

OUR COUNTRY:

ITS PERIL AND ITS DELIVERANCE.

FROM

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I. 1. What we propose is, *first*, to make such a statement of the condition of affairs as may be of use to upright men, in enabling them to determine what ought to be attempted, and what can be accomplished, in the way of preventing the ruin of their country; and, *secondly*, to make clear to all men, the position of a vast party in this country, who desire and who deserve, in all possible events, to be understood by posterity—and who, even if their principles are now overborne and their counsels are now rejected, may, if they are faithful to themselves, retrieve from the wreck of their country, whatever survives when the period of exhaustion shall come upon its destructive madness.

2. There is no lesson which the universal course of human affairs teaches so thoroughly, as their own instability. And yet there is no lesson so hard for men to learn; no lesson so pregnant of results, and so little heeded. How faithful ought men to be when overtaken by defeat and adversity—if they would consider that defeat and adversity, with courage and wisdom, are a preparation for triumph? How just and forbearing ought men to be in the midst of power and prosperity, if they would consider

that power and prosperity, in the degree that they are corrupt, make the road to destruction broad and sure? And how immense, how unexpected, how effectual are the resources of God, in the accomplishment of what he ordains to be results of human conduct?

3. Look at the actual position of public affairs throughout this great nation—consider whither they are tending—consider whence that tendency has arisen—consider by what means it is propagating itself: and then reflect upon the unexpected and extraordinary means by which ruin is overtaking every interest and hope of the country—and upon the absolute completeness of the ruin, when these means shall have worked their full effect. In a state of security apparently perfect, and of prosperity apparently complete—a small and fierce party, scattered through some of the Northern States, commenced a systematic and persistent agitation connected with the Black Race on this continent; and in the heart of their system lay this idea, that laws and institutions and rights and duties and interests of every description, ought to give way, if there was need of it, to the accomplishment of their designs. In the progress of time and events, and the ruin of political parties, this fundamental idea—which is the essence of lawlessness and anarchy—attaches itself in the public mind of some of the Northern States, to that particular aspect of the question of the Black Race which relates to the obligation, under the Federal Constitution, of delivering fugitive slaves; and laws of various kinds are passed, throwing the weight of State authority against the obligation of the very highest national law. And so the idea and process of disintegration, as the tendency to lawlessness and anarchy strengthens, has thus risen from the condition of a fanaticism, to the dignity of a principle recognized by States and asserted in laws. As if to warn men of the breadth of the ruin involved in this tendency, and to mark the extremity of the peril arising from its connection with the question of the Black Race, one of the slave States had already, under a similar, but directly opposite tendency, formally asserted its right, not only to obstruct the execution of the laws of the United States, but to nullify them absolutely, and upon its own sole and sovereign discretion; so that the spirit of lawlessness and anarchy, in its

absolute and universal tendency to disintegrate all things — moved, though not first, yet more rapidly and by more decisive acts, at the South than at the North.

4. Once more in the progress of time and events, and the ruin of political parties — the whole nation finds itself arrayed, in the last Presidential election, into two opposite parties, (of which the defeated one is mad enough to sub-divide itself into three); and this same question of the Black Race, both in the aspect of the rendition of fugitive slaves, and in the aspect of slavery in the Territories — and these same questions of supreme law and of lawlessness as connected therewith — mounting to the highest national importance, and apparently swallowing up all other questions, are resolved, so far as that election could resolve them. But the solution is every way remarkable. For while Mr. Lincoln is elected President — the majority of the nation is so decidedly against him, that he would have been beaten if the power of Congress to create uniform electoral districts had ever been exercised; nay, would have been beaten under the existing system, if all opposed to him had been allowed by the corruption or folly of parties to unite on one opponent. Moreover the solution is further remarkable, in this, that both Houses of Congress, and, as is alleged, the Supreme Court of the United States, held his most dangerous opinions to be unconstitutional: and it is still further remarkable in this, that Mr. Lincoln himself, while representing the Northern section of the anarchical tendency of the times, is known to repudiate the original principle of that faction concerning the rendition of fugitive slaves, — and is by universal consent, even of his candid opponents, an able, honest, and patriotic man. At the end of thirty years of working of the spirit we have been tracing, a decisive event had thus put the country in a posture where it would clearly appear whether the hereditary law-abiding spirit of our race remained, the great prop and safeguard of all our institutions; or whether the spirit of anarchy, already so signally manifested at both extremities of the nation, had so far poisoned the national life of our race at its fountain, that the time had come for one of those great explosions of human passion which fill so many melancholy pages in the history of our race.

5. It is not easy to conjecture, and it is impossible to say with

certainty, what would have occurred if the late presidential election had terminated differently from what it did, — in any one of the various ways in which a different termination was possible. This far we may now speak with certainty, that in some form or other, the spirit of turbulent fanaticism which had pervaded the States of the extreme North so long and so deeply, would not without a miracle, such as history does not record, have been allayed or composed under any defeat that was possible, in the state of national parties as they are now known to have existed at that time. For there was this fatal element, long concealed — not generally believed — but openly avowed since the secession of South Carolina — that secession, as the final and deliberate choice of the extreme South, was the point to which political opinion had been long and carefully trained, and political parties long and singly directed. This fatal training, added to the widely diffused spirit of anarchy, smarting under a defeat equally signal and unnecessary, and stimulated by considerations of the very highest importance connected with the question of the Black Race in every aspect of that question — produced the apparently sudden revolution which has already, when these pages are written, led the six cotton States (South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana) to pass separate acts of secession from the United States of America. Here then is the consummation of this spirit of lawlessness and anarchy, working as we have already said it universally works, unto the disintegration — the morcelment of all things; — the consummation of it, so far as to embrace all the States producing cotton, sugar, and rice, as their great staples. What is next to be determined is, the fate of the mixed slave States — those divided between farming and planting, (North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas): and then the fate of the border slave States, (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri): and then, we may confidently add, the fate of the nation. Whatever, in the meantime, it is of the last importance to bear in mind, shall be the conduct of the whole of the free States, and especially of the border free States (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa), may be decisive alike of their own fate, and of that of all the rest, and of the nation itself for many generations.

6. Is it possible for any thoughtful person to suppose, that this spirit of reckless disregard of all existing institutions, has already accomplished all the results of which it is capable? What shall prevent it from swallowing up all the remaining slave States? What shall, after that is accomplished, prevent a counter-revolution in every one of those slave States? What shall prevent its taking some new direction with still more vehement force, throughout the whole North? What shall prevent a counter-revolution in every Northern State? And who can venture to hope, that a spirit which everywhere tramples under foot those institutions which everywhere have been esteemed most sacred, and everywhere despises the most venerable and the most cherished traditions of our country and our race; will finally slake its thirst in any thing but human blood, or fail to assuage its insatiable rapacity by universal plunder? Cannot even the blind see, that when laws are violated in the name of morality and order, and constitutions are set at nought in the name of liberty and security, and revolutions are accomplished by terror and conducted under the guidance of irresistible fanaticism; that there can be no result to such a career, as long as it has way, but the destruction of everything that human governments are instituted to protect; and that at every step of the career, the overthrow of every salutary power and the disintegration of every healthful force of society, more and more confirms the existence and the reign of universal anarchy? It is as if God should destroy every principle of cohesion in the physical universe, and leave every separate force in it working to the destruction of all things. It is as if he should destroy every idea of subjection in the moral universe, and leave the passions of men to work out all the horrors of an infinite disorder. It is as the steady working of omnipotent force, unto the production of universal helplessness. It is, when it shall pervade the earth, the realization of the conjectures of those who expound the divine predictions concerning the condition in which *The Son of Man* will find all nations at his second coming — the universal reign of lawlessness after the universal disintegration of every element capable of restraining it. What we say is — not that these results are inevitable: God forbid! But we do say they are natural — they are imminent — they are far more

to be apprehended, than what has already occurred, both in the North and in the South, was to be apprehended thirty years ago. And we may say these things with a greater confidence of an insight of the terrible future, and a more eager beseeching of our generation to beware; since during more than thirty years we have not ceased to lift up an unheeded testimony, both against the principles and the proceedings, both at the North and at the South — whose frightful results the country is now beginning to realize.

II. 1. Let us now seek, amidst this chaos, for some ground of hope and effort. Throughout the eighteen free States, society is supposed to be under the control of the Republican party. As indicated by the presidential election in November last, it may be conceded that the majority in all those States, did at that time, believe the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, to be the best of the alternatives then offered to their choice; and it may be further conceded, though it is not strictly accurate, that, at present, the local political and military power, in all those States, is in the hands of the Republican party. But it is also true that a minority in those States, numerically almost as large as the entire voting population of the fifteen slave States, voted against Mr. Lincoln — and are thoroughly opposed to the distinctive principles of the Republican party. It is also undeniable that a very large number of those who voted for Mr. Lincoln, are far more Whigs or Americans than they are Republicans: — and it is equally certain that a very large number of the Republican party itself, strictly speaking, are patriotic men, who, while they preferred the success of their party to the success of any other party, prefer the peace, the prosperity, and the security of their country above anything that could be obtained by the triumph of their party. If any political result in the future, therefore, can be considered certain, it is certain, that a revolution in opinion, more or less decided, will manifest itself throughout the free States, whenever the issue is clearly put to them between their country and any political party. And it is equally certain, that whatever party shall hurry those States, by whatever means, into the horrors of civil war, and the anguish of that impending anarchy of which we have spoken; will perish by a counter-revolu-

tion, just as apt to be bloody there as in any other portion of the nation.

2. In the position of all the slave States there are peculiar circumstances much overlooked, both amongst themselves and others; but nevertheless decisive in the long run. No force, however small, but will accomplish its end, if sufficient time be allowed: even that which is infinitely minute, if it operates through an infinite period. The six cotton States appear to us to have taken their course in such a temper, with such purposes, upon such principles, and under such foregone conclusions, that they neither desire to return to their former position, nor would at present agree to anything that they believe would accomplish that result. It is, of course, possible that we are mistaken in this painful conclusion, and we should heartily rejoice to know that we are: but, seeing no ground on which we can doubt that the case stands thus, neither do we see any on which we can avoid stating our belief. It would be gross injustice to many thousands of patriotic men in all the cotton States, to suppose that either of those States would have been allowed to take the course it has pursued, without a desperate political struggle in its own bosom; if the circumstances of these men, in each of those States, had appeared to them to allow of resistance to the organized force which swept society away. There are also thousands of persons in all those States, who even now consider it a slander and a reproach, that ulterior designs are ascribed to those who direct this secession movement, which it seems apparent to all mankind, except themselves, are not only certain to be realized if the movement is permanently sustained, but which were amongst the earliest and most powerful causes of the long cherished desire to be relieved from the real restraints of the Federal Government, and the imaginary perils and injuries of the Federal Union. In the actual condition of the States which have already seceded, as we understand that condition and the manner in which it has been brought about, we deem it perfectly obvious that a counter-revolution must manifest itself in every one of them — equally as decided, and perhaps more violent, than the revolution which has already occurred. That counter-revolution may be in a direction more and more fatal — bringing into uncontrolled power, parties wholly unfit and

unworthy to possess it. It may be in a direction eminently favorable to the security and prosperity of those cotton States, and terminating in their restoration to the Union, under the lead of a party whose elements now lie scattered, or even as yet totally undeveloped. But the present revolution, in its very nature, its causes, and its designs — must go deeper, in one direction or the other. In *which* direction, depends in our opinion, in the first instance, in a great degree, upon these contingencies: 1. The conduct of the present ruling faction in those States; its forbearance on the one hand, or its violence on the other: 2. The conduct of the Federal Government towards those States; as it may be firm and yet temperate, or as it may be vacillating and timid: 3. The conduct of the slave States continuing in the Union; as they may share the madness of the six seceding States, or as they may arrest the pestilence at the cotton line, and by their wisdom and courage restore the Union: 4. The conduct of the free States, and especially those along the slave border; as they shall obstinately persist in fomenting opinions and performing acts touching the whole question of the Black Race, which they can now clearly see must involve the country in one common ruin, or as they, by a common consent, or by a counter-revolution in their own bosom, restore public opinion to a condition under which slave States may safely live in peace with them. Under such circumstances it is easy to see, how great and difficult is the task laid on true statesmen, everywhere, and how immense and how dubious are the issues submitted to them.

3. The remaining nine slave States, of which five are border States, and four are mixed slave States, have in each of these classes peculiarities as marked as those which distinguish the cotton States; yet as the whole nine occupy a similar position at the present moment, with regard to the revolution which has swept over the cotton States; they may, for the sake of brevity, be thrown together in developing the great ideas we are endeavoring to disclose. What the exact issue will be in these nine States — or whether it will be similar in them all — or in which direction the prevailing opinion will settle, if different courses are taken — are questions which it is impossible to determine at this time. But it is very obvious, that if the whole nine — or even the greater

part of them, embracing the leading and powerful States, refuse to unite in the movement taken by the six cotton States, that movement must necessarily prove a failure, both as to its avowed, and as to any concealed object; a counter-revolution in the cotton States becomes presently inevitable; and those cotton States must ultimately accommodate themselves to the policy, whatever it may be, adopted by the other and leading States, instead of being able to force those far more powerful than themselves, to follow blindly and servilely a course disapproved by them, and which rests for its ultimate reason, upon nothing better than the sudden caprice of South Carolina, or her chronic hatred of the National Union. There are immense considerations, altogether independent of the real merits of the great cause which is under trial — why the course dictated by South Carolina, and adopted by the other cotton States, should be steadfastly rejected. Amongst these are such as follow: 1. This method by secession annihilates the very idea of all force in permanent constitutional union, or common government over sovereign States, and establishes as inherent in all possible future unions, the idea of anarchy, and deprives liberty forever of the possibility of being either stable or strong: 2. The method of secession, by *separate* State action, is founded on illusions utterly fatal and absurd, that the American people are not a *nation* — the Federal Constitution not a government — the American people not bound to be loyal except to local authorities, which being assumed, condemns this continent to be the everlasting habitation of every thing feeble, factious, and extravagant: 3. The adoption of ordinances of secession, by conventions called by ordinary Legislatures — without allowing the people to determine by a previous sovereign act whether or not the convention shall exist, and by a subsequent sovereign act whether or not its proceedings shall have force — destroys the very idea of the sovereignty of the people, makes constitutional liberty and security impossible, and invites factions, in proportion as they are corrupt or incompetent, to usurp and to abuse sovereign power: 4. The utter refusal to consult with States, all of which were united by the highest human obligations — and many of which were involved in perils the very same in kind and higher in degree — is a line of conduct reckless in itself, insulting to all

others, apparently adopted with the purpose of rendering all peaceful, considerate, or even decorous arrangements impossible, and necessarily jeopard, in the result reached, the profitable continuance of slavery, if not its very existence, in the greater part of the slave States, and amongst them the most powerful, the most loyal, and the most enlightened of them all. At the present moment two most important truths are perfectly distinct. The *first* is, that the action hitherto taken in the States whose position we are now considering,—no matter what that action may lead to—involves a fundamental dissent from the conduct pursued by the six seceding States—and contemplates redress in a different way, and upon opposite principles. The *second* is, that a very great portion of each of these nine States, probably the majority of the people in most of them—possibly in all of them,—are warmly attached to the Union,—are resolutely determined to maintain their loyalty to the nation as their nation, at the same time that they maintain their loyalty to the particular States of which they are citizens, and are far more inclined to compose existing difficulties, than to drive matters to extremity in any direction.

4. These facts and considerations, taken in detail and taken all together, are worthy of the very highest consideration;—and whatever the issue of events may be, they reveal to the people and to those they trust, the grounds on which, and the manner in which, the country may be saved: and they disclose to posterity the pregnant and enduring truth, that at the utmost peril of the country the *people* would have saved it, if they had been bravely and wisely led. For under fair and true statesmanship, the chances are more than equal, in the *first* place, to rally the immense masses of the nine slave States whose people are now pondering their course, to such an action as will make their position secure in the Union, and satisfy them: in the *second* place, to secure such a treatment of the subject of secession by the Federal Administration, as will at once give efficacy to the laws, and avoid armed collision, except in repelling force by force: in the *third* place, to seek and to rely upon, such a reaction among the masses of the people in the free States, as will, by a common consent, or if it becomes necessary, by hurling from power those who stand

in the way, make manifest the determination of those masses to put an end to the reign of that atheistical and relentless fanaticism, which is the original cause of the ruin that stares us all in the face: and in the *fourth* place, to expect and await with confidence, the inevitable counter-revolution in the States which have already seceded, which will disabuse the minds of men of the delusion that the revolution there has been, as to the popular masses, either spontaneous or cordial, and restore those States to their true position in the confederacy. It is in this manner that results, equally indispensable and glorious, are attainable, — results capable also, no doubt, of being defeated; and that in ways far too various to be traced here. But when defeated, let us never forget that they who defeat them will share in full measure with us, all present evils, and will bear alone the execrations of posterity. And when defeated, what will remain for this generation, will be to realize the calamities of that frightful condition we have traced in the commencement of this paper; — or, as we have attempted to show on a former occasion, to construct even upon the line between the free and the slave States, a new and central power — competent at once to preserve all our institutions, to develop our national progress, and to direct the destinies of this continent.

5. Besides the special considerations which we have developed, as particularly relevant to the condition of our country, and the manner in which her destiny may be retrieved: there are many other considerations of a more general kind, and of the highest force, all pointing in the same direction, which it behooves every man to ponder deeply, before he despairs of his country, and before he lays his hands rudely on our existing institutions, in the vain hope of something better. Of these, there are two so præminent, that we ought to direct special attention to them. The *first* relates to that view of the subject which discloses the indestructible power of life in such a nation as this, and the length and depth and breadth of the agony which it can endure, and yet live. They who know the past of human affairs, and they who reflect on that eternal logic which is of the essence of things and events, know that a nation like this *cannot die*. It is hardly possible to conceive how it can *even be murdered*; but *die*

it cannot. It would be as easy to conceive that France could be blotted from the map of Europe as one of its greatest nations, and restored to the condition it occupied before its conquest by Cæsar; as to conceive of the American nation being annihilated, its sublime career cut short, its boundless possessions parcelled out, and an ignominious retinue of numberless aristocracies, democracies, dukedoms, and principalities, permanently filling its seat of empire and of glory. After eighteen centuries of anguish, Italy, hailed by the acclamations of mankind, is purging herself in a baptism of blood from the very condition which men are preparing for us; and the consuming instinct of her restored life is for that very *national unity* which we are expected to sacrifice, and in default of which she has suffered every form of evil, in every stage of civilization, under every kind of government. What have they to offer us, in exchange for our national unity, but sorrow without an object — and degradation without a limit — accompanied with struggles and suffering for its recovery, renewed, and suppressed in blood, and renewed for evermore — until in some distant age, perhaps, it shall be restored amidst the rejoicings of all peoples! This blind and fierce spirit of anarchy which has fastened upon the extremities of the nation, and is threatening to eat into its heart, has no aspect more startling, than its frightful antagonism to the absolute tendency and the total civilization of the age, in which it has made itself manifest. The *second* of the two great considerations alluded to, relates to the dominion and purpose of God over and concerning our country. The revolting disregard which this whole movement towards destruction exhibits towards God's dealings with our country, the shocking conceptions it proclaims of our mission as a people, compared with the conception of that mission as indicated by God himself, present almost the saddest aspect of the case. Nor is it the least remarkable feature of the lawless spirit which underlies the entire revolution, that while in both extremities of the nation it fastens upon the same idea — the slavery of the African race — as the controlling idea of God in all his purposes concerning us; it should give that idea its utmost destructiveness to us, and its utmost offensiveness to God, by making it work in directions precisely opposite. Is it conceivable that God should teach his

children at the North, that his highest purpose concerning the American people is, that they should extinguish African slavery; and at the same moment teach his children at the South, that his highest purpose concerning the American people is, that they should perpetuate African slavery? Rather is it not utterly inconceivable, that he should have taught any of them that his purposes concerning African slavery, or the African race, in any way whatever contain his chief purposes concerning the white race on this continent? A more melancholy instance can scarcely be produced in all history, of the destructive extent to which religious opinion can be made to take the prevailing hue of a fierce enthusiasm, or an intolerant fanaticism, which reigns around it. It is not in this manner, on the one side or the other, that the tens of thousands of God's children, scattered over this great empire like salt which has *not* lost its savour, interpret the teachings of his word, the indications of his providence, or the tokens of his infinite mercy towards us. It is not in any such sense of the mission of our country, or our race, that the people everywhere, have so lately come before God, in a great service of national humiliation, confessing their sins, and praying for his gracious interposition in this time of sore need. Who is authorized to say, that God has not heard the cry of his people? Who will dare to say, that God is not able to save? In the utmost extremity of Israel, God said to them by Moses, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of God, which he will shew to you to-day.

III. 1. At present, and during a long course of preceding years, it has been the very general impression that Negro slavery was the *direct*, if not the *single* difficulty, in all the commotions of which we have been speaking. As far as these commotions have had a moral and religious element, and have manifested themselves in the bosom of the different Christian denominations, this wide-spread impression has probably been true. But in other respects the connection of Negro slavery with these commotions, throughout, has been *indirect*; and its moral and religious aspect has had little significance, except as the abolition movement has been *free-thinking* in religion, and as political and sectional parties have coerced religious opinion in particular directions, for party and sectional purposes. The nullification movement many years

ago, in South Carolina, related to slavery only in the most indirect way — and in no connection with any moral or religious question. It was a question of revenue, taxation, commerce, tariffs, wealth: a false theory of political economy enraged by the peculiar condition of labor. More recently, the commotion about slavery in the Territories, has been a struggle for political power, aggravated on the side of the North by the urgency of its numerous emigrant population for cheap homes in fertile regions. And at the present moment, the States which have seceded, are of all the slave States the very ones which would not have seceded, and the slave States which are most anxious to preserve the Union are the very ones which would have promptly seceded, if the current impression of the case was true and complete. If at any time within the last thirty years, a revolution in production, in trade, in commerce, in any thing, had wrought a thorough change in the general opinion of the South, touching — not the essential nature — but the incidental advantages of slavery in a political and a financial point of view; of course, no one would ever have heard of secession in the South — or even seen the remotest approach to the existing state of opinion at the North. It is the idea of power — power to be diminished by remaining in the Union and to be incalculably augmented by leaving it; the idea of wealth, of conquest, of advancement — all of them, we are thoroughly convinced, in the highest degree illusive and fatal; but it is these ideas — far more than any disgust that the North condemns slavery as immoral, or any apprehension that slavery will be disturbed, or slaves stolen, or the South annoyed in the Union — that pervades the present dominant party in the cotton States, and enabled it to precipitate them into revolution. How far this aspect of the case aggravates or alleviates the difficulty of dealing with it, in any hope of such an issue as we consider fortunate, must depend on many considerations which can not be discussed here. In any event, it seems clear that they who would heal a malady must understand its exact nature. And if it is never healed, they who eagerly desire that it should be, owe to themselves and to posterity a fair and complete statement of the case, and of the remedy they propose for it.

2. Human servitude, considered in its widest sense, and of

which hereditary slavery as it exists in our slave States is the extreme form — may be discussed in the light of Divine Revelation — or in the light of the Law of Nature — or in the light of the political and municipal institutions of the countries where it exists. Considered in this last aspect — there ought to be no dispute concerning it, and there can be none fairly, in this country, except in a single point of view — namely, its existence in the national territory, which we will speak of separately. For, undeniably, each State has the complete and exclusive right, to determine concerning it as a strictly domestic institution; and, undeniably, neither any other State, nor the government which is common to all the States, has any power to interfere with it, or concerning it, in any State. And this is not only matter of constitutional obligation on one side, and uncontrolled right on the other; but the plainest dictates of prudence, and the clearest obligations of morality, impose upon the States, and the general government, the duty of a simple, sincere, and faithful observance of all that is implied, as well as all that is expressed, in these restrictions. Massachusetts has no right, of any kind, to assail slavery in South Carolina, — nor has South Carolina any right of any sort to encourage the introduction of slavery into Massachusetts: and any attempt on the part of the General Government, directly or indirectly, to favour any such endeavour on the part of either of them, is a foolish and wicked perversion of its own nature. Nor is there any plea that can be offered, either by the General Government, or by any State, for departing from this clear line of mutual duty, which is not immoral in itself, and revolutionary in its tendency. Moreover the prompt and cordial performance by all parties, towards each other, of all the mutual duties binding upon them under the Federal Constitution touching every subject, and amongst the rest the subject of slavery, and amongst the duties connected with slavery the rendition of fugitive slaves, of which we will speak separately; besides being every way binding before God and man, is the sure, the wise, and the peaceful way to promote all the interests of all the parties, and to secure the lasting glory and prosperity of the country.

3. When we undertake to determine this, or indeed any question, under what we call the Law of Nature, we encounter the

most serious difficulties at every step. What we shall say, therefore, on this topic, must be in subordination to what has just been said under the aspect of our civil and political obligations, and what we shall say presently under the aspect of revealed truth and duty. Besides the statement of the Law of Nature, recorded and reiterated in the Word of God, of which we do not speak at present, there are other — perhaps numerous, but certainly indistinct, and perhaps contradictory utterances of that great and permanent law. At the head of these utterances we may place that which the human reason discloses: next to that, perhaps, the common impulses of the human soul: then, perhaps, the current opinions and beliefs of the human race: and then, which in some respects ought to be held most valid of all — the common and apparently inevitable, if not voluntary state of our race in all ages — as the best concrete expression of its reason, its impulses, and its current belief — and therefore of the Law of its Nature in its present state. If we will reflect carefully on each of these utterances of the Law of Nature touching this vast topic of human servitude, we will perceive how narrow is the foothold they afford to support us in disloyalty towards the civil and political institutions of our country, much less to sustain us in rejecting the revealed will of God. (1.) The *human reason* teaches with clearness, that if there can be such a thing, or such an idea, as *property*, the highest form of it — nay, the very basis of it — is the right which every one has to himself: and just as clearly, that the claim of property by the Law of Nature, on the part of one person in another person, is founded in the rejection of the very foundation of the idea of property, since my right to have another rests on my previous right to myself. On the other hand, human reason teaches us that property in ourself is as capable of being forfeited, limited, or alienated, as any other property. For example, the right of existence is higher than our property in ourself; and it is as absurd to say that I may not part absolutely with the latter, in order to secure the former, as it is to say I may not limit my property in myself, in order to make my existence more endurable, or even more comfortable. And the very nature of human society is such, that the liberty, as well as the life and property of every one, passes by the fact of the existence of

society, from its absolute personal form, into a modified form determinable only by the aggregate will—which will *ought* to be determined by the will of God. But as the human race is in rebellion against God—human reason lands the problem very nearly in a paradox. (2.) If we appeal next for guidance to the *common impulses of the human soul*, in order to have this great question of human servitude interpreted, we obtain a response equally vague, but far more vehement than before. Surely it is, and it has always been, the desire of every human being to be free from restraint—the passionate desire of our race to possess what each member of it, in his particular condition, meant by liberty. And the aggregate impulse of the race in that direction, is more powerful and is better regulated to-day than it ever was before,—and the hope of true, and stable, and universal freedom, as the final inheritance of all mankind, may be more rationally cherished, than at any former period. But the wisest men and the freest people know the best—that this personal desire of freedom from restraint is no evidence whatever that restraint is wrong; and that this universal impulse towards what they mean by liberty, totally fails—of itself—in proving that they who cherish it would do aught but mischief, if God were to gratify all their desires. It is one of the most sorrowful aspects of human nature—this consuming impulse towards liberty and equality—this lasting desire of the good and the wise that it might be gratified—this total impossibility of its gratification, except under special conditions of advancement, reached as yet by comparatively small portions of our race. (3.) And now if we turn to the *common opinion and belief of the human race*, as the true expositor of that law of their nature under the light of which the institutions of the most civilized states are to be abolished and the inspired teachings of God are to be silenced; we may take one firm step, and then all is chaos, which thickens as we advance. Assuredly there is a sense of good and of true—and therefore of right and just—universal in our race; and a sense, moreover, that these things apply to, and ought to regulate, all the conditions and relations of man—servitude in all its forms amongst the rest. If there was ever an opinion and belief common to our race, that servitude in its widest sense was contrary to the nature of man; then the

race had before it always, in the actual condition of the larger part of it, the clearest proof that the belief was absurd. If there had ever been such a common belief strong enough to form the basis of practical life; then half the race would have immediately perished from want — or universal rapine would have become its habitual condition. The belief has, no doubt, been common to our race in all time, that every one ought to enjoy all the gifts of God, and amongst the rest the inestimable one of personal freedom, so far as was compatible with the circumstances in which God's providence had placed each person — that is, so far as was compatible with the will of the Giver of all good, thus made known to every person. And this belief is true and just. But what is established by it is, that according to the Law of Nature as explained by the spontaneous belief of mankind, servitude in every form may, though of itself indifferent, become right or wrong, good or bad, according to the circumstances of each particular case. And beyond this unquestionable truth — he who will enquire will get no intelligible response. (4.) The last of the four utterances of the Law of Nature which we have specified, is *the actual execution of the law*, as that is exhibited to us in the common state of the human race, in all ages, and in every stage of civilization. Here there is no possibility of mistake. The testimony is as unanimous, as it is frightful and universal. The different races, the different nations, the different tribes, the different families, the different individuals — all, every where, have felt themselves to be naturally impelled to reduce each other into a condition of subjection — and have felt themselves to be naturally permitted, upon a change of fortune, to submit to a state of subjection. Nor is it possible to doubt that the natural and universal conduct of mankind, as clearly proves that men are as thoroughly convinced they ought to be masters, as their conduct could possibly prove they were convinced that they ought not to be slaves. Those conditions of mankind which are alledged to resemble most nearly the condition claimed to be natural to man, are the very conditions in which servitude, in some form or other, is the most spontaneous and complete; and it is in conditions of advanced civilization that the extreme forms of servitude gradually expire — unless some peculiar element in the

state of society opposes an insuperable barrier to its extinction. It takes nothing from this boundless testimony, to assert that the dreary conclusion it establishes is contrary to the reason, the impulses, and the beliefs of mankind: for if the assertion were true, it only shows that mankind cannot be, what mankind asserts, desires, and believes it should be. And the more desolate the conviction thus begotten may be, the more are we compelled to look—for the mitigation of human servitude—not to revolution based on our notions of the Law of Nature, but to the wise and temperate amelioration of existing institutions, under the influence of the love of God. And the more all other rules of judgment and conduct fail us, the more ought we to feel obliged to submit ourselves to the guidance of God, in matters which concern us so nearly as these now do. What remains, therefore, is to consider the question of human servitude in the light of divine revelation.

4. It is in the Word of God that this great problem is completely solved. Human servitude, in all its forms, is one of the badges of the fallen condition of the human race; and every incident of it, that aggravates any particular form of it, or that augments the severity of all the forms of it from the very lightest to the very heaviest, is a separate proof that our natural condition is one of sin and misery. And whatever revolt there may be in human nature against any form of servitude, is a kind of testimony to the original freedom in which man was created in the image of God, and to the remaining susceptibility of his depraved nature to be restored; while the utter inability of the race to escape this part of its deplorable condition, shows how deeply the grounds and reasons of that condition are laid in its nature. A fallen race, lying under the wrath of God and the condemnation of his holy law—but having his promise of deliverance even in this life and of immortal blessedness in a better life to come—is making its way, in this condition of probation, through the ages and across the earth. The accumulated experience of the entire existence of the race, and the uniform course of divine providence, and the explicit declarations of God's Word, show us in the clearest manner, that the career of such a race, in such a state, and yet under such a probation, must necessarily exhibit

much that is, so to speak, unavoidably *incident* to such a case, in some respects alleviating, and in some respects aggravating its ordinary, average condition. War is inevitable; sometimes in its result glorious and blessed, sometimes frightful in all its issues; but war, so far from being of itself, and to all who engage in it either just or sinful, is often atrocious, and often amongst the highest duties of mankind. Sickness is the product of God's just sentence of death upon our sinful race, and is of itself a temporal evil covering the whole earth; yet it is often made an unspeakable blessing, and no one ventures to say is of itself sinful. Sorrow and affliction are brought on us in innumerable forms, and from every quarter, and often by means of our truest, and noblest, and wisest impulses;—in every instance they are incidents of sin, direct or remote, but perhaps not in one instance of a million of the sin of him who suffers. Poverty, and its consequent, suffering, is of itself one of the direst and most universal calamities of mankind; and yet it is the parent of many of our highest virtues and attainments—and so far from being sinful of itself, is the subject of many of the most tender and urgent provisions both of the law of God and the Gospel of Christ. It is to this great class of *incidents* of the actual condition of our race, that human servitude in all its forms belongs. Existing, like all we have named, and multitudes besides, because our condition is just what it is—a condition of sin and misery in a state of probation; wrought out inevitably, in some form or other, in the bosom of such a condition; modified indefinitely, by every circumstance that affects any considerable portion of the race; but utterly incapable of being permanently and universally abolished, while our race continues in a state of sin and misery, attended with probation. It seems to us as absurd to call the relation of master and servant (in any form of servitude) sinful of itself, or to expect the relation to cease upon earth; as it is to call the relation between a sick man and a well one, an afflicted man and a happy man, a rich man and a poor one, sinful of itself, or expect either of them to come to an end. And this, it seems to us, is the simple, the rational, and the scriptural account of human servitude in all its possible aspects, and in its essential nature in the sight of God.

5. If we acknowledge the sacred Scriptures to be the divine

rule of our faith and our practice, there ought to be an end to all extreme opinions, and all violent proceedings, on this entire subject. From the days of Abraham, to the death of the last inspired Apostle, there is one uniform doctrine, one uniform practice, one unchanging aspect of the whole matter — presented by God for the guidance of mankind. Throughout the total revelation which God has made to man — throughout the immense period embracing the dispensations of Abraham, of Moses, and of Christ, — human servitude, Abrahamie, Jewish, Christian, and heathen — and the heathen aspect of it, such as was presented in every nation of antiquity, Asiatic, African and European, down to and after the period of universal dominion by the Romans; we have this immense subject exhibited to us, in all its possible bearings, by God himself. Never, in a single instance, is it represented to us as a thing good in itself: never, in a single instance, as a thing sinful in itself: always as a thing actually existing, always to be expected, allowed by God, considered and treated in his law, regulated by his providence, wholly indifferent as concerning his grace, and to enter into our final account to him, both as we may be masters and as we may be servants, in the light of our faithful discharge or our wicked neglect of our duties to each other in that relation. As masters, the measure of our authority is the measure of our guilt, if we neglect the duties binding on us, or abuse the power we possess: so that the slavery which exists amongst us, carries this responsibility to a height which, to all thoughtful Christian persons, gives the institution one of its heaviest burdens. To consider the relation, on the side of the master, one merely of profit to himself, is to forfeit at once every justification for its continuance; while, on the other hand, to rob the relation wholly of that aspect, can be founded only on the notion that all servitude is sinful, or else on some fanatical idea of justice or charity, which if rendered practical would put an end to society, by putting an end to all motive for any one to obtain any sort of service from another. That every form of servitude ought to be ameliorated continually, even if we are sure it can never be abolished, is as clear as that poverty should be alleviated though we know it can never be prevented, or that sickness should be relieved, though it is certain it will recur forever. Clear as may be the

justification of every form of servitude so far as the mere question of *sin* is concerned—and perfect as may be the right to persist in the extreme form of it, so far as the civil power is concerned—there are a thousand considerations, personal and public, moral and political, which may so bear upon individuals and communities, as to make it their clear duty, under given circumstances, to put an end to the hereditary slavery which exists amongst us, or under given circumstances to make it improper to attempt it, or impossible to accomplish it. It is absurd, therefore, if not monstrous, to contend that vast regions of our country are morally bound to the last extremity and as their chief duty, to labour for the more secure establishment and the more effectual perpetuation of negro slavery; and equally so to array public opinion, and to direct political parties, in other vast portions of the country, to the repression or the destruction of it, on any pretext at all, much less any connected with its moral nature. We have already shown that a faithful observance of our constitutional obligations would put an end to all such opinions and practices; and that there is no justification for any of the principles on which they rest, or the proceedings to which they lead, to be found in natural law. And now it seems clear, that the only infallible rule of conduct, God's blessed Word, condemns in the most positive manner, all the pretexts concerning negro slavery, whether at the North or the South, upon which the public mind has been lashed into madness. Slavery is an institution, which revolutions neither perpetuate nor abolish, except under conditions wholly accidental. And if the anarchical spirit, whose seditious career we have traced, finally triumphs and this nation is destroyed—the real problem to be afterwards worked out will be, the ultimate dominion of the White race, or of a mixed race essentially African, over the cotton region of this continent. Is the inaugurating of that problem, worth the ruin of this great nation?

IV. 1. In attempting to develop the topic which remains, we are fully aware of the difficulties of the task. Both at the North and at the South, there are great parties thoroughly organized and acting in precisely opposite directions as to opinion, but one direction as effective as the other toward the common object of their labors—namely, the tearing of the nation to pieces. They

who agree in nothing else, agree in the common desire for that result, which involves our national ruin. In the meantime, the immense popular masses at the North which have only partially cöoperated with the organized party bent on destruction, or have fallen into minorities openly resisting that party — are neither organized in fact, nor of one accord amongst themselves, except upon the single point, that they are suddenly awakened to the extreme peril of the situation, and are rapidly settling into a resolute purpose to avert the danger, if it is still possible. In the whole South, the condition of affairs is similar, but more perilous. The disruption of the Democratic party at Charleston and at Baltimore, is susceptible of but three possible interpretations: it was an act of mere passion — or it was an act of deep intention, designed to produce exactly what has followed — or it was an act looking to the reconstruction of that party and to new endeavors for its permanent triumph as a national party. Recent events tend to show, that the disruption was made in the fixed sense of the second of these three possible interpretations; or at any rate, in the contemplation, and perfect preparation of many leading men to take that alternative, even if they are not chargeable with having intentionally procured it. What occurred was, that the cotton growing South suddenly awoke to a consciousness, that a great and perfectly organized party in her bosom, was precipitating state after state into secession; while in every seceding state — even in South Carolina — masses of the people, stunned by the suddenness and vehemence and thorough organization of the movement, were borne along by it, or made resistance only on collateral points, or remained in dissatisfied silence as the storm swept over them. And in all the remaining slave states, state after state became suddenly the theatre of a concerted agitation propagated originally from South Carolina, and tending everywhere to the same violent result, by the same seditious proceedings, in the venerable names of state sovereignty and constitutional power. In these latter states, the resistance on the part of the community to this revolutionary fanaticism, was more in accordance with what became a free people; and whatever the issue may be, the most of them, possibly every one of them, will reach it with a decorum, a gravity, and a public decency inseparable even in death itself

from all true greatness, on all great occasions. But these great popular masses throughout the fifteen slave states — embracing all men who were not ready to rush into immediate secession, and embracing, therefore, the immense majority of the people in that half of the nation — were taken by surprise — cut up into three mutually hostile political parties — disorganized by an infinite diversity of opinion — and destitute for the moment of great leaders to whom they could turn with a common consent. Rapidly, and by a movement almost spontaneous, public opinion, overborne for the moment in the six seceding states, and trembling in the balance in several other states, appears to us to be consolidating in the greater number and the most powerful of those states, in a determinate manner, and upon fixed points. In them there is none of that frantic hostility to the union which has been ostentatiously manifested in other places ; but on the contrary, an avowed attachment to the union, and a declared purpose to maintain it, if it can be done consistently with their security, their honor, and their rights. In them, there is no disposition to contend for extreme rights, or to demand conditions which in changed circumstances they would not grant themselves, much less to fly to arms by way of preliminary menace, or to look to foreign nations for aid in the execution of any designs present or future ; but on the contrary, there is an upright and an outspoken desire to adjust all existing troubles, and if possible to secure the future, upon terms of perfect equity and equality, such as ought to satisfy true men, and such as true men ought spontaneously to grant. Now it is not to confirmed Abolitionists of the North, nor is it to confirmed Secessionists of the South, that any suggestions of peace need be made, or any terms of honorable composition need be propounded, which look to the preservation of a country which they do not profess to love, and the salvation of institutions which they own they abhor. But it is to the great, true, and faithful people of the glorious American Nation that must not be destroyed, no matter of what sovereign state they may be citizens, and no matter how much they may now appear to be scattered and disorganized ; that suggestions of peace, and justice, and fraternity, looking to endless and boundless glory and prosperity, may be offered, with a good hope through God, that they may enter into the mass of

human thought, and be felt according to the wisdom that may be in them.

2. Let it be observed, that the free states and the slave states occupy in some respects totally different positions, relatively to the difficulties about slavery, and to the ground on which those difficulties are to be adjusted. With the North, the whole affair is a sentiment — an opinion. With the South, it is an affair of life and death. The North has not one dollar of estate at stake — the South has four thousand millions of dollars invested in slaves. The North has not one dollar of income directly dependent on slavery — the South has an annual income of two hundred and fifty millions dependent directly on slave labour. Moreover, there are no negro slaves among the nineteen millions of people in the eighteen free states — so that all questions of a national aspect tending to influence slavery, are perfectly void of force as to the interior peace, quiet, and security, of all these eighteen states; whereas the fifteen slave states have four millions of slaves dispersed through their eight millions of white people, and every national question that can, in any of its bearings, either agitate or quiet this vast slave population, is of itself a question, between different nations, of war or peace. Still further, the institution of slavery has no necessary bearing whatever, upon the social, economical, personal or political condition of any state or individual at the North; whereas it is thoroughly interwoven with every fibre of society at the South — and as an institution is so pervading in its effects wherever it exists, that a community long trained in the forms of life connected with it, does not incur the change involved in its destruction, except under some most powerful impulse. And again, this nation was once a nation composed exclusively of slave states — and if in the progress of events the greater part of the states become free states — every consideration of decency and good faith obliges those thus changing their condition to be more and more, instead of less and less, observant of the duties and even the proprieties they owe to those who remain in the condition once common to all. And, to suggest nothing more, the preponderating power of the free states in the Union, added to the unscrupulous and disloyal principles avowed and propagated, to a greater or less extent, in every one of them

during the last thirty years; obliges the North, by every consideration of prudence, of equity, and of magnanimity, to concede to the South all that the spirit of their mutual engagements require, instead of striving to rob her of every security which is not expressed in the narrowest letter of the law. So clear is this controlling aspect of the subject, and so deeply does it enter into the convictions of all just men, that, on the one hand, the whole feeling of loyalty to the Union in the South, is connected with an abiding confidence that the North will act as becomes her in this emergency; and on the other hand, with an unshaken purpose, in the Union or out of it, to vindicate the security, the equality, and the rights, of slave States. It is upon these two points — can the South rely upon the North — and can the South maintain her vital interests in union — that public opinion in the slave States which have not seceded, is struggling at this moment. For our own part, thoroughly convinced that both of those questions ought to be answered in the affirmative, we must not disguise that the thousands of loyal and patriotic men who have reached an opposite conclusion, and under it have been precipitated, by the force of a trained and long organized conspiracy, unto fatal proceedings; are able to render reasons for their want of confidence, to which coming ages will say, the North ought to have given earlier and more considerate heed. It is idle to attempt here, a statement of particular aggressions, upon a case so large, so long continued, so aggravating, and so palpable. If there is one sentiment perfectly cordial, and perfectly unanimous throughout the fifteen slave States, it is that they have just cause of complaint; a sentiment in which it is extremely probable, that the actual majority of the entire North would to some extent concur. Nay, the very form of any amicable settlement that can ever be made, reveals the true nature of the case — as every possible statement of it must show.

3. There are two points upon which the South has made up its mind, and which are decisive, one way or the other, of the whole matter; and upon which the course which the North may take, will either arrest the farther spread of the secession pestilence, and under firm and temperate treatment, as we have before shown, will probably bring back the seceding States; or will probably throw the whole nation into a state of political convulsion, the

end of which no man can conjecture, and no living man will see. These two points relate, 1. To the fair and complete execution of the provisions of the Federal Constitution, made expressly in favor of property in slaves — and most especially the provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves: 2. To the recognition of the perfect equality of the slave States with the free States, under the Federal Constitution, in all things — and most especially in the matter of Federal Territories. We will briefly treat of each of these points separately. And as it appears to us very clear that adequate power exists under the Federal Constitution to settle both points in a fair, complete, and satisfactory manner — we will not enter upon the discussion of any of the proposed changes in that instrument. There are also several incidental questions, such as slavery in the District of Columbia, the migration of slaves from one slave State to another, and the like, which we shall not discuss; since, as we doubt not, the settlement of the real question will draw after it the settlement of the rest; and a refusal to settle them renders all discussion of the others idle.

4. If any one will compare the unquestionable right of the owners of slaves, secured by the Federal Constitution, to have them delivered to them in the States to which they may escape, with what has occurred during many past years with reference to the fair and sincere enforcement of this right, in any Northern State where its enforcement has been attempted, — or with the average aggregate conduct of the whole North upon the subject; he will be struck with astonishment, in proportion as he gets a complete idea of what the border slave States have suffered, and of the demoralized condition of opinion at the North on the whole subject, and of the utter wickedness of the organized robbery which has been systematically carried on. Mark — the Constitution of the nation expressly requires the rendition of slaves when they escape. Then observe, that along the border common to Ohio and Kentucky, slaves have been systematically enticed from their owners, by organized societies in Ohio, and carried off by arrangements so extensive, so complete, and so effectual, that along the entire border between those States, two or three counties deep, slavery is totally insecure in Kentucky. Along the frontier of

all the other border slave States, a similar system of organized plunder has been in active operation. To what extent the system penetrates the interior regions of the slave States, it is difficult to say; but it is known that emissaries from the North have systematically pervaded the entire South, in every imaginable disguise, schoolmaster, pedler, agent, quack, preacher, labourer — every thing — making known to the slaves the routes and methods of escape, and instilling into their minds principles that result in house-burning, poisoning, murder, and rape, if escape is impossible. What success has attended these diabolical proceedings, with regard to the whole number of slaves stolen, we have no better means of knowing than the published statement of journals that advocate the robbery: and after allowing for much boasting on their part, prompted by very obvious reasons, the number can hardly be set lower than a yearly average of ten thousand slaves — worth little short of ten millions of dollars — for some years past. Nor must it be forgotten, that although large sums of money are contributed by fanatics throughout the North, to the yearly support of these operations, yet the immediate agents of the work make it very profitable. We, and many hundred persons, have personal knowledge of a case which occurred a few years ago in Kentucky, in which between fifty and sixty negro men were attempted to be run off at one time, from Lexington and the surrounding region; in which the fee of the white organizer and leader of the company varied, according to the success of the negroes in stealing, from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars, each. In that case the party was surprised when near the Ohio River, and the slaves recovered; and the white man is now in the Kentucky Penitentiary — instead of being lynched, as he would have been any where but in one of the finest communities in the world. Now let it be further observed, that this state of horrible perfidy, though notorious at the North, instead of awaking the universal horror of the community, finds the fundamental principles which underlie it, gradually penetrating in all directions; widely influential journals advocating them; supporters of them sitting in many State Legislatures, and in both Houses of Congress; political parties impregnated with them; the laws of many States changed so as to give them

security; the current literature deeply imbued with them; and to crown all, the ministers of religion, to the extent almost of whole sects and denominations, making them the chief themes of their instruction from the pulpit. We do not enumerate the election of Mr. Lincoln as the climax, and final triumph of these principles: on the contrary, it is clear to us that his nomination for the Presidency is to be accounted evidence of a réaction against them: and we know of little in the modern history of parties, braver, or more manly, than his unflinching and reiterated declarations, that the South is entitled to an effective law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and to its effective execution.

5. That is precisely what the whole South demands. Planted on the Constitution — loyal to it and to the country — the evidence of the wrongs she has endured written on the whole face of society North and South, Mr. Lincoln himself has long ago spoken the brave and true word; the South is entitled to an effective law, and to its effective execution, whereby these outrages shall be put down forever. The time to discuss the propriety of putting such a clause in the Federal Constitution, terminated seventy years ago. The time to plead conscientious scruples for breach of faith founded on the alleged immorality of property in slaves, will come after it is shown that a nation can exist — much less that a free people can tranquilly sustain a common government, for the sake of enabling one half to plunder and degrade the other half. One of the worst symptoms of the case is manifested in the indirect manner in which many Northern States have endeavoured to defeat the execution of public law by unfriendly legislation, directed in some instances against their own citizens, in some against citizens of the South, and in some against both; and in, not only an apparent popular approval of such laws, and the most stolid indifference to the matter on the part of those who did not approve them, but even in their careful and well-considered defense by some of the ablest and best men in the North, as being without serious objection in principle. That is, all the people in Massachusetts being both citizens of that State and citizens of the United States, and there being nobody there to act in either capacity, except those who must act in both; what follows under this new political morality, and what is attempted under the pre-

text of religious scruples is — that the people of Massachusetts as citizens of the United States acknowledge the obligation resting on them under the Federal Constitution for the rendition of fugitive slaves in Massachusetts; and at the same moment as citizens of the State, they pass laws refusing the use of their prisons and making it criminal for their officers or even their citizens to assist, and contrive remedies whereby the owner who seeks to recover his slave may be arrested as a trespasser, or even imprisoned as a felon. It is an exceedingly palpable instance, on a large scale, of what resources were possessed by those fortunate and unscrupulous gentlemen of a past age, who were princes and bishops at the same time. In point of morals, such pretexts are simply scandalous. In private life, no man who resorts to them can be held to be a gentleman — or in pecuniary transactions, can be considered honest. In public life, such attempts are chargeable with the folly and wickedness of begetting conflicts of civil and political duties in mere wantonness — or with being, as we have before shown they are, the organized results of that seditious spirit of anarchy which is destroying our country, and which a better public sentiment must crush wherever it exists, before society can be safe in any part of it. The people of the free States, wherever and in so far as they have been seduced into such legislation, owe to public morality, to their own character, and to their highest interests, not less than to their constitutional obligations as citizens of the United States, and the mutual relations of the States to each other under our noble institutions; to erase at once all State enactments that cast obloquy on their own national obligations, or look towards the dishonor or the obstruction of the just and unquestionable claims of others upon them. And we rejoice with all our heart at the indication in so many portions of the North, that what is right will be promptly done in this matter; and by this means, one of the steps indispensable to the permanent maintainance of our institutions be firmly taken, and the friends of the Union every where, but especially in the South, have a noble vindication of their resolute confidence that the nation was still sound at heart.

6. The other point of the two which the whole nation perceives to be fundamental, relates to the equality of the States in the

Union, and especially as that bears upon the question of slavery in the Federal Territories, as we have already stated. The great idea of all our institutions, though complex, is perfectly clear. We constitute one nation, whose people, however, are divided into many sovereign States. We have no nation but as we have these States; and we have no States but as they make this nation; and our people are citizens both of the nation and of some particular State—and strictly speaking, to be one involves the other. The fundamental principle of our liberty is the sovereignty, not of governments, but of society itself—the people; and the deepest foundation of this sovereignty of the people, is their right to change, to order, and to interpret, their political and civil institutions, by voting; to do this as separate States where the matter relates *exclusively* to the particular State—to do it in concert where it relates to the nation. In the exercise of this sovereign power the people of this nation have made all their constitutions—the very oldest of which now existing is the Federal Constitution. And the broad distinction between that Constitution made for the nation, which by its nature and its terms is supreme over all in its proper sphere, and the Constitutions made for the States respectively, is simply this; that by the former no powers are conferred on the General Government created by it except such as are expressly enumerated and such as are incidental and necessary thereto; and that by the latter all powers residing in society are conferred on the State Governments created by them, except such as are expressly withheld by Bills of Right, or some similar device. We do not mean that these results are inherent and inevitable; but we mean that these are the facts—the great and wise things actually accomplished by our ancestors. In the balancing of the powers of the Federal and State Governments, and in defining and ordering their mutual spheres and extent, lies that wide debatable ground over which statesmen have fought their battles, and organized parties. Amongst these battles none have been more hotly fought, or more perilous to the country, than the one which has been waged over this question of Slavery in the Federal Territories. What we propose, is not to enter into a history of these difficulties—nor to discuss the soundness of any of the conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, upon which the extreme claims

of hostile parties or sections rest; but to accept the actual and notorious posture of the whole affair—and having pointed out, in the nature of our system of government, the ground and the character of the real difficulty, to state the principles on which alone, as it appears to us, the integrity of the Union between slave States and free States can be preserved.

7. There are three possible results to the matter, namely: all the Territories may become free States, or all may become slave States, or some may become one, and some may become the other. No one who has a grain of common sense, can suppose it to be possible for either of the first two results to occur, by any peaceful means, or that the general government can throw its influence systematically in favour of either of them, without breaking up the confederacy—or that extensive combinations of States on either side to secure either result, can terminate otherwise than in war. It follows, therefore, that the practical enforcement of the dogma on which Mr. Lincoln comes into power, namely, that there shall be no more slavery in the Territories, is impossible otherwise than by means of the dissolution of the Union, and the subsequent conquest of one portion of the country by the other. But Mr. Lincoln and his party, if they are insane enough to push their dogma to that terrible issue, will—to say nothing of their other perils—probably find themselves arrested, as soon as they show that they are in earnest, by a counter revolution at the North, which will crush the diabolical conspiracy. Admitting that the Congress of the United States has absolute power over the National Territories—and admitting that the Northern States had the permanent control of both Houses of Congress; we have not the least idea, that a congress and a national administration in this, or any other free country, would encounter the peril, and heap on themselves the degradation of attempting to rob numerous States and many millions of people, all subject to the same government, and all portions of the same nation with themselves, of their total share in an imperial inheritance. Such ideas may be made effectual in the organization of parties, and may assume prominence in popular movements; but when it becomes necessary to give them legal form and validity, to enforce them at the point of the bayonet, to risk counter-revolution in support of them, to

establish them upon the ruins of society, and cover either the triumph or the failure of the attempt with the detestation of mankind, their evasion, in some way or other, is one of those uncontrollable necessities of responsible power, before which human passions bow in reverent awe. In like manner, the opposite extreme opinion and claim, is in its nature equally incapable of being realized. Admitting it to be true, that by the Constitution of the United States, every Federal Territory is dedicated to slavery, until on becoming a State, the people abolish it by a sovereign act; and admitting that the Supreme Court has the power to establish, beyond reversal, this sense of the Constitution, and that it has done so in a case regularly before it, and demanding for its decision the settlement of this point; still the practical enforcement of the thing, is both morally and politically impossible. We have not the least idea, that a congress composed exclusively of Southern men, could be gathered by popular election, that would entertain a proposition to rob free States weaker than themselves, of their share of a common inheritance, upon any plea that can be imagined; we do not believe the majority of any slave State would enforce such a proposition; we do not believe that any Southern gentleman would execute such a scheme. Moreover, the political impossibility is complete; and in the actual state of the country as presented by the relative number and power of the free and slave States, and as exhibited by the state of opinion everywhere — the notion of establishing slavery in all the national Territories as of constitutional right, has about the same practical value as the notion of securing all those Territories for slavery, by secession. Now, let it be borne in mind, that we have taken these claims and the demands on the one side and the other, as being founded on truths that are undeniable, and rights that are unquestionable; and have pointed out the impossibility of any just, practical, or peaceful result, in the direction indicated on either side. How immeasurably is that conclusion strengthened, when it is considered that there is not a truth asserted, a principle laid down, or a claim advanced on either side, that is not vehemently repudiated by about half the population of the nation! Well may we assert the complete impossibility both of excluding slavery from all the Territories, and of establishing it in them all; and de-

nounce the wickedness of all parties who persist in such endeavors. Those Territories, if the nation survives, must necessarily be, and ought to be, partly slave and partly free. Political necessity demands it, public justice requires it, all true statesmanship points to that result, the undisturbed force of events would terminate in that issue, and all attempts to prevent it are founded in considerations forbidden alike by wisdom, by equity, and by patriotism; and will end in crime, and misery, and dishonour, precisely in the degree that they are successful. If the country shall be destroyed, the chief importance of the questions on which our ruin is brought about, will afterwards be, that all men may see how scandalous were the pretexts upon which the noblest product of human civilization was made desolate.

8. The national domain not embraced by the boundaries of any existing State, amounts to one and a half, or two millions of square miles; an area much greater than that covered by all the States lying between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River; not much less, perhaps, than the area covered by all the present States. That the people of the larger and more numerous free States should combine to exclude the people of the weaker and less numerous slave States, from the enjoyment of the whole of this immense inheritance, is an outrage so preposterous, that one is the less astonished that it should react in a counter combination to establish slavery in the whole of it; and while the pretext of conscientious scruples for seizing all was the natural, because the only one, however ignoble, which the strong could use—the counter resort of the weaker party was also natural, and the only one they could make but war, namely, extreme constitutional right, countenanced by their construction of a political judgment of the Supreme Court. In effect, as there are but three possible solutions of the case, as has just been shown, so there are but three possible methods in which the case can be solved. One is by an equitable partition of the common inheritance, founded on the mutual recognition by the parties of the undeniable fact that it is a common property: a second is, for the owners of the inheritance to determine to fight out their opposite claims in each particular Territory—somewhat after the manner of the Kansas affair: the third is, to dissolve the Union, and fight out the opposing claims

afterwards, leaving the Territories like every thing else, in a state of anarchy, useless to either party. It is indeed conceivable that after dissolving the Union, men might recover their senses, and be capable, as alien enemies to each other, of acting with a degree of mutual forbearance and justice, which if practiced when they were united by the most sacred bonds, would have kept them friends forever. The probability of such a miracle, every one will determine for himself; as well as the probability that the future inhabitants of the vast region thrown away by the nation in its disgraceful paroxysms, will put faith enough in such miracles to respect any partition of them amongst the fragments of a disbanded confederacy. It is in vain that we would evade the sacred duties which press us, and from whose performance there is no escape that does not at the same moment brand us with infamy, and hurry us towards destruction. There is but one possible result that is just and right—and there is but one possible way of reaching that result that is either sure, fair, or peaceful: but that result, and that way of reaching it, are perfectly obvious—and when once recognized and pursued, they remove whatever difficulty the fair and complete execution of the duty to restore fugitive slaves leaves to be removed. It is upon these two points, as we have tried in all fairness to show, that the nation is bound and obliged to set herself right—that the *people* are required to make their majestic voice audible above the clamor of factions, and that all good men are called of God, by word and by deed, to rebuke on every side the phrenzy of the hour.

9. The particular mode in which this recognition of the common right of all the States in the national Territories, should be made; and the particular way and extent to which practical efficacy shall, at the moment, be given to that recognition; do not appear to us to be matters of very high importance in themselves, or matters which it is necessary that we should discuss here. An effectual law, and its effectual execution, concerning the rendition of fugitive slaves; a sincere recognition of the common right of all the States in the national domain, and the mutual abandonment by the North and the South of all claim and attempt to make all the Territories either free or slave: it is upon these points that a good understanding, will settle all the rest—and that a refusal to

come to such an understanding, will throw upon those so acting the whole responsibility of all that may follow. The foregone conclusions of political parties, and the previous committals of public men, are utterly insignificant in any true appreciation of the interests now at stake. The propounding of particular theories, or of special lines of policy, or of lists of propositions, or any thing of the sort — by State Legislatures, by resolutions in Congress, by Conventions of the people, or in any other way — where the design or the effect is to embarrass or to obstruct the indispensable settlement, is either a great weakness, or a covert attempt to prevent any settlement. The demand of either party to have a division of the Territories that is grossly unequal, is that far unjust, and a manifestation of the same spirit of claiming all, which has already wrought so much mischief. And with a million or two of square miles of national domain, not yet embraced in any State, with a country large enough to contain fifty or a hundred times its present population — and with instant difficulties which have already produced the most terrible calamities, and whose early settlement may be indispensable to the prevention of universal revolution; the purpose to make that settlement depend upon an explicit agreement concerning the disposition we will hereafter make of foreign states, which we may possibly conquer or purchase at some future day; can be considered nothing else than a purpose of preventing the possibility of any settlement. Beyond all doubt, if the free States consider that the main use of our Constitutional Union and our continued national existence, is the extinction of negro slavery on this continent; or if the slave States consider that the chief value of those incalculable advantages, lies in the use of them for the indefinite extension of slavery; the knell of our destiny is struck — and our glory, our felicity, and our triumph are as a tale that has been told.

V. 1. We have said, on a previous page, that the revolution in the seceding States would not stop where it now is, and that the course it would hereafter take, depended upon causes in some degree appreciable now; of which causes we enumerated those which appeared to us most important in the production of such results as would restore those States to their former position in the nation. Amongst them, the conduct of the Federal government towards

the seceding States—according as it might be firm and yet temperate, or as it might be vacillating and timid, was enumerated as a decided element of the future. No one can doubt that this is true, or fail to experience great anxiety on the subject. We feel no disposition to speak confidently about proceedings of the general government not yet adequately explained; nor, under any circumstances, to judge the President harshly. We consider Mr. Buchanan to be situated just in that manner, that if he saves his country, posterity will forgive him much, and place his name high on the roll of history; but that if, either by his own fault, or by the fatal temper of the times, his administration is made the term of his country's grand career, he must be classed with the greatest victims of misfortune. Few have presided at obsequies that ought to have been so illustrious—and that threaten to be so ignominious. Apparently the sport of a Cabinet divided into factions, of which one was irresolute, another neither loyal to him nor to the country, and the isolated members without authority; the use made of the national administration seems to have been to promote the interest of the leaders of sedition; until the President found himself with no alternative but to sacrifice alike his official duty and his personal honour, or at a most perilous moment, to reconstruct his Cabinet on the basis of one or two faithful and able men, the remnant of his old advisers. There may be some ground for difference of opinion as to the probable result, if the same conduct had been pursued by the administration from the beginning, as has been since the reconstruction of the Cabinet. Nothing short of complete success, rendered only more difficult by his own previous conduct, can now avert from the President, the stern condemnation of posterity. And the secession party, prompt, diligent, and sagacious, after securing from Mr. Buchanan the utterance of such opinions, and the acquiescence in such proceedings, as rendered their first organized movements safe from interruption; and after treating all national rights that stood in the way of their subsequent movements as mere nullities, and all national property in their reach as lawful plunder; are now diligently engaged in propagating the sentiment, that all attempts of the nation even to expire with decency, much less to defend its dignity, its honour, its authority,

its military posts, or its property, should be esteemed outrages on sovereign States — and be condemned as acts of useless folly that can lead only to bloodshed; seeing that the premeditated work is done, and all composition is impossible. At the same critical moment, a signal change manifests itself in the bosom of the party in the North, which resists all fair settlement, and yet dreads popular revolution there. As long as threats of violence were particularly empty and insulting, they were hurled at the South. Now, when their disloyal hopes point in another direction, the method they take to avert the coming reaction which may save the country, is to unite in vehement protests against what they are pleased to designate as *coercion*. If the nation, first deluded and then disgraced, can be paralyzed — and the whole South driven into secession — the extreme party at the North, and the extreme party at the South, each gains its special ends; and the mass of the people every where, and especially in the great Central States, may, at their leisure, wake to the reality of a situation fatal and detestable to them — which it would have been far easier for them to have prevented, than it will be to correct. In short, it is to deter the national government from every act which can even tend to restore the supremacy of the Constitution, and the integrity of the nation, that the cry against what they call coercion, is substituted for the cry against what they called oppression, in the first stages of the revolt.

2. It is deplorable, in every stage and act of this sad drama, how an almost preternatural ingenuity of error has trifled with the noblest impulses of the people, and with the simplest truths which support all our institutions. Let the dominant party in South Carolina start with the political falsehood, that the people of that State are not citizens of the United States, except through the constitution and government of that State; and let the National Administration start with the corresponding political falsehood, that the supreme law of the land cannot be enforced towards the people of South Carolina, contrary to the wishes and acts of this dominant party; and let both parties concur in the additional political falsehood, that the ruin of society is better than the risk of collision with any body in enforcing the laws: then, of course, nullification, secession, sedition, revolution, anarchy —

are inevitable products of the organization of society, and public order, and regulated liberty, and the security of property and life become more and more impossible as the organization of society becomes more and more perfect. We pointed out, on a previous page — when exposing the perfidy of the pretext resorted to in justifying the conduct of dominant parties in some of the free States, touching the rendition of fugitive slaves — the simple and obvious refutation, founded in the double citizenship of the people of the United States; and here the refutation is just as clear, and is founded on the same truth. By the express terms, as well as by the very nature of the Federal Constitution, a secession ordinance in the South is as totally void as a personal liberty law in the North possibly can be. The Federal Government has no more need to deal with the South Carolina convention, in executing the post office laws, the revenue laws, or any other laws — than it has to deal with the Massachusetts Legislature in executing the fugitive slave law; and there was no more legal necessity, nor any more logical consistency, in diatribes about lack of power *to coerce a State*, in one case than the other. There was no need, nor any power, to *coerce a State*, in either case; but in both cases the need was urgent, and the power was complete, to execute the Laws of the United States upon *every citizen of the United States*, whatever relation he might happen to occupy towards any one of the States; and to enforce those laws against all wrong doers. Nor is there any consideration arising out of the nature or the form of the opposition, that may be made to the execution of the supreme law, which can go farther than to address itself to the sound discretion of the national government, in the way of determining the most proper and effectual, and at the same time the least arbitrary, perilous, and destructive method of overcoming the resistance that is made. If the President, in the exercise of this discretion, allows millions of dollars worth of national property in buildings, in cash, in munitions of war, to be seized and held by citizens of the United States in avowed revolt against the general government; if he permits them to take forcible possession of the national fortresses, and hold them in armed hostility to the nation; if he permits the officers and soldiers of the army of the United States, to be taken prisoners of

war, and treated by hostile commanders as captured enemies; if he permits armies to be organized, munitions of war to be collected, batteries to be directed against the national fortresses; if he permits the flag of the nation to be torn down from the public edifices and fortresses, and hostile flags to be planted on them—nay, permits that proud emblem of our national unity and force to be fired on with impunity, when it covers an armed force of the nation; if he allows the mail to be broken open and the correspondence of the government itself to be tampered with; the foreign commerce of the country to be interrupted and the revenue from it seized; the internal commerce to be menaced by batteries erected under State authority on our great water courses; if, to add no more, he permits ambassadors from secession conventions and assemblies to menace him with war in the capital of the nation, and conspirators plotting the military occupation of the Federal City, to go unpunished: it really appears to us that the most nervous secessionist might consider the question of coercion, as being about as offensive to the President as to himself. Every man who has any remaining loyalty to the nation, or any hope or desire for the restoration of the seceding States to the confederacy; must see that what is meant by the outcry against coercion is in the interest of secession, and that what is meant is in effect, that the Federal government must be terrified or seduced into complete cooperation with the revolution, which it was its most binding duty to have used all its power and influence to prevent.

3. We believe it is the desire of the American people that the present revolution should be brought to such a conclusion that the seceding States shall all be restored to their position in the nation; and that to this end such a settlement of existing difficulties shall be made, as will effectually and peacefully secure this result. In order to that, it is impossible for the nation to permit anything to be done by the general government, which will take for granted that the state of exaggerated and disloyal opinion either in the extreme North or the extreme South, is irrevocably fixed as a final and sovereign expression. On the contrary, what the nation must take for granted, as the basis of every hope of peaceful success. is that a revolution in opinion must take place in both

quarters, in view of the imminent peril of our position. But beyond all doubt, every thing that can strengthen the hands of the party now dominant, either at the extreme North or the extreme South—must weaken every hope of any revolution in opinion—every hope of a solution at once peaceful and successful. Nothing could be so fatal as the conviction in the mind of loyal citizens, both in the extreme North and the extreme South, that the nation does not sympathise with them, and will abandon them. It is, therefore, sheer folly to weaken the posture of the general government towards the secession movement. The duties of that government, are perfectly clear as to their nature—no matter how difficult they may be as to the mode of their performance. The nation has no alternative, for the moment, but to abide the firm and sincere performance of those duties,—meantime striving for a settlement of the whole difficulty. If the seceding States follow up their past outrages by rushing into war with the nation, no matter on what pretext, that will only prove that the pestilence has already gone beyond the reach of peaceful remedies. On the other hand, let it be taken for granted that the nation cannot be saved—and that a peaceful separation, if that be possible, is the best hope of all parties. Even in that case, and with a view to that result, the position of the general government towards the seceding States should be one of forbearance and moderation indeed, but of unalterable firmness. The nation has an interest in the manner of this supposed separation, hardly inferior to its interest in preventing any separation: nor is the interest of the States that may go out, less permanent and fundamental in the right ordering of that great, and as we think terrible result, than any they may suppose they have in founding a new empire. That this particular constitutional government should fail, is dreadful enough; but we owe it to ourselves, to the glorious cause of constitutional government, and indeed to the human race, that we should not establish by our downfall the imbecility of republican freedom; but, on the contrary, that the very wreck of our institutions should exhibit the principles of constitutional liberty—in contrast with every aspect of anarchy—and in all their unalterable force and beauty. Let our ruin be the thousandth proof of the violence of human passions, and the instability of human

hopes: let it not be a damning evidence against constitutional government. To us nothing appears more certain, than that looking to either result, the nation has no necessity more imperative, as means to any enduring result, than that the Federal Government — instead of shrinking from its true position on the one hand, or resorting to needless violence on the other — should accept its true mission as the representative of the nation, and so to a great extent master of the situation, and pilot the ark in which such transcendent treasures are embarked, courageously amidst the howling waters. God will bring it to the right haven: for the prayers of many hundreds of thousands of his children — lie yet unanswered before his face.

4. It is from a single point of view that we have conducted this exposition, and it is unto one single result, that we have directed it. The point of view is that of one steadily beholding the imminent and deadly peril of his country—nay, its ruin, already in some degree accomplished, and hastening to be complete; and the single result developed, is the salvation of the country — the *whole* country. Many topics have, therefore, been passed in silence, which, from any other point of view, or in expounding any other result, would have required careful treatment; and many other topics eminently pertinent here, have been omitted, because we have already discussed them on a recent occasion.* It is of the last importance, that we should not be deceived by appearances, or misled either by our hopes or our terrors. The voice that can alone silence the storm that is raging around us — the hand that is alone competent to grasp and to crush every element of disorder — that voice has not yet spoken, that hand has not yet put forth its strength: it is the voice and the hand of this *great nation*. It is time for it to speak — time for it to act. If we may dare to trust all the lessons of the past, it will be true to itself — true to every one who is faithful to it. In that case we are safe; though we may suffer much and long before the end is reached. Our civili-

* See "Discourse of DR. ROBERT J. BRECKENRIDGE. *Delivered at Lexington, Ky., January 4th, 1861; on the Day of National Humiliation.*" It has been widely published in the Newspapers, both secular and religious, and in pamphlet form by *Hull & Brother*, Louisville, Ky.; *Faran & McLean*, Cincinnati, Ohio; *Woods*, Baltimore, Md.; and perhaps in other places by other persons.

zation, in its present form, is the growth of nearly a century — the growth of two centuries and a half on this continent — the growth of all preceding ages in the old world, before its best inhabitants came hither, to construct society afresh out of all the treasures of the past. The gigantic oaks of the forest are not planted more deeply — the everlasting mountains have not a surer foundation — than our American Civilization. Let the nation stir itself as a giant, waking from his slumber. Let the voice of God be heard amongst us, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder. Let us not hold our peace, — let us not rest, till the peril is overpassed, that we should be termed Forsaken and our land be termed Desolate — nor till our country be as a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and as a royal diadem in the hand of our God!

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ART. V. — *State of the Country.*

- I. Civil War. — Influence upon it, of the Idea of the Restoration of the Union.
- II. The long and terrible reign of Parties. Majestic Reappearance of the Nation on the scene of Affairs. Great Truths accepted, and to be maintained.
- III. Duty of the Nation to loyal citizens in the Seceded States. Their subjection to a Reign of Terror. Alleged unanimity in the Seceded States.
- IV. The Seceded *States* may return to the Union — or the Secession *Party* may maintain their Revolt by Arms. The War one of Self-Preservation on the part of the Nation. Not aggressive and against the South — but defensive and against Secessionists. Supposing the Triumph of the Secessionists; insuperable difficulties. Every benefit contemplated by Secession, defeated by the War into which it plunged. Restoration to the Union the true Result.
- V. Miscalculations of Secession. Miscarriage, as to a “United South.” And as to a “Divided North.” And as to the temper, and purpose of the Nation. And as to Expansion, the Slave Trade, Free Trade, Boundless Prosperity, Cotton Monopoly. Secession a frightful and incalculable Mistake.
- VI. The Border Slave States. State of Parties in 1860. Sudden and secret Revolution in Virginia. Probable effects, political and military. Western Virginia. Central mountain Route, to the central South. Delaware, Maryland, Missouri. The Original States — the States carved out of them — the Purchased States. Kentucky, her position, peril, temper, purpose,
- VII. General Conclusion.

I. Civil War. Influence upon it, of the Idea of the Restoration of the Union.

The American people are in the midst of civil war. That calamity which, in the just and almost universal judgment of mankind, is the direst which can befall nations, has already covered our country with its terrible shadow; and the gloom thickens from day to day, portending a conflict as frightful as it is repulsive — whose issues are, in many respects, hardly less uncertain than they may be vast. Hundreds of thousands of armed

men are hastening to slay each other—led by captains many of whom are worthy to command heroes, and provided with every means of mutual destruction which the science and skill of the age can devise. Hundreds of millions of dollars have already been expended in these immense and fatal preparations: and so thoroughly is the most warlike of all races aroused, and so completely are the exigencies of the times held to demand of every man a complete readiness to defend all that he is not willing to surrender, that, at whatever cost, every one capable of bearing arms will be armed, and will use his arms with deadly effect, according as the course of events may seduce or oblige him to do so. It is, indeed, possible that some wonderful interposition of God, or some sudden and heroic impulse falling upon the people, may even yet avert the terrible catastrophe, and arrest the destruction even as it is ready to descend. It is equally possible that, before these lines are printed, great armies which already face each other, may have fought one of those bloody and decisive battles, whose issues determine the fate not only of wars, but of ages. Ignorant of all the future, and imperfectly informed concerning passing events, it becomes us to speak with moderation and candor of the prospects before us. Penetrated with the deepest sorrow at the mournful, though it be in many respects sublime, scene which our country presents, we would forbear to speak at all, if it were not that the general tenor of what we purpose to utter, is designed to keep alive in the hearts of our countrymen the conviction that the whole country may, even yet, be restored; and to influence, so far as anything we can do may influence, the conduct of all these terrible affairs, to that end, and by that idea. It is this which is the burden of all we have hitherto said and done—it is this which justifies nearly any effort, any sacrifice, any suffering, on the part of the nation—it is this which we must keep before the minds of men if we would preserve our countrymen from turning savages, under the influence of the civil war upon which we have entered, and for the prosecution of which such enormous preparations are made by both parties.

II. The long and terrible reign of Parties. Majestic Reappearance of the Nation on the scene of Affairs. Great Truths accepted, and to be maintained.

1. For a long course of years political parties, sectional factions, and the clamor of demagogues, had given that sort of political education to the people, and occupied the thoughts of men with that description of political ideas and desires, that *the nation — the mighty American Nation* — had disappeared from the area of our general politics. It had been for a whole generation Whig, and Democrat, and Republican, and Know-Nothing, and Secessionist, and Abolitionist, and Fire-Eater; the people rent, and confused, and maddened — fraud and violence reigning in the heated canvasses and elections — and the most shameless corruption spreading like a pestilence amongst public men. The glorious Nation had disappeared utterly, as the controlling element in national affairs; — so utterly, that a President of the United States was found capable of conniving — whether through timidity, through folly, through imbecility, or through corruption let posterity decide — at the ruin of the nationality which his Government represented, and the overthrow of the Constitution by virtue of which it existed. So utterly, that a revolt openly conducted in flagrant contempt of the President, the Constitution, and the nation, and attended in all its stages by innumerable acts of war — was allowed to spread from State to State, without the slightest attempt of the nation, or any one representing it, to make itself felt or even heard; until the vast extent of the revolt, and the great number of States on which the partizans of it had seized, became the chief embarrassment in dealing with it at all, and the main plea with timid statesmen why the degraded nation should accept its own destruction, as a fact fully accomplished.

2. *That mighty Nation has reappeared once more on the theatre of affairs.* All thoughtful men knew that such a destruction as was attempted, could not be accomplished by war on one side, without begetting war on the other side. It may be considered madness in the Confederate Government to have preferred the bombardment of Fort Sumter, to its peaceable surrender in three days, through starvation. But it was a choice precisely in the spirit of every act towards the American nation and its Govern-

ment, which had characterized the whole previous course of the revolt, and which has marked the whole treatment extended to Union men in every seceding State, to the present moment. It was possible to have divided the American nation *peaceably*, into two or more nations, by the consent of the American people, and the change of the Federal Constitution. But it was not, in the nature of things, possible to rend it by a military revolt, characterised by a spirit of contemptuous and reckless violence, alike illegal, unjust, and fatal, without arousing the outraged nation, and bringing all the mighty questions at issue, to that arbitrament of arms which the secessionists had chosen — and by which, in one form or another of violence, they have achieved every conquest they have made. We are not partizans of the present National Administration, and have no adequate means of forming an opinion, as to whether the particular occasion and moment — or whether earlier, or whether later, occasions and times — were best suited for armed resistance by it, to the progress of the great military revolt, whose avowed objects were the destruction of the Government, the overthrow of the Constitution, and the ruin of the nation. What we wish to signalize is the majestic reëpppearance of the American Nation in the mighty scene — the simultaneous perishing of all factions, and disappearance of all parties but the party of the nation, and the party of secession — and the unanimous conviction of all American citizens loyal to their country, that the National Government is the true and only lawful representative of the nation itself. With almost absolute unanimity the twenty millions of people in the nineteen Northern States; the great majority of the four millions of white persons in the five Border Slave States; and, as we firmly believe, a very large portion of the four millions of white people in the remaining ten Slave States, though now cruelly oppressed and silenced, cordially recognize these great truths, and will maintain them — namely, that the American people are a nation — that the Constitution and laws of the United States are supreme in this nation — that the Federal Government is the true and only legal representative of this nation, charged with the defence of its safety, the execution of its laws, and the protection of its liberties — in the execution of which duties it is bound to repel force by force.

Nothing can give greater intensity to the facts and principles to which the foregoing statements relate, than a comparison of what has occurred in all the States which have seceded, with what has occurred in all those which have not seceded — touching the means by which the revolutionists have gained the mastery and silenced opposition in the former, and the manner in which the nation has spontaneously roused itself in its own defence in the latter.

III. Duty of the Nation to loyal citizens in the seceded States. Their subjection to a Reign of Terror. Alleged unanimity in the seceded States.

1. Next in importance to the clear apprehension of the duty, which every loyal citizen of the nation owes to the National Government, in this most painful crisis — concerning which we have just endeavored to disclose the enthusiastic conviction of the nation itself; is an equally clear apprehension of the duty which the nation owes to loyal citizens in those States in which the revolutionary party has gained the ascendancy, or in which that party may hereafter gain it. This latter question, as far as we know, seems not, as yet, to have been fully considered or determined by the General Government. The secession party seems to have decided it at once, and according to its violent instincts; and not only does their unanimous judgment demand of them exile, death, or conversion — but their legal authorities are reputed to be prompt, and their ubiquitous committees of vigilance very vehement in the execution of a code — nearly as simple and efficacious as that of Mahomet himself. There is much reason to believe that the actual majority of votes was cast against the secessionists in several States upon which they have seized; that in several others held by them, such a majority would have been cast, if an opportunity had been allowed; that in not one of those States has there been a true and fair popular ratification of secession; that before the actual commencement of armed resistance on a large scale by the Federal Government, the actual majority of the people in the Confederate States, taken as a body, was hostile to secession; and that, undeniably, a certain number, and that considerable, of loyal citizens, are in every one of those States. Allowing that a state of things even tolerably near to that contained in the foregoing statement exists — nothing seems to us more clear than that the

American people, and by consequence the Federal Government, are bound to put forth their utmost strength for the protection of American citizens situated as persons loyal to the Union are believed to be, in every State that has seceded. Questions of property, questions of rights of various kinds, questions of profit and advantage — may be compromised or even gracefully surrendered on many occasions. But no Government — no people — no gentleman — no Christian, can withdraw protection and support from those who are bound to them by the most sacred and tender mutual ties, and leave them to be degraded, oppressed, and persecuted — without atrocious iniquity and boundless degradation. It seems to us that it would be transparently clear, even if nine-tenths of the people in every one of the Confederate States, were decided secessionists — that they should be required to treat the loyal citizens of the United States, found casually amongst them, much more those resident amongst them upon the sudden outbreak of revolt, with justice and humanity. If, however, it is really true that the secessionists are the minority in many of those States, upon which they have seized by superior organization, and the suddenness and violence of their proceedings; then, undoubtedly, the duty of the nation is as obvious to deliver those States from such a despotism, as it would be if their oppressors were foreign invaders. In like manner, it is the duty of the General Government to furnish all the munitions of war to its loyal citizens residing in States where it is necessary for them to defend, by arms, their loyalty to the Union, against armed conspiracies seeking to force them into secession.

2. Peaceable revolutions are made by voting; and the fundamental principle of republican government — which the nation is bound by the Constitution to guarantee to every State — is that the majority of those entitled to vote — and not an armed faction — represents the sovereignty. It would be curious to compare the universal contempt for popular rights and institutions, and for all the principles and usages of American freedom, which has so conspicuously distinguished the career of this secession revolution — since the aristocratic minority has got possession of power; with the theory of “Concurrent Majorities,” so carefully elaborated by their first Apostle, Mr. Calhoun, for the special protec-

tion of the rights of minorities in free governments. Widely different from the principle of Mr. Calhoun's theory, is that now reduced to practice in the seceded States, by getting together a certain number of persons called a "Convention"—in whom the sovereignty of the people is supposed to reside in a permanent and manageable form; bodies which in the revolted States have been converted into secret, permanent, and irresponsible engines, first of revolution, and then of despotism. We do not speak of the suppression of such desperate substitutes for republican government; nor will we stop to point out how fatally such proceedings reveal the anarchy from which they take their rise, and the military despotism in the future to which they unerringly point. What we have to urge is, the solemn duty of the nation to protect loyal minorities, much more loyal majorities, against the ferocious proceedings already made manifest under the workings of these institutions; and to warn those yet free from their pitiless grasp, to prepare for slavery before they rush into the power of such rulers.

3. Nor is it out of place to remind those who clamor incessantly about the unanimity of the South, and the folly and wickedness of attempting to resist the settled purpose of a whole people who have resolved to leave a Union which they detest; that the nation does not believe in either the alleged "unanimity," or the proclaimed "fixed purpose." Doubtless it is true, that the peculiar notions of exclusive loyalty to the State we live in, which prevail extensively in the Southern States—have caused many loyal people to submit to the despotism which forced them into secession; and State pride, affection for our native land, and many other considerations, have swelled the ranks of the army of the secessionists, since war on a large scale, and imminent peril to their cause, suddenly and most unexpectedly met them in their violent career. But the American people, in this great crisis of their destiny, have solemn duties to perform—and have a right to be satisfied that they are truly informed, before they take steps which they may never be able to retrace. The American people fervently desire the entire restoration of the Union, with the entire consent of all the secession States. And they firmly believe that result—attended by the total overthrow of the secession faction—would

immediately succeed a reâction in the South, not the tenth part as great as that which has just occurred in the North — not greater, indeed, than the one, in an opposite direction, which has occurred throughout the South, within half a year. It is, just now, a question of testimony first, and then of duty founded thereon;— a question, not between the South and the North; but between a nation of some twenty-six or seven millions, and an active faction, possibly under one million, in revolt against it.

IV. The Seceded *States* may return to the Union, or the Secession *Party* may maintain their Revolt by Arms. The War one of Self-Preservation, on the Part of the Nation. Not aggressive and against the South—but defensive and against Secessionists. Supposing the Triumph of the Secessionists; insuperable Difficulties. Every benefit contemplated by Secession, defeated by the War into which it plunged. Restoration to the Union the true Result.

1. We have already said that the issues of this unnatural war, are in many respects as uncertain as they will probably be vast. Contingently, however, the most immediate and direct issue of it, can have but one, of two results. Either the seceded States must return to their loyalty to the nation, and their position as members of the United States of America; or the secession party must be able to vindicate by arms the course upon which they have entered, and, maintaining the independence of as many of the States as may finally adhere to them, those States must be acknowledged by the American people and Government as a separate nation. Of course, there can be no such result as the conquest of the seceded States, and the holding them as Provinces or Territories, by the Federal Government. Such an attempt is not to be thought of as possible—nor to be entertained, for a moment, even if it were possible, as a permanent policy—but, beyond all this, even if it were politic and easy, it would be even more abhorrent, if possible, than secession itself, to the feelings of the American people, and the principles of American liberty. Which of these issues will be realized depends, apparently, on the event of the war: concerning which we will add something presently, seeing the probabilities of that event ought to be a very weighty consideration with both parties to it. In the meantime let it be observed, that the mere statement of the case makes it manifest that the war entered upon by the nation, not as one of aggression and con-

quest, but one of self-defence and self-preservation, can be conducted only as war upon the secession party and Government—and not as war against the people of the South; a war, therefore, which would end of itself, upon the overthrow of the secession party, and the suppression of the Confederate Government erected by that party.

2. Upon the happening of such an event, which certainly is possible, perhaps highly probable, the allegation is that no people—no South—would remain to reconstruct society and government, and restore the seceded States to their place in the Union. We have already spoken of the want of faith in all such extravagant statements; an incredulity fortified by the whole career of the revolt, both in its method of usurping power, and its method of producing unanimity afterwards; to which must be added the undeniable proofs existing in public acts and records, in popular movements and votes, in numberless private communications, in the persecutions lavishly inflicted upon thousands of persons, and in the seductions habitually employed against every doubtful, and the menaces against every loyal, citizen. What is now passing in Tennessee and Virginia, while we write, is full of significance as to what might be expected if the army of the secessionists were driven out of those States. What happened, months ago, in various Southern States in which that party succeeded in establishing their despotism—and what has recently happened in Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, where their desperate efforts failed—is conclusive as to the great fact, that the mass of the community every where needed only to have been wisely and bravely led, to have conquered what seems to have been, almost every where that it existed, a faction of the minority. What made it powerful, was its long previous training—its activity and daring at a moment of great popular discontent, mortification, and alarm—and the fatal connivance of Mr. Buchanan, rendered decisive by the active coöperation with the revolt, of those members of his Cabinet whose positions had given them special opportunities to promote its organization and its first acts. It had, originally, no element of a national movement—it has now no aspect of a national revolution. And, in our judgment, the moment it encounters signal defeat, a counter revolution will set in, that will strip it of all that did not

belong to it in its first stages; and under just and wise treatment, will eventually restore to the Union every seceded State, not excepting South Carolina itself. For ourselves, and we believe in this we utter the sentiments of the whole nation, we desire for the people in the States now held in armed opposition to the National Government, nothing worse than their complete deliverance from the iron despotism of a disloyal and frantic party, and their speedy and complete restoration, in perfect equality and renewed fraternity, to all the glory of our common nationality, and all the blessings of our true and regulated freedom.

3. Supposing we are mistaken in the essential conditions by which the foregoing result is to be obtained, there remains only the alternative of the triumph of the revolt over the nation, and the permanent independence of the seceded States. We do not propose to discuss, at this time, the consequences of such a division of the nation—but only to look calmly at some of the most obvious difficulties of its accomplishment. And in the very front of all these, is the question of the ability of the secession party, either to obtain from the consent of the nation, the concession of the independence of the Confederate States, or its ability to wrest it from the nation by arms. The question of that consent is a question of peace, not of war; a question which the secession party disdained even to discuss before they flew to arms; a question which will, hereafter, depend essentially upon the state of the country, and the wishes of the States now under the dominion of that party, after the war is ended. The great principle on which the consent of the nation could, in any circumstances be given, is precisely opposite to the great principle on which this revolt proceeds—namely, veneration for popular rights and the popular will. What view the people of the South may take of their rights, and what may be their will touching their erection into a separate nation—are questions which may be very greatly affected by the progress of events—and the decision of which, by themselves, may be very various, according as they are in circumstances which allow them to vote and act freely, or, which oblige them to vote and act under a ubiquitous military despotism, administered by armed revolutionary committees of vigilance. What is passing now in Virginia and Tennessee—what has passed

in every State that has already seceded — what was attempted in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri — would not, in all probability, be taken — by a great nation loyal to popular rights, and full of veneration for free institutions — for such an expression of the popular desire and will, on the part of great numbers of its citizens, as would challenge its consent to its own dismemberment. It is not to be disguised, however, that even under the most favorable aspect in which the subject of the peaceable division of the nation could be presented, there are obstacles in the way of its accomplishment which nothing but the highest and noblest convictions of mutual obligations, united with the profoundest sense of mutual forbearance, accommodation, and good will — could surmount. In the present state of the country, it is superfluous to discuss these obstacles. And in the degree that independence, by whatever means, as the only alternative to restoration to the Union, is environed with difficulties; is the madness of the secession movement manifest, and the duty of the nation to suppress it clear.

4. It seems to remain, then, that the solitary result of the war, is the restoration of the seceded States to the Union, or the triumph of the arms of the secessionists over the nation. The more completely this great truth is fixed in the minds of all parties, the better for all. The more thoroughly the nation understands that it is fighting neither for vengeance nor for conquest, but directly for self-preservation — and remotely for the maintenance of its independence in the face of all other nations, and for its future peace, security, and advancement in the glorious career now threatened to be cut short; the more it will be disposed to prosecute the war forced upon it, in the manner which becomes such a people, driven into such a conflict. And the more completely those who are in arms against the nation realize, that what they seek is, probably, not attainable; and the more clearly the States and people now seduced or terrified into a revolt so unnatural, understand that the suppression of that revolt means, not their degradation, but their restoration to all that was won by the valor, and confirmed by the wisdom of their ancestors; the more certain will be the cure of their present frenzy — the more rapid their deliverance from the delusions under which they have erred ex-

ceedingly — and the more thorough their overthrow of the faction now leading them to destruction.

5. To all human appearance, the establishment of the independence of the Confederate States by the present war, is impossible. How much blood may be shed, how much treasure may be squandered, how much suffering may be inflicted, how much ruin, in ten thousand ways, may be brought upon millions of people, and how near to the brink of destruction the country may be brought — can now be known only to the Ruler of the Universe. But so far as any object avowed, or even conceivable, which ever was, or can be, proposed as a benefit to the Southern States, was expected to be promoted by secession; this war renders that object unattainable. We do not propose to enter into discussions from a military point of view, nor do we underrate the difficulties of every kind, which the General Government has to encounter. But it seems to us perfectly inevitable, that without the special interposition of God for the destruction of this great nation, the certainty is complete — that the independence of the Confederate States cannot be established as the result of this war. In the degree that this judgment may be supposed to be just, two conclusions, both of them of great weight, follow. The first is, the wickedness and folly not only of the revolt itself, but of the whole spirit and method in which it has been prosecuted; the second is the certainty that the fact itself, in proportion as it becomes manifest, must weaken, throughout the whole South, the purpose to prosecute a conflict so ruinous and so bootless. No doubt there are wars which may be prosecuted to the last extremity; and, no doubt, many thousands of secessionists may have persuaded themselves that this is such a war, or may have so deeply wrecked all other hopes that only this desperate stake is left to them. But the dictates of reason and morality — the judgment of mankind — and the irreversible decree of posterity, is different here. This is a revolt, whose complete success would not have justified the war into which it has plunged a great country; and, therefore, the certainty of its failure robs its continuance of all pretext. And such, at no distant period, may be expected to be the judgment of the great mass of the Southern people; and, by consequence, their peaceful and cordial return to their loyalty, and to

the exercise of all their rights as citizens of the United States— instead of being a preposterous dream—is not only the most probable, but apparently the certain result, of a wise and courageous treatment of affairs.

V. Miscalculations of Secession. Miscarriage as to a "United South." And as to a "Divided North." And as to the temper, and purpose of the Nation. And as to Expansion, the Slave trade, Free trade, Boundless Prosperity, Cotton Monopoly. Secession a frightful and incalculable mistake.

1. If we consider for a moment the signal miscarriage of all the permanent objects of the secessionists, and the strange miscalculations, and absurd pretensions upon which their hopes of ultimate success rested; it will diminish, on one hand, all distrust of the grounds on which their hopes of establishing their independence by terrifying the nation into consent, or conquering it by arms, have been shown to be futile; and will augment, on the other hand, the just confidence of the nation that it is master of the situation; and augment, also, the confidence with which every man in the South, whether loyal or disloyal, ought to contemplate the disastrous end of this revolt, as inevitable. To succeed in establishing, by force, the independence of the South—using that word in its large sense, as embracing all the Slave States—necessarily involved, as the very first condition, the unanimity of the whole South in the movement. Instead of this, such a line of conduct was adopted, as made the action of every Southern State isolated; and this policy was pursued in such a manner, as to make a resort to violence necessary in securing unanimity in any State—and as to make the principles of despotism supplant the principles of freedom, in every State. The seeds of utter defeat were thickly sown in the first open movement of the conspiracy. To-day, instead of a completely united, there is a thoroughly divided South. And we feel perfectly satisfied, that if every arm was removed from the fifteen Slave States, and every man in them all was allowed freely to choose his side—and then the whole population was equally and completely armed, and the question fought out; the result would be the suppression of the revolt. Born of Southern parents, in a Southern State—never having owed or professed allegiance to any other government than that of the United States, and that

of the Commonwealth of Kentucky—never having even resided, during a life far from short, except temporarily and for brief periods, out of the South—and having been obliged by our course of life to acquire a large acquaintance with the people, the institutions, and the interests of the South; the opinion we have expressed may be fairly weighed against a large amount of clamor. It would, we are convinced, be vouched as true and sound, on the conditions stated, by more than half a million of Southern men—ready upon fair occasion, and if need required, to uphold it with their lives.

2. Again, the second imperative necessity, preliminary to any flagrant proceedings by force, was the absolute certainty that the pretensions of the South would be supported, at least by opinion, in the twenty States of the North, in such a way as to divide and weaken all concerted movements, designed to precipitate the overwhelming force of twenty millions of people, upon eight millions—if the whole South was united—with four millions of slaves scattered amongst them; concerning the freedom or the servitude of which slaves, the revolutionists professed that the chief cause of the war lay. Instead of that, the unanimity of the North proved, from the start, to be complete, and its enthusiasm so great, that a brief proclamation of the President, after the bombardment at Charleston, called three or four hundred thousand volunteers to the standard of the nation; a single State, (Ohio) offering more men than were demanded for the whole nation. With these two facts, nothing can be more obvious, than the utter incompetency or the desperate recklessness, of those who precipitated their followers into a conflict as unequal as it was wicked—and did this with boastings and revilings as unseemly as they were unfounded.

3. Again, no delusion was ever more complete than that into which the leaders of the secession party fell and slept, during their long conspiracy of thirty years, of the true character, and actual position and temper of the American people, and of the force of the power they had themselves accumulated, and the value of the preparation they had made for the setting of a great nation at defiance. They had talked treason so long together, that they seemed to consider it a power of

itself, and all patriotism extinct. The national treasury made bankrupt, the small army put totally out of reach, and the arms of the nation diligently stored where they could be seized — the little navy laid up, or scattered in different seas — the unhappy President deluded, seduced, or terrified — and a secret band of sworn allies made up of desperate adventurers, disloyal soldiers, and corrupt politicians scattered over the nation; these, as far as the public are yet informed, seem to have been the original implements which were deemed adequate for the first start of a military revolution, whose object was the dismemberment of one of the greatest of existing nations of the most warlike people, with the finest and firmest nationality in the world. Their subsequent success — founded upon a temporary phrenzy in the public mind, and upon the military ardor of the Southern people, their devotion to their domestic institutions, and their personal and State pride — may be allowed to redeem, in some degree, the miscalculated force of the conspiracy, from utter contempt. It is not, however, to the force or foresight of the conspiracy, but it is to the disordered and perilous state of the country, itself due to causes which we have developed in publications hitherto recently made; that the great political and military movements throughout the larger portion of the South, subsequent to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, are to be attributed. These movements — in many points of view most deplorable, in many others illustrative of noble traits of character of the Southern people, and which have given to the secession cause most of its strength and all its dignity — even if they could have been foreseen as one element of the future, are the farthest possible from excusing the revolt. For great as they may be, and unworthy as the cause of secession may be of them — their inadequacy to achieve the objects proposed by the war, is none the less certain; an inadequacy founded in the nature of things, and which wise leaders would have foreseen, and generous leaders would not have sacrificed.

4. When we turn our thoughts towards topics more remote than those hitherto considered, they all appear to conspire to the same result — the entire defeat of every permanent object proposed to be gained by the secession war. If the whole of the

Slave States were united, as the result of this war, in a separate Confederacy—all the ideas of the future expansion of the new nation, which have occupied so large a space in the thoughts of men, might be surrendered at once. One year would not elapse, in all probability, before an alliance of all nations interested in the vast and increasing commerce which must pass across the isthmus of Panama, and amongst the islands of the Caribbean sea, and across the waters of the Gulf of Mexico; would effectually close the question of expansion, for the Confederate States. In like manner, the question of the Slave Trade, to the free prosecution of which so much importance continues to be attached, in the most earnest of the seceded States; may be considered definitively at an end, let this revolt terminate as it may. In like manner, the doctrine of Free Trade, in favor of which the doctrine of secession took its rise in South Carolina, and which has been continually and conspicuously held forth as one of the priceless blessings to be secured by the revolt; is utterly subverted by one of the earliest acts of the Confederate Congress, imposing a duty on exports—a form of obstructing commerce forbidden by the Federal Constitution. And the boasted career of incalculable wealth which secession promised to inaugurate—in the first year of its existence is signalized by the charity of the people of Illinois sending corn free of charge, to the starving poor of Mississippi; while, if the war shall continue till the Confederate States conquer the United States, their first year of peace will exhibit the heaviest ratable public debt, perhaps, in the world, and the most burdensome taxation ever borne by an agricultural people; and a bankruptcy as absolute as the golden dreams of secession were preposterous. To make but one suggestion more, it would, perhaps, have been impossible for any madness less destructive than this secession war, to have seriously disturbed for a century to come, the near approach which the South was making to the most productive and extensive monopoly, ever possessed by any people in the products of the earth—in its growing control of the cotton market of the world. At present, so imminent is the peril into which this boundless source of wealth has been brought, not only for a few seasons, but it may be in permanence—that the armed intervention of the great mari-

time and manufacturing nations of the world, for the deliverance and protection of the cotton of the Confederate States, is amongst the desperate hopes to which their situation gives expression.

5. Now it does appear to us, that these statements reveal principles and facts of supreme significance, all pointing in the same direction, and challenging profound consideration. They appear to prove, that secession, in its origin, its progress, its present condition, and its terrible future — is a blunder, a failure, a frightful and incalculable mistake, founded upon every sort of error and miscalculation. It is in that view of them, and of their teachings, that we have arrayed them. Allowing whatever may be thought necessary for our mistake, for our want of full knowledge, even for our supposed prejudice or want of candor, enough remains to indicate, what we have so earnestly insisted on, that the complete restoration of the Union, is not only a glorious event within our reach — which it is the highest duty and interest, both of the nation and of the seceded States, to accept and act upon; but that the ordinary course of the immense and terrible affairs now passing before our eyes, leads, though it may be through frightful sufferings, towards that result. Would to God, it might have been in peace, and by reason and love, that the country had been saved! Thanks be to God, for a refuge to all parties, such as seems to us to be set before them all, when these calamities are overpassed! For the blood that is shed, and the crimes that are committed — let them who are responsible answer to God!

VI. The Border Slave States. State of parties in 1860. Sudden and secret Revolution in Virginia. Probable effects, political and military. Western Virginia. Central mountain Route to the central South. Delaware, Maryland, Missouri. The original States — the States carved out of them — the purchased States. Kentucky, her position, peril, temper, purpose.

1. At the start, this secession movement was exclusively confined to the disciples of Mr. Calhoun — and they, having their chief seat in South Carolina, and schools rather than parties in the upper Slave States, did not hold the controlling power even in 1860, in one half of the Cotton States. By degrees, the Democratic party of the South had become imbued, under the abused name of "State Rights," with the doctrines of free trade, of the

increase and extension of slavery, and of secession: and the disruption of that party at Charleston and Baltimore, as far as the public are now informed, was in the interest of these new ideas, and of those old disciples of Mr. Calhoun. The parties, in the fifteen Slave States, which supported Mr. Bell and Mr. Douglass for the Presidency in 1860, could, if they had united, have carried nearly all those States — and, for the time, have put down secession. If the Whig Convention, at Baltimore, had nominated Gen. Houston, instead of Mr. Bell, this result would probably have followed. It is, in effect, the want of ability, or the want of patriotism, in the leaders of parties in the Slave States in 1860, to which a very large part of the present danger of the nation is to be attributed. In the mean time, the Democratic party had already, before 1860, acquired the predominance in all the Slave States, and when the secession party took up arms against the National Government, the political and military power of all those States was in the hands of that party. The election of Mr. Lincoln, which produced such a shock throughout the Slave States, afforded the opportunity of creating a powerful agitation, upon the extreme pro-slavery aspect of secession; and it was used with so little scruple and so great diligence, that to be loyal to the Union, and to be an abolitionist, have come to mean the same thing in the vocabulary of secessionists; and organized political fanatics and ruffians, wherever they are not repressed by the fear of effectual resistance, have, under that pretext, initiated a reign of terror. The common predominance of the Democratic party, and the universal existence of the institution of slavery in all those States, were the bonds of union amongst them all, whereby those who meditated revolt expected and sought to carry them all for secession: the latter fact affording the secessionists the most powerful means of inflaming the passions of men, and the former fact providing the power to coerce such as could not be seduced. So far as the five Border Slave States were concerned, of which we have now to speak particularly, (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri) the presidential election of 1860 broke the back of this scheme, by breaking, in those five States, the power of the party which supported Major Breckinridge for the Presidency. The other part of the scheme of the

secessionists, encountered, in those five States, obstacles which proved to be extremely serious. In the first place, the loyalty of the people was far more stubborn than had been expected, and the peril of attempting to coerce them into disloyalty far more grave than had been encountered elsewhere. In the second place, the institution of slavery, in those States, stood in a position, and the people occupied toward it a relation, widely different from the corresponding facts in the Cotton States; and the people, satisfied with the matter as it stood, saw nothing but peril in the remedy offered by secession. In the third place, the geographical position of those States gave them immense weight while peace could be maintained, and made them the theatre of the war, which every one could see the secessionists were making inevitable; so that every consideration of wisdom, patriotism and self-respect, admonished them to maintain, inviolably, their position as citizens of the United States.

2. Such, briefly, was the nature of the situation, generally considered, in the five Border Slave States; which contain more white inhabitants, and military resources, than the remaining ten Slave States. If these five States had stood firm, the fate of secession was sealed. The war must have been short, as the speedy and complete restoration of the Union certain. The sudden, secret, and deplorable revolution created in Virginia by a Convention, pledged to the great majority of the people who had elected them, and expressly bound, by the law which created the body, to take a widely different course; necessarily changed, in many respects, the posture of events, and the nature and course of the war. It cannot, in our judgment, as we have shown, change the final result. It will inflict incalculable injury upon Virginia herself—and must, so far as she is concerned, end in the division of the commonwealth, or in radical changes in the nature of her government, and in her internal policy. As we understand the matter, the popular representation rests on a mixed and arbitrary basis of land, slaves, and voters, distributing representation by great sections of the State, and then by counties, and towns perhaps, in those sections respectively; the general result being, that the great central section of the State is unequally represented as compared with the eastern section, and the still greater western

section still more unequally as compared with both the others. The government, thus permanently thrown into the hands of a minority of the people occupying the eastern and southern sections of the State, has been long considered disregarding of the ordinary rights and interests of the subject majority, occupying the western and northern sections of the State. A permanent and flagrant instance of this chronic injustice, is an unequal system of taxation, so framed as to relieve the immense aggregate wealth, in the form of slaves, held by the ruling minority, in large part from any tax at all, and as to the remainder, from a large part of the property tax, by fixing a low and arbitrary value on slaves, by act of Assembly. Another instance of the same sort is alleged to exist, in the systematic injustice with which the revenue thus fraudulently raised, is spent entirely in the interest of the same ruling minority, with complete disregard of the special interests of the heavily taxed majority. The Convention which voted, in secret session, the ordinance of secession, with a mob of secession ruffians, as is alleged, clamoring at their reluctant obedience to its behests; passed, also, and submitted with that ordinance, to the people for ratification, an act proposing to concede something concerning this slave taxation. Even this concession, wrung by the necessity of the occasion — was characteristic of the ruling spirit; the great revolution, though submitted to the idle form of a popular vote, under the eyes of fifty thousand armed secessionists — being made effectual and executed at once, as if already approved by the people; the little act of concession, being made ineffectual, till ratified by the popular vote. This statement, necessary to the full understanding of the case between Eastern and Western Virginia, makes it all the more probable that the movement in the latter against secession, and against the dominant minority in the former, will have consequences at once permanent and important; all bearing directly against the efficacy of the revolutionary action of Eastern Virginia, and of the late Convention.

3. Not the least important of the consequences involved in the state of affairs we have been disclosing, is that a perfectly practicable military route is thus opened through the heart of the most loyal population of the whole South, into the very heart of

the inland secession country; whereby the General Government may lead an army for the protection of loyal citizens in the back parts of Georgia and both the Carolinas on the left hand, in Northern Mississippi and Alabama in front, and in West Tennessee on the right. The mountain region which covers Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, penetrates into Georgia, Alabama, and North and South Carolina. Two hundred miles wide from east to west, and double as long from north to south, the long valleys of this remarkable region, flanked everywhere by mountain ranges, run precisely in the direction that an army for protection of loyal citizens of the South should take. A march of ten or fifteen days from the Ohio river, through Western Virginia, would place a force in the mountains of East Tennessee, cutting the line of the railroad which connects the Atlantic ocean with the Mississippi river at Memphis. The effects of such a forward movement, invited by the conduct of Virginia, and indicated by the highest military and political considerations — would be immediate and decisive, if sustained by an adequate force, under an able commander. And our persecuted brethren in East Tennessee, Northern Alabama, and the back parts of Georgia and the Carolinas, may see — in the hints that we have ventured to throw out — that they are not out of the reach of succor. We believe that ten thousand volunteers from the mountains of Kentucky, would follow ROBERT ANDERSON in such an expedition, for such an object; and it may be confidently added, ten thousand more from Western Virginia, and ten thousand who would join them in East Tennessee. No portion of America had less motive to betray herself than Virginia had; none could ever put more at stake, by one act of, what seems to us, suicidal folly, than she has done. Renowned and venerated name! — well do we know that many of your heroic sons will die for you, on the mere point of honor, even though they blush at what you have done! They will die in vain; neither maintaining what you have decreed, nor wiping out its stain!

4. The posture of Delaware and Maryland may be considered definitively settled, and, as to the result, essentially the same, in many respects; and that of Missouri is so analagous to that of Maryland, that we need not separate it from them, in the few

remarks it is necessary to make. Delaware casts in her lot, with a prompt movement and a loyal heart, with the nation of which she is so small but so true a part. The relation of Delaware to Maryland is geographically such, that it seems a great marvel that both of them should, in times like these, apparently overlook the great mutual importance of their forming the closest bonds with each other. Maryland looked to Virginia for guidance—when she and Delaware united were really more important to the Federal Government, than Virginia was; and far more entitled, in the circumstances, to give the lead than to follow Virginia. Her great peril before the late revolt in Baltimore, was her want of preparation, watchfulness, and self-reliance; which, but for the wise, forbearing, and firm conduct of the General Government, would have cost her dear. Her great peril now is, from the seductions of Virginia, and the machinations of her own disloyal sons. As to her destiny—no discussion can make it any plainer than it is already, to every one who will reflect upon her whole position. As long as the Federal Government exists, and Washington is the capital of the American nation, Maryland is an indispensable portion of that nation; and as such, has before her a boundless career of prosperity, freedom, and honor. In her, disloyalty to the nation is not only wickedness—it is folly. The same general state of case, though for reasons in some respects different, exists with regard to Missouri. If the country west of Missouri is to remain a portion of the nation, it is impossible for the nation to allow that State to separate from it. If the South is to become a separate nation, it is equally impossible for the United States to give up the military position—one of the strongest in the world—covered by the mouths of the Ohio and Missouri rivers. The position of Missouri is central, and unspeakably powerful and important, as a member of the Federal Union; and there is no degree of wealth, power, and influence, to which she may not attain, if the Union is maintained. So that her own interest, in every conceivable way, points to the same great career, which the absolute necessities of the nation will secure for her, if she continues loyal to it. To us, we admit, this whole affair of secession has been an enigma, in this—that all the reasons and pretexts, alleged as a justification, or even an excuse

for the course which the revolt has taken, have appeared to us so totally disproportioned to the conduct they professed to explain; that we have felt as if there must be other grounds, as yet concealed from the public, upon which men of sense and honor pursued a line of conduct, apparently so monstrous, as compared with all the known defences of it. We regret to say that the secessionists in Missouri, and we must add, though perhaps in a less degree, in Maryland, appear to be signally amenable to this charge, whether we consider what it was they attempted — or the means which they resorted to — or the manner in which they quailed, when it became necessary to assume the responsibility of what they had done — or the machinations they have kept up, since their conspiracy in both those States was defeated. It is clear to us that the million and a half, or upwards, of white inhabitants, in Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri, must be counted out — whenever the strength of secession is summed up. And we will now proceed to show that the million in Kentucky must also be deducted.

5. There are very high senses in which all the States are equal, both in fact, and in the contemplation of the Federal Constitution. Nevertheless, there are circumstances connected with the past history, and indeed with the origin, of all the States, that seem to place them in positions by no means identical — touching the “State Rights,” and the corresponding “National Rights,” which enter so largely into the difficulties produced by secession. We have, in a former publication, attempted to show that a National Government and State Governments united into one political system, is the original, continuous, exclusive, and perpetual form of government chosen by the American people since ever they were a nation, and by all the commonwealths composing that nation since ever they were States; and we have attempted, after establishing this controlling truth, to show its bearing upon secession, in various points of view. What we have to say now is, that at the bar of reason and conscience, there is a difference touching the rights claimed, as to secession, between the original thirteen States, and the twenty-one States added since; and that there is a difference, again, between those out of these twenty-one added States, which were acquired by conquest, treaty, or purchase,

and those which were created out of portions of the first thirteen States. The plea of Virginia or North Carolina, for example, might have a certain aspect entitling it to grave consideration; while the plea, for example, of Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, might provoke only derision; while the plea, for example, of Tennessee to have the benefit of the Repeal Ordinance of her mother North Carolina, might appear to be nearer, in equity, to the first than to the second of the two other classes. Our judgment is against the validity of the very highest of these pleas; and the lowest of them seem to us monstrous, in every point of view. Considering the past history of the case of Louisiana, for example, her recent conduct, so far from being founded in justice, is even destitute of a decent regard for appearances.

6. The position of Kentucky, the only remaining Border Slave State, is historically at the head of the class of new States carved out of old ones. From her birth as the first State added, nearly seventy years ago, to the original thirteen, her whole career has been marked by the noble qualities of Virginia, at that period, and before, and long after, and which shone, with peculiar luster, in the founders of the young commonwealth. And we confidently predict, that let Virginia falter and fall, as she may, her daughter will maintain her loyalty to the good, and will reject the evil, in her example. Behold an example and a proof: Virginia asked her to meet her in counsel to *preserve* the Union; meantime, Virginia suddenly determined, before the appointed day of counsel, to *destroy* the Union. Kentucky having accepted the former counsel and invitation, went on totally regardless of the subsequent madness — elected her commissioners without opposition, and by the largest popular vote she ever gave to any proposition — and kept the appointed day. There is, in fact, but one internal peril hanging over Kentucky. The executive power of the State, and the command of her military force, is in the hands of a Governor — having yet two years to serve — who is totally out of sympathy with the great mass of the people, and who has used the influence of his office, and all its power, in a direction, and towards an end, hateful to the bulk of those whose Governor he is. If Mr. Magoffin was a loyal Union man, the whole internal difficulty of Kentucky would terminate in a

week; unless the secession minority should be mad enough to take up arms, and call in Confederate troops; in which case, of course, unless Kentucky should instantly suppress them, she would become one of the theatres of the war. That event may happen. It is believed by many to be highly probable, under present circumstances. Situated as the State is, it is a contingency which is constantly impending; and to meet which, if it should happen, there is no way but by arms. The very plainest duty of the Union men of Kentucky, therefore, for months past, has been to arm and organize themselves, to the very last man, and in the most effectual manner, and in the shortest possible time. We desire, from the bottom of our heart, that Governor Magoffin, and the party with which he acts, may be content to guide their conduct by law, and in obedience to the known will of the people of Kentucky; and that by so doing, he may keep the calamities of war from desolating the State. But if he and his party will not do this, or cannot do it—upon both of which points there is deep and wide distrust in the public mind—then he and they must take the responsibility of all that may follow. And he and they both well know, that the people of Kentucky will not submit to the despotism of the Confederate States—will not allow of a reign of terror—will not tolerate revolutionary committees—will not tamely submit to injuries, insults, oppressions, or usurpations of any kind—and will not give up their loyalty to the American nation, or their place in the American Union. The mass of the people of Kentucky sincerely desire the restoration of the entire Union; they strongly disapprove of the whole course of the secessionists from the beginning; they believe, at the same time, that the whole South has had great cause of dissatisfaction—and they do not feel free to take part in the war against the Confederate States: nor will they take part against the Federal Government, which, however they may disapprove of it, or its acts, they recognize as the representative of the nation of which they are a loyal part, and the chief executive authority under that Constitution which is the supreme law. What they desire and propose, therefore, is to take no part in this war; and by this means, they intend—in the first place, to express the true state of their feelings; in the second place, to occupy a position in

which, as a mediator, they may, as soon and as often as occasion offers, do all in their power to restore peace and Union, if that be possible; and in the third place, to preserve themselves and their State from the horrors of a conflict which they did all they could to prevent, which they cannot engage in with a good will, and which, in the divided state of opinion amongst her people, and by reason of her geographical position, would probably be ruinous to the State, by means of her becoming actively engaged in it.

7. Such we believe to be the existing state of opinion and affairs in Kentucky. With regard to it, we will make but two general remarks. The first is, that in our judgment, the state of opinion in Kentucky is chiefly characterized by the public mind being torn by conflicting principles and passions, often working even in the same mind, in opposite directions,—and, as the general result, begetting a decided popular reluctance to any violent measures, or any extreme courses, or any irrecoverable step; but that the tendency of opinion has been constant and rapid, in favor of the Union; and that, at every period, and especially at present, the number of persons who would vote to take Kentucky out of the Union, is a comparatively small portion of the people—made dangerous by their violence, their activity, their organization, their being extensively armed, their good understanding with the secession leaders and military officers, and their sympathy with the chief executive and military authorities in the Commonwealth. The second remark we have to make is, that the same wise and lofty forbearance manifested by the general Government towards Maryland, and we will add towards Missouri—will be manifested, there is every reason to believe, towards Kentucky, in the high but unusual position she has felt it to be her duty to assume. In the case of Kentucky—and we may add Missouri—this conduct of the President, which those States certainly should applaud, and which would give them peace at once, if it were imitated by the Confederate Government, is extremely significant; as it seems to indicate that, in his opinion, the neutral and yet loyal position of these two great central States, may, in certain highly probable events of the war, be turned to great advantage, in that complete restoration of the

Union, which the loyal citizens of both of those States ardently desire.

VII. General Conclusion.

There remain many topics of great importance and significance, concerning which we have said nothing. And yet the number and the magnitude of those we have attempted to elucidate, compared with the narrowness of the space they occupy, might indicate that our error may rather be in attempting too much, than in not attempting more. The whole subject is one, of which we never think seriously, without profound astonishment and anguish; about which we have never written a line without attempting to exercise the severest rectitude, as if we were speaking in the face of another generation. This civil war is a terrible portent. All civilized nations regard it with horror; and posterity will be obliged to pronounce it an inconceivable outrage upon the freedom, the morality, and the civilization of the present age. To what ends God, in his adorable Providence, has allowed it, and will conduct it, and use it—it behooves every one, who acknowledges there is a God, to ponder deeply—and every one, who professes to serve God, to search diligently.

A few great truths seem to us transparently clear—and amongst them not one is more impressive, at the present moment, than that which we have attempted to illustrate in this paper. The American Nation ought to be preserved, and the American Union ought to be restored. This war ought to be conducted by the Nation—under the impression of that solemn necessity—which, as far as we can judge, is shown to be attainable, alike by the indications of Divine Providence, and by all the circumstances upon which enlightened human judgments can be formed. If in these things we err, nothing will remain, but for the nation to bow its august head reverently before the known will of God, and the irresistible force of destiny. It has already redeemed itself from the ignominious fate to which the last Federal Administration had consigned it. Let its destruction bear some just proportion to the glory of its past life.

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DISCOURSE
OF
DR. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE,
DELIVERED ON THE DAY OF
NATIONAL HUMILIATION,
JANUARY 4, 1861,
AT LEXINGTON, KY.

It is in circumstances, my friends, of terrible solemnity, that this great nation presents herself in an attitude of humiliation before the Lord God of Hosts; in circumstances of great solemnity, that she stands before the bar of all surrounding nations, under that universal public opinion which gives fame or stamps with infamy; and hardly less solemn than both, is her attitude at the bar of distant ages and especially our own posterity, that awful tribunal whose decrees can be reversed only by the decree of God. It is the first of these three aspects, either passing by in silence or touching very slightly the other two, that I am to consider before you now. And what I shall chiefly attempt to show is, that our duties can never be made subordinate to our passions without involving us in ruin, and that our rights can never be set above our interests without destroying both.

In taking this direction, let us bear in mind that the proclamation of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic which calls us to this service, asserts, in the first place, that ruin is impending over our national institutions; and asserts, in the second place, that so far as appears to him no human resources remain that are adequate to save them; and, in the third place, that the whole nation, according to his judgment, ought

to prostrate itself before God and cry to him for deliverance. —Upon this I have to say, in the great name of God, and by the authority of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, these two things: *First*, that national judgments never come except by reason of national sins; nor are they ever turned aside except upon condition of repentance for the sins which produced them: and, *Secondly*, that repentance for sin, as it is the absolute and universal, so it is the infallible condition of divine pardon and acceptance, not only in the case of individuals, but more obviously still and more immediately in the case of nations, since nations, as such, have no existence in a future life. Wherefore, if we are in the way of fearful evils, we are also in the way of clear duty, and therein we may hope for assured deliverance in the degree, first, that every one will go before another in earnest endeavors to rectify in himself all that is abominable to God; and, secondly, that every one will evince towards others the forbearance which he desires that God should extend towards him. Wherefore, also, we may boldly say that the remedy from God to us need not be expected to manifest itself by means of political parties, or by means of combinations of political leaders, or by means of new political compacts, or by means of additional legal enactments, or by means of more explicit constitutional provisions; but that it must come from God to us, and be made manifest through a profound movement in the source of all power in free governments, namely, first, in the hearts of individuals, men turning from their sins, their follies, and their madness; and, secondly, in the uprising of an irresistible impulse thus created, which over the length and breadth of the land shall array itself in the power of God, against every endeavor to bring upon us the evils which we are imploring God to avert.

The first and greatest of these evils that we beseech God to avert, and that we should strive with all our might to prevent, is the annihilation of the nation itself, by tearing it into fragments. Men may talk of rights perpetually and out-

rageously violated—they may talk of injuries that are obliged to be redressed—they may talk about guarantees without which they can submit to no further peace—and there is doubtless much that has force and much more that is captivating to ardent minds in such expositions of our sad condition. For what problem half so terrible was ever agitated upon which it was not easy to advance much on every side of it? I will not consume the short time allowed to me in examining such views. What I assert, in answer to them all is, that we have overwhelming duties and incalculable interests which dictate a special line of conduct, the chief aim of which should be the preservation of the American Union, and therein of the American nation.

To be more explicit, it seems to me that there are inestimable blessings connected with the preservation of our National Union; and that there are intolerable evils involved in its destruction. For the blessings: there is the blessing of peace amongst ourselves, there is the blessing of freedom to ourselves and to our posterity, there is the blessing of internal prosperity secured by that peace, and freedom, never before excelled, if attained, by any people; there is the blessing of national independence secured by our invincible strength, against all the powers of the earth combined; there is the blessing of our glorious example to all nations and to all ages; there is the blessing of irresistible power to do good to all peoples, and to prevent evil over the face of the whole earth: there is the blessing of an unfettered Gospel and an open Bible and a divine Saviour, more and more manifested in our whole national life as that life deepens and spreads, subduing and possessing the widest and the noblest inheritance ever given to any people, and overflowing and fructifying all peoples besides. It is the problem sought to be solved from the beginning of time, and, to say, the least, the nearest approximation made to its solution, namely, the complete possession of freedom united with irresistible national force, and all directed to the glory of God and to the good of man. And this is that glorious estate

now declared to be in fearful peril, and which we are called upon to beseech God to preserve unto us.

On the other hand, the evils of rending this nation. Which of the blessings that I have enumerated—and I have enumerated only those that appeared to me to be the most obvious—which of these is there—peace, freedom, prosperity, independence, the glory of our example, the power to do good and to prevent evil, the opportunity to give permanent efficiency all over this continent, and in a certain degree all over this earth to the Gospel of God; which of these blessings is there that may not be utterly lost to vast portions of the nation;—which of them that may not be jeopardized over this whole continent; which of them is there that may not depart forevermore from us and our posterity in the attempt to destroy our oneness as a people, and in the results of that unparalleled self-destruction? Besides all this, how obvious and how terrible are the evils over and above, which the very attempt begets, and which our after progress must necessarily make permanent if that attempt succeeds. First, we have already incurred the perils of universal bankruptcy before the first act is achieved by one of the least important of the thirty-three States. Secondly, we have already seen constitutional government both in its essence and in its form trampled under foot by the convention of that State; and all the powers of sovereignty itself, both ordinary and extraordinary, assumed by it in such a manner that life, liberty and property have no more security in South Carolina than anywhere under Heaven where absolute despotism or absolute anarchy prevails, except in the personal characters of the gentlemen who hold the power. Thirdly, we have already seen that small community preparing to treat with foreign nations, and if need be introduce foreign armies into this country: headlong in the career in which she disdains all counsel, scorns all consultation and all entreaty, and treats all ties, all recollections, all existing engagements and obligations as if her ordinance of secession had not only denationalized that

community, but had extinguished all its past existence. Fourthly, we see the glorious flag of this Union torn down and a colonial flag floating in its place; yea, we see that community thrown into paroxysms of rage, and the Cabinet at Washington thrown into confusion because in the harbor of Charleston our national flag instead of being still further dishonored, yet floats over a single tower! What then did they expect, who sent to the harbor of Charleston, to occupy the national fortress there, the son of a companion of Washington, a hero whose veins are full of revolutionary blood, and whose body is covered with honorable scars won in the service of his country? Why did they send that Kentucky hero there if they did not intend the place they put into his hands to be kept, to the last extremity? But I need not enlarge upon this terrible aspect of what is coming to us all if the Union is destroyed. These are but the beginnings of sorrows. The men and the parties who initiate the reign of lawless passion, rarely escape destruction amid the storms they create, but are unable to control. Law comes from the depth of eternity, and in its sublime sway is the *nexus* of the universe. Institutions *grow*; they are not *made*. Desolated empires are never restored. All history furnishes no such example. If we desire to perish, all we have to do is to leap into this vortex of disunion. If we have any just conception of the solemnity of this day, let us beseech God that our country shall not be torn to pieces; and under the power of these solemnities let us quit ourselves like men in order to avert that most horrible of all national calamities.

Let us consider, in the next place, those rights, as they are called, by means of which, and in their extreme exercise, all the calamities that threaten us are to be brought upon us at any moment: nay, are to be so brought upon us that our destruction shall be perfectly regular, perfectly legal, perfectly constitutional! In which case a system like ours—a system the most enduring of all others, whether we consider the history of the past or the laws which enter into its composition—a

system the hardest of all others to be deranged, and the easiest of all to be readjusted when deranged; such a system is alleged to have a secret in it, designed expressly to kill it, at the option of the smallest fragment of it. I allude to the claim of the right of Nullification and the claim of the right of Secession as being Constitutional rights; and I desire to explain myself briefly in regard to them.

According to my comprehension there is a thorough and fundamental difference between the two. The power of Nullification, supposing it to exist, would be an extreme right within the Union, and is necessarily temporary in its effect, and promptly tends to the termination of the difficulty upon which it arises. And this settlement may occur by the action of our complex system of government in various ways. It may be in the way of some compromise of existing difficulties; or in the way of repeal, by one party or the other, or in the modification of the obnoxious laws; or in the way of some judicial decision settling the difficulty; or—which is the true remedy—instead of Nullification, by an appeal to the people at the polls, who are the source of all power in free governments, and by obedience to their decisions when rendered—by voting, instead of fighting; or, at the worst, by an appeal to arms; but even in that case the result necessarily secures the continuance of the pre-existing system of government on the restoration of peace; let that peace be by victory on which side you please. The doctrine of Nullification stands related to the doctrine of State Rights—precisely as the doctrine of consolidation stands related to the old federal doctrine of a strong central Government. In both cases, the theory of a great party has been pushed to a logical absurdity, which subverted our political system. That the will of the greater part should prevail—and that the smaller parts should have the power of appeal to this will, at the polls—and in judgment upon every principle of civil and political liberty—was the ultimate form in which this great doctrine entered into the political creed of that old Republican party which

came into power with Mr. Jefferson in 1801, and was expounded as they held it in those famous resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia in the latter part of the last century. Its connection with the whole theory of every mixed political system, is not only absolute but is vital. More especially is it so with our complex system. It has been carried, as it stands connected with the constitutional, and much more with the reserved rights of the States, to an extreme on that side, opposite to the extreme of Consolidation. But even in its extremest form it bears no proportion in mischief to the doctrine of Secession. Considered in its true and original form, I judge it to be indispensable to the preservation of our political system; and that the opposite mode of interpreting our political duties, and rights and remedies, terminates in subjugating the States to the General Government, and in subjugating both the General Government and the exposition of every political principle to the Supreme Court of the United States. The former system is natural and permanent—the latter is absurd and invites rebellion. This great phenomenon has occurred in this country, that, by reason of the extraordinary ability of some of the advocates of the system which passed away in 1801, it has assumed a new form and a new life in general opinion; and seconded by the peculiar constitution of the Supreme Court of the United States, the old Republican or Democratic notions upon this great subject, though constantly triumphant in the country, have been constantly disallowed in the interpretations of that court. I judge that the doctrine of Secession is an extreme reaction against this Federal interpretation of the relations of the States to each other and to the nation. For when you arrive at an interpretation which is final and hateful to immense parties and interests; and there is no remedy but arms, secession or absolute submission; the expression of the popular will against the interpretation you have made, brings society to a condition that in an excitable race and amongst a free people can hardly be expected to be safe

or easy to be managed. You have therefore this perilous and extraordinary claim of the right of secession under this extreme reaction; differing absolutely from the idea of the old States Rights' party, and differing absolutely even from nullification itself.

Secession is a proceeding which begins by tearing to pieces the whole fabric of government, both social and political. It begins by rendering all redress of all possible evils utterly impossible under the system that exists, for its very object is to destroy its existence. It begins by provoking war, and rendering its occurrence apparently inevitable, and its termination well-nigh impossible. Its very design is not to reform the administration of existing laws, not to obtain their repeal or modification, but to annihilate the institutions of the country, and to make many nations out of one. If it is the constitutional right of any State to do this, then we have no National Government, and never had any. Then, also, it is perfectly idle to speak of new Constitutions, since the new Constitutions can have no more force than the Constitution already despised and disobeyed. Then, also, the possibility is ended—ended in the very theory of the case, and illustrated in the utter failure of its practice—of uniting republican freedom with national strength in any country, or under any form of government. But according to my belief, and according to the universal belief of the American people but a little while ago, no such right, legal or constitutional, as that of secession, does or can exist under any form of government, and least of all under such institutions as ours.

And, first of all, no State in this Union ever had any sovereignty at all independent of and except as they were *United States*. When they speak of recovering their sovereignty, when they speak of returning to their condition as sovereigns in which they were before they were members of the confederacy, called at first the United Colonies, and then the United States, they speak of a thing that is historically without any foundation. They were not States; they were

colonies of the British, the Spanish, the French, and the Dutch governments; they were colonies granted by royal charters to particular individuals, or particular companies. Pennsylvania was the estate, the property of William Penn; Georgia, the larger part, perhaps the whole of it, of General Oglethorpe. They were settled under charters to individuals and to companies—settled as colonies of foreign kings and States by their subjects. As such they revolted; as such, before their revolt, they united in a continental government, more or less complete; as such united colonies, they pronounced that famous Declaration of Independence, which, after a heroic struggle of seven years, still as united colonies, they made good. That great Washington, who led that great war, was the commander-in-chief for and in behalf of these united colonies. As such they were born States. The treaty of peace that made them independent States, was concluded with them altogether—as United States. What sovereignty did Kentucky ever have except the sovereignty that she has as a State of these United States, born at the same moment a State of the American Union and a separate sovereign State? We were a district of Virginia. We became a State and we became one of the United States at the same moment, for the same purpose, and for good and all. What I mean by this, is to point out the fact that the complex system of government which we have in this country did always, does now, and, in the nature of the case, must contemplate these States as united into a common government, and that common government as really a part of our political system, as the particular institutions of the separate sovereignties are a part of our political system. And while, as you will observe, I have attempted, while repudiating the doctrine of nullification, to vindicate that doctrine of State Rights, which, as I firmly believe, is an integral and indispensable part of our political system; yet, on the other hand, the doctrine that we are a nation, and that we have a national government, is and always was just as truly a part of our system as the other.

And our political system always stood as much upon the basis that we are a nation, as it stood upon the basis that that nation is composed of sovereign States. They were born into both relations; so born that each State is equally and forever, by force of its very existence and the manner thereof, both a part of this American nation, and also a sovereign State of itself. The people, therefore, can no more legally throw off their national allegiance than they can legally throw off their State allegiance; nor can any State any more legally absolve the allegiance of its people to the nation, than the nation can legally absolve the allegiance due by the people to the State they live in. Either attempt, considered in any legal, in any constitutional, in any historical light, is pure madness.

Now the pretext of founding the right of secession upon the right to change or abolish the government, which is constitutionally secured to the people of the nation and the States, seems to me, and I say it with all the respect due to others, to be both immoral and absurd. Absurd, since they who claim to exercise it are, according to the very statement of the case, but an insignificant minority of those in whom the real right resides. It is a right vested by God, and recognized by our constitutions as residing in the greater part of those who are citizens under the constitution, which they change or abolish. But what, in the name of God, and all the possible and all the imaginable arrogance of South Carolina, could lead her to believe that she is the major part of all the people that profess allegiance to the Constitution of the United States? And it is immoral, because it is trifling with the sacred rights of others, with the most solemn obligations on our own part, and the most vital interests of all concerned. And it is both immoral and absurd in one, because, as a political pretext, its use in this manner invalidates and renders perilous and odious the grandest contribution of modern times to the science of government, and therein to the peace of society, the security of liberty, and the progress

of civilization; namely, the giving constitutional validity to this natural right of men to change or to abolish the government under which they live, by voting, when the major part see fit to do so. It is trifling with this great natural right, legalized in all our American constitutions, fatally caricaturing and recklessly converting it into the most terrible engine of organized legal destruction. More than that: it is impossible, in the very nature of the case, and in the very nature of government, that any such legal power, or any such constitutional right, could exist; because its existence pre-supposes law to have changed its nature; to have become mere advice; and pre-supposes government to have changed its nature, and ceasing to be a permanent ordinance of God, to become a temporary instrument of evil in the hands of factions, as they successively arise. Above all places under heaven, no such right of destruction can exist under our American constitutions, since it is they that have devised this very remedy of voting instead of fighting; they that have made this natural right a constitutional right; they that have done it for the preservation and not for the ruin of society. And it has preserved, for more than seventy years, the noblest form of human society, in constant security, and it could, if justly exercised, preserve it forever.

But let us go a little deeper still. It can not be denied that the right of self-preservation, both in men and States, is a supreme right. In private persons, it is a right regulated by law, in all communities that have laws. Among nations, there is no common supreme authority, and it must be regulated in their intercourse with each other by the discretion of each; and arms are the final appeal. In our system of government, there is ample provision made. In all disputes between any State and a foreign nation, the General Government will protect and redress the State. In disputes between two States, the Supreme Court is the constitutional arbiter. It is only in disputes that may arise between the General Government and a particular State that any serious difference

of opinion as to the remedy has manifested itself in this country; and on that subject it is the less necessary that I add any thing to what has been said when speaking of nullification, as the grounds of our existing difficulties are not between disaffected States and the General Government chiefly, if at all; but they are difficulties rather founded on opposite states of public opinion touching the institution of negro slavery, in the Northern and in the Southern States.

It may be confidently asserted that if the power of nullification, or the power of secession, or both of them, were perfectly constitutional rights, neither of them should be, under any circumstances, wantonly exercised. Nor should either of them, most especially the right of secession, ever be exercised except under extreme necessity. But if these powers, or either of them, is a mere usurpation, founded on no right whatever, then no State may resort to rebellion or revolution without, in the first place, such a necessary cause as may not be otherwise maintained; or, in the second place, without such a prospect of success as justifies the evil of rebellion or revolution, or else such intolerable evils as justify the most desperate attempts. Now it is my profound conviction that nothing has occurred, that nothing exists, which justifies that revolution which has occurred in South Carolina, and which seems to be impending in other Southern States. Beyond all doubt, nothing has occurred of this description, connected with any other interest or topic, except that of negro slavery; and connected with that, my deep assurance is, that the just and necessary cause of the slave States, may be otherwise maintained than by secession, revolution, or rebellion; nay, that it may be incomparably better maintained otherwise; nay, that it can not be maintained in that way at all, and that the attempt to do so will be fatal as regards the avowed object, and pregnant with incalculable evils besides.

In such discussions as these, the nature of the institution of slavery is perfectly immaterial. So long as the Union of the States survives, the constitutional guaranty and the fed-

eral power, which have proved adequate for more than seventy years, are that much added to whatever other force States or sections may possess to protect their rights. Nor is there, in the nature of the case, any reason why States with slaves and States without slaves, should not abide together in peace, as portions of the same great nation, as they have done from the beginning. The unhallowed passions of men; the fanaticism of the times; the mutual injuries and insults which portions of the people have inflicted on each other; the cruel use which political parties have made of unnatural and transient popular excitements; and, I must add, the unjust, offensive, and unconstitutional enactments by various State Legislatures at the North; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by Congress; the attempt of the Supreme Court to settle political principles deemed to be of vast importance by all parties, in the Dred Scott case, which principles were not in the case at all; the subsequent conduct of the Federal Government and of the people in Kansas; the total overthrow of the Whig and American parties, the division and defeat of the Democratic party, and the triumph of the Republican party; the ordinance of secession of South Carolina; the agitation pervading the whole nation, especially the greater part of the Southern States; and to crown all, and if possible to make all desperate, the amazing conduct of the President of the United States amidst these great disorders: this is the sad outline of this slavery agitation, the posture of which for a moment is thus exhibited, no one knowing how soon new and fatal steps may hurry us still further. What I assert in the face of so much that is painful and full of peril, and what I confidently rely will be the verdict of posterity, is that all this, terrible as it is, affords no justification for the secession of any single State of the Union—none for the disruption of the American Union. They who make the attempt, will find in it no remedy for the evils from which they flee. They who goad others to this fatal step, will find that they have themselves erred exceedingly. They who have had the lead

in both acts of madness, have no hope for good from coming ages, half so great, as that they may be utterly forgotten. Posterity will receive with scorn every plea that can be made for thirty millions of free people, professing to be Christian, in extenuation of the unparalleled folly of their self-destruction, by reason that they could not deal successfully with three or four millions of African slaves, scattered amongst them. Oh! everlasting infamy, that the children of Washington did not know how to be free! Oh! degradation still deeper, that children of God did not know how to be just and to forbear with one another!

It is said, however, it is now too late.—The evil is already done. South Carolina has already gone. Florida, it is most likely went yesterday, or will go to-day, even while we are pleading with one another and with God to put a better mind in her. Soon, it may be possible within the present month, all the Cotton States will go. We, it is added, by reason of being a slave State, must also go. Our destiny, they say, our interests, our duty, our all, is bound up with theirs, and we must go together. If this be your mind, distinctly made up, then the whole services of this day are a national mockery of God; a national attempt to make our passionate impulses assume the dignity of divine suggestions, and thus seduce the Ruler of the Universe into complicity with our sins and follies, through which all our miseries are inflicted upon us. Let it be admitted that a certain number of States, and that considerable, will attempt to form a Southern Confederacy, or to form as many new sovereignties as there are seceding States. Let it be assumed that either of these results is achieved, and that either by way of peace or by war. Let all be admitted.—What then? Thirteen States by their delegates formed the present Constitution, more than seventy years ago. By the terms of the Constitution itself, it was to be enforced when any *nine* of these thirteen States adopted it—whether by convention of their people or otherwise is immaterial to the present matter. Thirteen States made the Constitution

by their delegates. A clause is inserted in it that it shall go into effect when any nine of the thirteen States adopt it, let any four refuse as they might. If they had refused what would have happened would have been, that these four States, born States, and born United States, by the Declaration of Independence, by the war of the Revolution, by the peace with Great Britain, and by the articles of confederation, would, by a common agreement among the whole thirteen, have refused to go further or to make any stronger national government; while the other nine would have gone further and made that stronger national government. But such was the desire of all parties that there should be no separation of the States at all, that the whole thirteen unanimously adopted the new Constitution, putting a clause into it that it should not go into effect unless a majority so great as nine to four would sign it. I say if a minority of States had not adopted the new Constitution, it would have occurred, that they would have passed by common consent into a new condition, and for the first time have become separate sovereign States. As you well know, none of them refused permanently. What I make this statement for, is to show that, taking that principle as just and permanent, as clearly laid down in the Constitution, it requires at least eleven States out of the existing thirty-three States to destroy, or affect in the slightest degree, the question as to whether or not the remaining States are the United States of America, under the same Constitution. Twenty-two States, according to that principle, left after eleven had seceded, would be as really the United States of America under that Federal Constitution, as they were before, according to the fundamental principle involved in the original mode of giving validity to the Constitution. Kentucky would still be as really one of these United States of America, as she was at first when, as a district of Virginia, who was one of the nine adopting States, she became, as such district, a part thereof. And by consequence, a secession of less than eleven States, can in no event, and upon no hypothesis, even so much as embarrass Ken-

tucky in determining for herself, what her duty, her honor, and her safety require her to do.

This fact is so perfectly obvious, that I presume if the six New England States were to revolt, and to establish a new confederacy, there is not a man in the State of Kentucky who would be led thereby to suppose, that our relations with the Union and the Constitution were in the slightest degree affected; or that we were on that account under the slightest obligation to revolt also. It may sound harsh, but I am very much inclined to think that there are many thousands of men in Kentucky who might be apt to suppose that the secession of the New England States would be a capital reason why nobody else should secede. It is the principle however, which I am attempting to explain.

The answer to this view, I am aware is, that we are a slave State, and that our relations are therefore necessarily different with respect to other slave States, as compared with the free States, or with the nation at large. The reply to which is various: First. The Institution of Slavery, as it exists in this country, presents a threefold, and very distinct aspect. First, the aspect of it in those States whose great staples are rice, sugar and cotton, commonly and well enough expressed by calling them the Cotton States. Then the aspect of it presented by those States in portions of which these staples are raised, and in other portions of which they are not; which we may well enough call the mixed portion of the slave States. And then its aspect in those slave States which are not producers of those great staples, in the midst of which, and out of which these great commotions come. What I assert is, that the relation of slavery to the community, and the relation of the community by reason of slavery to the General Government and the world, is widely different in all three of these classes of States. The relation of slavery to the community, to the government and to our future, in Missouri, in Kentucky, in Virginia, in Maryland, in Delaware, is evidently different from the relation of slavery in all these respects in Louisiana,

in South Carolina and in all the other Cotton States. In the meantime also, the relation is different from both of those, wherein it exists in what I have called the mixed States; in Arkansas, part of which is a farming country and a part of which is thoroughly planting; in Tennessee, part cotton, and the eastern part a mountainous farming country; in Texas and North Carolina, where similar facts exist; and perhaps in some other States. What I desire is that you get the idea I have of the matter; that while it is true that all the slave States have certain ties and sympathies between them which are real, and ought not to be broken; yet, on the other hand, it is extremely easy to carry this idea to a fatal and a false extent, and to ruin ourselves forever under the illusion begotten thereby. In Kentucky, the institution of slavery exists about in the proportion of one slave to four white people, and the gap between the two races is widening at every census. In South Carolina there are about five slaves to three white persons, and the increment is on the slave side. In the Cotton States, I know of no way in which the institution of slavery can be dealt with at all, except by keeping the relation as it stands, as an intregal portion of the body politic, unmanageable except in the present relation of the negro to the white man: and, in this posture, it is the duty of the nation to protect and defend the Cotton States. In regard to Kentucky, the institution of slavery is in such a position that the people can do with it whatever they may see fit, both now, and at any future period, without being obliged, by reason of it, to resort to any desperate expedient, in any direction.

The state of things I have sketched necessarily produces a general resemblance, indeed, because slavery is general—but, at the same time innumerable diversities, responsive to the very condition of slavery, of its prospects, and of its influence in the body politic, in the different slave States. And you never committed a greater folly than you will commit if, disregarding these things, you allow this single consideration—that you are a slave State—to swallow up every other con

sideration, and control your whole action in this great crisis. We in Kentucky are tolerant of opinion. Inform yourselves of what is passing, of an opposite character, throughout South Carolina: and reflect on the change that must pass on you, before you would be prepared to tear down the most venerable institutions, to insult the proudest emblems of your country's glory, and to treat constitutions and laws as if they were play-things for children; before you are prepared to descend from your present noble posture, and surrender yourself to the guidance and dictation of such counsels and such statesmen as rule this disunion movement. Nothing seems to me more obvious, and nothing is more important to be pressed on your attention at this moment, than that the non-cotton States stand in a position radically different in all respects from the position in which the Cotton States stand, both with regard to the institution of slavery, and with regard to the balance of the nation. The result is that all these States, the Cotton States, and the mixed States, and the non-cotton slave States, and the free States, may enjoy peace and may enjoy prosperity under a common government, and in a common Union, as they have done from the beginning; where the rights of all, and the interests of all may be respected and protected, and yet where the interests of every portion must be regulated by some general consideration of the interests which are common to every body. On the other hand, in a confederacy where cotton is the great idea and end, it is utterly impossible for the mixed, much more for the non-cotton States, to protect adequately any of their rights, except the right of slavery, to carry out any of their purposes except purposes connected with slavery, to inaugurate any system of policy or even to be free, otherwise than as they servilely follow the lead, and bow to the rule of the Cotton States. The very instant you enter a confederacy in which all is regulated and created by the supreme interest of cotton, every thing precious and distinctive of you, is jeopardized! Do you want the slave trade re-opened? Do you want free trade and direct taxation?

Do you want some millions more of African cannibals thrown amongst you broadcast throughout the whole slave States? Do you want to begin a war which shall end when you have taken possession of the whole Southern part of this continent down to the isthmus of Darien? If your design is to accept the principles, purposes and policy, which are openly avowed in the interest of secession, and which you see exhibited on a small scale, but in their essence, in South Carolina; if that is your notion of regulated freedom and the perfect security of life and property; if that is your understanding of high national prosperity, where the great idea is more negroes, more cotton, direct taxes, free imports from all nations, and the conquest of all outlying land that will bring cotton; then, undoubtedly, Kentucky is no longer what she has been, and her new career, beginning with secession, leads her far away from her strength and her renown.

The second suggestion I have to make to you is, that if the slave line is made the line of division, all the slave States seceding from the Union, and all the free States standing unitedly by the Union; what I assert in that case is, that the possibility of the perpetuity of negro slavery in any border State terminates at once. In our affected zeal for slavery, we will have taken the most effectual means of extinguishing it; and that in the most disastrous of all possible ways. On the contrary, if this Union is to be saved, it is by the cordial sympathy of the border States on one side and on the other side of the slave line that it must be saved. We have nothing to hope from the extreme States on either side; nothing from the passionate violence of the extreme South—nothing from the turbulent fanaticism of the extreme North. It is along that slave line—and in the spirit of mutual confidence, and the sense of a common interest of the people on the north and on the south of that line, that the nation must seek the instruments of its safety. It is Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, on the one side; and Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri—God send that I might

add with confidence Tennessee and North Carolina—on the other side; these are the States that are competent to save this Union. Nothing, therefore, can be more suicidal, than for the border slave States to adopt any line of conduct which can justly deprive them of the sympathy and confidence of the border free States—now largely possessed by them. And nothing is more certain than that a patriotic devotion to the Union, and a willingness to do all that honorable men should do, or moderate men ask, in order to preserve it—is as strongly prevalent at this moment, among the people of the border free States, as amongst those of the border slave States. The great central States I have enumerated—must necessarily control the fate both of the nation and of the continent—whenever they act in concert; and the fate, both of the nation and the continent, is utterly inscrutable after the division of them on the slave line—except that we know that when Samson is shorn of his strength, the enemies of Israel and of God will make the land desolate. Fronting on the Atlantic Ocean through many degrees of latitude, running back across the continent so as to include an area larger than all Western Europe, and finer than any of equal extent upon the globe, embracing a population inferior to none on earth, and sufficiently numerous at present to constitute a great nation; it is this immense power, free, to a great extent, from the opposite and intractable fanaticisms of the extreme States on both sides of it, that is charged with the preservation of our national institutions, and with them our national power and glory. There are two aspects of the case thus put—in either of which success by peaceful means, is impossible: first, if these great central States fail to apprehend this part of the great mission committed to them; secondly, if the Cotton States, following the example of South Carolina—or the Northern States adhering to extreme purposes in the opposite direction—by either means render all peaceful adjustment impossible.

But even in that case, the mission of these great States is

not ended. If under the curse of God, and the madness of the extreme Northern and Southern States, the preservation of the Union should be impossible; then it belongs to this immense central power, to re-construct the nation, upon the slave line as its central idea; and thus perpetuate our institutions, our principles, and our hopes, with an unchanged nationality. For even they who act in the mere interests of slavery, ought to see, that after the secession of the Cotton States, the border slave States are obliged, even for the sake of slavery, to be destroyed, or to adhere to the Union as long as any Union exists; and that if the Union were utterly destroyed, its re-construction upon the slave line, is the solitary condition on which slavery can exist in security anywhere, or can exist at all in any border State.

I have considered three possible solutions of the existing state of things: The preservation of the Union as it is; the probable secession of the cotton slave States, and the effect thereof upon the Union, and upon the course Kentucky ought to take; the total destruction of the Union, and its re-construction upon the slave line. I have considered the whole matter, from the point of view understood to be taken by the President of the United States; namely: that he judges there is no power in the General Government to prevent, by force, its own dissolution by means of the secession of the States; and I have done this, because however ruinous or absurd any one may suppose the views of the President to be, it is nevertheless under their sway that the first acts of our impending revolutions are progressing. Under the same helpless aspect of the General Government, there remain two more possible solutions of the posture and duty of Kentucky, and other States similarly situated. The first of these is, that in the progress of events, it may well become the border slave States to unite themselves into a separate confederacy; the second is, that it may well become Kentucky, under various contingencies, to assume a separate sovereign position, and act by herself. Having clearly stated my own conclusions, I will

only say that the first of these two results is not one to be sought as desirable in itself, but only as an alternative to be preferred to more dangerous arrangements. For my unalterable conviction is, that the slave line is the only permanent and secure basis of a confederacy for the slave States, and especially for the border slave States, and that the union of free and slave States, in the same confederacy, is the indispensable condition of the peaceful and secure existence of slavery. As to the possible isolation of Kentucky, this also, it seems to me, is not a result to be sought. If it should occur as the alternative to evils still greater, Kentucky ought to embrace it with calmness and dignity, and, awaiting the progress of events, show by her wisdom, her courage, her moderation, her invincible rectitude, both to this age and to all that are to come, how fully she understood in the midst of a gain-saying and backsliding generation, that no people ever performed anything glorious who did not trust God, who did not love their country, and who were not faithful to their oaths.

It seems to me, therefore, that the immediate duty of Kentucky may be clearly stated in very few words.

First. To stand by the Constitution and the Union of the country, to the last extremity.

Second. To prevent, as for the moment the impending and immediate danger, all attempts to seduce her, all attempts to terrify her, into the taking of any step inconsistent with her own constitution and laws—any step disregarding of the constitution and laws of the United States, any step which can possibly compromise her position, or draw her on otherwise than by her own free choice deliberately expressed at the polls, according to her existing laws and constitution, whereby she will choose her own destiny.

Third. To settle in her heart that the rending of this Union on the slave line is, for her, whatever it may be for others, the most fatal issue that the times can have; and the doing this in such a way as to subject her to the dominion of

the Cotton States for all time to come, is the very worst form of that most fatal issue.

After all, my friends, after all,—we have the great promise of God that all things shall work together for good to them that love him. I do not know but that it may be the mind of God and his divine purpose to break this Union up, and to make of it other nations, that shall at last be more powerful than it, unitedly, would have been. I do not know, I do not pretend to say, how the Lord will use the passions of men to glorify his name. He restrains the remainder of wrath and will cause the wrath of man to praise him. We have his divine assurance that all nations that have gone before us, and all that will follow us, and we ourselves, by our rise, by our progress, and alas! by our decay and ruin, are but instruments of his infinite purpose, and means in his adorable providence, whereby the everlasting reign of Messiah, the Christ of God, is to be made absolute and universal.

Great then, is our consolation, as we tremble for our country, to be confident in our Lord! Great is our comfort, as we bewail the miseries which have befallen our glorious inheritance, to know that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! Infinitely precious is the assurance, amidst the trials now impending, and the woes which threaten us, that the heroic self-devotion with which our personal duty is discharged, is one part of our fitness to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light!

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ART. III. — *The Civil War : — Its Nature and End.*

- I. The Restoration of Peace shown to be impossible, except on the condition of the Preservation of the Federal Union and Constitution.
- II. The Power of the Nation shown to be complete, and its Duty imperative, to crush this Rebellion, and preserve the Federal Union and Constitution.
- III. The Internal State of the Country, as affected by the War.
- IV. The External Relations of the Country, considered with reference to the War.

I. The Restoration of Peace shown to be impossible, except on the condition of the Preservation of the Federal Union and Constitution.

I. For what are we fighting, on one side, and on the other? What are the interests at stake, so immense and so opposite, that justify either party to this war in embarking in it at first, or in prosecuting it with the terrible earnestness everywhere manifest? What is the present aspect of it, generally considered — what is its probable future course — what the conclusion that must be reached, at last? What are to be its probable effects — directly upon ourselves, indirectly upon the other nations of the earth, and in both ways upon the immediate future of the human race, and possibly upon generations to come? How much of what either party is fighting for is really attainable, and of that which is attainable, how much is worth what it will cost? These are questions which every enlightened man — every free citizen — is bound to ask himself. The answer to them involves our lives and fortunes and liberties; nay more than even these, our *duty* as citizens, as patriots, and as Christians. It is to render such aid as we may be able, to all who will accept our aid, in deciding these vast questions, that we now attempt to develop still further the great truths we have discussed several times heretofore, and to apply them to the posture of public affairs now existing.

There are considerations of various kinds, and of the most decisive force, which render it impossible for peace to be restored to the country, except upon the condition of a single National Government, common to the whole American people, and embrac-

cing every loyal and every revolted State. As a question of national strength in the presence of all foreign nations — and therefore of national independence; as a question of permanent national life struggling against anarchy in the form of secession; as a question of law, and government, and constitutional freedom, measuring its strength against an immense and utterly profigate political conspiracy; as a question of personal freedom, and popular institutions, in conflict with a class minority possessed of vast wealth, and reckless of everything but its own aggrandizement; as a question of the universal domination of this daring class, not only in the Slave States, so many of which it had temporarily subjugated, but over the nation itself, which it betrayed, plundered, insulted, and to which it claimed to dictate ignoble terms of composition, at the head of a military force threatening the capitol; as a question of the duty of the nation to its loyal citizens, constituting at that time the actual majority in the fifteen Slave States — but suddenly and by fraud and violence reduced to a state of helpless degradation: we attempted, from the beginning, to show that there was no course, either of honor, or duty, or safety left to the nation, except to meet force by force, and to maintain the institutions of the country, and enforce the laws of the land, by the whole power of the American people. Nor do we suppose there is a single loyal person on this continent, who does not now look with contempt, or with execration, upon the conduct of Mr. Buchanan and his Cabinet, during the last year of his administration: nor a single one who does not applaud the vigor and determination which the Congress of the United States, under the lead of Mr. Lincoln, have manifested in maintaining the integrity of the Union. But what we have now to urge goes beyond the state of the question heretofore discussed, and briefly recapitulated above. Influenced by such considerations as these, the nation accepted the war as unavoidable. What we maintain is, not merely that those considerations forbid the nation to terminate the war forced upon her, except in its complete success, but that in the very nature of the case, of the country, of all our institutions, and of the war itself, permanent peace is impossible, except upon the condition of a single national government. We will endeavor to illustrate this idea.

Whoever will look at a map of the United States will observe that Louisiana lies on both sides of the Mississippi river, and that the States of Arkansas and Mississippi lie on the right and left banks of this great stream — eight hundred miles of whose lower course is thus controlled by these three States, unitedly inhabited by hardly as many white people as inhabit the city of New York. Observe then the country drained by this river, and its affluents, commencing with Missouri on its west bank, and Kentucky on its east bank. There are nine or ten powerful States — large portions of three or four others — several large Territories, in all a country as large as all Europe, as fine as any under the sun, already holding many more people than all the revolted States — and destined to be one of the most populous and powerful regions of the earth. Does any one suppose that these powerful States — this great and energetic population — will ever make a peace that shall put the lower course of this single and mighty natural outlet to the sea, in the hands of a foreign government far weaker than themselves? If there is any such person, he knows little of the past history of mankind; and will, perhaps, excuse us for reminding him that the people of Kentucky, before they were constituted a State, gave formal notice to the Federal Government, when General Washington was President, that if the United States did not acquire Louisiana, they would themselves conquer it. The mouths of the Mississippi belong, by the gift of God, to the inhabitants of its great Valley. Nothing but irresistible force can disinherit them.

Try another territorial aspect of the case. There is a bed of mountains abutting on the left bank of the Ohio, which covers all Western Virginia, and all Eastern Kentucky, to the width, from east to west, in those two States, of three or four hundred miles. These mountains stretching southwestwardly, pass entirely through Tennessee — cover the back parts of North Carolina and Georgia — heavily invade the northern part of Alabama — and make a figure even in the back parts of South Carolina and the eastern parts of Mississippi; having a course of, perhaps, seven or eight hundred miles, and running far south of the northern limit of profitable cotton culture. It is a region of 300,000 square miles — trenching upon eight or nine Slave States, though near-

ly destitute of slaves itself—trenching upon at least five cotton States, though raising no cotton itself. The western part of Maryland and two-thirds of Pennsylvania, are embraced in the northeastern continuation of this remarkable region. Can anything that passes under the name of statesmanship, be more preposterous, than the notion of permanent peace on this continent, founded on the abnegation of a common and paramount government, and the idea of the supercilious domination of the cotton interest and the slave trade, over such a mountain empire, so located, and so peopled?

As a further proof of the utter impossibility of peace, except under a common government, and at once an illustration of the import of what has just been stated, and the suggestion of a new and insuperable difficulty; let it be remembered that this great mountain region, throughout its general course, is more loyal to the Union than any other portion of the Slave States. It is the mountain counties of Maryland that have held treason in check in that State; it is forty mountain counties in Western Virginia that have laid the foundation of a new and loyal commonwealth; it is the mountain counties of Kentucky that first and most eagerly took up arms for the Union; it is the mountain region of Tennessee that alone, in that dishonored State, furnished martyrs in the sacred cause of freedom; it is the mountain people of Alabama, that boldly stood out against the Confederate Government, till their own leaders deserted and betrayed them. Now, is the nation prepared, under any imaginable circumstances, to sacrifice these heroic men, as a condition of peace conquered from them by traitors? Will the nation sell the blood—we will not say of a race of patriots—but of even a single one of them? The Representatives of these men sit in Congress; their Senators are in the capitol. Will the rebel States dismember themselves, that cotton may have peace? Will the nation turn its back on the five Border Slave States—deliver over Western Virginia to the sword—and cover its own infamy under the ruins of the Constitution? Never—never! Our sole alternative—is victory. To know this, is to render victory certain.

Again: Consider the question of boundary, as preliminary to peace. We have shown, on a former occasion, that the States

of Maryland and Missouri stand in such relations, geographical and otherwise, to the nation, that they must necessarily share its fate. Since we gave expression to that opinion, much has happened to strengthen it, and increase the difficulties of any peaceful division of the country. Amongst other things, Congress has openly recognized the revolutionary Government in Western Virginia — and received Senators and Representatives from States in open rebellion: the armies of the Confederate States have invaded Western Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky: and to *conquer a boundary* extending to the Chesapeake, the Ohio, and the Missouri, is one of the avowed objects of those invasions. Whatever may have been the state of public opinion in any of the five Border Slave States, at an early stage of our national difficulties, at present there is not, probably, a single loyal citizen in either of them, who would entertain, for a moment, the idea of being attached to the Southern Confederacy — or who would not denounce as atrocious, on the part of the General Government, any suggestion that looked toward the surrender of those five States to the Southern Confederacy, as a condition of peace. On the opposite side, it is most probable that every secessionist in those five States would greatly prefer the continuance of the war, to peace, accompanied by such a division of the nation as would attach the Border Slave States to the Northern portion; while the more violent portion of them would, probably, prefer the continuance of the war, to the complete restoration of the Union on any terms. But these Border Slave States are, and must continue to be the chief theater of the war, so long as the issue of the war hangs in the least suspense. We say nothing, here, of the absolute necessity of the conquest of the secession party, and the restoration of the Union and the power of the National Government, as the solitary condition upon which the peace or safety of the whole country is possible. What we say is, that in the actual condition of the country, of the war, and of the avowed aims and recognized obligations of both parties, the question of boundary renders peace impossible, even if both parties desired peace upon every other ground. We readily admit that there is hardly an imaginable contingency, in which the Confederate Government can ever conquer, or the nation ever concede, any

boundary — that ought to be an allowable basis of peace. But this only shows how clear it is that the nation can contemplate no alternative but triumph or ruin; and that the conspirators against its peace and glory have madly plunged into a wicked rebellion, which could have no result but the subjugation of the whole nation, or their own destruction. At first, their pretext was — the *right* of each State to secede. Now, they seek to *conquer* States that refuse to secede. Perfidious, at first, to all the States; perfidious, now, to each separate State.

There are difficulties of a kind different from any of those yet suggested; and so aggravated by the conduct and principles of the secessionists, that there seems to be no possibility of even so much as finding a basis on which to negotiate. Take, as an example, their conduct toward the Indian Tribes which occupy, thinly, at least one-half of the whole area within our national boundaries — and some of the most civilized of which are settled upon the finest lands adjoining our inhabited borders, and were bound, by treaties highly advantageous to them, to the United States. As far as the public has information, it appears that the Confederate Government has made diligent efforts to excite these savages to war against us, along the whole Indian frontier, and along all the emigrant routes to the Pacific States. Thus much is certain, that the Tribes of the Southwest have taken up arms, that many thousands of them are boastfully declared by the Confederates to be ready to join their armies, and that a considerable force of their warriors is now with the troops invading Kentucky. We do not say they are unfit allies for the refugee Kentuckians who are leading them to the slaughter of their kindred, and the devastation of their country. Nor do we say that either the savages or the refugee marauders are unfit instruments of traitors, who first subvert every principle which holds society together in installing their rebellion — and then subvert every pretext on which they revolted, by banding with savages and paricides in an atrocious attack upon the only sovereignty they pretended to revere. We leave to others to depict these enormities as they deserve, and confide to a just posterity the retribution of such crimes. What we demand now is, what figure are these savage allies of traitors to cut, in the preliminaries of

peace? What stipulations are the Confederate States to demand — what guarantees are the American people to give, as the price of peace — concerning its future Indian policy, and concerning recompense for past Indian perfidy and outrage?

The question of slavery offers us another example, in the same category with the preceding one, of the madness of the whole secession conspiracy; and another proof that the restoration of permanent peace to the country by means of its division into two confederacies, or by any other means except the restoration of the Union and the maintenance of a single national government coëxtensive with the whole nation, is totally impossible. Upon the supposition that all parties were willing to divide the nation on the slave line, *provided* the new confederacies could make mutually satisfactory agreements, and could be mutually made to keep them in regard to negro slavery; such a basis of peace would rest on this childish absurdity — that the obligations of a treaty between hostile States are more effectual than the obligations of a government over the different portions of its own citizens — notwithstanding governments have the sanction of force in a hundred-fold greater degree than treaties can have, and have, in addition, ten thousand sanctions which no treaty can have. We think we have demonstrated, on a former occasion, that the profitable continuance of negro slavery anywhere on this continent, and its continuance at all in the Border Slave States, depends absolutely upon the existence of a common national government embracing both the Free States and the Slave States; and it seems to us that the developments of the war add continually to the force of what we then said. The preservation of the Union and the Constitution preserves at the same time, in all its integrity, the national settlement of the question of slavery made at the adoption of the Constitution itself; which was effectual for all the purposes intended, through more than seventy years of unparalleled prosperity; and is competent still through all coming time to give peace and security, if anything under heaven is competent to do so. On the contrary, forfeiting that settlement as soon as we subvert the Constitution and destroy the Union — it may be confidently asserted that the new confederacies which are to arise will find themselves incompetent to set-

tle even the preliminary basis of a treaty concerning their mutual rights and obligations touching the negro race on this continent; and that, even if they should be able to come to some uncertain and temporary understanding on the subject, stable peace between the parties, much less stable security to slave property, would be impossible. Our political system, made up of sovereign commonwealths united under a supreme Federal Government, affords not only the highest, but the only effectual protection for interests that are local and exceptional—and at the same time out of sympathy with the general judgment of mankind. And of all possible interests, that of the owners of slaves, in a free country, stands most in need of the protection of such a system. It is extremely difficult to say what effect, precisely, this war and its possible results may have upon the institution of slavery in America. So much at least is certain—that the total suppression of the present revolt, is hardly more important to any class of American citizens, than to the slaveholders of the country: and that the obstinate continuance of the war, by the South, will do nothing more surely than drain the slaves, owned by secessionists in the Border States, farther south—and leave the slave interest in the restored Union, a far weaker political element than it was when they sought to strengthen it by revolution.

We need not press any further the proof of the great truth we are asserting. The service we are doing is not so much to disclose new truths, as to make a clear statement of the grounds of a common and fixed conviction, which the public mind has widely and instinctively adopted. It is a conviction just in itself, and noble both in its origin and impulses. We will not agree to the ruin of our glorious country; and so we are not grieved to see that we cannot do it with any hope of peace thereby. We will not allow the Constitution to be subverted, the Union to be destroyed, and the nation to be divided; and so we are glad that in the order of God's Providence, the alternative to which the nation is shut up—is victory. If the people in the States which have taken up arms against our national life, will rise up in their might, recover their liberty, and put an end to the traitorous dominion of the cruel and perfidious class minority which is de-

grading and oppressing them, the nation has no further cause of war with them. If they will not do this, or if they cannot do it in their present miserable condition, it must be done for them — and it will be. The American people have not sought this war; they were led to the brink, not only of ruin, but of infamy, in the attempt to avoid it. The American people have neither approved nor participated in the injuries or the insults, inflicted on any portion of the nation by any other portion of it. On the contrary, their whole national history attests that, whatever factions and sections may have done or attempted, the nation has been faithful in its lot, and true to its sublime mission. And now, in this great crisis, if God will own our efforts, we will retrieve our destiny — and teach mankind a lesson which after ages will be slow to forget.

II. The Power of the Nation shown to be complete, and its duty imperative, to crush this rebellion, and preserve the Federal Union and Constitution.

II. The *Art of War* — for even those who are the most devoted to it as a pursuit, hardly venture to call it a *science* — has probably produced a smaller proportion of individuals who have, in the settled judgment of mankind, deserved supreme eminence, than any other reputable calling to which the human race has addicted itself, or to which its progress has given rise. And notwithstanding the perpetual slaughter of the battle-field, during the whole life of the world, it would probably be impossible to designate as many as twenty pitched battles, in the whole history of mankind — concerning which it can be made apparent that the destiny of our race would have been materially changed, if they had never been fought, or if they had resulted differently. There is no adequate evidence that any man now lives, who is competent to wield, with the highest efficiency, an army of the largest class; and we are free to risk public ridicule, by expressing the opinion that if Napoleon, or Wellington, or Marlborough, or Cromwell — not to mention a few more ancient names — had been placed in a day's march of Manassas, ten days before the bloody and resultless battle, with a force equal to the smallest, and provided no better than the worst, of the two armies that fought there; he would probably have cut both of them to pieces within

the ten days. From generation to generation, the art of war progresses slowly, and gradually establishes itself upon certain axioms and certain results: and then some great genius suddenly appears, and, despising the axioms and setting at nought the results, creates by his conquests new ideas and a new school of the art. And then the old process of codifying his campaigns into the body of the art of war, is renewed, till another great genius appears. And so on,—till our own day: in which, if God shall be pleased to point out the man—and the nation shall have sense to recognize him—the end will have come. Till such a captain appears—one of God's most uncommon gifts—we must content ourselves with such judgments as can be formed, from the common causes and the common course of events. Or if he should appear on the side of our rebellious countrymen—and no match for him on ours—we must put forth as much additional force and courage, as will counteract the excess of skill against us. It seems to us to be plain—upon any supposition that can be made short of the effectual interposition of God for the total change of the course and destiny of this great country, and as a necessary consequence of the whole order and result of human affairs—that this nation is not only perfectly competent to crush this rebellion, and extinguish the doctrine and practice of secession; but that there is no ordinary possibility of any other result. It is this which we now desire to illustrate.

If the five Border Slave States (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri) had stood firmly by the Union—the ten remaining Slave States could hardly have made a show of military resistance to the overwhelming power of the nation, even if they had all seceded, and been unanimous. The white population of the whole ten may be stated, in round numbers, at about four millions, against twenty-four millions in the remaining twenty-four States. In fact, however, but for the treasonable conduct of the secession minorities in the Border States, and especially but for the outrage perpetrated in Virginia, by means of which the secessionists usurped the control of that State, and suddenly threw it into a condition of war with the Federal Government; it is in the highest degree probable, that neither North Carolina, Tennessee, nor Arkansas would have seceded. Moreover,

if the State Governments in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, had been loyal, their influence — backed, as it undoubtedly would have been, by the mass of the people in those States — would, at the very least, have placed the loyal population in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas in such a position as to have kept the traitors in check in all those States — even if they ventured to secede. The very worst that can happen, has already occurred: four of the Border States are the chief theater of the war; three at least, if not four, of those States, are for the Union; one, possibly two of them, may be considered against it. For the purposes before us let all five be omitted, in reckoning the strength of either party. Let it be supposed that their whole white population, which may be stated at about four millions, is equally divided — and will add as much, taking the five States, to the military force on one side as on the other side. What follows is, that the war is to be decided by the relative force of the nineteen Free States, and the ten most southerly Slave States. But the case is far stronger, in favor of the General Government, than this statement would make it appear. For by making these Border States the theater of war, however much the ten Southern States may gain, the nineteen Northern States gain far more, in every way. They gain physically, by gradually drawing, as the war progresses, a greater and greater proportion of Union men into the Federal army; while to the whole extent that these States are occupied by Federal troops, the secession element is greatest at the first violent military movement, and becomes relatively less and less available afterwards. They gain morally, by the whole effect produced upon the Union people of the Border Slave States, fighting side by side with the Northern soldiers, in a common and glorious cause; and by the whole effect produced on the Northern troops, by seeing for themselves, who and what the loyal people of the South are. But they gain also, in a military point of view. To menace Nashville, is a very different thing from being menaced at Cincinnati. A victory at Springfield in Southern Missouri is widely a different thing from a victory at Springfield in Central Illinois. When the theater of war passes out of Virginia and Kentucky to the South — the beginning of the end to rebellion is reached. If it

were to pass out of Virginia and Kentucky to the North, it would only mean the annihilation of whatever Confederate troops might venture across the Ohio River. The Confederate armies will find their attempt to invade Kentucky a very serious matter before all is over; though there is only an air line in their rear, and a million of people — one-third of whom are disloyal — immediately before them. What could they expect, north of the Ohio River — with that broad and generally difficult stream in their rear, and six or seven millions of loyal and warlike people, in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in point blank range of them? The secession gasconade about wintering in Cincinnati — with which the air of the West has been laden for some months — when last heard of was making good time, with a strong force, through the north-eastern mountains of Kentucky, hurrying toward Virginia, out of the way of a small column of raw troops, under a navy Lieutenant, (NELSON,) who has lately become an amateur General.

Upon the whole, therefore, the case against the nation is not quite so bad as we before admitted — when, counting out the Border Slave States, it seemed to stand about twenty millions in the nineteen Free States, against about four millions in the ten secession States of the South. In both clusters of States, we leave out all but the white population; and every one will judge for himself how far the leaving out of a few hundred thousand free negroes may be unjust to the stronger side, and the leaving out of some three millions of slaves, several hundred thousand free negroes, and an indeterminate quantity of Indian savages, may be unjust to the weaker side. There certainly are conditions in which this vast body of slaves may be considered a very powerful element in the military strength of the South: the chief of which conditions are — *first*, that the military force of the United States should not be able to penetrate the heart of the disloyal slave region, — and, *secondly*, that after penetrating that region, the General Government should be weak enough to treat slave property, in the hands of rebels and traitors, as if it were sacred. On the other hand, there are conditions in which this Indian and slave population may become fatal to the weaker party; as, for example, if the Indian savages who have been enlisted

against us were required, as the condition of peace and protection to their tribes, to ravage those who have engaged their scalping knives against our women and children; and if the slaves were supported from the estates of their disloyal owners, and made to labor upon every species of military work — the number, variety, and extent of which needed by a hostile force, in such a country as the South, and in the present state of the military art, are so great. Still, however, omitting these populations altogether — as neither a weakness nor a strength — there remain the abiding elements, face to face, twenty millions against four millions. It is certainly true, that no one can tell beforehand how a particular battle may eventuate — or how a particular campaign may end. No one can guess how many cowards a few brave men may conquer — how many fools a man of genius may set at nought — how many advantages may be gained over numbers, by superior activity, intelligence and daring. Oliver Cromwell conquered Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, with a handful of men: Bonaparte annihilated three Austrian armies, each greater than his own, in one of his brief Italian campaigns: Alexander the Great conquered the whole known world with thirty thousand men. And to come to our own times — *somebody*, we don't exactly know who, has held Manassas, and menaced Washington City, during this whole war, in defiance of the whole power of the nation: and, what seems to us really a marvelous achievement — *somebody* has virtually blockaded the Potomac River from one of its shores, in defiance of our whole naval power, and in the face of probably a hundred and fifty thousand good troops, in his front, and upon his flanks. Still, however, here are our twenty millions against four millions — any four millions of the former, equal to the latter four millions — and we having every possible advantage which they can possess, and many besides of the greatest importance, which they do not possess. This is the undeniable state of the case, considered as a whole. Upon it, there is no ordinary possibility of but one final result. Concerning it, whatever is known to be out of the ordinary course of human affairs, is, in the aggregate, more for us than against us. With regard to it, no motive that can operate upon a rational mind or a patriotic heart, is wanting to impel us to do

with our might, what has been now shown to be completely in our power; — what, it was before shown, involves our national ruin if we fail; and what, we must add, covers us with ignominy if we omit.

In one of our former papers, published in the month of March last, we endeavored to point out the method in which the national peril at that dark period could be averted, and to designate the elements, few but immense and decisive, in which the triumphant deliverance of the country lay. Nine or ten months of herculean efforts on the part both of the nation and of the rebels, have passed since that paper was published. The whole field lies far more clearly open before us now than it did then. Public opinion, everywhere, has been consolidated in one direction or another, and is far more comprehensible. The whole continent has passed into a state of war, military operations have been conducted on the most gigantic scale, and the nation and the rebels have reached a position in which their relative strength must be fairly and speedily measured. It seems very clear to us, that all the indications, taken together, are in a high degree favorable to the country; and that this can be made apparent in the shortest manner, by a slight recapitulation of the points in which our national safety seemed to us to lay at the darkest period, and a general view of the tendency and present state of public affairs, with reference to them.

It seemed to us, in the *first* place, that the salvation of the country depended upon the Federal Government's recognizing and assuming its great position as the true and only representative of the nation, and as the supreme authority in these United States: that so acting, its highest mission was to save the nation — to that end putting forth the whole strength of the country — rallying every loyal citizen to its support — and crushing treason everywhere. Whoever will compare the state of the national administration and of the country, as left by Mr. Buchanan and as found by Mr. Lincoln on the 4th of March, with the present aspect of both; will not need any detail by us, to be convinced that what we then declared to be the first condition of our deliverance, has been completely realized, and has produced all the effects that we anticipated. The nation was betrayed by the

Federal Government, and was virtually lost on the 4th of March, 1861. The Congress of the United States, under the lead of Mr. Lincoln, and by means of a sublime outburst of national patriotism, has retrieved the ruin elaborately prepared for us, through long years of perfidy, conspiracy, and treason. The whole difference between the two positions of the country may be clearly estimated, by picturing to ourselves, on one hand, five hundred thousand brave and loyal men under arms; and by picturing to ourselves, on the other hand, a traitorous faction everywhere shouting "*no coercion*," to a betrayed and stupefied people.

In the *second* place, the deliverance of the country seemed to us to depend upon a vigorous, and, as far as possible, successful effort, to arrest the spread of secession, at the cotton line—and if that failed, then at the Southern boundary of the Border Slave States. It was always our opinion, frequently expressed, that a national movement of the whole fifteen Slave States, against the Union, could not be defeated. It was our opinion for thirty years, that a growing school of Southern politicians, had no other object but the production of this result—an opinion, the truth of which no one, we suppose, now doubts; and we have personal knowledge that the support of Major Breckinridge for the Presidency, in Kentucky, was largely given to him under the delusion—countenanced, at least, by himself—that the designation of himself as the candidate of the Southern wing of the Democracy, meant that they had definitely abandoned this conspiracy and all schemes of disunion, and would risk their fate as a party and as a people, in the Union. Yes, we perfectly well know that under this delusion, and because of the decisive influence of this pretended change in the South upon the perpetuity of the Union, multitudes of men—who never saw a moment in which they would not willingly have laid down their lives for the Union—supported him for the Presidency who, in effect, was the representative of disunion. Such is treason. The effects which have been produced by the course of events in Virginia, plainly show what might have been expected, if all the Slave States had cordially united in the revolt: while the effects that have been produced by the course of the intrepid Union men of Kentucky, under the most difficult circumstances, as

plainly show what might have been expected, if all the Border Slave States had cordially espoused the cause of the Union. The pestilence was not arrested at the cotton line—nor even fully stayed at the Southern boundary of the Border States. But enough has been done to show how just and important the opinion we expressed in March was; to show how fatally the vacillation and timidity of the nominal Union party in most of the Border States, has operated; and to show how certainly these five States will be preserved to the Union, and how decisive that fact must be, upon the fate of the revolt.

In the *third* place: About the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and in full apprehension, on one side, of the terrible fact that Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet had sold the nation to the Southern conspirators, and that they were preparing to seize it; and, on the other side, with the profound conviction that the state of public feeling and opinion throughout the North was incompatible, in the existing temper of the times, with the continuance of the Union, or the steadfast loyalty to it of a single Slave State—we did not hesitate to declare that a revolution in opinion and feeling at the North must promptly occur, or all was lost. We ventured to predict that it would occur;—that the extreme principles of the party which had carried the Presidential election, would not be, could not be carried out; that new, better, and more exalted ideas, would supersede the vehement and exaggerated principles of the newly triumphant party; and that the people of the North would stand by the Union, and by every man, everywhere, that was loyal to the country. And now we confidently assert, that no more illustrious instance of patriotic ardor, no more striking proof of the warlike spirit of a free people devoted to the pursuits of peace, has been exhibited in modern times—than is to be found in the conduct of the people of the North, at this terrible crisis of their country. We have felt obliged, many times in the course of many years, to condemn certain tendencies in the Northern mind, and various acts which seemed to be approved by the mass of the Northern people, hostile to the rights of the Southern States, and incompatible with their own duty as citizens of the United States. In the same spirit of fearless justice, we now give expression to our grateful

and confiding admiration of conduct on the part of the North, full of high and multiplied proofs of wisdom, magnanimity and heroism. We solemnly believe, this day, that the North is willing to do for the loyal States of the South, more, in every way, than any magnanimous Southern man would have the heart to ask. What a shame — what a burning shame — that men should be betrayed by villains, to seek each other's lives — who, if they did but know one another, would rush into each other's arms.

The *fourth* necessity asserted by us, was such a counter revolution — throughout the more southerly States that had then seceded, or were then deeply agitated on the subject — as would put down the secession movement, and bring the loyal party of the South into power, everywhere. Our hope, at first, was that this counter revolution would manifest itself in the most powerful of those States — as for example, in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee — by means of popular elections, and other ordinary peaceful means; and that the weight of an irresistible public opinion — the comparative weakness of the disloyal States — and the effectual but forbearing interposition of the Federal Power, would deter the leaders of the conspiracy, and give the patriotism and common sense of the people space and opportunity for reaction, concert and triumph. Under any but the most extraordinary circumstances, that would have been the course and result of affairs. To state and explain these circumstances fully, appertains to the historian of these eventful times: we have heretofore given a brief and general account of them. We still await, still confidently expect, the counter revolution throughout the South — which, under ordinarily wise and courageous treatment, would have crushed the secession conspiracy as soon as it had developed its nature, spirit and designs — but which must now extinguish it when its course is run. The grounds upon which we expect it, instead of being removed, are every way confirmed by the progress of events. It is more certain now than it was at first, that the conspirators have reason to dread, and that loyal persons may confidently rely on, the resolute purpose of the American people to uphold the Union, the Constitution and the laws: so that the assurance of unavoidable failure to the one, and of speedy and complete deliverance to the other,

becomes day by day the very nourishment of the reaction which is inevitable in its set time. That which is thus unavoidable, in the nature of the case as it exists, cannot be called in question, by any one who believes that there are such human endowments as patriotism and common sense; by any one who confides in the capacity of mankind for self-government; by any one who knows that to deceive a people, and then betray them, and then oppress them, and then impoverish them, are crimes which no people ever forgive; by any one who understands that the indignation of mankind is relentless, in proportion as the sacrifices have been costly and bitter which the folly of corrupt rulers forced them to make, to no end but ruin and ignominy; by any one who accepts the assurance of God, that civil society is an ordinance from heaven, and is incompatible with the permanent reign of anarchy. Nor do the innumerable facts, which, in a thousand ways, reach us from the whole area covered by the usurped power of the Confederate Government, fail to confirm, in the public mind, the conviction already stated. On the one hand, there comes up a subdued but incessant wail of a loyal people groaning for deliverance; on the other, a fierce cry for blood and plunder, mixed with a wild clamor about cordial unanimity. The nation pities and heeds that wail of our brethren, and, by God's help, will make it audible throughout the earth, as a lesson to all conspirators. And so far is it from being credible that their deliverance cannot be accomplished except by the slaughter of vast populations—nor maintained afterward except by immense standing armies; all the facts of this sad case show, that what has happened in all ages and countries, will happen again here; and *the mass of the people* speedily and joyfully return to their allegiance, as soon as the military force of the rebels is broken, and society is allowed to return to its ordinary condition. These are terrible episodes in the history of nations. No people has escaped them: it is the feeble only that perish by means of them: the great survive them, and become greater.

The Internal State of the Country, as affected by the War.

III. Supposing what has been said to be worthy of serious consideration, as pointing out the single condition on which the

restoration of peace is possible — and as showing the complete ability, and the clear duty, of the American people to enforce that condition, and conquer peace: it becomes all the more important to observe with candor, the actual state of the country, as that is influenced by the war, or as it may, in turn, influence its progress and end; because, according to our apprehension, the indefinite continuance of the war can be arrested only by the triumph of the nation. Classified in an orderly way, the Civil and Military condition of the country is sufficiently though incidentally brought to light, for our present design, in the course of the two preceding divisions of this paper. What remains, relates, therefore, more particularly to the Moral, Political, Financial, and Industrial condition of the country — considered with relation to the war. It is to some general consideration of this aspect of the case, in relation to our general course of thought, that we now proceed.

When we speak of the Moral condition of the country, we do not intend, especially, its spiritual state, as in the sight of God. We mean that moral state which is the sum of all the good and all the evil, presented in our mixed and confused probationary state — and presented to us now and amongst ourselves, as characteristic of our condition, and as decisively influential upon the future. This rebellion begins in an outrage upon many of the clearest obligations of Natural Religion — loyalty, love of country, fidelity to public trusts, gratitude for honors bestowed, truth and manhood in the discharge of obligations voluntarily assumed, nay, eagerly sought. How many of the leaders of this rebellion are free from the stain on their personal honor, of deliberately transgressing some or all of those natural obligations, which no contingency under heaven can justify any one in violating! We speak not of the mere fact of treason, as defined by human laws. What we speak of is the perfidy, in every revolting form, which has marked this treason, in its birth, in its growth, and in its present frantic struggle: men seeking to overthrow monuments, cemented by the blood of their immediate ancestors; men dishonoring names, illustrious through many generations; men betraying their friends, their neighbors, their kindred; men seducing children to take up arms against their parents — and then band-

ing them with savages to desolate their own homes with fire and sword. It is a madness—a fearful madness. No madness can be greater, except the madness that could induce this great nation to suppose that God allows it to let this go unpunished.

Perhaps the most dangerous, as well as the most universal form, in which this characteristic perfidy has made itself manifest, is the suddenness with which thousands of *spies and informers* have appeared throughout the nation, the tenacity with which they have everywhere followed their degrading employment, and the alacrity with which honors and rewards, almost to the very highest, have been lavished upon them by the rebel government and people. In the States which have seceded, the mass of the loyal people, overwhelmed by force, have quietly acquiesced. In the loyal States, the mass of the disloyal people—wherever opportunity offered—seem to have given themselves up to a regular system of espionage, by means of which the rebel authorities, civil and military, have been kept perfectly informed of all they desire to know. All ranks of society, persons in private life and those in every kind of public employment from the lowest to the highest, persons of every age and of both sexes; appear to make it the chief business of their lives to obtain secret and dangerous information for the benefit of the rebel authorities. Betraying their country, they break with indifference every tie that binds human beings to each other. The humiliated parent doubts whether his own disloyal child will not betray him; the husband may not safely confide in his disloyal wife; and as for the obligation of civil or military oaths, or the honor which should bind every one in whom trust is reposed, no loyal man in America any longer believes that the mass of secessionists scattered through the loyal States, recognize the validity of these sacred bonds. It is, we suppose, certain, past doubt, that every important military movement since the war began has been betrayed to the enemy before it was made; and nine-tenths of the evils and miscarriages we have suffered have been occasioned by *spies and informers* in our midst.

Such a state of affairs as this cannot be endured. The danger of it renders it intolerable. The enormity of it justifies any remedy its extirpation may require. And they who are innocent of

such turpitude themselves, instead of raising a clamor at the use of any means by which society seeks to protect itself, ought to be thankful for any opportunity to clear themselves from the suspicion under which they may have fallen. And they who are guilty, and expect to silence public justice by clamor about irregular proceedings against them, ought to bear in mind, that a people outraged past endurance, has much shorter processes than any that imply infallibility in corrupt judges, or writs out of chancery. It does not appertain to us to argue and determine nice and doubtful points of criminal law — concerning which men who ought to be competent to decide, are pleased to differ and to dispute; and which the present Chief Justice of the United States is alledged to have decided in two exactly opposite ways. The boundaries between the civil and military authorities, in time of war, under the Constitution and laws of the United States — may be sufficiently obscure, to serve the turn of those who habitually transgress both. And the boundaries between those powers which can be exercised, in war, by the President alone, and those which must be exercised jointly by the power both of Congress and the President, may be liable to grave questioning by persons, amongst others, who are not very desirous to have their career of mischief cut short. Spies, and other persons who may be justly considered liable to military punishment, can look, we suppose, with very small hope to honest civil tribunals, for deliverance from military authority; and it is very certain that all the prisons in the United States would not hold the tenth part of those, who have made themselves liable to punishment for such offenses. As for offenses of other kinds, especially for the highest offense known to the laws of all civilized countries, *Treason* — these, when added to the highest military offense, that of being a *Spy*, (and no one can be a *spy* in *this* war without being a *traitor* also) — the public authorities are certainly inexcusable if they punish innocent men, when so many are flagrantly guilty — and are hardly excusable when they punish insignificant men, when so many of great distinction have been allowed to escape, or are still unquestioned. The legality of particular modes of arrest, the proper legal treatment after arrest, and the whole doctrine about the writ of *habeas corpus*; are matters, no doubt, of

great importance in their place. As for us, we are ready to stand by the chief law officer of the Government, the Attorney General of the United States, who, as we understand the matter, has given the explicit sanction of his high professional standing, and that of his great office, to the course which the President has taken. And we suppose all loyal men will agree with us, that — if the American people can endure the pretended violations of law, which their enemies say are daily perpetrated in the arrest and detention of suspected, and indicted, Spies and Traitors — it is no great thing to ask of those who declare the Constitution to be already a nullity, and all lawful government at an end, that they will bear with composure irregularities which loyal men do not complain of. And, perhaps, all earnest patriots would agree, that, at the worst, the salvation of the country from the reign of anarchy and the despotism of traitors, is worth all the human laws and constitutions in the world. We can make governments; for society is supreme over them. But we have only this one country. And it is audacious hypocrisy, for those who are seeking alike the overthrow of our government, and the degradation of our country — to revile us about some pretended irregularity, in our attempt to subject them to punishment, for their crimes against the existence of society.

The financial condition and prospects of the country — the cost of the war in money, the questions of public credit, taxes, currency, public debt, and the like — are of great importance in themselves; and the use which is made of the popular ignorance on such subjects — by exaggerating whatever is evil and suppressing whatever is favorable, and by both means shaking the public constancy in pushing the war to a complete triumph — adds greatly to that importance. They who are familiar with such topics can do no greater service to the country than to remove all mystery from them, and disclose with precision our condition and prospects with reference to them. For ourselves, we readily admit that, in our judgment, the end demanded — namely, the independence of the nation, the freedom of the people, the security of society, and the glory of the country — ought to be achieved, let the pecuniary cost and the financial result be what they may. After our triumph, the country will remain, and it will be

long to our posterity; and no one need doubt that the triumphant people will make the glorious country worth all it cost us to save both; nor that posterity will venerate, as they should, the heroic generation that sacrificed all, to save all. There is, however, no ordinary possibility that very great pecuniary sacrifices will be required of the loyal portion of the nation; and it is not out of the reach of probability that they may, as a whole, derive considerable pecuniary advantage from the aggregate result of this unnatural war. We will explain ourselves in as few words as possible.

So far as the great losses, if not the total ruin, of large numbers of people in a nation, are necessarily pecuniary misfortunes to the whole population; we do not see how the restored nation is to escape very great loss by this war. For it seems to us impossible for the Southern States, even if the war could be arrested at once, to extricate themselves from their deplorable financial condition, without extreme sacrifice; just as it seems to us certain that the main source of their affluence, in their own opinion — their virtual monopoly of cotton in the market of the world — is forever ended. If they protract this war to their utmost power, the Confederate Government, and every State government connected with it, will come out of the war utterly bankrupt. The creditors of all those Governments will be so far ruined, as the loss of some thousand millions of dollars due to them by those Governments, can ruin their creditors. Some thousand millions more will be sunk in individual losses, unconnected with the Governments. Every species of property will fall, say one-half or more, in its merchantable value. The whole paper currency, after falling gradually till it ceases to be competent for any payment at all — will fall as an entire loss on the holders of it; the precious metals having long ago ceased to circulate. In the meantime, if the country is not speedily conquered, it passes over from the hands of the present usurpers, into the hands of three or four hundred thousand armed men — whose only means of existence is their arms. This, in every item of it, means desolation. In the aggregate, it presents a condition, which all the statesmen in the world have not the wisdom to unravel into prosperity, without first passing through multiplied evils,

the least of which is infinitely greater than the greatest of those for which they took up arms against the Union. No such revolution as that attempted in the South can succeed; and its inevitable failure draws after it, always, a revolution in property. The present disloyal race of cotton and sugar and rice planters of the South—its great property holders, who ought, above all men, to have put down this rebellion—will, as a class, disappear, beggared, perhaps in large proportion extinct, when the war is over. It is a fearful retribution; but we do not see how they can escape it.

In effect, therefore, the Federal Government and the loyal States of America have no alternative but, besides maintaining their own financial solvency and credit during the war, to retrieve the ruin of the Southern States, as a part of the nation, after the war is done. No enlightened man ought to have any doubt of their ability to do both. At the present moment, we will enter no farther into the question of the national ability to do the latter, after the war is over; than to desire the reader to make, for himself, a full and just comparison of the present financial conditions of the United States, and the Confederate States—and satisfy himself of the true causes of the immeasurable difference between them. It is, just now, the other point—our financial ability to carry the war triumphantly through, without great pecuniary sacrifices to the loyal people of the nation—that interests the public mind; and about which we have a few words to add.

A nation, like an individual, can spend its entire annual accumulations, within the year, without being a cent the poorer, or a cent in debt. It can do this forever; and it can do it in carrying on war, as well as in any other way. If all the people of the United States would put the whole of their annual accumulations in the hands of the Government, *as a gift*, their boundless wealth might be spent on war, forever, and nobody be any poorer—and the Government owe no debt. If they will not let the Government have it *as a gift*, there are two other modes by which the Government may obtain the whole of it—and still no one be any poorer. It can be done by taxation;—limiting the taxes—at the highest—to the available annual accumula-

tions; and distributing the taxes so that they shall fall only on the accumulations: both very nice operations, which few public men have ever understood, and few nations have willingly endured. It can be done also, by means of *Public Credit*; which is at once the highest product of civilization, and its greatest safeguard. There is a third method by which, emphatically, in wars like this, conquering nations are accustomed to relieve themselves: *first* by making the conquered party pay, in whole or in part, the expenses of the war; and *secondly*, by confiscating the property of enemies, and especially of rebels. The equity of these latter methods cannot be questioned; and they have this high justification, that they discountenance all rash, needless, and criminal wars. It was a madness in the Confederate States — as the weaker and the aggressive party — to set us the example of the most sweeping confiscations; for it pointed to a fund, in the hands of traitors, too large to be stated with even approximate truth, out of which we might conquer them without costing any loyal man a farthing.

The Congress of the United States has resorted to both of the two expedients first stated above: Taxation and Loans to the Government. To state the matter in other words, this generation agrees to take on itself its fair share of preserving the country; and this share is expressed in the form of taxes and interest upon money borrowed by the Government. It justly proposes to cast on future generations, some portion of the cost of that which concerns them as deeply as it does us; and this share is expressed in whatever amount of debt and interest this generation may leave unpaid. Let us observe, however, that the nature of wealth is such, in the present state of human civilization, that the surplus capital of the world, to an almost boundless extent, is constantly seeking for safe and easily convertible investments; amongst the most eagerly desired of which, are such as are the most likely to be perpetual. The debt we may leave to posterity, therefore, may be truly said to be no more than the interest in perpetuity, on the amount unpaid, and which posterity may prefer not to pay, when it shall enter upon the most glorious inheritance in the world, charged with a very small comparative annuity, created in defence of the inheritance itself. If

this war should last five years, at a cost of five hundred millions a year, over and above the income from direct and indirect taxes, we should make our children the foremost nation on earth; and oblige them to pay, therefor, one hundred and fifty millions a year. This is less, a good deal, than the yearly interest paid on the present national debt of Great Britain: and it is extremely probable it could be raised, in a prosperous condition of the country, by indirect taxes, without detriment to a single one of its great interests, and with great advantage to many of them. But, in truth, we may say, the war will not cost so much as five hundred millions a year, over and above the ordinary income; nor will the war last five years; nor will there be any difficulty, under a wise and economical administration of public affairs, for the same generation that makes the war debt, to pay its interest, and gradually redeem the debt itself. Nay; a previous limitation stated by us, is theoretically true, only in a certain sense. For any man, or any nation, in good credit, can borrow; from other men and other nations, and do so borrow continually, immense sums of money, on the credit not of surplus accumulation, nor even of gross income — but of the capital itself; — nay, often to the value of an enormous credit beyond the value of the capital itself. We were originally a thrifty people, economical in paying salaries, averse to high taxes, and shy of public debts; some indulgence in which latter, in later years, has not made us more favorable to them. But of all absurdities, none can be more palpable than the idea of any inherent pecuniary difficulty on the part of the American people, in carrying out this war to complete triumph. Undoubtedly, this is on the supposition of competent skill, in the raising and disbursement of such immense sums of money. And, so far as we are informed and are competent to judge, there is much reason to ascribe the highest capacity to the present Secretary of the Treasury. Undoubtedly, also, it is on the further supposition that this vast fund is neither stolen, nor perverted, nor used wastefully and fraudulently; but that it is skillfully, faithfully, and economically applied to its right use, by the agents of the Government, through whose hands it passes. To this end, it is probable, further legislation by Congress is needed — as well as a sleepless vigilance on the part of

the public — and the condign punishment, without respect to persons, of all official corruption.

There are some other topics of much interest, touching which we had designed to say something — as, for example, the question of paper currency, whether furnished by the Government or the Banks, in its relation to the circulation of the precious metals and the possible drain of them from the country — and the bearing of the actual management of the public finances upon these questions, and upon the internal trade of the country, by means of the substitution of cash payments, instead of credits, both in public and private transactions. But great as the bearing of these topics is, upon the general questions we are discussing, the topics themselves are too much beside the common knowledge of mankind, to be very clearly stated in the remaining space allotted to this portion of this paper. We content ourselves, therefore, with saying that, in our opinion, an incompetent Secretary of the Treasury had it completely in his power to have placed the public finances in a condition out of which immediate and ruinous discredit to the Government would have sprung — and, as a consequence, the general circulation of a depreciated paper currency, the disappearance of the precious metals, a ruinous fall in the value of property, the impossibility of active trade, and the gradual impoverishment of the country, in the midst of the war. Instead of calamities so untimely and dreadful, it seems to us perfectly clear that the course taken by Mr. Chase has had a most powerful influence in maintaining the public credit at a very high point; in opening to the Government, as a favored borrower, the whole unfixed wealth of the nation; and in aiding, in a very high degree, the rapid development of that prosperity which the industrial condition of the country exhibits in all the loyal States. There are, no doubt, other causes — some of them greater than was foreseen by most persons, others which were not foreseen by any one — to which we must attribute the chief influence in producing the universal industrial activity, and the substantial industrial prosperity, which the loyal States enjoy; instead of the starvation to which the mad conspirators of the South expected to reduce those States. It is a great lesson — this unexpected working of this civil war upon the industrial condition

of the two sections of the Union. We would willingly enter into some exposition of the causes, which have warded off so many heavy calamities from one section, and hurled them with such crushing force upon the other. But we content ourselves, as in several previous instances, with suggesting the great fact to the reader, and urging him to verify it for himself. Its bearing is most decisive on the course and end of this war. And its just exposition throws great light on the true interests of the whole country, and on the real sources of its power.

The External Relations of the Country, considered with reference to the War.

IV. The secessionists would have mankind believe, that their conduct is prompted by the most elevated principles, and directed by the noblest instincts. In illustration of these pretensions, those who were in the highest civil stations, plundered the Government under which they were Senators, Members of Congress, and Cabinet officers: those who were in the naval and military service, betrayed the flag of their country, and delivered up, not only strong places, but the troops confided to them: those who had the opportunity, robbed the Government of money: those who were on foreign diplomatic service, used their positions to the greatest possible injury of the nation: and if there were any exceptions of honorable conduct amongst them (we do know of a single one) they occurred amongst those of subordinate rank, and have been concealed by their comrades, as marks of weakness. All these degrading evidences of the total demoralization of the party, occurred in that stage of the conspiracy, immediately preparatory to the commencement of open hostilities by them. At first, they seemed to have supposed that the nation would make no serious attempt to reduce them by force, and that a great people, betrayed and sold, would accept the ignominious fate prepared for it. When they awoke from this stupid dream, their first resort was, very naturally, to an exhibition of the quality of their heroism; and their wail of "*No coercion*" resounded through the land — echoed back by the concerted cry of their secret allies in the loyal States, "*Peace, on any terms, with our brethren.*" Their next resort, just as naturally, was a manifestation of the reality of their boasted confidence in themselves,

in their resources, and in their cause. This, also, they exhibited in a manner perfectly characteristic. Emissaries were despatched to all foreign nations, embracing even the distracted Governments south of us, and not forgetting even our Indian tribes, or the Mormon kingdom. Everywhere, under the sun, where the least help seemed attainable, by whatever means they supposed might be effectual, they eagerly sought it. Sometimes by menaces, sometimes by solicitations, sometimes seeking alliance, sometimes protection, sometimes offering everything, sometimes begging for anything—even for a King, if they could get nothing better. But always, and everywhere, help was what they wanted! Help, against their own country, which they had betrayed. Oh! patriots! Help, against their own people, whom they professed to have terrified, and to be able to subdue. Oh! heroes! A more shameful record does not disfigure the history of sedition.

The United States have had three foreign wars, in eighty-six years; two with Great Britain, one with Mexico; the whole three occupying less than one-seventh part of their national existence. Peace is emphatically the desire and policy of the nation; for peace offers to it conquests, well understood by it, far greater than any nation ever obtained by war. To treat all nations as friends, to treat them all alike, to have alliances with none, to have treaties of peace and commerce with all, to demand nothing that is not just and equal, to submit to nothing that is wrong: this is the simple, wise, and upright foreign policy of this great country. Seated, so to speak, on the outer margin of the world, as the world's civilization stood at the birth of this great nation, the fathers of the Republic understood and accepted the peculiar lot which God had assigned to their country; and their descendants, to the fourth and fifth generation, had steadily developed the noble and fruitful policy of their ancestors, beholding continually the increasing power and glory, in the fruition of which, in our day, they constituted one of the chief empires of the world. Whatever else the nation may have learned, or left unlearned, in a career so astonishing; it has learned at least that the career itself is not yet accomplished, and that it must not be cut short. It must not be; for we dare not allow it, as we would answer to God, to the human race, to the shades of our ancestors, and to

the reproaches of our posterity. The very idea of forcing us, by means of foreign intervention, besides the indignation it begets, shows us how indispensable it is to our independence as a nation, that we must preserve the power by which to defy all such atrocious attempts. The true interpretation for a wise nation to put on such a menace, is that it already behooves it to become more powerful. In the present condition of the chief nations of the earth, invincible strength is the first condition of national independence. And we, who are out of the European community of States, and out of the scope of their fixed ideas of European balance of power, which has, for so long a period, regulated that continent; are, beyond all other nations, pressed with the necessity of augmenting, instead of diminishing our power, if we would preserve our freedom. Two nations of moderate force made out of ours — and the continent is at the mercy of every powerful European combination: and this is the idea of freedom and glory, that characterizes the Confederate Government. One mighty nation — and the United States may defy all Europe combined; and this is the American idea of American independence. Let the fact, therefore, be taken as final, that any foreign attempt to support the secession rebellion, is not merely tantamount to a declaration of war — but to war against the future independence of the United States. And let the Federal Government clearly understand, that this is the deliberate sense of the American people. And let all foreign Governments be made fully aware that this is the sense in which such an attempt will be taken.

We do not ourselves believe that any foreign Government will interfere in our unhappy civil war. The doctrine of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of nations, is not only the settled international law of Europe; but it has been of late thoroughly and generally enforced, and its present breach would completely tear in pieces the web of diplomacy that involves the European system of peace. Nor do we see what any European nation could gain by assailing us, comparable to the risk it would run. They certainly would get but little *cotton* by it, if that is what they seek — for some years to come, if ever. Cotton is a product of the plow and the hoe — not of the sword and the gun; and commerce means peace, not war. We do see, moreover, how

any serious injury to the United States, might fatally affect one and another European nation; and we can hardly imagine the overthrow of our national power to be attempted by any European combination, under existing circumstances, without producing a general European war—if not immense European revolutions. France, it is clear, has the highest interest in preventing the destruction of the only maritime power in the world, besides herself, that can even keep in check the dominion of England over the sea; a dominion which, for seventy years, France has been diligently preparing to dispute. England, whatever may be the wishes and feelings of certain classes, is still more thoroughly restrained. For—to say nothing of the probable loss of her American possessions, nothing of the ruin of her commerce throughout the world—her fierce population, educated for a whole generation to a fanatical hatred of slavery, and having hardly finished paying a hundred millions of dollars to extinguish it in their own cotton and sugar colonies; would be slow to indulge in the spending of two or three thousand millions more, in a war which they would understand to be for the maintenance of the very cotton and sugar slavery in foreign States, which they have so lately bought out, at home. They are a people, besides, that when driven to extremity, have small faith in royal dynasties—and have, before now, despatched kings in the closet, on the battle-field, and upon the scaffold. Spain is hardly worth speaking about in this connection, except as the owner of some desirable islands in the Gulf of Mexico; *mare nostrum* (*our sea*) as the Romans proudly called the Mediterranean. And these are the chief maritime powers of Europe—certainly the only ones we need take into this account. We will add nothing concerning the friendly dispositions of all other European Governments; nothing concerning the public opinion of Europe, before which even Governments must bow; nothing concerning the traditional and vehement sympathy of those masses of European population who make revolutions, whose hearts are with the United States even against their own sovereigns, and so many thousands of whose near kindred and friends are to-day amongst the best officers and most effective troops in our armies. Enough, it seems to us, has been said to direct the thoughts of the reader toward

those considerations, which ought to satisfy the public mind on this particular topic. With ordinary prudence, courage, and fair dealing, on the part of our Government, with foreign States, it does not appear to us that there is any ordinary possibility of a serious rupture with any of them, growing out of this war.

If, however, contrary to our judgment of the facts, war should be forced upon us by any foreign nation — or should occur from any untoward accident; there is no reason to doubt our ability to put down the rebellion in the South, and maintain the Union, notwithstanding the utmost aid the greatest foreign nation could give to the rebels. We will not now discuss the subject, in that aspect. Such a war as we have said, will, probably, not occur in our day. If it ever does occur, either it will wholly fail in its avowed object — or its effects will be far greater and more lasting, than they who bring it on expect or intend. Let mankind, at length, receive the sublime truth, that great nations do not die; that great peoples do not perish. Let them accept, at last, the astonishing fact — more palpable in the developments of our age, than ever before — that nationalities once established, are, according to any measure of time known to history, really immortal. And then let them remember, that this is, in truth, a great nation, and that the nationality shared by the American people, is not only thoroughly established, but one of the most distinct and powerful that ever existed.

It seems proper, in this connection, to make some general allusion to the Naval arm of the public service, and to the Naval power of the United States. Proper in some part of this paper; because that element of our national power, must be considered decisive of the contest with the rebel States, even if they were in other respects as strong as the nation itself. Proper in this place; because it is the supremacy of the Navies both of France and Great Britain over ours — that exposes us to the degradation even of a menace, from either of those powers — and that begets the wild hope in the Confederate Government, that either of them will interfere in this war, on its behalf. If the Navy of the United States bore any fair comparison with that of either of the two powers that rank with us, as the great maritime States of the world; no one ever would have heard a whisper about the

armed intervention of either of them, in our domestic troubles. And if, at the commencement of this rebellion, the military marine of the United States, even such as it then was, had been promptly and skillfully used, the revolt could have been suppressed at the tenth part — perhaps the hundredth part — of the treasure and the blood it may cost. It is, unhappily, true that the conspiracy against the country embraced a large number of the officers of the Navy, as well as of the army; and that the ships and Navy Yards, as well as the Forts and Regiments, had been carefully disposed, by a corrupt administration, in such a manner as to render them as little serviceable as possible. But, besides this, both arms of the service, and especially the Navy, were shamefully inadequate to the safety, the power, and the dignity of the nation; and both arms, but especially the Navy, came utterly short, at first, of what might have been justly expected of them. It is to be hoped that the time has fully come, to retrieve errors which have cost us so much.

From the remotest antiquity, the maritime powers of the world have exerted an influence over human affairs, altogether disproportionate to their relative strength, as compared with other nations. The Phœnicians, the maritime cities of Greece, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the Carthaginians, the Italian Free Cities of the Middle Ages, more recently Holland, and, for nearly two centuries past, Great Britain: everywhere, in all ages, the same truths are palpable — commerce is the parent of national wealth — and a military marine is, relatively to all other means of national power and security, by far the cheapest, the most effective, and the least dangerous to public freedom. The United States are fitted, in every way, to become the first maritime power in the world. And some of the best fruits of the terrible lesson we are now learning, will be lost; unless our statesmen of the present age, and of future generations, comprehend more clearly than hitherto, that the mission set before the American people cannot be accomplished, either in its internal completeness, or its external force, except by means of a military marine equal, at the very least, to the greatest in the world.

The liberty and glory of the Greeks were altogether personal. The freedom and power of the Roman Republic were altogether

public. The great problem yet to be solved, is the transcendent union of both. It belongs to the American people, if they see fit, to give and enjoy this sublime illustration of human grandeur. The indispensable elements of success, are, *internally*, the perfect preservation of our political system, in its whole purity, its whole force, and its whole extent: and, *externally*, the complete independence of the nation, of all foreign powers. In maintaining the former, our immediate necessity is — to extinguish, at whatever cost, this civil war. In preserving the latter, our immediate necessity is — to repel, amicably if we can, with arms if need be, and at every hazard, all foreign interference in support of this rebellion. We are able, if God requires it at our hands, to do both, by His help. Our star is set, when we fail of doing either. With nations, there is a great choice in the way of dissolution — the choice between the contempt, and the veneration, of the human race.

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