providence to be with us, to guide and govern our counsels, give efficiency to our plans, and valor and victory to our armies.

As to the rectitude of our defensive war, we propose to consider it hereafter, as the effort has been very extensively made, by clergymen at the North, to justify the aggressive war of the Northern Government, and to condemn ours as rebellious, and as exposed to the righteous and explicit condemnation of God.

On this occasion, we will restrict our argument, and your attention, to the glorious victory of Fort Sumter, considered, first, as a signal proof of the powerful providence of God; and, secondly, as a pledge and promise of God's continued providence and protection over us.

However minute and multiplied the wheels of human events, there is a Spirit that animates them, and a divine Redeemer who overrules and disposes all their revolutions to the accomplishment of His wise and preconcerted purposes. The government of this world of ours—sinful, chaotic and rebellious as it is—is upon His shoulder, and all power, over all flesh, is put into His hands. He supports all, permits all, restrains all, and limits all. He protects His friends, punishes His and their enemies, and rewards His people's confidence and services. Christ, however, thus regulates all things, not by direct and immediate control, but through the instrumentality of angels, who are sent forth as ministering spirits; by evil and lying spirits, who are permitted to delude His enemies; and of good and wicked men, who fulfill His purposes while pursuing their own ends.

Holy and pure, Christ makes these wheels "full of eyes," wisely and judiciously to work together for His glory and the good of His people. Supreme and sovereign, profound, inscrutable, irresistible, and infallible, He harmo-

nizes promises and providences, and providences with providences, in infinite wisdom, love, and power.

It is, therefore, a most clear and Christian duty to recognize, admire, and adore this providence; to observe it carefully; remember it gratefully; duly to appreciate it, and heartily and humbly to acknowledge it, not only in the thanksgiving of the lips, but also in the consecrated devotion of our living energies. Such recognition of providence will fill the heart with praise for the goodness and mercy manifested by the Lord our Redeemer in his innumerable interpositions for our preservation and deliverance. It will impart singular confidence in all future exigencies. It will secure Christ's continued presence and powerful aid, in answer to our prayers, and in conjunction with our efforts. It will inspire a sweet tranquillity, in reposing on Him who only maketh us to dwell in safety.

But if all this is true of ordinary providences, how much more is it true of such as are extraordinary. Extraordinary providences are instructive warnings, of great importance in God's government of the world, and to be very solemnly considered. "The voice of the Lord crieth out unto the city, and the men of wisdom shall see His name." "Shall a trumpet be blown in the city, and the people not be afraid? Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" The true believer will ever say—"The Lord hath wrought all our works in and for us." Moses, by Divine direction, wrote a memorial of the victory over Amalek, as the result and reward of prayer, and built there an altar, with the inscription—"The Lord is my Banner." The Jews established the feast of Purim to commemorate their signal deliverance from Haman's purposed destruction, as "an anniversary throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city, that those days of Purim should not fail from amongst the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed." Several Psalms are entitled "To Bring to Remembrance;" and

many of the names of places were mementoes of God's providences—as, Bethel, “the house of God;” Beer-lahairoi, “the well of him that liveth and looketh on me.” God also is called by titles which have the same moral purpose. He is called Jehovah Jireh, “the Lord will provide;” Jehovah Nissi, “the Lord is my banner;” Jehovah Shalom, “the Lord send peace;” Jehovah Shamruch, “the Lord is there;” Jehovah Zidkenu, “the Lord my righteousness;” and Ebenezer, “hitherto hath the Lord helped us.” The Lord also assumes such titles to Himself, as, when he calls Himself “the Lord that brought Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees;” “the Lord that brought them out of Egypt;” “the Lord that gathered them out of the North country.”

## I.

We proceed, therefore, to establish the first position, and to show that in the events connected with the occupation, siege and fall of Fort Sumter, and the unconditional surrender of its garrison, we have a signal display of the powerful providence of God. The event is in every way wonderful, marvellous, and only not miraculous, though all the more stupendous, that all was accomplished by natural causes and human agency.

The fort itself is considered by General Scott as one of the strongest in the whole country. Mr. Russell compares it to Sevastopol. Major Anderson, and military men generally, have regarded it as commanding the whole harbor, and the city also. Mr. Russell is of opinion that no navy in the world could resist it, and that every fortification erected against it might easily have been destroyed.

It was, therefore, universally considered impregnable, and its reduction impossible, either by bombardment or assault, except at a fearful loss of life. It was repeatedly declared that the whole power of South Carolina could not conquer Fort Sumter in forty-five weeks, and that it would

annihilate and silence all our batteries in an hour or two. This Major Anderson very foolishly published, on more than one occasion, and his officers also. It was, indeed, the belief he could shell and destroy our city.

Major Anderson expressed perfect assurance of his ability to consummate these threats to his Government; declared that to do so he required no reinforcement or supplies; and warned our authorities against the fatal and suicidal policy they were pursuing. Mr. Russell says: "He held all our fortifications in professional contempt;" and he declared he only required an hour to silence them every one.

After examination, it was the reported opinion of General Beauregard that the fort could be taken by bombardment, but that it was a work of time; and that an assault, if not impracticable, was both highly dangerous and doubtful. In this view Major Ripley had previously concurred.

The facts fully justify these views. A parapet sixty feet high, with the largest kind of guns *en barbette*, commanded vertically every interior position and movement of his opponents, while the remainder, of seventy-five guns, swept the horizon within twelve-feet thick walls and the most impregnable casemates. To man these guns and mortars, he had one hundred and nine men, who actually worked them. For three months he was busy in strengthening the walls, closing up the entrance and port-holes, preparing loop-holes for sharpshooters, and grenades and rocks for assault; in undermining the wharf, and arranging interior guns so as to sweep the entrance, and traverses for the protection of his barbette guns. It was, also, confidently asserted by Northern papers that he had been amply reinforced, and supplied with all kinds of stores, and if he wanted—as Mr. Russell, on the very doubtful testimony of Doubleday (or Foster), affirms—requisite instruments for sighting his guns, it was not for want of opportunity to bring them with him when he first dishonorably entered

the fort, with two ship-loads of materials, provisions and drink, selected by himself; nor because any principle of honor prevented him from forming secret plots with Mr. Fox, and other emissaries of Lincoln, who, under false and treacherous disguises, were permitted to visit him, for his reinforcement and the destruction or subjugation of those who were relying on his honor, and supplying, with liberal hand, not only his wants, but luxuries, also. Besides, to counterbalance any such disadvantages, Major Anderson had long practical experience as a teacher and author of practical gunnery, having been the instructor of General Beauregard himself; having for months drilled and practiced his men, and having provided for each gun carefully written instructions, besides the marks referred to by Mr. Russell.

Major Anderson had pledges, also, of coöperation and reinforcement as soon as hostilities commenced. And when he refused to surrender, he knew that a fleet of five vessels, with six thousand troops, muffled boats and oars, and every possible preparation for landing cavalry, and infantry, and flying artillery, were due at our harbor on April 11th or 12th, and he saw them within hailing distance during the whole time of the engagement. Indeed, I could plainly see them, in company with thousands of others, from the Battery, while a favorable wind, clear sky, the signals from the fort, and the sympathies and loud imprecations of every spectator, invited and urged their approach.

To meet this fleet, some six or seven thousand men were posted at various convenient positions on the islands, as if to point out the best landing-places, and welcome them with warm and very substantial salutations; while not more than two hundred and fifty men manned the batteries which were actually employed against Fort Sumter, and these almost entirely raw and inexperienced, and with no other protection than the contemptuously despised and

hastily extemporized batteries. Two of the most prominent of these were, moreover, very generally considered to be mere slaughter-pens.

The taking of Fort Sumter had been, for months, the subject of universal thought, conversation and planning, and had awakened increasing solicitude and doubt as to its practicability, except by the fearfully destructive method of assault. Even after the firing of Friday was over, this opinion was generally expressed among the crowd, many of whom were ready and eager to join in an assault, which was projected by the citizens, if permitted by the military authorities. It was on Saturday morning, April 14th, that four thirty-two pounders *en barbette* were put up in presence of the crowd on the Battery, in addition to five twenty-four pounders already in position, with ammunition and every needful appliance at hand, and manned by the Citadel Cadets, who were in camp on the Battery Green, with lines formed and sentries on duty. This evinced that the enemy most dreaded was the fleet, and that the post of greatest and of reliably anticipated danger, and of most honorable exposure, was designedly held by such companies as the Washington Light Infantry, the South Carolina College Cadets, the Zouaves—each largely and most conspicuously represented by members of this congregation—and by similarly exposed companies on Morris Island and its inlets.

The hazardous magnitude of the enterprise of encountering Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances detailed, is demonstrated by the views expressed since the event throughout this country and Europe. It has been regarded as without a parallel, and incredible, that such an arduous achievement should have been accomplished without loss of life. The course pursued by critics has, therefore, been, universally, either to diminish its importance by denying the strength of the fort and of Major Anderson's position, or to deny the truthfulness of our reports. And hence, to this very day, various witnesses are found testifying to the fact

of some thousand men having been killed, including Gen. Beauregard. A telegraph was actually read, amid a tumult of acclamation, from his pulpit, by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, to the effect that Fort Moultrie was dismantled, every other battery silenced, a great number killed, and the fleet inside the harbor.

Now, this incredulity was perfectly natural and necessary. It was fully shared in by every inhabitant of Charleston and of the South. Among the spectators who listened to the confused noise and shouts of the battle, who saw the white smoke rising from the cannon's mouth at every fateful discharge, who heard their deep and awful roar, sounding as if issuing from the belly of hell, belching forth fire and smoke, and forming a sulphurous canopy of death over the field of strife, and who followed in their course the red-hot shell streaking the atmosphere with a trail of hissing fire, and when they burst, discharging their destructive missiles with accumulated violence—every spectator, we say, of these sights felt in every ball a sympathetic pang of agony, and anxiously and tearfully—and some on their knees, by fasting and prayer, pleading for the life of loved ones exposed to the fearful hail-storm of shell and bullets—awaited the tidings of certain and extensive fatality. And when, from hour to hour, through Friday and Saturday, tidings were received that nobody was seriously injured, and when, after the flag was a second time lowered, and the white flag took its place, and the fort was surrendered, and the smoke of battle cleared away, and the thunder of artillery had died into silence deep as death, and the first wild burst of universal gratulation and acclaim had subsided into solemn seriousness, and it was authoritatively made known that not a single individual was killed, and crowds of living men were seen walking on the parapets and around the fort of Sumter, a thrill of grateful delight ran through every heart. Eyes unused to weep were filled with tears. Tongues unaccustomed to pray or praise were vocal with thanksgiving

to God, to whom alone belonged the miracle and the mercy of such an unparalleled deliverance. "I seldom go to Church," said a gentleman, "and have no religion, but I do recognize God's providence in this event, and thank Him for this glorious victory." When the bells began to peal, a lady in a carriage exclaimed that she hoped every bell in the city would ring out plaudits for our brave soldiers. "Madam," said a gentleman within hearing, "I hope they will ring until they call us all to the house of God, there to humble ourselves before Him, and acknowledge that this is the Lord's doings, and that it is marvellous in our eyes."

But this event is remarkable, and beyond all precedent, in its political effect upon the country. It aroused, and concentrated in union with the destinies of the South, the great hearts of Virginia and of Tennessee. It cemented into one living mass of patriotic ardor every Southern spirit, however previously divided. Nor was its effect less wonderful upon the distracted and hostile parties at the North. Every gun fired against Sumter was oratorically represented as aimed at the life of the nation, and the unconditional surrender of the flag and fort was considered as a dishonor, to be wiped out only by the subjugation or extermination of the South, the demolition of Charleston, and the reduction of South Carolina to a barren and uninhabited wilderness, sown with salt, and over which the foot of man shall never pass. "The war having begun at Charleston, must end at Charleston, and it must be the bitter end of Charleston."

Now, while the fact of a united North, the call for seventy-five thousand troops, the declaration of war, and whirlwind preparations for war against the South, are incontrovertible as consequent upon Sumter's fall, there is no rational connection between the fall of Sumter and the consolidation of the North in support of a military despotism, and in the usurpation of all the powers of the

Constitution, of the Supreme Court, of Congress, of the States, of the judiciary, and of every power, human and divine, and in a lawless, unchristian, inhuman, and barbarously wicked and licentious irruption of mercenary vandals upon the South.

The life of the United States was no more, nor in any degree as much affected, as that of Great Britain after the separation from her of this very North. The life of the United States is in each sovereign State, and in the consenting union of as many States as may agree to combine together for their mutual safety and welfare. At first, nine States thus united—then thirteen, and, from time to time, one sovereign State after another. And it is simply ridiculous to say that a union which consists of no fixed number of States, which refused to assume a national name, which expressly limited the union, withheld any power to interfere with or prevent the future separation and secession of any State as a coequal sovereign, and which reserved to each State all the powers not expressly delegated—that such a union is lost by the withdrawal of ten or eleven States out of thirty-four.

As to the flag being insulted, about which there has been such a flutter of new-fledged “spread-eagleism,” we challenge the production of a case in modern history in which such chivalrous respect was shown to an absolutely helpless enemy, in danger of momentary explosion, and to his flag, which had for months flaunted defiance in our faces, and which he was permitted both to salute and to carry with him to the North, that by its help his vaulting ambition might overleap itself, and, after playing fantastic tricks before high heaven and the swarming myrmidons of usurping despotism, take at its crisis that wave of fortune that might lead him on to an inglorious and bad preëminence.

And as to our alleged aggression and initiation of the war, the charge is equally puerile and self-contradictory. “The first act of war was committed by the Government

of Washington against South Carolina, when fortresses, intended lawfully only for her protection, were *armed for her subjugation*. That act of war was repeated, when armed preparations were twice made to reinforce these means of her oppression. It was repeated, when she was formally notified that these means of her oppression would be strengthened, 'peaceably, if they could be; forcibly, if they must.' And it was only, then, after a magnanimous forbearance, little expected of her ardent nature, that she proceeded to what was *an act of strict self-defence*, the reduction of Fort Sumter."

The attack on Sumter was, therefore, the last link in a chain of events, beginning with the unauthorized and timid treachery of Major Anderson, which was itself a declaration of warlike aggression, and continued in all the acts of tortuous duplicity and threatening of an insolent Government, during which provocation was followed by patience, until South Carolina was abused as a cowardly braggart, and nothing was left her but submission to the forging around her limbs of the chains of a despotic tyranny, or an appeal to arms.

The further charge, of adding robbery to resistance, is insufferably false. By the Constitution, no fort could be erected within the territory of a State, except by its permission. But if not erected, how could it be held, against its wishes and interests? And was not the forcible seizure and holding of Sumter, on a war footing, ready for instant assault, and with powerful guns frowning defiance and destruction to our chief city, a most arbitrary usurpation of authority? Three-fourths of all its cost, and equipment, and maintenance, had been borne by the South, and the faith and honor of South Carolina, and of the Confederate States, were pledged to meet all equitable demands for it, and for all other property which had pertained to the United States in common. And with what face can this usurping North talk of honesty and good faith, while it

grabs, and holds by military force, all the forts, arsenals, mints, navy yards, buildings, territories, and treasures, not only within the non-seceding States, but also, as far as possible, within the Southern States, and which now holds by military domination the State of Maryland and portions of Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, destroying property and lives, and shooting down, hanging, and imprisoning peaceable citizens, who defend their property and denounce lawless robbery?

No! the fall of Sumter sealed the declaration of Southern independence; united eleven Southern States; established free trade and Southern manufactures, commerce, literature, and social organization; created a new empire on the earth; turned from the North the overflowing stream of wealth that had enriched and exalted her; and arrested in its irrepressible conflict the fanatical, unholy, and atheistic crusade against God's Word and providence, and the vital institutions of the South, which the Republican party and the present Administration are pledged to consummate. Hence the pride, passion, and desperate fury, which, under the plea of patriotism and defence of the Government, threatens to pour twenty millions of Goths and Vandals, and mercenary hirelings, and with an ocean's might sweep before its irresistible deluge every living inhabitant of the South.

The victory of Sumter derives its greatest importance from this developement of the real *animus* of the North. The Government must be consolidated. The South must be subjugated. The majority must govern. The sovereignty and reserved rights of States must be branded as monstrous fabrications. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, must be sustained in growing magnificence, and, therefore, bounties on Northern fisheries, navigation laws, protection by tariff for every Northern interest, exclusion of the South from all benefits of foreign competition, postal arrangements, territorial aggrandize-

ment, must be maintained. And to secure this, the Constitution must be set aside, the Supreme Court ignored, Congress set at naught, and only convened when military despotism is established, and all liberty of speech and action, and all the rights of freemen, are abolished, and mobs, or self-constituted boards, or military courts, determine rights and decree justice, and decide for life or death, and displace courts of justice, and all law and equity—in other words, to give the sanction of a coerced rump parliament to the decrees and doings of an unprincipled Government, which is itself confessedly governed by the Black Republican party.

To this despotism democracy, conservatism, anti-abolitionism, and even Christianity, are all subjected. The pulpit, the Bible, the Church, the college, the seminary, the religious press, the courts of the Church, are all made subservient, and with sacrilegious impiety bow the knee to that golden image set up by the American Nebuchadnezzar; while the star-spangled banner takes the place of the cross, covers the communion table, and is sung as a doxology in the Church, the prayer meeting, and the theological seminary commencement, and waves over God's sanctuaries.

Thus has Sumter opened the eyes of the North, like those of Adam and Eve, to see good in evil, and evil in good, to see "a holy and sacred war," which "God knows to be right," in a diabolical and unnatural invasion of sovereign States, which is in violent conflict with every provision of the Constitution, as it is against every dictate of reason, humanity and religion; and to see in the Lincoln dictatorship "the Government of the United States and the ordinance of God," which is to be obeyed at the peril of "damnation"—while its own advocates admit it has "set aside the Constitution," and has no more lawful or constitutional authority to do what it is doing than the Emperor of Russia or of China.

But Sumter has also opened the eyes of the South, to see that the soul of the Northern confederacy was consolidated despotism—the many-headed monster of a blind, heartless and unprincipled majority—to which constitutions, laws, honesty and honor were ropes of sand, or as the cords with which Samson was bound; that conservative and Christian men at the North, if not in heart in unison with it, were impotent against it, and that she must now or never redeem, regenerate, and disenthral herself from a despotism worse than any other, because, under form of law, it could make laws, alter the Constitution, and subject to its will every guard against unlimited tyranny, and every guarantee of individual liberty. The South has *dared* to *assert* her independence. But the sleeping lion is now rampant, and has sprung upon her. His eyes glare perdition. His claws are in her sides. His appetite for blood is now whetted. His horrid teeth stare frightfully from his opened jaws, and we are in the death struggle for liberty.

But again: Sumter has also opened the eyes of Europe to the true character and purposes of the Northern usurpation, and its attempted subjugation of the South; to her hypocrisy; to her aggressions; to her perfidy; to her selfish sectional aggrandizement; to her greedy, grasping monopoly of trade and commerce; and her reduction of the South to a mere tributary province, from which she might derive an increasing annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars. The North has lost character and caste. She has sunk already from a first to a third-rate power. She is snubbed and stricken in the face, and her policy dictated to her. She is forsaken, denounced and despised, and, under the intolerable affectation of pity, she is reproved, repudiated and defied, by British, French, and Spanish navies, now tracking her desperate course. Nor has the conduct of our Southern Government, in relation to Sumter, been less powerful in leading Europe to a conviction and recognition of our determination and ability as a belligerent power; as

authorized to issue letters of marque; as having displayed signal wisdom, energy, and moderation; as entitled to a peaceful separation and prompt recognition; as the victim of Northern rapacity and aggression; as invincible in a defensive war, and certain of ultimate triumph; and as having been driven into this war for self preservation.

The fall of Sumter was, therefore, an event of vast proportions, in *itself* considered, requiring some twenty-four batteries to reduce it and repress the fleet; requiring some seven thousand men to man these batteries, and meet the shock of an invading army, and the guns of an assembled fleet. Two thousand balls, from twenty-four to forty-two pounders, during two memorable days, Friday and Saturday, were hurled from monstrous cannon, with scientific skill and deadly purpose. The fire from Sumter was desperately aimed at life, as is evident from Major Anderson's continued incredulity as to the humiliating defeat of all his proclamations and prophecies, and by the perfect aimlessness of many of his balls, but as designed for men, and not for *merlons*. And that, after all his efforts, and the malicious plans and purposes of Doubleday and Foster, not a single life should be lost nor limb fractured, is a most signal proof of the wonderful power of Divine providence, a mystery and a miracle of mercy; and when taken in connection with the world-wide results which must flow from it to the present and all future generations, the fall of Sumter, and the bloodless victory of South Carolina, after an outlay of nearly a million of dollars from her own treasury, and with exclusively South Carolina troops, is an event which must, to the end of time, occupy a brilliant page in the record of Carolina's glory, and the annals of the fame and achievements of our Confederate States.

## II.

And wherefore, it must be now asked, has the omnipotent and omniscient God ordered and overruled this won-

derful providence? Nothing, most surely, of less consequence than the eventful victory would portend, and that is, a final separation from the North, in Church and State; an independent Southern Confederacy; a continued development of that unparalleled problem of African Christianized civilization, and through it, of a community which for intellectual, political, commercial, and Christian progress, and for the necessary connection of its material interests—its great, world-commanding products of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, indigo, turpentine, tar, live oak, and hard pine, not to mention all other products, in grain, cattle, and breadstuffs, to which it is equally adapted—is without a rival in the history of the world. This is the manifest result, and as manifestly God's destiny. God's finger is seen writing in visible letters before our eyes, "The glory has departed—come out from among them, and be ye separate." The mystery of providence, long hidden, God has now made manifest, and the secret things that belonged unto Him, He has now revealed unto us and to our children. And the proof is: that God's providence is interpreted, and His will revealed, by His Word and working.

Now, the whole movement of the South is based upon God's Word, simply and sincerely interpreted, believed and obeyed, and upon the recognition of God's authority, power and providence, in forcing among us millions of laborers; in sanctioning and requiring their service; in providing for them a climate, soil, and seed and labor, adapted to them, and designed as a benefit and blessing to the world; in imposing upon us their superintendence and these cultures as a solemn trust for mankind at large; and in blessing our labors, in a marvellous manner, with all spiritual and temporal good.

Looking to God and to His Word, praying with all prayer for counsel and direction, giving earnest heed to the dictates of conscience, and guided by all the lights of past experience, and by all the probable issues of the future, the

South has unbounded confidence in interpreting the victory of Sumter as an earnest of God's continued presence, providence and power, with her counsellors, her armies, and her people. "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him, and He will show them His covenant."

Begun in prayer and humiliation, and continued in private, and public, and national recognition of God, every step in this Southern movement has been pointed out by a voice from heaven, saying: "This is the way, walk ye in it," so that our very rashness, improvidence, and blind folly have been overruled, and made to work together for good. Both in what He has prevented, what He has perfected, and what accomplished, God's stately and majestic steppings are manifest, and it is impossible to look back upon the daring course of this little State, alone and unbenefriended, and unprepared in any form or degree, challenging possession of this fort; ordering its reduction; throwing up its forts in the face of Sumter and its Government; firing, with only five rounds of ammunition, upon a vessel full of troops, with the guns of Sumter thrown out, and Doubleday on his knees pleading for permission to fire upon their sand-heap and unprotected soldiery; upon the kindled wrath and insolent message of the now valorous commander, and upon numberless incidents in the long period of daily unanticipated delays, deceptions, and plotted destruction, without admiring and adoring the conspicuous providence and protection of God.

The very first step taken by our Convention was to appoint Commissioners to negotiate, through the President, with Congress, for the possession of the forts in our harbor, as property to be held in honorable trust until finally and satisfactorily accounted for, while authoritative assurances were given to Major Anderson that no attack would be made upon Fort Moultrie, and he knew that such a thing as a mob never had existence in Charleston.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Major Anderson continued, with the most belligerent intent and activity, to fortify the fort in every way, both externally and internally, and reported it to be impregnable against any popular assault. He had also privately led to the belief that his purposes and feelings were peaceful and sympathetic. And yet, without cause, without orders, while reinforcements had been refused as unnecessary, and the arms in the arsenal were put under the protection of the State, and an officer who had attempted clandestinely to remove them was withdrawn, Major Anderson, by a strategic nocturnal movement, which can only be justified from the charge of cowardly distrust in himself and the honor of this State, as a necessary act of war, spiked the guns, and burnt their carriages and other property, and transferred whatever was available to Fort Sumter, over which he raised the flag of Fort Moultrie, which was afterwards lowered for the sign of surrender, and proceeded to put it into a condition impregnable against any attack possible by us. This act of war the Government disclaimed, and yet approved, and in so doing made a declaration of war against South Carolina, as plain and formidable as words and actions could do it.

This declaration of war was confirmed by the treatment of our Commissioners, and of our subsequent Commissioner, and of the members of Congress, who assured him, from the President, that no attempt would be made to reinforce, or to attack the fort, at the very moment that the *Star of the West* was secretly, and with the most furtive and false representations, sent, with two hundred and fifty armed men, to Fort Sumter, under cover of being a merchant steamer. Will any man, in his senses, deny that this was another act of deceptive hostility, only to be justified by a state of *open* and *malignant* war? Surely, it was an act of *mean, dastardly, and dishonorable* war, under the professions of peace and a flag of truce. And who can avoid recognizing the presence and providence of God with us, in the

knowledge, some how obtained by friends in Washington or New York, in time to give us warning on the night before her arrival, and in the efficiency given to a partial battery, with only five rounds of ammunition? And what will those moon-eyed patriots of the North, who try to skulk from the everlasting infamy of forcing this war upon this country, in this age, amid these Churches, and under institutions based upon the consent of the governed, and securing to every State sovereignty and self-government and the consequent right to remain in, or to remove out of, the Union they had voluntary formed—what will they say to the storm of denounced vengeance which swept over South Carolina, the numberless plans concocted for the reinforcement of Sumter and Pickens, and the actual reinforcement of Pickens, Monroe, and Key West, the formidable and multiplied defences, and the presence of a powerful naval force? Say, ye gods who rule in Gotham—say, ye Goths and Vandals—was this war, or was it peace?

While Mr. Seward, by lying deceit, was filling the country with the assurance that Fort Sumter was to be evacuated; soothing our Commissioners with prospects of a peaceful evacuation, for weeks after an official refusal to hold any communication was written and withheld—while Mr. Seward authorized Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court, to confirm our Commissioners in their views, and through them the authorities in Montgomery and Charleston—various messengers, with despatches, and under false pretences and names, visited the fort, and made observations and plans with Major Anderson (who was still enjoying our hospitalities), to reinforce with a powerful fleet, and, as it was said, six thousand men. Was this, which was all done in time of peace, war, and a dishonorable and perfidious war, or what was it? And the discovery of secret despatches, betraying the lying stratagem in time to expect and prepare to meet the fleet—was this second warning, like that given

to Esther, from God, or from the devil, or from our enemies? Who can doubt?

The secret correspondence, since published by Governor Pickens, and the annihilating letters of Mr. Harvey to the public and to the Secretary of War and President, prove incontestibly that the determined policy of peace was abandoned in order to arouse, by the sacrifice of Major Anderson and the provocation of an attack, the present war spirit at the North, and thus save the Republican party, and give a pretext for usurpation, despotism and bloodshed.

And yet, even then, though in a published letter Major Anderson had mercifully warned us, and threatened a fearful infliction, three separate overtures were made to him to evacuate at any time convenient to himself, and in the most honorable manner. This, in the perfect knowledge and confidence of immediate reinforcements from the fleet then more than due, he could, without any real bravery, boldly decline to do; for had the fleet been resolutely determined, at whatever loss, to do it, they might very possibly have succeeded. Was, then, his peremptory refusal to accept of any overtures of evacuation, and his declaration that if the United States flag was fired upon, he must fire—in other words, that as soon as the fleet commenced hostilities he must open his batteries upon us—was that, I ask, a declaration of war, or not?

Charleston, South Carolina, and the South, originated the battle of Sumter, and precipitated war? Hear it, O heavens, and be astonished, O earth! After months of conferences and compromises, in and out of Congress, rejected; after insult, tergiversation, deceit, promises and pledges broken, preparations for war amid professions of peace—after actual invasion and threatened destruction—was ever such long-suffering and patient forbearance manifested before—such willingness to believe treacherous foes, and hope against hope, and chivalrously feed and hearten, and then open the way for a helpless enemy, in his own time and

way, and with the honors of war, to unite himself to his confederates in arms, to concentrate and continue war upon us? Never! Nor would the impetuous valor of Carolina, stung with asserted dominion over her, and burning with shame at her irresolution and timidity, have endured so long, but from her relations to her sister States, and deference to them. Multitudes were ready, with reckless precipitancy, to unite in an assault, from the very night of the furtive occupation of the fort.

And what, I ask, but God's present, restraining and directing providence, held in check fool-hardy intrepidity during the three months in which she stood alone? Whence the wisdom and moderation of our rulers, military officers, and citizen soldiery, which repressed such dangerous impetuosity, and which led our people, as with one heart, to look to God, to recognize and confide in him; which inspired such courageous preparation and readiness for conflict; such fortitude and perseverance; such unanimity; such willing sacrifices; such wise counsels; such energetic measures; such scientific and inventive skill in devising and in constructing forts; such a conciliatory spirit and eminent statesmanship, and dispatch in the action of our Convention, in the appointment of its cabinet, in its papers addressed to the public, and in its proposed Constitution for a Southern Confederacy? Was not God's providence manifest in the mediation and wise delays of Senator Davis and others, and afterwards of Judge Campbell, in Washington; in the glorious results of the bloodless victory over the *Star of the West*, and its magic power in uniting and harmonizing seven Southern States; in the wonderful manner in which they were united in opinion, and cemented into one; in their early Congress; in the election of Mr. Davis; in their provisional Constitution, tariff, and military and financial arrangements; in the unanimity with which the people ratified and approved their acts; in the speedy assemblage of a regular Congress and adoption of a per-

manent Constitution; in the perfect organization of a Government; and in the universal favor with which their measures have been received, even at the North, until recently, and in Europe? Was there not a manifest providence in that blinded madness and fatuity in the Federal Government which led to the rejection of every overture from Virginia and Kentucky, and in the proclamation of war, which has added four more powerful States to the Southern Confederacy? Who that has eyes to see, or head to understand, can fail to realize that God was with us, as our Emanuel, and to cry out, What hath God wrought? But the wise and gracious providence of God toward the South in this movement, is further manifested in leading her to take her present stand against the tyrannous usurpations of the North, while yet strong in men, in means, in spirit, determination, hope and confidence of victory; in providing her beforehand with some portion of the arms and ammunition now so necessary; in giving her time to organize, arm, equip, and discipline; and, thus far, in granting such wonderful success to all her movements.

In December last this State and city were wholly unprepared to undertake a war. Our forts, our arms, our arsenal, were in possession of Federal troops. We had no fortifications, no organization, no military commanders of experience, and but little ammunition. Any attempt at fortifying ourselves at Moultrie, Pinckney, Johnson, and Morris Island, might easily have been prevented by Sumter and a fleet; and in the numberless delays and disappointments, and contradictory reports, and vacillating policy, of the Administration, which deferred hope and delayed action, until the last hidden battery was finished and the rifled cannon was placed in position, and a force adequate to all emergencies were at their posts and thoroughly drilled, and General Beauregard could say that every thing was in readiness—*which was only on the night of the attack*—do we

not behold the omnipotent and omniscient providence of God, making all things work together for the glorious result accomplished?

The resignation and devotion to the Southern cause of naval and military officers, to such a multiplied extent, and including the greatest, wisest and most energetic in the Federal service; the organization of new and efficient floating and land batteries; the ardor, self-denying labor, and unflinching endurance of our citizens, and, preëminently, of our State soldiery; the hopeful confidence and devotion of our people; and, above all, God's wonderful providence during the battle, in giving coolness, intrepidity and endurance to our men; in directing our fire, and diverting that of the enemy; in so immediately crippling and driving him away from his barbette guns and interior mortars, which must have been destructive to life; in delivering, in numerous instances, from apparently inevitable death; in diverting the energies of our enemies by frequent fire; in blowing up their cartridges, grenades, and other preparations for defence and destruction; in closing effectually their magazine; in enveloping them in smoke, and causing momentary danger of the general explosion of their magazine and mines; in imparting such daring and chivalrous spirit to Senator Wigfall and the aids of General Beauregard; in awaking such universal sympathy and desire to succor the heroic bravery of Anderson and his men; in securing to South Carolina, and preëminently to her Charleston soldiery, such unequalled glory and unmitigated rejoicing; such untarnished honor and such triumph over all feelings of retaliation or revenge; in crowning with such a halo of splendor a State so ridiculed and reviled for her contemptible littleness and pride; in a victory of unrivalled significance and almost miraculous mercy, achieved by her own counsels, her own money, and means, and men, with the addition of her illustrious general and other high officers and engineers—these are, each and all,

the stately steppings of God's wonder-working and majestic providence, working out, in His own mysterious way, our defence, deliverance and glory.

The fall of Sumter and of Sumter's flag was a signal gun from the battlements of heaven, announcing from God to every Southern State, "This cause is mine—come ye up, come to the help of the Lord against the mighty," and saying to the North, "Thou shalt not go up, nor fight against your brethren. Return every man unto his house, for this thing is of Me, saith the Lord." It was the tocsin of alarm and defeat to our foes, and the trumpet-call to battle and to victory to every laggard friend. It was the knell of the departed Union, and the annunciation of a new empire on the earth. It inaugurated, with loud acclaim, the unfurling of a young nation's flag; and in the destruction of two lives, and the serious injury of three others, in the abortive attempt to salute the flag of a desecrated and now subjugated Union, it was a startling rebuke of that idolatry which has spread that flag on the communion table, suspended it at the entrance and over the steeples of Churches; which has delivered it, even at Princeton, to theological students, who were exhorted to "stand by *our* flag"—not that banner which Christ has given because of the truth—who, having made the Chapel ring with its national song, filled the air with shouts and hurrahs! Oh, how did God punish such profanity at Sumter, and again at Alexandria, where Colonel Ellsworth suffered death for his indignity to the Confederate flag, and a seaman from the fleet, who attempted to replace it with the Federal flag, fell and was instantly killed!

The fall of Sumter has acted like the spear of Ithuriel. It has transformed the seeming into the real shape and proportions of the man. It has revealed the North to itself, to us, and to the world. It has revealed us to ourselves, and to one another, as confederated by bonds of honor and happiness, which make us, while "distinct as the billows,

yet one as the sea," and as the sea, world-wide in our commercial circumference, and producing commodities which are the source of priceless and ceaseless blessings to every continent, and omnipotent, under God, to resist any power exerted to arrest our progress and roll back our tide of empire.

The fall of Sumter has made bare and brought to light the hidden works of darkness and mystery of iniquity. It has proved that, with all the conservatism and professed love of peace at the North, the love of power is greater; that with all their devotion to the Union, it means a union of Southern interest for the enrichment of the North, and of Southern conservatism in politics and religion for the repression of anarchy and fanaticism; and that the real eagle so fondly worshipped is the golden one. Love for the South evaporates, and leaves only love for self. Piety succumbs to pride, and patriotism to passion, and charity itself, while covering any multitude of sins, and forgiving all manner of evil, and tolerant of all the errors and isms which spawn and multiply among them, sees in disobedience to the tyrant nothing but damnable heresy; in secession from the hateful conspiracy against our rights and liberties, an unpardonable sin; and in toleration for the exercise of self-government, and in consent that we should be governed by chosen rulers, an enormity only equalled by that which cast Satan out of heaven, and Adam out of Paradise. Union with us was purgatory, but union without us is perdition. The South has been confessedly abused, pillaged, and reduced to a tributary province, but Northern conservatism requires, on peril of destruction, that we shall rely upon its "unmeaning promises of good intentions, which amount to nothing more than irresponsible promises to be merciful to the vanquished."

"The howl of vindictive passion," clamoring for a war of vengeance and subjugation, has at length reached our

Church. That sacred sanctuary, our holy and happy Zion—where the scattered tribes have been accustomed to repair, and feel how good and how pleasant it was for brethren to dwell together in unity—has been polluted, and “made a den of thieves.” The Old School Presbyterian Church—the last link that held fast to union, amidst the crashing timbers of the hastening wreck—is now broken; willingly, wilfully and wickedly broken—broken against the protestations of the wise, and in the unavoidable absence of almost all true-hearted representatives of their Southern brethren, and against the formal advice even of the wily Cabinet at Washington. The Church of our revolutionary fathers is now yoked to the chariot-wheel of Cæsar, and, in the madness of a base and venal servitude, is pledged to prayerful loyalty and devotion to an imperial despot, whose little finger is heavier than any yoke ever imposed by Britain, and under whose heel their own liberties, as well as ours, and the Bible, the palladium of them all, and the Constitution, and all laws, human and divine, are crushed into submission to the higher law of his own “irrepressible conflict,” and to the will of a wild, lawless, and godless majority.

Amid these wild waves of tempestuous commotion, with war raging around us, and woes innumerable enveloping our future, God has given us, in the bloodless victory of Sumter, an anchor of hope, both sure and steadfast—a pledge and promise of defence and deliverance. And, though not yet referred to by any writer, I find, in recent researches, that in 1755, in the commencement of our revolutionary struggle, Dr. Langdon, on May 31st, calls upon the people to praise God “that in the late action at Chelsea, fought on May 27th, when several hundreds of our soldiery, the greater part open to the fire of so many cannon, swivels, and muskets; from a battery advantageously situated; from two armed cutters and many barges full of marines; and from ships-of-the-line in the harbor—*not one man on*

*our side was killed, and but two or three wounded, although one hundred and five of the enemy were killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded."*

Mr. Mansfield, also, in a discourse, preached at Roxbury, in November, 1775, remarks: "Providence has smiled upon the camp, in permitting so few fatal accidents, and has evidently been its safeguard." "I am informed," he adds, "*that by means of two thousand balls thrown from the opposite lines, five men only have been taken off. I perceive, also, that by reason of three hundred balls, etc., thrown into Roxbury in the course of one month, but two were wounded, and no man was immediately killed. It is to be remarked, also, that not one person was hurt in the course of above three hundred shells thrown into a fortification upon ploughed hill, in Charlestown."*

Thus did God encourage our revolutionary fathers in their long and desperate contest with the mightiest power on earth, by such signal proofs of His extraordinary presence, and providence and blessing, to put the most undoubting trust in Him, and to look for that divine succor which could make them conquerors, and more than conquerors, over all their enemies. *And this lesson our fathers learnt by heart, and carried with them through all the perilous disasters and distresses of their seven years' war. "The Lord," they said, "will be our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. He can command the stars in their courses to fight His battles, and all the elements to wage war with His enemies. He can destroy them with innumerable plagues, or send faintness into their hearts, so that the men of might shall not find their hands. In a variety of methods He can work salvation for us, as He did for His people in ancient days, and according to the many remarkable deliverances granted in former times to Great Britain and New England."*

Our enemies themselves, therefore, being judges, God has thus far, in the bloodless, and eventful, and incalculably important battle of Sumter, and in a series of victories

since of our troops and batteries, who (with immensely weaker forces, and when taken by surprise) have intimidated and disheartened our enemies; greatly inspired and fired the courageous daring of our soldiery; inspired confidence and good hope to our people generally; and powerfully commended us and our cause to other nations around us, and to the European powers, who are most deeply interested in this revolution.

And now, O Lord God of our fathers! who didst lead them through dangers and death, discomfort and defeat, and all the perils and sacrifices of the revolution, to final victory, independence and glory, undertake for us, their children, inheritors of their blood and blood-bought heritage of liberty. We lift up our eyes unto Thee. We have looked to Thy Word and providence to know Thy will and our duty. And Thou hast appeared, O Lord God of hosts, on our behalf, and done great things for us, whereof we are glad. And now, O Lord God, behold this great multitude who have come up against us, to destroy us without cause. Thou who sittest in the heavens, look down upon these rulers who take counsel together, and upon this people, who imagine a vain thing, and do Thou hold them in derision, and break them in pieces as a potter's vessel.

Our cause is open unto Thee, with whom—and not with THEM—we have to do, and we appeal to Thy righteous justice. We ask no subjugation of our enemies, nor any portion of their rightful inheritance, privilege or property, nor any unnecessary destruction of their persons. But we ask, O righteous God, a just, honorable and lasting peace—that we may enjoy life, liberty and happiness, under the pure and uncorrupted Constitution of our fathers. We ask THEE to avenge us—to avenge us of our adversaries—to vindicate our righteous claims—to justify our course—and to commend our character and counsels to an *impartial present*, and to all future generations.

The Constitution, and the Union under it, as ordained by Thee, through the ordinance of our fathers—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

Our solemn compact, entered into with our present enemies, in Thy sight, and recorded in the chancery of heaven—with all that it gives and withholds, with what it positively and negatively lays down as to the respective provinces of national and State Government, with what is reserved and what is recorded, and with the coequal character, rights, and territorial privileges, under the internal institutions and laws of each united sovereignty—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The first treacherous violation of that compact, in 1787 and 1789, by our Northern confederates, in wresting from us equal rights in the territories of our own generous donation—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The fugitive slave law, THEN first established as a compromise, on which alone the South yielded to continued union—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT, and to the open, persistent and perfidious violation of it for forty years past, and to the existing laws of many of the very States who are fighting for a union they have themselves nullified, as “a compact with hell, and iniquitous before God.”

The act of Congress establishing slavery and a rigid slave code over all the Louisiana territory, in accordance with the terms of the treaty with France—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The refusal by Congress, on three occasions, to admit Missouri as a State, under that act and treaty—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The Missouri Compromise—reluctantly, and to her own grievous dishonor and injury, *submitted to by the South*—and by which she was again robbed of her territory, to the extent of several large States—is there, to testify to Southern honesty, honor, and generosity, and to the perfidious

rapacity of a self-aggrandizing North—AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The many acts of insolent and audacious violation of the Missouri Compromise, and the continued rapacious grasping of power and property by the North—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The fishery bounty, the navigation acts, the tariff monopolies, the home appropriations, the postal laws, by all which the South has been made to pay yearly hundreds of millions into Northern hands—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The crusade and irrepressible conflict against slavery, based upon a higher law than the Constitution and the Bible itself, and in open conflict, O God! with Thy Word and providence—IS THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO IT.

The unintermitted and increasing abuse, defamation, false witness, lying calumny, incendiary publications, treasonable insurrections, raids and underground railroad robberies, the arson, theft and murder excited by abolition emissaries, and the murder of Southern citizens in the streets of Northern cities, without redress, and with the connivance or requisition of State authorities—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The long-suffering patience, and warnings, protestations, appeals, nullification, and conventions of the South—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The nomination, election, and inauguration of Lincoln, on the very basis of this perfidious, aggressive, unconstitutional, and infamously dishonorable policy—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The course of Carolina, and the offered compromises of every other State, *until dignity was sunk in abject entreaty*, almost as degrading as that of Kentucky itself, ARE THERE, and *their contemptuous rejection*—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

The usurpation of Lincoln, Scott & Co.—the arbitrary, unconstitutional, tyrannous, unnatural, inhuman, and diabolical course pursued by them—the barbarities perpetrated, the blood of patriot martyrs murdered, the curses of outraged women, the wailing of widows, the tears of orphans, houses burned, cities subjugated, fields devastated, *all decency and civilization set at defiance by unlicensed lynx-eyed generals and soldiers*—ARE THERE, AND WE APPEAL TO THEM.

May the Lord hear us in this day of trouble, and the name of the God of Jacob defend us, send us help from His sanctuary, and strengthen us out of Zion. We will rejoice in His salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners.

Thus saith the Lord God of our fathers, I will deliver thee and this city out of the hands of your enemy, AND THIS THAT HE HAS DONE SHALL BE A SIGN UNTO THEE, FROM THE LORD, THAT THE LORD WILL DO THIS THING THAT HE HAS SPOKEN.

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NOTE.—A large body of corroborative notes have been necessarily omitted.