

Two Speeches

OF

REV. ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, D.D., LL.D.,

ON THE

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

- I. At the Opera House, Cincinnati, on Tuesday Evening, May 20, 1862, by invitation of many leading citizens of that City.
- II. During a Debate in the Presbyterian General Assembly, at Columbus, Ohio, on Thursday, May 22, 1862.



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No. 77 West Fourth St., Pike's Opera House, Cincinnati.

From the Cincinnati Gazette. (Editorial.)

DR. BRECKINRIDGE'S ADDRESS.—A large company assembled at the Opera House to listen to the address upon the state of the country by this distinguished minister. The occasion was in every way successful, and must have a happy effect. No new positions were offered; but the substantial situation of affairs, the powers and prospects of the Government, was canvassed with force, truth, and, at times, eloquence. No one present could have been at any loss as to the position of the speaker, on the great question now before this country. He was as emphatic as he was clear, in the expression of his views. We print the address verbatim, and an opportunity is thus afforded, for the people to read that which was heard with so much pleasure and profit, by one of the finest audiences ever assembled in Cincinnati.

[Reported for the Cincinnati Gazette.]

Pike's Opera House was well filled last night, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, by a highly intelligent audience, which assembled to hear an address by Rev. Dr. BRECKINRIDGE, on the State of the Country. At 8 o'clock, precisely, the exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. ASA D. SMITH, D.D., of New York, after which

Judge STORER made the following remarks, in introducing the speaker to the audience:

FELLOW CITIZENS—It is with great pleasure I am called upon to introduce to you the Rev. Dr. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky, one who has profoundly and reverently discussed the interests of the Government, and ably and gloriously sustained the same. He appears before you as an American citizen, as well as a Christian minister, vindicating his Master's mission, by proving his loyalty to the Government under which he was born, and which it is his pious duty to sustain. I introduce now to you the Reverend Doctor. [Applause.]

SPEECH OF DR. BRECKINRIDGE.

I beg leave, my friends and fellow-citizens, to say that I should by no means venture to present myself before you or ask your consideration to anything that I can offer on a subject which has been discussed by far abler persons than myself. I have endeavored to give myself unreservedly away to the service of our great country, which we all love so dearly, in the midst of these terrible times. Under the impression of that fact, and on account of the partiality of many of your worthy and distinguished fellow-citizens to lay upon me their commands, if I may so say, to address you on the particular aspects of a great subject agitating all our minds, that I have not felt willing to refuse. Oppressed with the infirmities of advancing life, and cares more weighty than at any other period, I beg that you will have patience to listen to what I shall endeavor, in my weakness, to say to you.

It is upon the state of the country as it now is, that I have been asked to speak to you; and I have endeavored, in arranging my remarks, to pursue such a line of observation, as should be in

some degree connected in itself, and in some degree directing our thoughts to the end that all good men and patriotic citizens ought to desire to reach, as the end of all these troubles which surround us. "The State of the Country," as it is now, should be understood—should be the subject of our meditations.

As we would direct it to the ends we would desire, requires that we should have precise, clear views concerning what these ends are, and precise and clear views concerning the nature of the political and social systems of the country itself, and of its capabilities of doing the things we desire to have done, as well as precise views concerning the actual posture of things. For, you will observe, that the fundamental idea of all these difficulties lies precisely in the question, whether or not we are a nation at all; whether or not our social system is not of that kind that it is rather a constitution than a league—rather a gathering together of sovereignties that have no superior, than a nation of itself. Now as a basis of all our principles, and as the end of all our efforts as loyal persons fighting for the life of the nation, it is necessarily involved that we should believe we are a nation. Have we not had a great career as such, and is it not that we don't intend to permit that career to be cut short as such? Have we not before us a sublime destiny? and we do not intend that that destiny should be destroyed. Is it not that the whole glory and the whole blessedness, which God has given us, points to something beyond—not only for this world in which we live, and the glory which God has permitted us to enjoy—that we should serve his wishes regardless of consequences.

In the first place, we should consider that this mistaken people are a nation, and not a mere league of people bound together by ties that may be broken at any moment; but it is undoubtedly true, at the same time, that our national existence is eminently peculiar, one consisting not merely of individual persons, but consisting of subordinate sovereignties, which we call States—a nation made up of States and having no existence but as those States exist, and States constitute a nation which have no existence as States, but as States constituting that nation. Well, now, here you find this state of heresy and of Secession, and you find it, I am sorry to say, in the double form, and extremely adverse from each other; and it is in order to point out the fatal termination of all these things, that our triumph, as great as it may be, it is necessary that these things should be preserved, and I will therefore endeavor to draw your attention to these matters. It is true that State after State may be sovereign, and may withdraw from the Confederacy and break up the Union, but the Union is no more destroyed and ruined in that way than it is true to a theory propounded in the United States Congress,

that they cannot withdraw by an act of absolute power. Only can they do it by fraud and deceit, and thus cease to be a State, and return to the Union only as Territories, coming back to the Confederacy upon terms dictated by the balance of the States. On the other hand, it is the ruin of the country that States should be allowed to secede deliberately. The social and political system of the country is utterly destroyed, and it is upon the restoration of the national life, and upon the restoration of that Union as it stood, as far as human powers can aid in the preservation of the Union as a nation made up of sovereignties; and it is to the preservation of the Union, constituting a nation, that all efforts should be directed; and even the President of the United States, in his inaugural address, pointed to that great end, and all the parties, except those in the extreme, have confessed that this should be the glorious end. This is what we aim at, and this is the aim to which we direct all our efforts. Is it not a worthy aim? Is it not sufficient, even if there were none other? Is it not the best ground that the nationality shall not be destroyed? Is it not a ground worthy of the American people? and, if there were no other reasons, that they will not allow that this Union shall be brought down from the eminence to which God has raised it, and passed to a great variety of subordinate States, warring with each other, and subjected to the encroachments of all foreign powers?

Has not God given us one Continent, and is it too much that human liberty should possess one-fourth of the world, and possessed under circumstances of the greatest blessings of God, and the greatest privileges enjoyed by man which have ever been manifested to man upon earth? [Cheers.]

Is it not more than justice, and is it not overwhelmingly our duty—and will not the shades of our ancestors cry to us to-day—will not posterity tax our memory if we do not exert ourselves to preserve the Union which our glorious ancestors handed to us, and in the way that it may run on as it has run for the last century in its glorious career? And we trust it will go on prospering and to prosper. [Cheers.]

Now it appears to me that the aim of this treason, rebellion, and war—all the misery and calamity that you behold around you—is directed to the end of destroying and subverting this Union—first into two, and afterward into how many God alone in His infinite wisdom knows.

On the other hand, as I have before suggested, the whole effort of the nation—its fundamental principle is to preserve, and restore, and to perpetuate, as we have received, this inheritance by God and transmitted to us by our fathers. The treason is against this country; the military efforts of one section of the

country are against this nation. The anarchy which every where prevails, wherever secession and treason is gone, is an anarchy which spreads itself out in every portion of the Union, and if it succeeds, results in the ruin of the nation. This is the state of the country which in this broken manner I have endeavored to lay before you. Now, as it seems to me under circumstances like these, the very first lesson we draw from the actual state of the country is, that the war in which we are engaged, ought to be prosecuted, and prosecuted to the end [tremendous applause] with the whole energy of the nation; ought to be pursued to the last extremity. [Repeated applause.] I may be called fanatical, perhaps I am, but I have often said, and I say it to you here, as God is my Judge—I believe it would be better for this country, terrible as the calamity would be, and incalculable as the misery would be—I believe it would be better for God's purposes upon earth—I believe it would be incomparably better for the human race for all that is gained by us, that we should go back to Plymouth Rock and Jamestown—to the infancy of our country—than to let this atrocious and abominable attempt to subvert the Government succeed. [Tremendous cheers.]

I cannot give you any stronger expressions than those which I have given, and which are the lessons deduced from the whole considerations, and of all that has passed up to the moment at which we stand. It is an appeal to the God of Battles. God is still with us to-day, and will in his mercy lead us to a glorious end; and every man that lives in this country is called upon to settle the question in its primeval shape, and settle it forever. [Cheers.]

Let there be no more Secession—let there be no more rebellion—let there be no more war. As long as history shall perpetuate the deeds of the past year and the deeds of the coming year, which at some future she will record, and let us thankfully take whatever God gives us.

In the second place, it seems to me the lessons which are taught to you in the present state of the country, and one which we have a right to look for in the future is, that we should labor and go back to the first idea; that we should labor and look before us all the time to the restoration and the preservation of the Union, and the perpetuation of the social and political system of the country and the sublime career which is before us—whatever collateral object there is—whatever other purposes may exist. It seems sometimes impossible in this world that those who start a great work can see the result. It is impossible to introduce a line of policy to go by, and no human wisdom is able to foresee how many side issues may be brought to bear. We cannot know, we cannot tell, and I have nothing to say in regard to that. If there

are collateral influences, and some there are that eminently need to be watched and guarded—if there are others that eminently need to be promoted—if there are great lessons to be drawn in the issue, sufficient unto the day will be found the wisdom as well as the evil thereof. But the idea which I wish to inculcate is, that there is not any collateral issue that may be avoided and may be suppressed in the main issue before us. The object of the direction is, our country as we had it, and our institutions as they were.

The whole country, the whole continent and our whole immense domain, we should not give up so much of it as would make a grave, if in doing so we had to yield a tittle.

It is, on the whole, as it was; we do not want any other system. We will not run the risk of a new system and lose the great object. Now, as it appears to me—and I say it with great respect—there have been great mistakes committed, and are being committed, and with great peril in the prospect, upon both of the subjects. There was an immense mistake committed every day, founded upon the idea that it was possible to conciliate those who have banded themselves in military array, and have armed themselves against the country. This idea is utterly absurd—they have been beyond all desire of conciliation; and now and any other time before, since this treason has matured, and since this war broke out, the Union could not have been restored as it was if they had had the determination of this point. If you had given them a *carte blanche* and said to them—“do it upon whatever terms you please.” It would have been incompatible with their system. You will find this perpetual committing of errors which carries you farther and farther from the desired end. It is an error to suppose that to treat an enemy at all, is through mercy, if that enemy is one that by every conceivable means has shut his heart against you, and is determined to ruin you.

The danger becomes greater, greater, and greater. I know what I am referring to—I know I am speaking of things that have transpired thirty years ago. I know that these men who seek to subvert the Constitution are not capable of being conciliated, and the only way to treat them is to crush them, and to crush them is the only thing to be done. [Cheers.]

There is another idea connected with this matter, and that is, to connect the great mass of quiet and peaceable citizens, who, so to speak, were called upon to take up arms against us without taking any particular part in the circumstances in which they were involved in fighting against us—that is, confounding the loyal portion of the people, who were ready to risk all for the good of the country, in the same category with the people who never can be conciliated, and will be always ready to rise again whenever

they have a favorable opportunity. We are not in the habit of making these distinctions. We are in the habit of thinking hard, very hard of the loyal portion in Tennessee or South Carolina, that they permitted this insurrection. They were oppressed at home, and compelled to take up arms against the Government. You will allow me to make a local and personal reference, and to say that if it had not been by mere accident—if it had not been the blessing of God and the heroism of some persons, the very same thing would have happened in Kentucky, and I will go further and say in extenuation of the conduct of many who were really loyal citizens further south. I will say further, that it was the proximity of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the fidelity of the people of the latter States upon which these men depended—of your people and the people of the other two States, that saved Kentucky. [Great cheers.]

The question was flatly asked by General Boyle, of the army, then a private citizen of Kentucky: "will you have 12,000 men ready the moment we ask for them?" It was flatly asked of the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the reply was: they would sustain them; and I suppose I may add, that Mr. Lincoln was telegraphed to, asking whether he would assist them, and he said, "with his whole power." [Cheers.] Mr. Boyle telegraphed to Gov. Dennison for 10,000 men at call. He replied "you can have them." He also asked for 10,000 from Indiana and Illinois, and received the same reply. [Cheers.] And this was the salvation of Kentucky.

What could we have done alone? If we had been hundreds of miles from the free States, we could not have sustained ourselves against the wave of secession. All available means to carry on a war successfully, were taken by the disloyal citizens by violence.

The result of the Presidential election shows to every man of common sense, that the possibility of carrying the States out of the Union by voting was absurd, and it could be done only by fraud and deceit.

There are always people in every country, who attempt to revolutionize by force or by an appeal to the good sense of the people. I have always said, and still say, if that movement could have been a national movement throughout the fifteen slave States, if the people would have separated from this Union, there would have been no power to prevent it; and the desperation with which a part of the South has fought for the last few months, shows what the whole would have done if it had been a truly national movement.

They were bought into the Confederacy with money, and it was from the beginning a pre-concerted movement, accomplished by

violence and fraud. That is the nature of the case to the present time. It was a movement that was known to me and to every man of the slightest common sense. It was a failure to carry States out by fair means, and to be consummated only by violence and deceit. The moment they got power anywhere they passed certain acts, which were treason, and should be punished as such, with death, or with confinement or military service if committed in the county. What could the loyal portion of the people do? Here was the band of conspirators who called themselves a government, and here were these men isolated one from another—and hence the cry that there was unanimity for secession. Here was an incessant wail coming up from one end of the Confederacy to the other—if there was any possibility of the General Government coming to their relief, especially from East Tennessee—from the beginning until now. And no free people have ever suffered as they have done, and yet they are not relieved. There is a wide difference between these parties. These loyalists risked everything they had, and they would have gladly taken up their arms for the better cause.

On the other hand, you commit a great error in supposing, or coming to a conclusion to suppose, that there are not loyal men there. In the present state of the country, there are no two errors that should be guarded against more carefully. It is an exceedingly intricate question as to what is the most effectual way to protect us from these errors. But I shall not enter on this discussion at all.

The next general remark which I have to make, as an important lesson drawn from what has happened, is the undoubted ability of the American people to do what they have undertaken to do—their undoubted ability to crush out this rebellion, and the ability to restore the nation in all its integrity, as it was before. What has been accomplished in the last year I shall not recapitulate. Whoever will look at the line of military operations in the country now, and compare it with the helpless condition of our marine frontier and river defenses a year ago—whoever will look at the results of the recent campaigns in the Mississippi Valley—at the naval operations upon river and sea-coast, cannot have a particle of doubt as to the ability of the nation to defend itself. I never doubted, and never could see on what ground anybody could doubt, that twenty millions of loyal people in the free States, and four millions of loyal people in the slave States, would do anything they desired with four millions of disloyal people in the slave States. The whole thing seemed an absurdity from the beginning, to doubt our ability to do what we ought to do; and it was an utter absurdity in them to doubt what we would and could do under the circumstances. What I

mean to press upon you now, as a sequel to what I have been saying, is that there is a wide distinction between the two works which I insist upon we ought to do. The one is to crush the rebellion; that is, with military force that must be done from without; it must be done by the nation, and by military force; these men must be delivered, and it must be done by the army. The other is a widely different thing, resting upon different principles, and to be done in a different way: the restoration which is to be made of peace and public order, and the re-establishment of a free Government. The mode in which this is to be brought about is a widely different work in all respects from the work already commenced. The great experiment is now being tried in Tennessee; for I suppose the General Government is now feeling its way there, and that the model there endeavored to be set up will be the model in other States, as one by one they are brought back. What I insist upon is that it has been done; that the elements of doing it are there; it is the work of peace, and not of arms; it is simply a question of time. With you and me, time is everything; with nations, time is long; it has taken Great Britain six hundred years to quiet Ireland. If they will grant us a small portion of that time, I will guarantee everything is quiet in the South. [Applause.] It may take a generation, or half a generation; or it may take but six months. I saw a rumor in the newspapers, which may be true, but I have no authority for vouching for it, that the Governor of North Carolina has already recalled the troops of that State from the Confederate army, and refuses any more aid to the rebellion. It is that you may not be discouraged—that you may not stop short in the patriotic work, that I trouble you in speaking of this aspect of the subject.

Now, there is another aspect of the times to which I must refer. The state of the country presents to me extraordinary revelations; things are occurring that ought to challenge the consideration of every thoughtful mind, to one or two of which let me call your attention. And first, is the demonstration that has been made, so unlooked for and so emphatic, of the character of the American people and this great crisis through which they are passing. For example, suppose such a rebellion as this had occurred in any European monarchy—in the Roman empire? We know exactly what took place there when, again and again, it did occur. Suppose it had occurred in the Russian Empire: we know what terrible results followed when such a thing happened there. Here you have had an organized conspiracy for years, growing up during an administration, that for four years seemed to have no other object but to prepare the nation for its interment; and a cabinet of ministers putting the army and navy where they could be of

no use to the Government. I don't like to speak evil of dignitaries; and I don't know whether it was imbecility, or cowardice, or corruption in Buchanan to let the men in his cabinet do what they did; but posterity will execrate them as long as their names are remembered in the nation. In the midst of these things, here is the conduct of the American people; here is the stain upon their Government, and it is a great revolution; that our people can do what no other Government ever did do—that they can stand the shock never stood by any nation, and come out with a triumph more glorious than any nation ever before achieved.

This is a glorious revolution, worthy to be associated with the revolution of our fathers. The most permanent nations under the sun have been those nearest like our own. This thought is worthy of pondering over. There is nothing in this country wherein one State differs from another as much as there is in the States of the German nation—nothing that has separated one from another as in the cantons of the Swiss nation. Some being free and some slave, may be thought greater, but I think not, if you ponder it carefully. The Germans and the French, in the different Swiss cantons, differ in religion and in many other respects; yet they are one glorious nation. The elements of the German nation vary from the small, free towns up to the first monarchs of Europe; yet this great nation preserves its integrity, and if they, why not we? The things which separate us from each other, have been found upon trial to be things not necessarily destructive to the nationality and perpetuity of the Government. The whole of the Slave States have not gone out in a body; the majority of the people have been loyal; the whole of the Border Slave States have been and will be, loyal. I dare say of them, if I am a fair specimen, that in all Ohio you will not find a more loyalman than I am.

Here is the insuperable strength of a people to maintain its like, under circumstances that make one portion as widely different as if in another country; and yet under circumstances where no other country has ever succeeded in maintaining itself.

Look at the tremendous demonstration that has been made of the military strength of the country, an overwhelming proof of the warlike character of the people! A nation which had given up arms, and was devoted to industry, and in a year brings out an army greater than ever was brought into the field at any time before—an army of five or six hundred thousand men.

Did you have any conscription in Ohio? They have conscriptions in France. Did you have press-gangs in Ohio? They have in England. Did you whip any one to compel them to volunteer? They use the knout in Russia to fill the ranks. An army of five hundred thousand volunteers sprung to arms, and an army of five

hundred thousand still behind ready to do the same thing. And this army is doing the work it designed to do. Now I do not speak evil of dignitaries, but I am conscientiously of the opinion that, as the Duke of Wellington said about his army: "Whenever I get into a scrape, my soldiers help me out," so it is with our army. They are heroic, gallant, and plucky—and of such gallant volunteers the world never before saw the like.

Carry the idea a little further, to the demonstration of the boundless capacity of the country to sustain an expensive war, a country rich beyond computation. Here we are, in the midst of expenses, of, it may be, a thousand million dollars a year, and the public funds almost at par, the credit of the country fair, and the boundless capacity of this stingy and mean nation, as it is sometimes called—a boundless readiness to give money and men. If there could be a collection of the immense amount of money contributed to the cause of benevolence, connected with this war, it would be enough to carry on a war in the usual way. People the most elevated and refined give themselves to the most menial services in behalf of the sick, wounded and dying. Was anything like it ever heard of in the history of the nations of the world? Men cry, tax us; here is our money to alleviate the sufferings of the sick; and our best and loveliest women say, here are our services; take them and use them. Is this not an illustration marvelous in itself, glorious to Christianity and our country, and pointing to the end to which such a people must come, if they be wisely and bravely directed.

There is one more reflection which is, if possible, more striking than this—it is, so to speak, the providential concurrence of circumstances. At the very moment of the utmost peril of our naval outfit, and during the utmost peril to the brave cities of the seaboard, in the moment of the trial of the armed ship of the rebels, here comes the little black steamboat kind of thing, and it turns out a very angel from heaven, perfectly invulnerable, able to destroy everything before it. The idea has revolutionized naval warfare. It puts us ahead of the naval powers of the world. The whole thing is changed. Do you suppose, if that battle had been fought a month before the British Cabinet demanded the release of those two prisoners who went over as the ambassadors of the so-called Confederacy, they would have done it with so much *hauteur* as they did? Do you suppose, if that battle had been fought, and we had known what that vessel was, that the Cabinet would have been so complacent as they were? I trow not. The naval powers have been, out of all comparison, the great powers in the world. So it was in the great states of Asia. So it was in Holland. So always, it is the cheapest and most effectual and safest of all powers that can exist in any coun-

try. And now, behold out of the bosom of this war emerges not only the power to do this great thing—a thing never done before—but there emerges this great demonstration of our capacity to do and to bear in the way of giving our money and services. But out of the same bosom and at the same time emerges this other idea that puts us equal with the chief naval powers of the world. All we have to do is to start with that little ship, and keep breast to breast, and side to side with the naval powers. From the received notion, they wanted us to be domineered over by all powers who chose to, we became a power, standing in the center of the earth, ready to dictate terms to the world. They will not dare to use a word of insult, when we have a hundred millions of such people extending from one side of the continent to the other. Imagine New England to be on the Pacific coast, I would like to know what China or Japan could do to us. No such idea was ever before set before any nation. All is light, glorious light, pointing to the sublimest destiny ever offered to any people.

All that is left is for each to ask himself, what is our part, and our duty? What shall each do in his place? Are we to stand by in cold neutrality, or fly for fear of the fire and sword, and so escape our duty that they may work their ruin? Are we to fold our arms, and behold with indifference the ruin of our country, if that should be the will of God, or triumph, if that should be His will? But, most of all, is there any one who hears my voice, who thinks it is right for himself to combine with traitors, either in feeling or act, or strike hands with those who revolt against our Government, and would destroy their country and help consummate the ruin they desire to bring upon us? "O, man! are these the things we allow ourselves to suppose to be possible of doing in the City of God? Are we not called upon, every man in his place, to take his life in his own hands, and to count all things but dross, that he may do in the great work set before us his part, as he would have his good name descend to his children, and when he ascends to the right hand of Majesty on high, to find his name there recorded. If the work is done without us, or by us, it may be all the same to the country and to God; but oh! how different to us, if we fail to do our duty. That great Jew who said to the child he had loved, "If thou at such a time as this hold thy peace, know that God will bring deliverance from another quarter, but you and your father's house shall be cut off."

Who knows but that it is just such a time as this, that you and I have been called to this kingdom; and God in His grace and providence, demands of us that we should acquit ourselves like men in the day of our adversity?

DEBATE

ON

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY:

IN THE

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (O.S.,)

At Columbus, Ohio, Thursday, May 22, 1862.

Reported for the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

"The Hall of the House of Representatives was yesterday afternoon, at an early hour, crowded, as closely as chairs and benches could stand, in the aisles, and in the galleries, with as intelligent an audience as ever assembled, many of whom were ladies. The order of the day had been published, and the desire evidently to hear that fearless champion of loyalty and Unionism in Kentucky, and eminent theologian, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge. His deliverance on the duty of the Church in the present state of the country, hereinbelow published, has been read all over the nation by this time, and its discussion by the master minds in this Assembly has been looked forward to as an occasion of great interest, and it has attracted listeners from all parts of the State."

Dr. Breckinridge's Resolutions.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in session at Columbus, in the State of Ohio, considering the unhappy condition of the country—in the midst of a bloody civil war—and of the Church, agitated everywhere, divided in sentiment in many places, and openly assailed by schism in a large section of it; considering also the duty which this chief tribunal, met in the name and by the authority of the glorified Savior of sinners, who is also the Sovereign Ruler of all things, owes to him our Head and Lord, and to his flock committed to our charge, and to the people whom we are commissioned to evangelize, and to the civil authorities who exist by his appointment; do hereby in this deliverance, give utterance to our solemn convictions and our deliberate judgment, touching the matters herein set forth, that they may serve for the guidance of all, over whom the Lord Christ has given us any office of instruction, or any power of government.

I. Peace is amongst the very highest temporal blessings of the Church, as well as of all mankind; and public order is one of the first necessities of the spiritual as well as the civil commonwealth. Peace has been wickedly superseded by war, in its worst form, throughout the whole land; and public order has been wickedly superseded by rebellion, anarchy and violence, in the whole Southern portion of the Union. All this has been brought to pass, in a disloyal and

traitorous attempt to overthrow the National Government by military force, and to divide the nation contrary to the wishes of the immense majority of the people of the nation, and without satisfactory evidence that the majority of the people in whom the local sovereignty resided, even in the States which revolted, ever authorized any such proceeding, or ever approved the fraud and violence, by which this horrible treason has achieved whatever success it has had. This whole treason, rebellion, anarchy, fraud and violence, is utterly contrary to the dictates of natural religion and morality, and is plainly condemned by the revealed will of God. It is the clear and solemn duty of the National Government to preserve, at whatever cost, the national Union and Constitution, to maintain the laws in their supremacy, to crush force by force, and to restore the reign of public order and peace to the entire nation, by whatever lawful means that are necessary thereunto. And it is the bounden duty of the people who compose this great nation, each one in his several place and degree, to uphold the Federal Government, and every State Government, and all persons in authority, whether civil or military, in all their lawful and proper acts, unto the ends herein before set forth.

II. The Church of Christ has no authority from him to make rebellion, or to counsel treason, or to favor anarchy in any case whatever. On the contrary, every follower of Christ has the personal liberty bestowed on him by Christ, to submit, for the sake of Christ, according to his own conscientious sense of duty to whatever government, however bad under which his lot may be cast. But while patient suffering for Christ's sake can never be sinful, treason, rebellion and anarchy may be sinful—most generally, perhaps, are sinful, and probably are always and necessarily sinful in all free countries, where the power to change the Government by voting, in the place of force, exists as a common right, constitutionally secured to the people who are sovereign. If in any case treason, rebellion and anarchy can possibly be sinful, they are so in the case now desolating large portions of this nation, and laying waste great numbers of Christian congregations, and fatally obstructing every good word and work in those regions.

To the Christian people scattered throughout those unfortunate regions, who have been left of God to have any hand in bringing on these terrible calamities, we earnestly address words of exhortation and rebuke, as unto brethren who have sinned exceedingly, and whom God calls to repentance by fearful judgment. To those in like circumstances, who are not chargeable with the sins which have brought such calamities upon the land, but who have chosen, in the exercise of their Christian liberty, to stand in their lot and suffer, we address words of affectionate sympathy, praying God to bring them off conquerors. To those in like circumstances, who have taken their lives in their hands and risked all for their country, and for conscience' sake, we say we love such with all our heart, and bless God such witnesses were found in the time of thick darkness. We fear, and we record it with great grief, that the church of God and the Christian people, to a great extent, and throughout all the re-

volted States, have done many things that ought not to have been done, in this time of trial, rebuke, and blasphemy; but concerning the wide spread schism which is reported to have occurred in many Southern Synods, this Assembly will take no action at this time. It declares, however, its fixed purpose, under all possible circumstances, to labor for the extension and permanent maintenance of the Church under its care in every part of the United States. Schism, so far as it may exist, we hope to see healed. If that can not be, it will be disregarded.

III. We record our gratitude to God for the prevailing unity of sentiment, and general internal peace, which has characterized the Church in the States that have not revolted, embracing a great majority of the ministers, congregations and people under our care. It may still be called, with emphasis, a loyal, orthodox and pious church, and all its acts and works indicate its right to a title so noble. Let it strive for Divine grace to maintain that good report. In some respects the interests of the Church of God are very different from those of civil institutions. Whatever may befall this, or any other nation, the Church of Christ must abide on earth triumphant even over the gates of hell. It is, therefore, of supreme importance that the Church should guard itself from internal alienations and divisions, founded upon questions and interests that are external as to her, and which ought not by their necessary working cause her fate to depend on the fate of things less important and less enduring than herself. Disturbers of the church ought not to be allowed—especially disturbers of the church in States that never revolted, or that have been cleared of armed rebels—disturbers who, under many false pretenses, may promote discontent, disloyalty, and general alienation—tending to the unsettling of ministers, to local schisms, and to manifold trouble. Let a spirit of quietness, of mutual forbearance, and of ready obedience to authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, illustrate the loyalty, the orthodoxy, and the piety of the church. It is more especially to ministers of the Gospel—and among them particularly, to any whose first impressions had been on any account favorable to the terrible military revolution which has been attempted, and which God's Providence has hitherto so signally rebuked—that these decisive considerations ought to be addressed. And in the name and by the authority of the Lord Jesus, we earnestly exhort all who love God and fear his wrath, to turn a deaf ear to all counsels and suggestions that tend toward a reaction favorable to disloyalty, schism or disturbance, either in the church or in the country. There is hardly anything more inexcusable connected with the frightful conspiracy against which we testify than the conduct of those office-bearers and members of the church, who, although citizens of loyal States, and subject to the control of loyal Presbyteries and Synods, have been faithless to all authority, human and divine, to which they owed subjection. Nor should any to whom this deliverance may come fail to bear in mind, that it is not only their outward conduct concerning which they ought to take heed, but it is also, and especially, their heart, their temper, and their motives, in the sight of God, and to-

ward the free and beneficent civil Government which he has blessed us withal, and toward the spiritual commonwealth to which they are subject in the Lord. In all these respects we must all give account to God in the Great Day. And it is in view of our own dread responsibility to the Judge of quick and dead, that we now make this deliverance.

JUDGE GAMBLE'S REMARKS.

After the reading of the paper by the Clerk, Judge Gamble of Missouri, brother of the Governor, arose and said:

The subject introduced for our consideration, is, to my mind, the most interesting one that has occupied the attention of this Assembly. To the wording of the paper, and every sentiment in it, I give full accordance; but, inasmuch as the condition of the Church would make such a deliverance, at this time, in my judgment, altogether injurious, (and I can see no good that can possibly arise from it,) I must oppose its adoption. I have prepared a resolution, for the purpose of giving some direction to debate on this subject. I have always been a peacemaker in the Church, as far as I was able, when no principle is concerned. I have always endeavored to preserve harmony, and do nothing that could bring injury to the Church. I come from Missouri, and from a position that enables me to speak understandingly of the effect such a paper would have on the churches of that State. Everything there now has a tendency to peace. You may ascribe it to the success of the Federal arms, or to the influence of a sense of returning duty; but there is now a disposition in that State to recognize the power of the Federal Government, and submit to it peaceably. Therefore, I consider it very unfortunate that a second deliverance of this kind, in regard to the loyalty and patriotism of this branch of the Church, should be conceived at all necessary. I think it not only useless, but that it will lead to evil. I think that if the paper is treated with all the respect that is due its author, but not adopted, good may arise to the Church from it.

As to the political sentiments of the mover of the deliverance, I would say, that I coincide altogether with his views, and it is from no favor to opposite views that I now raise my voice in opposition to this paper. I believe that to treat those who differ from you kindly is the best way to attain the object the mover has in view in offering his paper—that is, the peace and quiet of the Church. I know there are many in the State of Missouri and elsewhere who do not coincide with me in these views; they are deluded, strangely deluded, but I would not cut off their church connection, and exasperate them, to make greater disturbance in the Church. I do not pretend to enter into a discussion of the merits of the deliverance; the only question now is as to the expediency of the thing. Let no discussion arise out of Dr. Spring's resolutions as to the power of the Church in this matter. Let the discussion be confined to the question whether it is for the best interests of the Church that this paper should be adopted, or, by giving it a respectful consideration and dismissal, you will not better obtain the object of the mover. I therefore offer the following:

Resolved, That in view of the past deliverance on the subject involved in the paper just read, it is deemed by this General Assembly, with the highest respect for the venerable minister from whom the paper comes, inexpedient to take any further action on the subject at present.

Some remarks were here made on a point of order, by Dr. Breckinridge, the Moderator, and others, as to the relation this resolution would bear to the paper in taking a vote. The Moderator explained that the adoption of the paper had been moved and seconded when first introduced, and as their rules

know of no such thing as a substitute, the discussion might go on, and the vote be taken on Judge Gamble's resolution as an amendment.

DR. M'DONALD'S REMARKS.

Dr. M'Donald of New Jersey, seconding the resolution approved of the terms and excellent spirit of the remarks of the gentleman moving it. He looked upon it as a happy augury as to the spirit and tone of the debate, if debate must follow. It appeared to him inexpedient to adopt the paper; there seemed to be no occasion for this Church to declare its loyalty and patriotism again; we would expose ourselves to suspicion by standing in the streets and proclaiming our excellence in this or any other respect. The honest man does not need to proclaim his honesty; and our Savior warned us against praying at the street corners. He was impressed with the remark of the mover of the resolution, when he asked, what good will the adoption of the paper do? And if it will do no good, it will be wise to avoid the risk of doing harm.

REMARKS OF DR. BRECKINRIDGE.

I do not propose to enter a discussion of the merits of the proposition contained in the paper which I had the honor to submit, for I have not the strength, even if it were necessary. But I am ready, and hope to have an opportunity, in answer to whatever may be alleged against the divine truth of the principles stated, and the divine obligation of the political duties inculcated, to say as much as I may judge the patience of this house will bear, at an appropriate time. The statement which I wish to make now covers another aspect of the case altogether, namely, the policy of adopting the deliverance proposed.

As to the position of the Border Slave States to this question, I will remark: One of the brethren who has been on the floor is from Missouri, another from Kentucky, and another who wanted the floor is from Maryland. It is not improper for me to say here that I have had extended conferences with brethren from these States, in which they urged me with great emphasis to withdraw this paper. It is not at all unbecoming in me to acknowledge that I have with the greatest reluctance and grief separated myself from my brethren in those States, who are situated much as I am; and particularly so as it regards the State of Kentucky, where so many brethren, many of whom are here and are loyal, and situated precisely as I am; I have felt great reluctance in being wholly unable to comply with their wishes. Their requests were mainly directed to the single point that I would withdraw the paper, and say to the house emphatically, what is said in the resolution before us. After the best consideration I have been able to give the subject, I have only to say that I find myself totally unable to do so, either with proper respect to my personal character, my convictions, or to the duty I owe to God and my generation.

If I were left alone, the only minister of the Gospel in the whole of the border slave States, considering these principles true, and the utterance timely, I think I would be supported by what national virtue I have, and by the grace God has given me, to go forward and, if needs be, be hanged for having offered this paper. I make this statement with no spirit of boasting, but to show the impossibility of my doing any such thing. I may, therefore, further say, that I do to a certain extent tell these good brothers that nothing would please me more, as a man and friend, than to gratify them if I could. I did go so far as to say, that if I could see it to be my duty, I would remain perfectly silent under the discussion, and let the Assembly fight it out; and if the ordinary course had been pursued, I probably should not have opened my mouth. I, however, on further reflection, became satisfied that it would be going too far, and I to-day notified them that they must not rely on me

doing, or forbearing to do, any thing except to do what I thought to be my duty when the matter came before the Assembly.

You see now the mode in which it is attempted to evade all discussion of the subject. It is obliquely to cast out everything but the naked question of the adequacy of what has been done before. All the principles and allegations of duty are to be thrown totally out of consideration, and the action carried and justified on the two propositions: first, that I am a respectable man; and second, that the Assembly has done enough. This is not right; it is not the way to meet questions of that sort. I, therefore, wish to present briefly, with reference to the aspect of the subject thus set forth, the following considerations:

First, I believe I am the oldest man here from the Border Slave States, with the exception of my excellent friend from whom the resolution came. I believe I have been longer in the ministry than any man from those States. I believe I know the hearts of the people of those States as well as they know them; and I unhesitatingly assert that they are totally deceived as to what would be the effect of the paper on their minds. It may be that they think it impertinent in me to say that they don't think correctly in regard to matters of which they think they know more than I do. When Mr. Gamble says he knows the adoption of the paper would destroy harmony in the Church of Missouri, where he lives, it is perhaps presumption in me to say he is mistaken. But there are general facts, and there are special personal indications made to me by those who are entitled to know, and who are as fully as respectable as he, that point exactly in the opposite direction. We have three reasonably strong churches in St. Louis, and in point of fact, all there are Union churches, but not one of the ministers is a loyal man; and I say this in the presence of one of the three that I most respect and love. [Sensation.] In my sense of loyalty, there is not one of them loyal. Doctors will differ in the diagnosis of a case; here are the symptoms, and my diagnosis is that my paper will strengthen the hands of every loyal, orthodox and pious Presbyterian there, and weaken the hands of those who are loyal.

They are deceived about the State of Kentucky. You will be told that the sentiments of the people are against the adoption of this deliverance; but there are five Presbyterian representatives here—two, and perhaps three, will vote for the paper. So that; if Mr. Gamble's resolution is necessary for St. Louis, ours is good for Kentucky. Here are my brethren from Baltimore, whom I dearly love; I lived there thirteen years, which is longer than any body who is here has been there, except it be Bro. Backus. Any thing on earth that I could do compatible with my duty to God and my country I would do to gratify that brother; but my opinion is that he is profoundly mistaken. I don't like to go into particulars about Baltimore; but I understand the state of the city, and will give it if the occasion comes when it shall be proper to do so. In my judgement all are mistaken as to the effect the paper would produce in these Border Slave States.

The second suggestion is, that in no case is the paper of that description, that it can possibly produce anything like the feeling the brethren allege. What is the paper? It is an allegation, in the first place, that peace and public order are of inestimable value; that they are destroyed; that they ought to be restored; that rebellion is treason, and that Government is responsible for its suppression; and that every man in the country is bound by his loyalty to the country and to God to sustain the Government, by restoring peace and public order. It is inconceivable by the mind of man, that, to go into an agitated country and make such propositions that they can by possibility produce the slightest agitation, unless it be upon the minds of such men as are in favor of destroying the peace and public order of the country, or who are, on the other hand, sympathizers with those who have done it, or are doing it. I have no doubt you would exasperate every disloyal man in

the Church, and every heretic out of it; and all together they would be a considerable number.

Here in the North (and the worst treason has been talked to me in the Northern States) you will no doubt displease a multitude of people; but you can not define anything on earth without displeasing those who differ from you in respect to the thing you define. It is not true that this number of gentlemen, pious, learned men—that this number of private persons—giving a distinct utterance of principles, would strengthen the hands of those to whom they spoke, and support them in the maintenance of their position founded on such principles. Now, I ask you, are not the loyal suffering people throughout these border States as much entitled to your sympathy and support, as these disloyal rebels are entitled, that you should not wound their feelings by anything you might say? Am I not as much entitled to your support, by your approbation of the principles I pursue, as those who have rebelled are entitled that you forbear reproving them? On the other hand, do you not owe a duty to the whole Church, to truth, to God, to the human race, and to the times in which you are called into the kingdom? Suppose it be that in this deliverance you may do damage to a certain quarter—that it may do harm, or prevent good in some other quarter, but in the meantime that elsewhere boundless good is done—ought you to hesitate for a moment? It is true that we can do no good without doing some harm. You can not take a good man from a small field of labor and put him in a large field, without injuring to some extent the welfare of those from whom you have removed him. But, does any man imagine this should not be done? We may in a day or two remove a good minister from some congregation, and place him in a Professor's chair. Does any body imagine it should not be done, if greater good should be done by the move in his new field of labor? Do you not know that it is the prerogative of God to bring good out of evil? And it is the prerogative of the Church to follow in some respects this same course.

I have said, that if these two hundred and fifty men would, as private persons, give an utterance of this kind, it would fall with unspeakable weight in encouraging that which they commended, and in discouraging that which they condemned. But when they come to do it in the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, and appeal to the Holy Ghost to give force unto it, how unspeakably irresistible must such a deliverance become? What right have you to deliver, or forbear to deliver, in this body, except as you do it in the name of the King of kings and Lord of lords? Now, you sit here in the dread name of the Lord, and here is your Church torn by schism, and your country deluged by war, and God shaking the nation to its foundations; and here you are, two hundred and fifty ministers and elders, sitting in that name, seeing the Church bleeding at every pore—you, the servants of Jehovah, administering judgment in the name of Him to whom is delegated all power; see your country bathed in blood—and the proposition to you is, to rebuke those who rage, harass, and ruin all our peace, but you can not open your mouths! The shock of the country, and all its attendant woe, can not break the dumbest of dumb dogs. Oh! my brethren, is this acting in the name of Christ? No, no, no, you can't plead this excuse. I tell you in the name of Jesus Christ, to look at your country as it is, and consider that this is your first meeting since the war has opened out fully, and since the schism in the church has been developed; I tell you that you can't go back and face your congregations as Ministers of Jesus Christ, without making some deliverance on these tremendous realities. Your Church is rent, your country is in the midst of civil war, and nothing but the favor of the Lord God of Hosts is to bring you triumphantly through the scenes in which you are involved. Make a deliverance of His truth, make proclamation of His law, and let us go forth in the name of God's Church through this highest tribunal, and rebuke as by authority put into your hands by God, who will stand before it? I tell

you, nobody—nobody but madmen, nobody but traitors, nobody but rebels, nobody but those who have cast away all hope of ever being reconciled to the country or the Church.

Suppose I stand up in my pulpit some Sabbath day, and read that some man has been excommunicated by four or five elders. It sticks to the man to the day of his death, unless he can have it removed by an edict secured by repentance. But suppose these elders and I meet at the street corners and express the private opinion that the man is guilty of the same charge; it is regarded as only the private opinion of a few individuals. In the other case the verdict carries with it authority and power. I desire you to bear along with you in this utterance that mighty power of God, and it will quiet all that can be quited; it will be a savor of death unto death, and to each of you will be a sweet savior to God, and of life unto life.

But, my brethren, allow me one word more. Did any body ever imagine a schism could maintain itself on the naked proposition of disloyalty to the country? The Christian doctrine against this schism is, that you have denounced disloyalty and commended loyalty. Does any one question that you have commanded quiet and condemned disturbance? Can any Church in any country maintain itself as schismatic on the basis of treason to that country? It can not be done, and whoever undertakes it will find they are followed by only a few deluded members, and will speedily recover their senses and return o duty.

The paper before us contains a simple and clear statement of the condition of the country and the Church. First, it states the duty we owe to the country; second, the duty of the country to the Church; third, the condition of the Church in the seceded States; and to each there is a deliverance suited to it; and in the third section you find a deliverance to the Church outside of the seceded States. The paper is begun by the general declaration that it is prepared out of a sense of duty, in the name of the Lord.

I beg to say to you, that having written this deliverance, I don't want any of you to be led a single step beyond what your conscientious convictions lead you to do in acting upon it; but I don't want you to be deceived, and carried away by the delusive notion of the bad effect that may be produced by it. It was to this point alone that I cared about making these remarks. I beg the Lord that I may not be obliged to say anything further on this subject.

Reported for The Presbyterian, Philadelphia.

DR. MCPHEETERS, of St. Louis, got the floor, and denied, with great distinctness and emphasis, the right of any ecclesiastical body to question and challenge his political sentiments on any subject. He had tried to keep entirely clear of the discussion of all political subjects. He was from Missouri. He had been asked his political sentiments. He said he replied by telling the following anecdote:—"A little girl was inquired at if she were a Whig or a Democrat. She said, 'I am an Old-School Presbyterian.'" So Dr. McPheeters was an Old-School Presbyterian, and no politician. He was amazed that Dr. Breckinridge had charged him as disloyal—(Dr. Breckinridge interrupted him by saying that he said he was disloyal in *his* sense of disloyalty.) Dr. McPheeters replied that he had better authority than even Dr. Breckinridge of what constituted loyalty. He read from an acknowledged author a definition of loyalty, and closed by affirming that no one could love this Government better than he.

REV. MR. MCKEE, of Louisville, Ky., had never been called to speak under such circumstances. He was sorry to have to oppose the views of the venerable man who introduced this paper, who had been his theological and spiritual father. He was sure that Dr. Breckinridge was sadly mistaken as to his views on the effect of this paper on the Synod of Kentucky. It will be ruinous. I know I am not mistaken. And it is to save the Church that

I arise, with my youth against me, to oppose that great and venerable man. *I am loyal.* Had my health permitted, I would this day have been in the army of my country, or in my grave! I am bold to say that the President of the United States loves not this Government more than I do. And I must say, if you can do any thing by way of preserving this Government by passing the paper introduced by Dr. Breckinridge, then let it pass, if the heavens should fall. But it can do no good to the loyal, and it will only alienate more and more those who are disaffected. How can we expect them to return by severe deliverances against them from year to year? He referred to the slips on the desks of members, on which was printed the action of the Synod of Kentucky on the Spring resolutions of the last Assembly. This action flatly contradicted Dr. Breckinridge's statements as to the views of Presbyterians in Kentucky. The Government of the Southern Confederacy is a *Government*; not indeed a *lawful* one, but it is a Government, and under it thousands of Presbyterians live, and they are totally unable to resist it, if they would. Now, the action of the Synod of Kentucky, unanimously expressed, was, that it was unwise in the last Assembly to enjoin on persons so situated obedience to a Government when it would have been death for them to have obeyed. Who suspects the Presbyterians of want of patriotism? I mean those in the North. No one who is acquainted with their antecedents. Was last year's action not enough? Must we have a new deliverance every year? Must we pass this year a paper drawn up with great minuteness, so as still more and more to distract us in Kentucky? It is easy for you in these Northern States to vote on and pass these deliverances, but to us it is distress, division, ruin, death. O! do regard our circumstances! Bind not such burdens for us, who love our country and our God, as we are not able to bear! If you say nothing, our people will be peaceful and comparatively happy; but if you agitate this matter, our churches will oppose the *principle* involved in these annual political deliverances. They oppose conscientiously this thing—of making the pulpit a political rostrum. Let it be used to publish the love and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ from.

He intended to remain loyal to his country, loyal to the Church, and loyal to his God. What will you gain? You will lose the Synods of Missouri, and Kentucky, and others, by passing this paper. Beware, I beseech you, what you do. *You gain nothing—we lose much* by the passage of this document. The speech of Mr. McKee was truly eloquent, earnest, and patriotic. He produced a good impression.

REV. NATHANIEL WILLIAMS, of Ohio, said some objected to the day of prayer, as it was a purely political matter. If they were right, then this paper is wrong. Dr. Breckinridge drew up that paper of the Synod of Kentucky, and if he was right then, he is wrong now; and if wrong then, he is right now. The Doctor himself has been sinning grievously, and it seems he is now on the stool of repentance. (Dr. Breckinridge frequently interrupted the speaker, and seemed anxious to explain away the action of the Synod.) There is no need of this paper to express our loyalty. No member here but is ready to bow down to the feet of the Government. "All things are lawful, but all things are not *expedient*." He said as he came to the Assembly he saw a little dog run out and bark furiously at the train as it dashed past, and he just thought the conductor would have been a great fool to have stopped the train to stone the dog. So it is a silly thing for this great Assembly to be always hurling "deliverances" at such a question its loyalty, or complain of its ecclesiastical independence. The only reason he could see why this paper should pass, was to give to the world the news of Dr. Breckinridge's repentance; for repented he has. At least he has changed—radically changed—and that, too, within a few months. It is right, I know, "for him that stole to steal no more." The inexpediency of this

e duly considered by all. This is a perplexing subject.—

Great minds are divided on it. Even Dr. Breckinridge is sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. Are real principles so mutable? Why this blowing hot and cold with the same breath?

[The discussion was continued by REV. AARON P. FORMAN, of Hannibal, Mo., and DR. GEORGE JUNKIN, of Philadelphia, DR. MCPHEETERS, of St. Louis, DR. BACKUS, of Baltimore, and DR. SCOTT, of Washington College, Pa.; after which, DR. BRECKINRIDGE again addressed the Assembly.]

DR. BRECKINRIDGE'S REVIEW OF THE ARGUMENT.

Reported for the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

The Dr. began his remarks by referring to some personal matters. In the first place, every speech I have heard, said he, in opposition to this paper, even to the last, made by Dr. Backus, involves either a direct or an understood attack on me individually; but in regard to this, I shall merely remind the house that this is the temper of faction always, and especially the temper of that faction which is resisting the great movement of the Church. It is the plea why you should make another concession, and they will never be satisfied unless you let them have their own way to the last extent. The brethren generally are sorry to see it introduced, and they make propositions by way of compromise. Now I am perfectly willing to take all the blame before men for this thing, provided that when we go up there (pointing above) none of them will attempt to take any of the glory that may belong to those who are faithful to truth and duty.

Another thing to which I wish to call your attention is, that every speech made on that side of the question has been in the sense and spirit of brethren speaking from out of hearts of disloyalty more or less complete; but if Brother McPheeters is hurt, I will take it all back. It is thought perfectly right to speak of the Church disgracefully, but if you say a word about the individual it is a very serious matter. "Molly," said a woman in the West Indies, "go get me a mug of water, a little brandy, a lemon, and some sugar." "Shan't I put some nutmeg with them?" "Oh, ye baste, do you think I would drink a punch?" This is the posture of things here; I am to be hung because I had a little nutmeg in.

A good brother has said that I am responsible for having trained a couple of devoted rebels. One is my old friend Hollins, who commanded the Ram; the other, my friend Capt. Speers, I suppose. They are both honorable gentlemen, and I believe Hollins of the Ram is a Christian; but they are deceived in their politics.

All that has been said has been on assumptions, every one of which, in my judgment, are incorrect. First, that there is a particular state of opinion in the border States. Dr. Backus thinks he has abundant opportunity to know better the state of feeling in Maryland than I; and the brethren from Missouri and Kentucky think the same in regard to themselves. I will not quarrel with them, but will say that I shall not be surprised if four out of the six Presbyteries in Kentucky represented here, shall vote for the paper. It is not calculated to produce irritation except in the minds of men gone beyond the point of recovery.

Dr. McPheeters has rightly said that this was a religious paper—it is a paper on the Church, and there is no politics in it except so far as politics belongs to religion. My young brother from Missouri, who is originally from Kentucky, I judge, by his smartness, is of the same opinion. It is said in the beginning of the paper, which portion Dr. Backus proposes to retain, that it is delivered "in the name and by the authority of the glorified Savior of sinners, who is also the sovereign ruler of the universe." If this latter clause is true, their whole attempt to establish a particular view of the Church falls to the ground. Is, or is not, the Lord Christ, as head of the

Church, King and head Lord of all things? Has God given him, as head of the Church, power over all things? If that is so, this paper is a religious paper; if not, their doctrine of the temporal and spiritual powers, as attempted to be taught here, is utterly without foundation in Scripture. It is Jesus Christ who is Lord of this Government, and he has laid upon that Government certain duties, and upon you the exposition of these duties, if you are his ministers. Your authority concerning truth is to expound, enforce, apply it. As ministers of Christ you are invested with the office of instruction, and as elders are invested with the vast extent of kingly power over the Church: you come in contact with the world, and are to evangelize it.

A brother says, I undertake to interpret the Constitution of the United States. Well, having sworn to stand by the Constitution, you are perjurers if you don't do it. This you say is politics. So be it. Do we not say to the American people, You are bound to obey magistrates? Are you not judges of the moral relations on this subject? The principles upon which the jurisdiction of the Church is based, are perfectly clear. For example, in the matter of marriage, the Church has moral duties to perform, and the State civil duties; the State has certain claims in relation to servitude, and the Church certain duties in enforcing the moral relations of servant and master.

But my time is up, and I can only add, that if we have any power to prescribe moral conduct; if we have any power to denounce drunkenness, or any other evil, then we have a right to do anything attempted to be done in this paper. I could not help thinking how difficult it was for any brother to find fault with any point in it. Brother Backus took a short cut, and with scissors, clipped it to dimensions to suit his views; that was the only way it could be done. In this action you will be making history that will live as long as the Church; you are not acting alone in view of what may happen in Kentucky, or Missouri, or Maryland; but in view of results to the whole broad continent, you are acting for God and his Church. There never was a crisis in the history of the Church of the living God where it was more important that you should act aright, and do that which commends itself to the better judgment. Remember that a peculiar characteristic of the Presbyterian Church is that it has been a witnessing Church; it has stood for the truth, upheld the truth; that when we have prospered we have not departed from it, and when we have walked in fiery trials we have borne our testimony to the truth. Having descended from the martyrs, I don't intend to be charged with having failed to do my duty. Let us not tell a part of the truth, and slide over the rest, but as living and dying men say what we believe is true, and stand by it. The position of those who oppose this paper is, that if the Lord will only hold back a while, and let them do this thing in their own way, they will do it a good deal better than He has advised them by the truths of His word.