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ARTICLE I.

THE WAR OF THE SOUTH VINDICATED.

“Whatsoever,” saith the divine oracle, “is not of faith,” that is, whatever we do, as moral and responsible beings, that is not based upon a well-grounded conviction of its rectitude, “is sin.” Where there is a faithful and enlightened conscience, it will regard such conduct, whether it involves commission of what is wrong, or failure to do what is right, with self-condemnation; and the result of such a state of mind must be doubt, irresolution, and imbecility.

It is all-important, therefore, not only to act right, but to *know* that we are doing so, in order to do and to dare, to endeavor and to endure, to perform and to persevere in doing, all that, as men, we can achieve. A mind conscious of its sincerity of purpose, and of the righteousness of its desired end—of having a good cause, and justifiable means for its accomplishment—is essential to success. This alone

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can now animate and sustain the people of the South, whether in the army or out of it, in the patient endurance of past misfortunes, present calamities, and possibly increasing difficulties and dangers.

Such a faith will be found to have constituted the vitalizing principle of all successful wars, the secret power of all celebrated warriors, the soul of the Reformation, and the indomitable spirit of our revolutionary fathers.

We have seen, therefore, with what witchcraft the North has succeeded in leading its people so generally to believe that our cause is wicked, and theirs righteous, sacred, holy, divine. We are rebels, traitors, criminals, execrable sinners, and deserving the uttermost punishment on earth, and everlasting damnation in hell. The highest sanctions of piety and patriotism have been made to overcome all natural feelings of sympathy and compassion; to inflame malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness; to call down fire from heaven to destroy us; to sustain their present government in its suppression of all their own liberties and fundamental rights, of all freedom of speech, of the press, and even of thought; and to overwhelm them with a debt of many hundred millions of dollars, and increasing at the rate of six millions a day; and to justify a war of rapine, rape, murder, vandal destruction, inquisitorial espionage, ecclesiastical despotism, and servile massacre. Our enemies, it must be admitted, display terrible earnestness, and almost superhuman malevolence. They have a zeal of God, but it is not according to knowledge. Their faith is, therefore, fanaticism. They substitute opinion for truth, dogmatism for doctrine, philosophy (falsely so called) for religion; and, adopting as a maxim the jesuitical dogma that the end sanctifies the means, they stop at nothing, and are willing to be branded by an outraged world as infamous, for their mendacity, perfidy, shameless brutality, and an unbridled despotism, more execrable than that of Bomba, if by any means they can subjugate and enslave the South.

What melancholy evidence of the overwhelming force of this fanatical fury, and of its blinding delusion, is given in the transformation effected in the principles and character and conduct of such men as Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, Spring, Hodge, Jacobus, and Plumer, and Sidney A. Morse, Mr. Dickinson, etc. Such men now profess to have lost confidence in our morality. And well may they and we alike lose any confidence we ever had either in the sincerity, uprightness, or power of the human mind, and even in Christian principle, in its present imperfect development. Well may we say, "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man;" for surely the wisdom of the wise has become foolishness, and the purity of the pure tainted with the corruption of selfish and sectional prejudice.

To this blind, fervid fanaticism, the South must oppose the only invincible shield, and that is faith, faith in God, faith in His word, faith in His omnipotent providence, faith in the righteousness of a cause sustained by His immutable and everlasting truth. She must be able to give a reason for the hope that is in her, to herself and to every one that asketh it, that so, being clad in divine panoply, she may be able to withstand in the evil day, and bear up, with unshrinking fortitude, against the heart-sickness of long-deferred hope, and the manifold disappointments, disasters, privations, losses, and bereavements of a protracted and barbarous war.

I. THE WAR OF THE SOUTH IS IN SELF-DEFENCE.

Now, for such a faith there is adequate foundation, in the first place, in the defensive character of the war of the South. That war, as we have already proved,* was provoked, threatened, perfidiously commenced, and openly proclaimed by the North; and as sure as there is a righteous God, they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.

* See the article on the Battle of Fort Sumter, in the Review for 1861

Accursed by God are they that delight in war. For the battle is not to the strong, nor victory by might, or power, or wisdom, but by God's providence, who giveth it to whomsoever He will; saving by few or many, as it pleaseth Him, and executing judgment for the poor and oppressed.

Should any doubt attach to the conclusiveness of the facts adduced, in proof of the aggression of the North in originating this war, it will be more than silenced by the correspondence, since made public, between Governor Pickens and the United States Government, and between that Government and its own foreign Ambassadors, and by General Scott's letters; in all of which it is incontrovertibly shown that the whole scheme of a perfidious attack upon Charleston, by Fort Sumter within, and a fleet without the harbor, was actually arranged by that Government at the very time it was giving Governor Pickens solemn assurances of peaceful intentions, and of the early evacuation of the fort.

By every instinct, therefore, of self-preservation and defence, by the divinely authorized as well as inherent natural right of all her citizens in the government ordained by them, as "free," and "using their liberty," (1 Pet. 2,) the South was imperatively required to defend life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, even unto blood, against the arrogant and rapacious usurpation and tyranny of the North.

Coming events, now a part of history, cast their shadows before, and the portentous magnitude and character of this war darkened with their terrific shade the perilous course of a Southern Confederacy. But God's manifest presence and providence, in the bloodless and yet triumphant victory of Sumter; in the electric sympathy with which eleven States rushed into each others' arms; in the peaceful, prayerful unity with which a constitution and a confederation were ratified on earth, and sealed in the chancery of heaven; all this seemed to be the evidence of God's presence with us.

God seemed thus to command His people in these Southern States, to whom, as the divider of nations, He had apportioned their inheritance, and imposed upon them the solemn trust of an organized system of slave labor, for the benefit of the world and as a blessing to themselves, while imparting civil, social, and religious blessings to their slaves; now that His word and providence were denied, and covenanted rights and immunities were withheld, and the annihilation of that system of labor was made the basis and cohesive bond of a dominant mobocratic and sectional party, inaugurated as the government of the United States, and invested with absolute power, God now spake as with a voice from heaven, saying, "Come out of the Union, my people. From such withdraw thyself, for 'all the men of thy Confederacy have brought thee even to the border: the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee: they that ate thy bread have laid a wound under thee: there is none understanding in them.'" The heart of the South was bowed before the Most High, the Lord God omnipotent that reigneth, and with one voice they cried unto Him, and said 'unto Him, "If thy presence go not with us, carry us not up hence: for wherein shall it be known that we, thy people, have found grace in thy sight? Is it not in that thou goest with us? So shall we be separated from all the people that are upon the face of the earth." Then came up from millions of hearts the shout, "Go forward, for God is with us of a truth."

But Abraham Lincoln neither heard nor heeded this voice that spake so audibly from heaven, in the otherwise inexplicable events that were occurring around him. He hardened his heart, and stiffened his neck, and would not let the people go. The Constitution of the United States must be set aside, and all rights under it, however fundamental, ignored. The collateral power of the Supreme Court is denied, and its decisions set at nought. The powers of an autocratic despotism are assumed. War, war to the hilt, a war of sub-

jugation or extermination, is proclaimed. Beauty and booty became the earliest war-cry. Murderers, thieves, and the veriest offscourings of jails and cities, were consecrated to their work of lust and rapine by woman's benediction, and the grasp of hands reeking with pollution, and were canonized in advance by priestly absolution. Edicts have been issued, and practically carried out, under the sanction of the government, which, for brutality and ferocity, have thrown into the shade the infamy alike of Bomba and of Alva. A President, not the choice of the people—having a majority against him of two-thirds of a million out of four millions, even in the Northern States, while from the Susquehanna to the Rio Grande, in fifteen States, neither a popular nor electoral vote was given him, and who only became President under, and in subordination to, that very Constitution now trampled beneath his feet—has, by the arbitrary and despotic exercise of illegal and unconstitutional power, rendered the United States Government, as one of their own orators is reported to have well said, “the most contemptible on the face of the earth.”

What, then, was the South to do? What could she do, but declare, with Patrick Henry, “resistance to tyrants is obedience to God;” buckle on her armor, and contend to the last extremity, to the last man, and to the last dollar, for “the redemption of our country from all impending slavery?” We have taken up arms for the defence of our civil and religious rights, and God, our country, and the world at large, call upon us to quit ourselves like men, for our wives and little ones, for our homes, our sanctuaries, and even our religion itself.

II. THE WAR OF THE SOUTH VINDICATED BY THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

The war of the South is vindicated by those principles of civil liberty and free government acknowledged by our forefathers, and by our enemies, and imbedded in the fun-

damental charters of our national and constitutional rights.

The principles which entered into the controversies and struggles of our revolutionary fathers, were found in the works of Locke, Hoadley, Sydney, Montesquieu, Priestley, Milton, Price, and Gordon's *Tacitus*, which were all in Franklin's library. Pitt declared "the American controversy to be a great common cause, and that if she fell she would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution with her." "The natural rights of man, and the immutable laws of nature," said Lord Camden, "are with that people." General Burgoyne declared in Parliament, in 1781, that "he was now convinced that the principle of the war against America was wrong;—* * * only a part of a system levelled against the Constitution and the natural rights of mankind." The high-minded men of that day rejoiced in our resistance to tyranny. "The Englishman in America," says Burke, "will feel that to bear the burden of unlimited monopoly and revenue is slavery, that it is legal slavery, and that the payment of twenty shillings on the principle on which it is demanded, would make him a slave."* This spirit was the soul of the American revolution. The maxims adopted from the above and kindred writers, and published in popular writings, and proclaimed in every gathering of the people, by such men as Franklin, Paine, and Jefferson, and now become household words, were such as these, "that governments rest on the consent of the governed, and any other government is tyrannical; that resistance to oppression is obedience to God; that there should be a strong people and a weak government; that every nation, when aggrieved, that is able and agreed, has a right to set up over themselves any form of government which to them may appear most con-

* See quoted in "The Pulpit of the American Revolution," Boston, 1860, p. 112.

ducive to their common welfare." The term "nation" was employed to denote Massachusetts and the colonies severally, in their as yet disunited and unfederated capacity.* Thus, in 1774, "the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in a message sent by John Hancock to General Gage, declares, 'that the sole end of government is protection and security of the people.' Whenever, therefore, that power, which was originally instituted to effect these important and valuable purposes, is employed to harass, distress, or enslave the people, in this case it becomes a curse, and not a blessing." And he adds, at the very time that domestic slavery, under a very rigid code, existed in that "nation," and when the clergyman and his wife walked to church with a negro man and woman on either side of them, "*the little negroes being distributed, according to their size, on either side of their respective parents,*"* "we are not afraid of poverty, but we disdain slavery."

So universally had these principles become inwrought into the public mind, that, in the eloquent language of Dr. Styles, "the soul of the American continent was poured out in the Declaration of Independence," by which the colonies proclaimed to the world that they, severally, "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The Declaration, in which Mr. Lincoln professed to believe, as both his law and gospel, proceeds to embody substantially the principles already mentioned—declares that all government has its foundation in the consent of the governed, and repeats the very words used by John Hancock.

* See Pulpit, p. 240.

† See Pulpit, ¶ xxxv, and pp. 193, 194, 195.

No terms could more perfectly declare the sovereignty of each of the States severally, than this Declaration, considered as the embodiment of preëxisting and proclaimed principles. The rights of absolute sovereignties, with power both to make and unmake a government, are attributed not to any Union or Confederation, but to "free and independent States."

Let it be remembered, that the States have been established at different times, and by separate charters.

They continued to exist in this separate and independent form, for a period greater than they have coexisted in union. When Great Britain began to treat them as dependents, and parts of a consolidated empire, they separately protested, and when she proceeded to employ force to compel obedience, they also separately resorted to arms.

They also organized for themselves independent governments, and in every respect acted as sovereign commonwealths.

Under these governments the war of the Revolution was carried on, and every act of sovereignty performed.

In vindication of their war, they appealed to "their natural and constitutional rights, in opposition to the machinations of wicked men, aiming to enslave and ruin the whole nation."*

It was only when all were endangered, that, in 1777, these sovereign States entered into the Articles of Confederation, calling themselves, not a "nation," but "the United States," and affirming, in Article II., "Each State retains its SOVEREIGNTY, freedom, and independence, and every POWER, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly delegated," etc.

In this constitutional compact, it was provided that the Union shall be PERPETUAL, and that no alteration should hereafter be made in it, unless first agreed to by Congress, *and afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of EVERY STATE.*"

* See Pulpit, pp. 285, 287.

Was the constitution of the subsequent Union an alteration of this constitution, so as to secure "a more perfect union," or was it a new compact altogether? In either case, it was the work of a SECESSION of States, in the exercise of their sovereignty. If, therefore, the Union was justifiable, then secession is a fundamental American doctrine, and the Confederate States are based upon the same foundation of authenticated right as the Union was. And if secession is rebellion now, then it was so in 1786, and the whole country is bound by the "PERPETUAL" compact of 1777. The facts are these: In 1786, a "Convention," called by the State of Virginia, which represented only *five* out of thirteen States, met to propose amendments, which, *when unanimously ratified by every State*, might be adopted by the Congress of the whole. But what was the actual result? Against the wishes of many of the States, and without any ratification of it by them, or in the way the Constitution required, a new constitutional compact was formed, with no allusion to that one, still binding and "PERPETUAL." It even goes so far as to declare, in Article VII., that this new compact shall go into operation when any nine (instead of all, as required) States shall ratify it. This was as many as Mr. Madison thought could be induced to adopt it. And thus *the present United States was framed upon a perfect theory of SECESSION.*

But the fathers and founders of the Union not only recognized and acted upon the doctrine of SECESSION from a PERPETUAL UNION, by as many States as would agree to secede, against the Constitution and the wishes of the remaining States; they also based the doctrine of SECESSION upon the doctrine of the indisputable SOVEREIGNTY of the States. In *form*, the Constitution says, "We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish." The form, however, had no power or life until that was infused by the ratification of the States respectively. It was the action of free, sovereign, and independent States, and this alone, that ordained and established the Union. It is a union of States,

and not of the people. Its Senate, therefore, which participates in the executive government, represents the legislatures of the States, and not the people.

The doctrines of secession, and of the sovereignty of States, are, therefore, fundamental American doctrines, for they constitute the very foundation on which the Union rested. In coming into it, all the States tacitly, and Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island, as representatives of the Southern, Middle, and Eastern States, embodied these doctrines in the very act by which they ratified the Union, so that you can not prove that they—any of them—ever entered the Union without establishing the doctrines of State sovereignty and secession. "The powers of government," says New York, in her ratifying act, "may be re-assumed by the people, whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness; and EVERY power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not CLEARLY delegated to the Congress of the United States, remains to the people of the SEVERAL STATES."

As early as 1798, while the Constitution was yet in its infancy, Virginia and Kentucky spoke unmistakably of the limited powers of our general government. Mr. Madison was the author of the Virginia, and Mr. Jefferson of the Kentucky resolutions. The third of the Virginia resolutions is, "That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from a compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them."

The doctrines of State sovereignty and secession, against which the North is now compelling the South to wage a defensive war, are, therefore, fundamental to the American mind, and to the history of its governments, in each State separately, and in all combined, and through every change.

In 1811, Josiah Quincy boldly and emphatically affirmed both of these doctrines, on the floor of Congress, declaring that if the people of Orleans Territory were allowed to form a constitution, "the Union, or bonds of the Union, are virtually dissolved; that the States that compose it are free from their moral obligations; and as it will be the *right*, so it will be the *duty*, of some, to prepare definitely for a separation, *amicably if they can, violently if they must.*" Being called to order, and declared out of order by the Speaker, Mr. Quincy was sustained in an appeal to the House. And so universally popular were these doctrines then, that they elevated Mr. Jefferson to the Presidential chair.

Let it also be well considered, that while these doctrines were tacitly and generally admitted and acted upon, and the school of strict construction prevailed pure and uncontaminated, which was for a period of some forty or fifty years, the country enjoyed uninterrupted union and domestic tranquillity, in an eminent degree. They led to mutual forbearance and compromise then, and afterwards, in 1814, saved the country from civil war. Feeling sectionally aggrieved in her commercial interests by the last war with Great Britain, Massachusetts, who regarded it as "not becoming a moral and religious people," declared the united Constitution a failure, called for a convention, and recommended to officer ten thousand men, and provide one million dollars for their support. In this she was seconded by Connecticut and Rhode Island. The Hartford Convention declared the Constitution of the United States to be "incurably and intrinsically defective," and the administration "a military despotism." It declared that dissolution of the Union was preferable to radical and permanent abuses, and

that it should, if possible, "be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." They appointed another convention to await the action of Congress, and, in the mean time urge upon every State "effectually to protect their own sovereignty, and the rights and liberties of their citizens." Thus, according to New England, endangered State sovereignty and economic prosperity make secession an imperative duty, peaceably if possible, but by force if necessary.

It is most manifest, from this review of facts, that the United States compact was the result, and itself an act, of secession, based upon State sovereignty, and that it provided for secession at any future time. *It omitted all reference to any clause of perpetuity.* The plan of a strong central government, offered by Mr. Hamilton, was utterly rejected. Any attempt to coerce States into the Union, or, when in it, to a compulsory obedience, was, after full discussion, also repelled, as in its very nature suicidal, and involving, as Jefferson styles it, "the violent death of the Union." The introduction of sectional jealousies and divisions was prefigured by Washington, as the sure precursor of disunion. The Missouri Compromise, forced upon the South by the North, only to be immediately and constantly resisted and perverted, rung the death-knell of the Union. The sage of Quincy long ago foretold, and by his teachings prepared the way for disunion. Seward boasts of having long foreseen this as the result of his "irrepressible conflict;" and the sure beginning of the sad end was formally laid down in the platform of the Republican party, on whose basis the present Abolition administration was clothed with power to rend the Union, and to involve in one common ruin the happiness of both North and South.

The war of the South is, therefore, in vindication of the doctrines of State sovereignty and of peaceable secession, which has always constituted the predominant idea of the American mind. Hamilton* foresaw that "the first war of

* Federalist, p. 172.

coercion would probably terminate in a dissolution of the Union." John Quincy Adams taught, that every State had the same right to secede from the Union that, as a colony, it had to separate from Great Britain, and that disunion was much better than alienation. Webster declared, in October, 1832, that "the President had no authority to blockade Charleston;" the President had no authority to employ military force, "till he shall be required to do so by law." Mr. Rawle lays down the constitutionality of secession, and teaches that such secession leaves the Union intact; since the life of the Union does not, as Dr. Hodge gratuitously affirms, depend on the number of States, but on the union of any number. The Hon. J. K. Paulding said, in 1851, that "the first attempt to coerce any one State will be the handwriting on the wall, predicting the speedy and certain fate of the Union."

In standing, therefore, upon the fundamental doctrines of State sovereignty, and the right of secession, the South has built her house upon the primitive rock of American liberty, which can not be overthrown, nor questioned, without giving the lie to themselves, by either the Northern or New England States.

The only point necessary to make this argument conclusive is, the prior and paramount authority of each State over the citizens of said State, and the prior and paramount obedience due by every citizen to the State. Just as in a family, or city, the authority over their members is immediate, and paramount to that of the State, or country, in all that is within their sphere of jurisdiction, so it is with the State in relation to the United or Confederate States. Such paramount authority was exercised by each State over its citizens, long anterior to any confederation with other States. It was only through the exercise of this power, any State became united in any compact with any other, so that a portion of the allegiance due to it was by it transferred to other States, under definite limitations, constitu-

tionally defined. But if each State had power to transfer and limit the allegiance due by its citizens to the States united, it still retains power to recall that allegiance, and to concentrate it again upon itself, or transfer it to some other confederacy. The primary and paramount allegiance of every citizen of any Confederate State is now, therefore, as always, due to that State, and so far as the Constitution ratified by it has provided, is now transferred from the United States to the Confederate States. The State alone, however, has absolute possession of the person, life, and property of her citizens, except in cases of treason, and crimes against clearly intrusted Federal powers; and she alone defends these inestimable rights of her citizens, levies taxes, etc. This power of each State is original, inherent, and sovereign. It never was delegated to it by a more general government, which is itself its creature.

But further: the United States in organizing their present government, not only did so upon the principle of the admitted sovereignty and independence of each of the States, *then* bound together by a constitutional compact declared to be permanent and unalterable by any State or States separately, and of the consequent right of any number of them, in order to secure more perfectly, as they believed, their peace, safety, and happiness, to *secede*; and, without leave asked or obtained, to adopt a constitution and organize a new and independent government—they have *never* yet been recognized by foreign nations except in their separate, free, sovereign and independent character as States.

Besides, in all that relates to the exercise of government as free, sovereign, and independent States, the united government has always recognized the inherent, unchanged, prerogative of every State in the Union, and has refused to interfere with them, even at the instance of Great Britain; as in the case of repudiated State debts, and the law of South Carolina respecting colored seamen.

"The letter of Mr. Webster to Baring Brothers & Co., in 1839, and which may be considered an exposition addressed to European nations, is a more recent explanation of the relations of these States to the common Government. The opinions of that distinguished man will be scarcely considered as affected with prejudices in favor of the slaveholding States. 'Every State (said he) is an independent, sovereign political community, except in so far as certain powers, which it might otherwise have exercised, have been conferred on a General Government, established under a written Constitution, and exercising its authority over the people of all the States. *Its General Government is a limited Government.* Its powers are specific and enumerated. *All powers not conferred on it still remain with the States or with the people.* The State Legislatures, on the other hand, possess all usual and ordinary powers of Government, subject to any limitations which may be imposed by their own Constitutions, and with the exception, as I have said, of the operations on those powers of the Constitution of the United States.' The circumstances which called forth this letter, and the character of the persons to whom it was addressed, give to it much more significance than otherwise would be attached to the opinions of an individual, however distinguished.

"This view of the relations between the States and the General Government came to be practicably understood in a very striking manner, by the law of the State of South Carolina, establishing the regulations which must be observed in the case of colored seamen arriving in any of its ports. This matter has been particularly offensive to Great Britain, it would seem, from the pertinacious opposition made to it some time since by a former representative of the British Government. The authority of the Government of the United States was invoked to remove the objectionable law. The consequence which the remonstrance to the Government of the United States was intended to develop, was a conflict between the treaty-making power of the Government and the sovereign authority of the State. The conflict, if established, it was supposed, would conclude the question. And it was so. But it did not conclude it in the manner supposed. For the sovereign power of the State was paramount to the treaty-making power, if there could arise an actual conflict between them. A proper conflict, however, could not arise between them; for the fact that the operation of a treaty would affect the sovereignty of a State, was in itself the conclusive evidence that the power to make treaties had been abused, by involving in its operation that which it could not reach."*

* See the exceedingly lucid and able papers of Juridicus, (the Hon. A. G. Magrath,) on "The International Doctrine of Recognition," in "The Charleston Courier" of February — and —, 1863, and published, therefore, since this article was in press.

The States of this Southern Confederacy having, therefore, united in a common government, against which the United States have feloniously, wickedly, and without cause, and against every principle fundamental to American liberty and constitutional right, waged war, it is made the primary and paramount duty of every citizen to come up to the help of his State and country, in maintaining their freedom, sovereignty, and independence.

III. THE WAR OF THE SOUTH IS JUSTIFIED AS A DEFENSIVE WAR
AGAINST FANATICAL ABOLITION.

The war now carried on by the North is a war against slavery, and is, therefore, treasonable rebellion against the Constitution of the United States, and against the word, providence, and government of God.

It might be shown that slavery is not in itself wrong, any more than monarchy, aristocracy, or autocracy; and that, as a form of organized involuntary labor, it has always and every where existed among the negro race, and has been found to conduce, under proper moral and religious direction, to the best interests of that race, and of the world at large; and, therefore, can afford no warrantable pretext for waging war against these Southern States. But it is enough to know that, let slavery in the South be right or wrong, and injurious or not, to the United States, that it existed, as a common institution, in every colony and State before and during the Revolutionary war; that it was considered as perfectly consistent with the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation; that the United States Constitution was a compromise, by which the agriculture of the South, with its slave labor, and the commerce of the North, with its free labor, should be equally provided for and protected; that but for this guarantee, embodied in several provisions of the Constitution, the United States never would have included a single Southern State; that for an allotted term of years, fixed by the North, it

carried on a home and foreign slave trade, and supplied the South with all its present slaves, from its own bleak and unprofitable climate, and from Africa; that the unexampled prosperity and growth of the United States, have been in exact accordance with the development of the slave population, the slave territory, and the slave products, cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, and naval stores, of the South; and that the South never sought anything under the Union, beyond that equality and community of rights, privileges, and immunities, with which she entered it, and only to enjoy which she ever did enter it. The North, therefore, had no right, any more than a dishonest partner, thief, or highway robber, to interfere with the institution of slavery, in its progressive development in the States and territories, so long as the compact of union remained unchanged. And if it was led to believe that the coexistence of the two forms of organized involuntary service, (for all hard labor, free or slave, is a part of the original curse, and only performed from necessity,) could not longer profitably and pleasantly continue, then she was bound, by every principle of honor, of justice, of truth, of common honesty, to propose a dissolution of partnership. And when the South, as the weaker party, did propose it, and ask for a peaceful adjustment of all claims arising under it, it was dishonorable and disgraceful in the North, like a monstrous bully, to make might right, and in order to have no rivals and no participants in the glories of American liberty, to wage a war of subjugation and the extermination of slavery. This meanness, perfidy, hypocrisy, and diabolical heartlessness of a war for such an end, is without parallel in the history of the world's worst despotisms. Not only to entrap the North first, and to entrap the South into the Union, under false pretences and hypocritical promises; she then aggrandized herself, and developed her wonderful prosperity, by selling to the South slaves, and then selling the products of their labor, and now, in a spirit of selfish

fanatical ambition, she urges war to exterminate slavery, and destroy the South. But the argument is lifted up to a far higher platform when we consider slavery in relation to the word, providence, and government of God. That God's providence is holy, wise, and powerful; that it extendeth to all things, and all events; our enemies themselves profess to believe, even in their catechisms. Slavery, therefore, whether as a form of temporal, political, organized society, it is good or evil, is, like other, similar forms of evil, providential; and as such, stands under God's holy, wise, and powerful government, and to be acted upon only in accordance with the principles of His word and gospel, that by them God may, as it pleaseth Him, continue, remove, ameliorate, or modify it, as it seemeth to Him wise and good. And to wage any war of extermination against slavery, is warring itself wicked and unconstitutional, and carried on in a spirit of diabolical perfidy, and inhumanity; it is to fight against God, and to rush against the thick bosses of the Almighty. It is rebellion against the Lord God omnipotent, who ruleth to participate in it, it is to join in conspiracy against the throne and empire of heaven. And did not the South come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, she would involve herself in the divine malediction with which the inhabitants of Merod were cursed.

But what if God made slavery a part of man's and woman's original curse; what if God ordained, as a part of that penalty, that the earth should be brought into universal cultivation by a universally diffused race, through slavery in some form of involuntary servitude; what if God, by a positive divine enactment, ordained that through the history of the world, slavery should exist as a form of organized labor among certain races of men, and that lordship over such slaves should be a part of the perpetual blessing of the races of Shem and Japheth; what if God has actually embodied slavery in His moral law; and by

there guarding, and protecting, and regulating it, has made it appertain to the present condition of humanity; what if He ordained and regulated it under the patriarchal, Mosical, prophetic, and Christian dispensations; what if in the New Testament a curse is pronounced against fanatical opposition to slavery as anti-Christian, and a sentence of withdrawal from such as heretical, both in Church and State; what if, in these and other ways, God claims slavery, like other forms of government adapted to sinful human nature, as His own ordinance for good; what, then, must be thought of this war of the North against slavery, and this war of the South in its defence, as inwoven by providence into the very texture of its body politic?

This war is a judgment upon the North, for its persistent, perjured, Abolition fanaticism. Nearly severing the Union in 1790, it rung its death-knell in 1820, and has since then inflamed an irrepressible conflict, which has now destroyed the Union, and is overwhelming the North in inextricable difficulties.

God is working out a problem in the physical, social, political, industrial, and world-wide beneficial character of slavery, as a great missionary agency, of unexampled prosperity and success, which He is now demonstrating to the family of nations.

In this war the South, therefore, is on God's side. She has His word, and providence, and omnipotent government with her. And if she is found faithful to Him, and to this institution, which He has put under her spiritual care, then the heavens and earth may pass away, but God will not fail to vindicate His eternal providence, and defend and deliver His people, who walk in His statutes and commandments blameless.*

* Already has that vindication come from the most powerful organs of European, and even Northern opinion. We will give an extract from one out of many:

"There is no form of mendacity," says the London Dispatch, of Oct. 21, 1862, "more pernicious in its consequences, or more insidious in its tempta-

IV. THE DIVINE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

We proceed to vindicate the war of the South by an appeal to God's word. To the law and testimony God has

tions, than that which imposes pious frauds on society. The sanctification of means, by consideration of their ends, is a vice inherent in religious people; and no offenders have been more shameless in this regard than the Abolitionists of America and the anti-slavery ('Clapham Sect,') persuasion in England. Their lecturers, their travellers, their talkers and tourists, their historians and novelists, have seen in slave countries, and as the effect of slavery, phenomena which the slightest reflection would contradict and belie. Every man at all well read—any one, indeed, who can but read his Bible—knows that slavery has been the normal condition of human society, and that it has been found compatible with, to have been even promotive of, power, wealth, civilization, nay, even humanity. The Scriptural nations, the very patriarchs, all were slaveholders. Sparta, in the glory of its purity and virtue; Athens, in the zenith of its glory in arts, arms and literature, had a vast majority of their subjects 'held to labor.' The Jewish law of Moses is full of provisions for the making, transfer, and manumission of slaves. The Tenth Commandment tells us not to covet our neighbor's man-servant, or his maid-servant, in the very same category as his ox and his ass. Rome conquered the world, and civilized it, under a dispensation of slavery. The West India Colonies flourished while slavery prevailed. They went to ruin, both of white man and black, the day they were emancipated. All the experiments that have been tried of the self-elevation of the colored races, or, indeed, of even white races of aboriginal savages, by manumission or colonization, have been conspicuous failures. King Lincoln calls the negroes together to tell them that their contiguity is odorous to his subjects, and that they must clear out for Central America. He assured Horace Greeley that if the Union can be saved by riveting the chains of the slave, he will rivet them.

"As for the slaves themselves, crushed with the wrongs of Dred Scot and Uncle Tom—most provoking—they can not be brought to 'burn with revenge.' They are spies for their masters. They obstinately refuse to run away to liberty, outrage, and starvation. They work in the fields as usual, when the planter and the overseer are away, and only the white women are left at home. The black regiments of insurgent Unionists have proved a failure and been disbanded. We wonder how 'Professor' (!) Olmstead and Horace Greeley look now that their tours through the slave States are compared with facts, and laid alongside with the despatches and the telegrams of the belligerents. Stowe, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, insured us a servile war the moment an army of liberation was marched into the South; but the soda-powder won't fizz; the lucifer match has been

bound himself by His word, and by this word we shall be judged, and our cause tested. To this standard our enemies

rubbed, but obstinately refuses to budge. We were assured the Southerners were indolent, and their soil stricken with hopeless and growing poverty. They have sustained for nearly two years the shocks of a war to which those of Napoleon were skirmishes, rolled back the tide of battle, and are now thundering at the very gates of a quaking enemy, that have brought thirteen hundred thousand warriors into the field, and equipped, paid, fed, and furnished them, as never army and navy were sustained before. We were told that the Southerners were sunk in listless luxury and self-indulgent sensuality; that they were depraved by selfish and viciousness below the capacity for administrative government. What are the facts? Never we assert with the utmost confidence, was there known a people so able in public affairs, so heroic, so brave, so prudent, so devoted. Whatever may be the issue of this war, planters and slave-owners have raised up by their deeds an imperishable monument of their greatness and magnanimity. In little more than a month they extemporized and matured a Government, a Constitution, a Legislature, social authority, that have stood the test of the most critical experiment with triumphant success, and are more workable, consistent, stable, and free than the institutions they disowned. The border slave States have left them to their fate; have armed against them. Twenty millions of Unionists have attacked six millions of rebels, and the free States men have been beaten back to their very trenches by less than one-third of their number of slave-drivers. The latter had no navy, and had to fight in every river and struggle in every town against a powerful fleet. They had not the nucleus of a regiment, a company, or a squadron, scarcely a piece of artillery. They had to raise regiments without out any great centres of population; they had no powder-mills, no foundries, no paper for cartridges, leather for shoes and harness, no thriving industry and production were paralyzed, and their intercourse with the world shut out by blockade. They had to destroy their produce, abandon their cities to the invaders, and their villages to the flames—they were surrounded with, and had to provide for, the contingency of a servile war—they have been left without the countenance of Europe, and opposed by the border planters; yet behold the result of slavery, as against equality and fraternity. It is quite evident that the resources of the South must be prodigious—that the state of society must at least be up to the standard of the greatest and most enlightened nations—that the culture of the people must be self-denying, and refined—to produce such fruits as these. These proofs of wealth, strength, intelligence, and virtue, are more than borne out by the decennial census made by the Federal Government itself when no disturbing cause threw suspicion upon the returns. In 1850, the

have brought us, and condemned us; and multitudes who once admitted the justice of the course pursued by the South, up to the very act of secession and resistance, have found in these an unpardonable sin, according to the divine record, and have become our most implacable enemies, and the most earnest instigators of war in all possible ferocity, until it leads either to subjugation or extermination. The relation of Christianity to civil government, and of Christian liberty to political freedom, was one of the first practical doctrines on which authoritative divine teaching was required. The apostles, and especially Paul and Peter, develop, therefore, the general teaching of Christ in full and frequent directions, teaching us that civil government is ordained by God for man's present life and temporal concerns, and is entirely distinct in its sphere from that included within His spiritual kingdom. Christianity, therefore, requires as implicit and conscientious obedience to civil government as to ecclesiastical authority, and has made civil governors a terror to evil doers, and His appointed revengers, to execute wrath upon the disobedient.

From these admitted premises, divines at the North, of every denomination, with amazing unanimity, have drawn breadstuffs of the free States were given at 554,000,000 of bushels, and of the 'rebels' at 383,000,000; potatoes in the North 68,900,000 bushels, and in the South 44,000,000; milch cows, 4,000,000 and 2,800,000, respectively; sheep, 15,000,000 in the North against 6,600,000 in the South; swine, 10,000,000 in the North and 20,000,000 in the South; Northern bullocks, 4,200,000 and Southern 6,085,800. This proportionate produce is 18½ bushels breadstuffs per head in the free, and 32 bushels in the slave States; of potatoes, 8½ bushels each; of rice, 18 pounds in the South, and none at all in the North; of sugar, 20½ pounds in the South, and 7½ in the North. Besides all this, the South exports £45,000,000 sterling in cotton and tobacco, for which the North has no equivalent. In a word, without the South, the Republic will fall to the state of Russia, for its resources are really not greater, and the charity of Europe in emigration alone raises it above the Muscovite level. Let but the South go on fighting *pro aris et focis*, until its armies become as seasoned and thoroughly military as the cohorts of Cæsar, Napoleon, or Wellington, and they will need but a secession.

the conclusion, that the secession and defensive war of the South is rebellion and treason against God's ordained government, and are, therefore, to be "crushed out" with all the weight of unmitigated and pitiless destruction. The cool ferocity or raging vengeance with which this interpretation of God's word has envenomed the hearts of the most humble and venerable Christians at the North, is perfectly appalling. Not Saul, in his career of murderous persecution, nor the disciples, when they would call down fire from heaven to destroy, were more inflamed with pitiless malevolence, by the infatuated thought of doing God service, than are modern successors to their misguided zeal. Earthly suffering to the uttermost is not enough. Swift destruction does not slake their fiery vengeance. It is not enough, like Dr. Stanton, to gloat their eager thirst for our misery; to anticipate, in fiendish joy, the hanging of their *Christian brethren*, and the helotry of our wives, mothers, and sisters; pandemonium must be prepared; purgatorial fires must be made a reality, and hell's fiercest flames must everlastingly torment us.

In this argument the South has not even the benefit of a doubt, or the privilege of a hearing; but, sitting in God's temple, they deliver to us God's will, and wield God's thunderbolts against those whom they consider too weak and helpless to resist their overwhelming might.

"Oh! blest is he to whom 'tis given,
The instinct that can tell
That God is in the field,
Where most invisible.
And blest is he who can divine
Where real might doth lie,
And dares to take the side that seems
Wrong to man's blindfold eye."

This inferential argument of our Northern enemies, is as weak as it is wicked. It is a huge, monstrous sophism, as baseless as it is brutal, and as futile as it is fiendish. It takes for granted that civil government is, in any natural

order of events, the ordinance of God by a direct institution, which it assuredly is not. It assumes that the government of the United States was thus ordained, while it declares itself to be the product of "we, the people." It assumes that, while originated by the people, as a protection of the minority against the power of an irresponsible majority, that minority has no right to interpret what this Constitution is, or to contend for the rights it was made to guarantee, preserve, and perpetuate. It assumes that a constitution, which was framed by a convention representing only five States, and representing only the legislatures, and not the people of those States; which was made while those States were constitutionally bound to eight other States in a federal government, which they had solemnly declared was perpetual, and unalterable except by a congressional amendment, ratified by every State; that this constitution, thus unconstitutionally made and adopted, and urged to acceptance, and which was not declared to be perpetual; from which all power to coerce obedience, or centralize a "strong government," was peremptorily excluded; and to withdraw from which *every* State *tacitly*, and three, in the name of all, *explicitly*, claimed, in ratifying it, the right; that this Constitution shall be perpetually binding, even when perverted to oppression and injustice, and shall for ever destroy that State sovereignty and right of framing a new government, which were guaranteed in the Federal Union of 1777, and acted upon by the five States that organized the Union of 1789. This inferential argument assumes that the accidental success of a minority of the people, in putting into temporary power the Lincoln administration, under pledges of an unconstitutional policy, destructive of fifteen States, is the Constitution and Government of the United States, and the positive ordinance of God, to which, under peril of damnation, implicit obedience is in all things due. It assumes that, while thirteen Northern States, by legislative action, passed

laws in open conflict with constitutional guarantees, and fostered and encouraged within them seditious and treasonable parties, and measures against the peace and rights of fifteen States; that the violated Constitution still binds to continued and increasing insult and infamy these injured States, although Daniel Webster declared that in such circumstances "the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain broken on one side is a bargain broken on all sides."

Such are some of the monstrous falsities assumed as true, in the inferential argument which justifies Dr. Stanton, as the mouth-piece of multitudes, in the atrocious language attributed to him. If this argument is correct, then any resistance, negatively or positively, to the advancing military despotism of Lincoln, deserves hanging on earth, and damnation in hell; then every principle of American liberty is a delusion of Satan, and a damnable lie, originated by the father of lies; then every form of "the powers that be" is by divine right, and the grace of God, immutable and absolute; then Milton, and Sidney, and the signers of our Declaration of Independence, and our patriot fathers, and ministers of the Gospel, were all arch-traitors and heretics, and deserving only the gibbet or the stake; then the slavery of Dahomey, and the blind despotism of the Turk, are "the ordinance of God;" and what are we to think of themselves, who have decreed the emancipation of four millions of people from "the powers that be," and which by this argument are made the "ordinance of God," which he that resisteth bringeth to himself damnation!

And still further. The Southern Confederacy is now, by permission of divine providence, one of "the powers that be," and is, therefore, the "ordinance of God;" and this war is, therefore, a damnable resistance of God's ordinance. "Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself!"

In the name, therefore, of eternal justice, sacred truth, and divine charity, we protest against an inferential argument from Scripture, which delivers over millions of people to temporal and everlasting destruction; which converts the best of Christians into the worst of persecutors, and transforms even the love of Christ, our common Saviour, into the heartless malice of His crucifiers.

The teaching of Scripture is, that civil government is ordained by God, in accordance with the nature of man and of society, and of man's present sinful and selfish character; that He ordained it, not directly, nor in any particular form, but through the instrumentality of man; that its end is the security and happiness of the good, and as a terror to the evil; that He ordains, also, that in this agency His people shall be free, and "use their liberty" under the guidance of His word and providence; that when a government is thus "the ordinance of men," and so long as it is faithfully and purely administered, He approves of it, and blesses it, and requires a faithful and conscientious discharge of all the relative duties of good citizenship, according to the provisions, privileges, and obligations of the constitution. Government is designed by God as much for those that rule as for those under their rule. It is designed as certainly to restrain usurpation of unconstitutional powers, as insubordination to that which is constitutional. There is as certainly sin, and guilt, and treason against God and man, in the arbitrary exercise of unconstitutional authority, as in rebellion against that which is just. Both are alike rebellion against the ordinance of God and of man, the constitution, which is the supreme ruler over all, the source and limit of all power, and of all obedience. And when, therefore, in the good providence of God, a people have been prepared and permitted to "use their liberty," "as free," in framing a constitutional government, to be exercised over them with their own consent, they also are made the conservers of that constitution, and it

becomes their duty to see it maintained, and all their rights under it preserved. And whenever, in the judgment of that people, such government is perverted, and their rights withheld, it becomes their duty to secure its restoration to original purity, or to withdraw from it, and to set up another for themselves. This course is not only proper, but a high and holy patriotic duty they owe to themselves, their families, and their posterity after them. To act otherwise is a base betrayal of the trust imposed upon them, and of the "free liberty" with which Providence has honorably endowed them, and a guilty connivance at corruption and tyranny. It is, Esau-like, to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, and to enslave themselves and their children to a government which is no longer their ordinance, or the ordinance of God, but a wicked corruption of both.

This doctrine of civil government is embodied by the apostle Paul, in his dogmatic teaching in Romans, thirteenth chapter, and it is explicitly taught by the apostle Peter, 1 Peter, 2 : 13, *et seq.* :

"Submit yourselves," says the apostle, "to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honor all men."

Civil governors, whether kingly or republican, are, as the apostle teaches, "the ordinance of men," who are "free" men, and "all to be honored," and only responsible for the exercise of their "liberty" to God, "as the servants of God," and under obligation to Him not to "use their liberty as a cloak of maliciousness," that "with well-doing they may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. "This," says the apostle, "is the will of God," who, in

this way, "ordains governors," who, while chosen and appointed by men, "are sent by him;" and hence, when a government ceases to be "for good," and promotive of happiness, then it becomes a tyrannous usurpation, and secession from it, or a revolution under it, becomes a divinely imposed duty.

"Obedience is due to any government," says Dr. Hodge, (on Romans, 13,) "only within the sphere of legitimate authority," "in the exercise of its lawful authority;" that is, only so far as may be determined by the Constitution and the rights, in this country, of "free, sovereign, and independent States," by whom all constitutional limits were prescribed. The sphere of legitimate authority was assigned to the United States Government, not by the people, but by the States, each for itself, in sovereign convention; and no accidental majority of electoral votes, against a majority of nearly a million of voters, out of four millions, in the Northern States, and the concentrated opposition of fifteen States, could make it lawful authority in the Lincoln administration to transcend all limits of constitutional authority, and assume absolute and despotic power.

The inferential argument of the present vindictive and persecuting clergy of the North, is precisely that of the Romish Church and the dark ages—the divine right of absolute government, and of implicit passive obedience. It is that doctrine which was preached from the pulpit and the press by tory divines, at the time of the Revolution, who anathematized our fathers as "rebels," guilty of damnable sin, and against which the divines who favored liberty, and "resistance to tyrants as obedience to God," openly protested as heretical, anti-Christian, and slavish. In proof of this our readers are referred to the work already referred to, "*The Pulpit of the American Revolution*," published in Boston, in 1860:

The first discourse is an elaborate discussion of the *present* Northern doctrine of "unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers," by Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, preached in 1749, and published in 1750, from the very passages quoted by our enemies. He speaks of it as a known and admitted truth, that "rulers are not the ordinance and ministers of God, *but only so far forth as they perform God's will by acting up to their office and character.*" Only "*good rulers*" are to be obeyed. (669.) "Rulers have no authority from God to do mischief." (p. 73.) "Such are not God's ministers, but the devil's." (p. 75.) "*Open and avowed resistance by arms, against usurpation and lawless violence, is not rebellion, by the law of God or the land.*" (Do., note.) "The argument here used (by the apostles) no more proves it to be a sin to resist such rulers than to resist the devil." (p. 77.) "*Not to discontinue our allegiance in this case would be to join in promoting the slavery and misery of society.*" (p. 79.) He thus proves that it would be criminally sinful in any people not to resist, passively if they must, but openly and by force if they can, unconstitutional usurpation! And this is the doctrine of the whole volume.

Did time permit, we are prepared to show that the interpretation we have given is in most perfect and literal accordance with the Declaration of Independence, and therefore with the principles which led our revolutionary fathers to resist the usurpation of unconstitutional power by the government *under which they lived, and to which they had rendered, and still acknowledged, all rightful obedience.*

It was upon this interpretation and received doctrine of God's word, the original colonies entered into a compact to carry out their resistance to unconstitutional and usurped authority. They became a confederacy, and framed a constitutional form of government for themselves, each State retaining its sovereignty, and yet the Union to be perpetual so long, and so far, as it accomplished its intended purposes.

This interpretation and belief of God's teaching and their right, privilege, and duty to secure for themselves, in the best manner possible, the divinely ordained end for which all government is instituted—that is, good order, security of person and property, justice, and equal and impartial rights—led the States, a few years afterwards, to modify their union, and again afterwards to amend it. This was done by each State separately and independently, and at different times, and under solemn reservations and limited grant of power, and only after all that pertained to the common protection and exclusive State control of the system of slavery had been most clearly and inviolably guaranteed. This alone made any one Southern State unite even in a limited union with the North.

This interpretation and doctrine has governed the conduct of the United States Government and Congress since its foundation, hitherto, in their recognition of the independent nationality of States which, by revolution or rebellion, had thrown off their previous allegiance to a recognized government, as in South America, Italy, Hayti, Greece, France, etc.

This is known to have been the doctrine of most, if not all the founders, including Washington, and of the successive leaders of opinion of the United States Government.

The right of peaceable secession by a free people, in the just and proper exercise of their liberty, from any government, with a view to restore to themselves a more perfect administration of it, or to form another, is, therefore, a right given by God, and sanctioned by His holy word.

This right is inwoven with the fundamental facts of American history, from which alone, as Daniel Webster well says, "the true nature of the Government of the United States can be learned."

This doctrine has been the avowed faith of multitudes of our present enemies, and of many leading organs of public

opinion at the North, and is still promulgated by Horace Greeley, in the *Tribune*, which first raised the shout of war, and gave forth the banner of "beauty and booty," of blood, murder, rapine, and extermination.

"In yesterday's *Tribune*," that is of September 26, 1862, says *The New York Herald*, of the next day, "over his own proper signature, Horace Greeley published a letter, in which he declares in favor of the right of secession, not only in the case of the rebellious States of the South, but even of the Pacific States and Territories, should they desire to get up a new government for themselves. He lays down this general principle, applicable to every State in the Union: 'What I have taught and believed, and still maintain, is the right of a people to form and modify their political institutions without the necessity of fighting for such change.' He denies that a county, or two or three counties, can lawfully secede from a State. For example, the people of Nantucket could not be permitted to secede from Massachusetts, nor the people of Long Island or Staten Island, from the State of New York. But the case is different with a sovereign State, or even a colony which is not sovereign. For example, he says, 'I believe our revolutionary fathers had a right, for reasons which were cogent, and seemed to them conclusive, to terminate their connexion with Great Britain, and that the British were wrong in resisting their claim to do so. And the right which I claim for our fathers and for ourselves, I will not deny to others.'

"Then he goes on to say that, 'if the people of our Pacific States and Territories shall, at some future time, have very generally attained the conviction that they could do better as an independent nation than as a part of this country, and should kindly, frankly, firmly express that conviction,' he would say let the bonds be dissolved. And so likewise in the case of the Southern States. The following are his words:

"This is the doctrine I tried to promulgate in the winter of 1860-'61, it seems, with ill success. But I still insist that it has been proved that if the people of the slave States, or even of the cotton States alone, had really desired to dissolve the Union, and had peacefully, deliberately, and authoritatively expressed that wish, we should have assented to it. At all events, I should. But they chose another method. The leaders assumed their right peacefully and summarily to dissolve the Union without the consent of their fellow-citizens, at least their close allies, their equal copartners of the free States.'

"It is said that an honest confession is good for the soul. Greeley has owned up at last. Many a time we charged him with promulgating these doctrines, and quoted extracts from his journal in vain. He either denied the soft impeachment, or was dumb. Now, after contributing in so vast a degree to break up the Union, he expects forgiveness for his treason, like the penitent thief on the cross; but his

repentance is not sincere. Let him, therefore, like Judas Iscariot, go and hang himself 'on a sour apple tree,' so as to save the people the trouble of doing it hereafter. *If the right of a State* peacefully to secede exists, the accident of war cannot alter the right; and if the cotton States had a right to secede, on the ground that they had 'very generally attained the conviction that they could do better as an independent nation than as a part of this country,' then we had no right to prevent their doing so by force, *and were the aggressors in making war upon them*, whereas, in taking up arms they were only defending a sacred right. Even in the case of seizing the forts and other property of the United States, they were only seizing a part of the common property, to which they had as good a right as the free States, 'their equal co-partners.' If this was all that was the matter, the account could have been easily settled, and war would not have been necessary. In fact, the war, according to the reasoning of Greeley, is on our part the most atrocious ever waged against any people, and even more unjustifiable than that which Great Britain waged against these States when they were colonies under her sovereign sway, and threw off her yoke. There can be no doubt that the people of the States which have seceded are more unanimous than were the colonies at any time during the Revolutionary war."

THIS IS THE TRUTH, BEFORE GOD, by whom the guilt and misery of this war will be righteously adjudicated and avenged. The South adopted her course slowly, during forty years of patient forbearance, entreaty, and warning. Every step was taken prayerfully, and with anxious desire to be guided by divine wisdom, in sovereign convention of the people of our several States, after reiterated proposals for compromise or peaceable separation, by our members of Congress and the Convention of Virginia; and without the remotest design, or desire, or even serious expectation of war; with no spirit of retaliation or revenge, or injury to the North; but, contrariwise, of continued alliance, intercourse, and profitable relations. But all was vain. We were the sheep, and they the wolf, and we must be humbled, crushed, impoverished, and subdued. The cry of treason, rebellion, and murder, against the very life of the Union, must whet the teeth of blood-thirsty rapacity, and give sanction to a fierce and fanatical war of lawless violence.

But,

“No claim hereditary—not the trust of frank election ;
Not even the high anointing hand of heaven ;
Can authorize oppression ; give a law
To lawless power ; wed faith to violation ;
On reason build misrule ; or, justly, bind
Allegiance to injustice. Tyranny
Absolves all faith ; and who invades our rights,
Howe'er his own commence, can never be
But an usurper.”

Resistance, or base subjection, is, therefore, the alternative of the South. She fights for no abstraction. That ordinance of our fathers which, by solemn compact, and a seven years' war, was ratified in heaven, as the ordinance of God, the South has rescued out of the hands of an unreal and sectional majority, who would erect upon it a Moloch despotism, and cause our children to pass through fire and blood ; and has again enthroned it in its incorrupted purity in the hearts of eight millions of loving and loyal citizens ; and for this—for this we are contending unto blood. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; the right to be free, and call no mobocratic sectional majority master ; the right to govern ourselves ; the right to enjoy the peculiar privileges and blessings, as well as to endure the peculiar trials of our climate and institutions ; the right to sit under our own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make us afraid, and gratefully to acknowledge that we have a goodly heritage ; the right to believe the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as God's own and only infallible and unalterable truth ; the right to search and interpret those Scriptures for ourselves, and to hold fast their truth against all gainsayers ; liberty of thought, of speech, of life, of worship, of family, social and municipal government, free from all doctrines and commandments of men, and high and lifted up above any higher law ; the right to free trade, free imports, and free exports, and free expanding progress,

prosperity, and glory; these are the rights for which we are contending.

The truth of God; the rights of man; the peace of the present, and prosperous harmony of all future generations; the purity of religion; the piety of our homes; the sanctity of our dwellings; the undefiled purity and honor of our wives and daughters; unpillaged property; unravaged fields; uninjured harvests; uncontaminated servants; all—every thing that is sacred to honor and to happiness, temporal and eternal—all are involved in this contest.

Neither can they be secured to us without war, and war to the bitter end. Those inestimable blessings, the inheritance of blood-bought victories, must be again secured by contending for them in the high places of the field—contending until the last man falls, and the last drop of blood is spilt. Death is infinitely preferable to the loss of these blessings—to defeat, disgrace, and degradation. He who would choose life at such a sacrifice, is not worthy of life, or fit to die.

Fight, then, we must, come life or death—

“’Tis come, the hour of martyrdom
In freedom’s cause is come;
And though blest lives shall pass away,
Like lightning on a stormy day,
Yet shall their death-hour leave a track
Of glory, permanent and bright,
To which the brave of after times—
The suffering brave—shall long look back
With proud regret, and by its light
Watch, through the hours of suffering’s night,
For vengeance on the oppressor’s chain.”

Let the spirit of resistance be infused, with its mother’s milk, into the baby in its cradle. Let it mingle with the plays of childhood. Let it animate the boy in his mimic manhood; the maiden in the exercise of her magic, spell-binding influence; the betrothed in her soul-subduing trance of hope and memory; the bride at the altar; the wife

in the arms of her rejoicing husband; the young mother amid her whirl of ecstatic joy; the matron in the bosom of her admiring children; and the father as he dreams fondly of the fortune and glory of his aspiring sons*—let it fire the man of business at his place of merchandise; the lawyer among his briefs; the mechanic in his work-shop; the planter in his fields; the laborer as he plies his pruning-hook and follows his plough;—let the trumpet blow in Zion, and let all her watchmen lift up their voice;—let all the people, everywhere, old and young, bond and free, take up the war-cry, and say, each to his neighbor, “Gather ye together, and come against them, and rise up to the battle.”

“Rise, fellow-men, our country yet remains!
By that dread name we wave the sword on high,
And swear for her to live, with her to die.”

* “Let them teach their infant tongue,
To call upon the heroes old,
In their child language, and thus mould
Their growing spirit in the flame
Of patriot love, that by each name
A patriot's birth-right they may claim.”