

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

VOL. XV.—NO. 3.

JANUARY, MDCCCLXIII.

ARTICLE I.

ON THE NATURE AND USES OF ART.

By the intelligent people, and even by many highly cultivated men, Fine Art is looked upon as essentially a mere pleasant illusion—as some thing entirely unreal and unsubstantial, or else as only a shadowy and imperfect imitation of nature. In its effects upon the mind, its uses in a scheme of human culture, it is looked upon as at best of doubtful import; as at best a pleasant recreation and relaxation from the sterner duties of conflict with nature; an amusement of an essentially low order; a purely sensuous enjoyment, which, though it may relax and rest our strength, can not in any sense be said to exercise and cultivate our higher faculties; but on the contrary, is almost certain to dissipate our strength, to paralyze our energies, to relax and effeminate our whole nature; or, still worse, to cultivate and strengthen the senses at the expense of the intellect, and thus degrade and brutify the nature. Plausibility is given to this view of art, by reference to the present condition of southern nations which have excelled in art, especially the Greeks and Italians. It would carry us too far

VOL. XV., NO. III.—40

ARTICLE III.

LETTER TO DR. BRECKINRIDGE.

TO THE REV. ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, D. D.:

These pages are addressed to you, Sir, for several reasons. You had some thing to say, in almost every phase of political affairs, during the time when the old Union was drifting to its dissolution. And we have heard from you several times, even through the thick ribs of the blockade, since the dissolution. You are the accredited author of various utterances on political affairs: a famous debate with George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, I think, at the city of Glasgow, in Scotland; a powerful letter to the "Patriot" newspaper, (I believe that was the name of the paper,) at the same place—both more than a quarter of a century ago; a letter to Charles Sumner, the Abolitionist Senator from Massachusetts, published in the Baltimore "Critic," which I did see; and a letter to William H. Seward, as I understood, which I did not see; and, also, a communication on Know-Nothing Americanism, very strenuously advocating the purposes of that association, in the same religious journal; a powerful letter published in the "National Intelligencer," though not, probably, addressed originally to that paper, in the summer of 1860, in relation to the Presidential election, and the then approaching dissolution of the Union; and the act of the Northern Presbyterian General Assembly, at Columbus, in May, 1862, describing and denouncing the great and guilty sin of the Southern Churches in withdrawing, very schismatically, you thought, from ecclesiastical communion with men busily engaged in preaching the crusade of war upon us. A speech of yours has, also, been seen in "Secesh," delivered in Cincinnati, in the early summer of 1862, in which you are reported to

have said that "it would be better for the South and the North to go back to Jamestown and Plymouth, than peaceably dissolve the old Union." We have never heard it denied or questioned that you are, also, the author of the sentiment, universally attributed to you in the newspapers, as having been uttered at an early stage of the present war, that "it was no matter how much of the blood of rebels, their wives and children, it might cost to restore the Union, the Government was worth it all." For this sentiment, you said, you might be considered a fanatic; and you accepted the probability that it was so. "Perhaps I am a fanatic," you are reported to have said; and you then gave reasons looking to the justification of your strong feelings on the subject, without expressing any apprehension of danger from the guilt of fanaticism, or any repentance for that sin, or any wish or prayer to be delivered from it, if you were guilty of it.

You may wish to know some thing of the antecedents of one who addresses you, as is now undertaken to be done, in this article. I am a Southron, a Virginian, a Presbyterian Minister of the Gospel; a man with, I suppose, about the ordinary sensibilities, sympathies, emotions, and intellect of a man. Of antecedents, in the sense of past honors, to boast of, I have none worth naming; and should feel quite awkwardly employed in boasting of them, if I had any. I have some times, for brief periods, in other days, had the pleasure of your attractive and fascinating personal society; some times the pleasure of hearing from your own lips utterances which bespeak the richest natural gifts of God to mortal man—a masterly intellect, right grandly and royally conversing with the truth of God, and with men and things, and richly enlightening other men by that converse; and still oftener have had the pleasure, and some times the amazement, of reading from your brilliant and trenchant pen what you have seen fit to produce for the public eye. I was a subscriber for the magazine which you

published in Baltimore, the "Literary and Religious Magazine;" a great admirer of your bearing while combating the Abolitionists in Great Britain, and of your letter to Sumner; and have defended quite as much as, on deliberate reflection, my conscience will justify, your two rich and grand, but very crude, undigested, rhapsodical, and dithyrambic books, "The Knowledge of God Objectively Considered," and "The Knowledge of God Subjectively Considered." This is enough to say of myself for the importance, or even for the self-importance, of the subject. I have been so much an admirer of yours in days past, as to be forced, even by the most velvet-footed and unthorough of Southern patriots around me, and by my own conscience, also, to reconsider and rejudge much of the veneration which I delighted to feel in other days for your honored name. Would that you had not compelled it to be so!

When you say that the Government of the old United States is worth any amount of the blood of men, women, and children, and say this in view of, and during the progress of, the present war for Southern Independence, if you have properly weighed the words which you employ, you must mean that any amount of bloodshed is preferable to a peaceable separation of the old Union into two federal Unions, each of respectable size and power; each, as has been proven so far, able to maintain itself against any power which may be brought into the field against it; and each having institutions homogeneous in themselves, but differing from those of the other. And you must be presumed, in all candor, to have believed, while uttering these words, that the Government of which you spoke, that of Mr. Lincoln, answered the purpose for which the Constitution was established: "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The value of a Government, certainly, consists in its answering these and similar purposes, and not in the

names of its founders, or in the pretended attachment to it of those who deliberately defy it for a long series of years, when it would restrain their own partisan lusts, and love it only when it becomes the instrument of the oppression and ruin of their adversaries. And yet it seems hardly possible to suppose, in all candor, and in all charity to boot, that any man who has not been as completely lethean, during the last quarter of a century, as one of the seven sleepers of Ephesus themselves, can now believe that the Government of the United States either establishes justice, insures domestic tranquillity, or secures the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. When we read, in the clause describing the purposes of the Government, the words, *to establish justice*, a long and chequered series of events rises to view: the resistance of the Yankee States to the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, because her institutions were Southern; the constant struggle of those States to lay heavy duties upon the imports of the Southern States, to build up Northern manufactures; the appropriation of nearly all the territories acquired in the Mexican war, chiefly by the valor and the blood of the South, to Northern use and benefit; the appropriation, after that, by the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the triumph of the Chicago platform, of *all* the territories of the Union to Northern institutions; the open infraction, by nearly all the Yankee States, of a clear and distinct provision of the Constitution of the United States, for the return of fugitives from labor; a social war on Southern institutions for thirty years; the election of a sectional President, by a sectional vote, and on a sectional platform; the usurpation of the power to call out a military force, and to increase the regular army, without authority of law; measures of confiscation, surpassing in barbarity what have been known in Europe among the most barbarous nations since the most barbarous ages; and, at last, the New Year's gift, which is

destined for us at the beginning of the approaching new year.

There, Dr. Breckinridge, is just a glance at the manner in which the Government of the United States has *established justice*, for over a quarter of a century last past. You and I both remember most of these things. Your letter to Mr. Sumner, in 1855, proves you to have been then a deeply apprehensive spectator of the gathering storm. Yourself, Sir, and all others under whose eyes these pages may pass, are respectfully requested to reperuse, if it can be conveniently referred to, that eloquent letter of yours, in which, though it is here quoted from memory, it seems to me that you made a very powerful argument to prove to the Jacobin Massachusetts Senator the probable military equality, and perhaps superiority, of the Southern armies over the Northern, in consequence of superior Southern generalship. Of course, you have not forgotten the personal liberty laws of the Yankee States; or the underground railroads; or the violent seizures of the servants of Southern families in Northern cities; or the constant thefts of Southern servants on the borders; or the Abolition riots in the North; or the grand phillipics of your correspondent, Sumner; or the great book of Hinton Rowan Helper; or the sublime raid of John Brown to Harper's Ferry; or the pathetic appeal of Thaddeus Hyatt and the Concord schoolmaster, Sandford, for the honors of martyrdom, because the United States Senate wanted to make them tell what they knew, as witnesses, concerning the John Brown conspiracy. It is solemnly believed that no such series of mingled injury and insult was ever before so long submitted to by a brave and free people, without revolution. And this is the Government, and it is union with such a people as those, the preservation of which you, Sir, a Minister of the Prince of Peace, think is worth all our blood, and that of our wives and children.

One almost shudders at the logical enormity, in turning to another clause of the preamble to the Constitution, and inquiring: Does that Government insure domestic tranquillity, as it was designed to do? The chief magistrate, for the preservation of whose authority you devote such measureless blood, and who has actually taken a very solemn oath, on the Holy Gospel of God, to support that Constitution, has, without shadow of authority elsewhere in the instrument, save in this preambulatory clause, requiring domestic tranquillity to be insured, issued an edict from Washington inviting the slaves of the South to scenes which, if they should occur, according to the will and design of that magistrate, would make the situation of Corcyra, in its great historic sedition; or that of Paris, in the reign of terror; or that of a Northern city during the former Abolition riots, in opposition to the United States Marshal; or that of any other country of which we have read, in its worst times of public tumult, as good or better than ours. And we, and those dearer to us than our own souls, ought to die for the maintenance of a Government which thus observes its oath to "insure domestic tranquillity"!

You will scarcely allege that the question, under your valued Government, whether the Federal power has the right to make war upon the States, is an unimportant one in its connexion with the insurance of domestic tranquillity; or that the question was so clearly settled under your Government, that the ablest and the purest men might not honestly differ in their views of it. The ablest and the purest men of the North, if they still have able and pure men in political life, appear to think the right of the Federal Government to regard itself as the instrument of one part of the States, to wage war on the other part of the States, a clear and unquestionable right; as, also, the right of any particular faction, having temporary possession of the Federal Government, to call itself the Union, and to wage war upon all the rights of the people, North and South.

But the wisest and purest men of the South regard both claims as manifest usurpations, the success of which can leave no chartered liberties either in the South or the North. And in confirmation of the Southern view of the subject, the refusal, in the Convention which framed the Constitution, to accede to the proposition there made, to give the Federal Government power to coerce the States, seems entirely conclusive. Clearly, the Federal Government was never the Union, but a mere temporary representation of it. And yet this question of the right of that part of the old Union whose sectional party might have temporary possession of the offices of the Government, to style themselves the Union, and make war upon the other States, can be esteemed an unimportant one, in view of the insurance of domestic tranquillity, by no sane man any where. It appears to be a question, in the decision of which is involved the decision of the whole question concerning the value of such a Government as our old Union. If the States had the right to arrest the progress of Federal despotism, and either shield their people from it, or place them out of its reach, then it was a Government which might have had some claim to the power to insure domestic tranquillity; and, also, to fulfil another clause of the preamble to the Constitution, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But in that Government which you prize at so much blood, you are perfectly aware that it has become one of the highest of crimes to think on this question exactly as the framers of the Constitution thought, that the Federal Government has not the right to let loose that part of the States who adhere to them upon those who do not: and in the sacred name of Union! And if the States had no such right as this, under that Government, to arrest the progress of despotism, to shield their people from it, or to place them beyond its reach, then it is, with all its boast of liberty and republicanism, by the illusory and juggling perversion of words for the deception of man-

kind, among the worst Governments upon which the Omniscient eye looks, as the earth revolves beneath it; and the greatest enemy to true liberty which it has encountered in all the series of its struggles upon the earth. If the old Constitution provided at all for the prevention of despotism, then the North have overthrown it, in its forms, as well as in its spirit; and the South have maintained it, both in its spirit and its forms. But if it made no such provision, then it was the worst engine of despotism ever set at work among men, though tinselled on the outside, and as much glorified by blind or interested praise as the silver shrine of the Ephesian Diana; and ought to have been overthrown—the sooner the better for the real progress of human liberty. I commend to you this dilemma, between the prongs of which the perfectly obvious facts of the case compel you to enter.

Do you affirm that we had no right to change our form of general government, or confederation? There stand those words in the Declaration of Independence, on account of which it was, as is supposed among us, that the Yankees did not read the instrument to much extent in public companies last July, notwithstanding the unequivocally false interpretation which they have put upon the equality of all men announced in it: “that to secure these rights,” (of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,) “governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.” There may, perhaps, be some escape from the definite and conclusive force of these words, in some minds, produced by being plausibly told that the Constitution could not cease to be “sacredly obligatory upon all, until it was

changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people." This is a part of the language of Washington's Farewell Address, pressed into service after the usual Black Republican manner, of seizing the shallow and superficial sound of some phrase to which a great name is attached, and whirling it about for an argument, until the smallest amount of calm and fair reason, which it never professed, indeed, to be able to endure, at once dissolves it into its true nothingness. By their interpretation, the right of revolution is denied, by the pen of the most illustrious of revolutionists, and liberty is made impossible, by one who intended to make it secure. A Federal Government elected and supported by one section of States, banded together, and having peculiar interests, engaged in the most gross and avowed oppression of another section, having common and peculiar interests, would, of course, never consent to any change of their form of government, by or for the oppressed. And the more flagrant and avowed the oppression of one section by the other, the more definitely certain that no redress could ever arise from "an explicit and authentic act of the whole people," in the sense of the people of the oppressing section, as well as the oppressed. That sense was probably never intended in the words by the illustrious author; but they have interpreted it as they did the word of God, and the Constitution of the United States, and all other chartered and covenanted truth which stood in their way. Could "an explicit and authentic act" of Great Britain ever have been obtained, to change the form of government of the thirteen American colonies? Could an explicit and authentic act of "all the Russias" ever be obtained, that Poland should change her present form of government, to one which should receive the consent of the Polish people? Or could an explicit and authentic act of the Austrian Empire be now obtained, consenting that the kingdom of Hungary shall live under its own laws? As well might we expect the explicit and authentic consent

of the hawk to leave the chickens secure; or of the wolf to give the sheep a free constitution; or of the avaricious man to give chartered immunity to the gold which he desires more than life; or of the highway robber to give guarantees of respect for the rights of property.

You may, no doubt, believe, with devout sincerity, that there is power in the Government of the United States to secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity. We entertain, very deeply, and very sincerely, a very different opinion. Let us, then, calmly reason together.

It can scarcely have escaped your memory, that a Force Bill failed to pass the Congress of the United States in the spring of 1861. That one was attempted to be passed, proves that it was deemed necessary by even the party then coming into power. But that want of lawful authority did not restrain the present chief magistrate of that country, either from his famous call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, or from an increase of the regular army by executive edict. It is true that the new Congress was perfectly subservient to the President; or rather, they were more fanatical than Mr. Lincoln himself. They registered his edicts at once; and passed an act of indemnity for his usurpations. They were too busy in preparing for the destruction of the South, to care for their own liberties. They threw them, *en masse*, at the despot's feet. But, suppose the Congress had been worthy of the name of an American Congress; suppose they had desired ever so much to check the power of usurpation at that initial and decisive point; and suppose they had considered that a gross usurpation, as no statesman would have failed to do, in times when reason was on the throne; what power would they have had to do so? The streets of Washington were thronged with fanatical soldiers, making daily arrests of the best and noblest citizens, on the slightest grounds. The venerable chief justice of the United States pronounced that one of them—an arrest in Baltimore, it was—was among the most

flagrant acts of despotism in history. What of all that? The despot had seized the sword. Free legislation became thenceforward impossible. The plea of necessity was urged—the usual plea of despots. Simple letters from the Executive, for the arrest of individuals, (*lettres de cachet*), which have met with such universal condemnation in Europe, became perfectly common in that Government, and have been to this day. Printing-presses were demolished, and editors imprisoned; all liberty became a farce, even when they were boasting of liberty, and declaring, like drunken sailors, that they were preserving the “mildest Government on the face of the earth.” When a written constitution becomes powerless, precedent is a great thing. That act of usurpation is upon the statute-books of the United States. All the waters of Lethe can not take it away. Not only has the despot’s plea of necessity been accepted, but the claim of the despot himself, to judge when that necessity arises, has been allowed, and held good. Now, what is your prospect, under that Government, to secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity? Other despots may, some day, suppose themselves under the same necessity as the present despots. They may imprison the Republicans at will, according to the precedents which the Republicans have set them. What a howl for *habeas corpus*, and “free speech,” and “free press,” that would produce among the Lincolns, and Seward, and Sumners, and Wades, and Hales, and Trumbulls! They love despotism when the other party feel it. They do not erect themselves to so lofty a height of principle, as to see that it is always criminal, even when they themselves get the benefit. They will, of course, think it very horrible when they feel its edge. But if Marius may proscribe the followers of Sylla, then Sylla may in turn proscribe the followers of Marius. If Pompey may proscribe the followers of Cæsar, then Cæsar may just as well proscribe the followers of Pompey. Faction will rise against faction,

and urge the plea of necessity, which has already been accepted, to set aside all liberty. No man can foresee the end. It really seems a mere jest to talk of such a Government as the means of establishing justice, of insuring domestic tranquillity, or of securing the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity.

It is not easy to see what that is, on account of which you prize your Government above so much blood, guilty and innocent. You freely call us *rebels*. So does Mr. Lincoln; so do all the newspapers of the North, which are permitted to exist. For, under your "best Government in the world," as in Austria and Russia, a man may yet speak freely, provided he will pronounce the Shibboleth exactly to suit the Government.

We will not speak now any more of the sovereignty of the States, and of the right inherent in them to withdraw from a tyrannical Government. We will say no more about the principle asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that the just powers of a government depend on the consent of the governed; nor about the right of a free people to alter or abolish their government when it ceases to answer the ends of its creation. You have gotten beyond all those sweet and sacred things of other days, the days of real liberty and prosperity. But you can not have forgotten how the Southern States kept the bond with unsullied faith, while they acknowledged it to be their bond; how it was chiefly their blood which won the honors of that old flag, in wars against foreign powers. Nor can you have forgotten, that by their personal liberty laws, and their under-ground railroads, the Northern States were *perpetual rebels* against that Constitution, while they very specially claimed the benefits which it conferred upon them. They gave very little assistance in the Mexican war, you will remember; but when the question of dividing the spoils acquired therein came up,

“Hark, answering to the ignoble call,
How rises each bold bacchanal.”

There appear to be two senses of the word *rebel*; the one, describing those who claim the benefits, and reap the advantages of the government under which they live, but refuse to make the required sacrifices, and to discharge the correlative duties. In this, the really odious sense of the word, we feel that we are in no danger of the reproach. We were loyal till we were almost lost. We appeal to an enlightened world, and to God, the judge of all, for our loyalty, while loyalty to that Government was not treason to the cause of lawful free government itself. The other sense of the word is, one who resists a despot's usurped authority. In this sense of the word, we feel a just pride in being what our would-be oppressors style *rebels*. In this sense of the word, it is common to us with Washington, and Henry, and Jefferson, and with Hampden, and Sidney, and Russell, and with the patriots, the world over, who have won the purest and the loftiest fame among men. We are willing to have it inscribed on whatever monument may chance to appear to mark to future generations the places where our ashes may repose in the earth, that we are of those rebels who, laying their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor upon the altar of their country, resolve to resist tyranny and lawless oppression, until that last resting-place shall receive us. Until lately, the names of such rebels were held in reverence among you. Until lately, the Declaration of Independence, which is the very apotheosis of exactly such rebellion, was reverently read among you every year on the fourth day of July, especially when it was supposed that it would bear the Abolitionist sense of negro equality. But your people seem now to condemn rebellion so strongly, that one would think that, since the election of Mr. Lincoln, they had some how received some new light on the subject, which not only convinced them that the legal withdrawal of our Southern States from their

usurped and despotic Government was a great crime—the very greatest of crimes, indeed—but that John Hampden's rebellion against Charles the First was a very great crime; and that George Washington's rebellion against George the Third was a very great crime; and, in short, that any rebellion, even a rebellion against the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air, the great spiritual liar, and father of lies, would be a very great crime, and loyalty to him a very great virtue.

But perhaps it is because you think a large nation has so much better chance for reputation abroad, and for respect among the nations of the earth, that you set such a bloody valuation upon the Government of Mr. Lincoln. This was one prominent reason given by your present Secretary of State for being opposed to the separation of the South and the North. But it was in the rude days of old that men were honored for their bodily size and sinew, and a bruiser was of more estimation than a philosopher. It is certainly not the case at this day, that nations are respected for either their territorial size or the denseness of their population. If it were so, the Chinese would surely be a far more respectable people among other nations than the French; and the Russians, than the English: neither of which will be pretended. Nor does it seem to us that the Yankee States, from which we have withdrawn, can be greatly suffering, in their own view of themselves, from diminished territorial limits, or dwindled military and naval power. They have, you will remember, with great sanctity, appropriated to themselves and their posterity all the vast territories which belonged in common to the people of the late United States. That must, in time, greatly swell their territorial dimensions.

Moreover, they have several times recently, during the prevalence of rumors of foreign intervention, declared their thorough ability and determined purpose, not only very speedily to crush "the Southern rebellion," but to contend,

by land and water, with any or all the nations of Europe who might desire to interfere to stop the effusion of blood in the present war. That does not look as if they felt themselves to be suffering seriously from territorial emaciation, or exhaustion of resources. Excuse the remark, Sir, but that does not look as if a Christian Minister ought to be willing to shed measureless blood, which he believes to be guilty blood, and, in addition, measureless blood besides, which he admits to be innocent blood, to extend the territorial limits, or to add to the military resources of such a giant people.

But you can hardly be supposed to think that the respect which a nation commands abroad depends altogether, or even chiefly, upon its size, and not at all upon its character. Most of the giants of the mediæval romance were coarse, ignorant, truculent fellows, good for little else than to devour stray children whom they caught, and of whom a dozen were not worth one good Aquinas, or Abelard, or Roger Bacon. Already one minister of the British Crown has denounced the unparalleled atrocity with which your Government has waged this war; and another minister of the British Crown has thought it necessary to warn the friends of constitutional liberty in Europe against the adverse influence of your present example upon that cause abroad. The nations of the earth are hardly so blind as to look altogether to size or resources, in estimating your influence. They are hardly so blind as not to see that, under the old republican forms, you have, like the Romans under the Cæsars, accepted one of the completest of despotisms, not only affecting to claim for itself rightful power over us guilty rebels of the South, our property, our liberty, and our lives; but claiming that thoroughly despotic power in the so-called loyal States of the North themselves, and having the claim largely conceded to them. It is impossible to foresee how the sentiment will be received by so zealous an adherent of the Lincoln Government as yourself—per-

haps in rage, perhaps with a smile of contempt—but it is coming to be believed to be true by many of the wise at the North; and is most clearly perceived as truth by every thinker at the South, whose thoughts there are any means of knowing by the public, that the existence of any legal liberty on this continent, either in the North or in the South, depends on the success of the Southern revolution. You may also see unmistakable signs of the spread of the same conviction in European public sentiment.

Is it on account of the pure and upright moral character evinced by Mr. Lincoln's Government, and by the people who support it, that you think its preservation worth so much of our blood? It may be a mistake, but it can hardly be so, for it was so said in the newspapers, and corroborated universally by the testimony of those in attendance at the Presbyterian General Assembly, and never denied by yourself, as is believed, but rather gloried in, that, in a debate on the subject of missions, on the floor of that body, a few years ago, your own trenchant and influential voice uttered the sentiment, that great efforts ought to be made to send missionaries to New England; that you did not know any country, pretending to be enlightened, where there was so great a lack as in New England of the full, thorough, outspoken deliverance of the Gospel of Christ to the people from the pulpit. You were not then, certainly, fallen very deeply into *Yankeomania*. And that good witness, it is greatly to be feared, is true.

It has been your high privilege, Dr. Breckinridge, in other and better days, to render eminent services to the cause of pure truth and a sound Gospel, which we can never forget. And even now, we are sad that you have given good ground against yourself, to those who will occupy it with more pleasure, on account of the scenes and events of other days, and the part which you were called to bear in those scenes and events. But in those services, you were not more remarkable and justly eminent for the noble powers of intel-

lect bestowed on you by a munificent Creator, than for a certain moral honesty which scorned concealment and equivocation, a certain "Kentuckyesque" chivalry of mental habit, which no one, who at all knew you, expected to see ever stoop to any sort of meanness or deception. And you have, in your day, had occasion to see and to know a good deal of the Jesuit priests, and of the wily and cunning arts with which they weigh and balance words and actions, to mean one thing or another, as the exigencies of their cause may demand. You have, no doubt, read the letters of Mr. Lincoln's premier, Seward, to Messrs. Adams and Dayton, published a year ago; and the recent circular of that great Northern statesman to the foreign ministers of the United States abroad, not to mention the frequent and influential speeches of the premier on political questions in former days, on account of which he has attained his present eminent position. Have you ever met in your reading, or your experience of Jesuit morality, with a more thoroughly disingenuous mind, on any and every subject, than that of Mr. Seward? Have you ever seen the art of deceiving men with words practised more thoroughly, more skilfully, or more boldly, than by Mr. Seward? It is not believed that you can or will say that you ever have. Your conjunction of excessive admiration with such a man, looks as if Old Honest had made a partnership with Hate-Good; as if Lofty and Low had met together; and Truth and Deception had kissed each other. That conjunction has seriously injured you, without doing Mr. Seward any good. The act which you carried through at Columbus, accusing us of making an ecclesiastical schism, because we did not remain in connexion with a religious body which was fiercely hounding on the civil Government in making war upon us, and because we established a separate Church in the Confederate States, believing that we had, both of right and in fact, a separate civil Government there, had a twang of peculiar Sewardish innocence about it. Our country had

ceased to be free, and belonged to you! The Presbyterians of the South, though unrepresented in your body, had ceased to be the Lord's freemen, but belonged to you! If they withdrew from you, you would disregard their Church organizations, and establish others on the same ground! You would give up none of *your country*—not you! There was far more of Seward than of Breckinridge in that act. Such voluntary blindness to things perfectly visible; such persistent manufacture of coverings thinner than fig-leaves out of human language, to conceal facts, or cause them to glimmer with dimness to men's view, is probably a sign of the sore impending judgments of God upon your people. The faith of man in the words of God, is the means of man's salvation. That faith is among the highest acts of worship which man offers to his God. To realize that facts accord with those words of God, and thus to receive the words as the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen, is about the highest elevation of the spirit of man while in our present bodily condition. Veracity between man and man, is one of the ten commandments given from heaven to earth. The practice of veracity is the basis of moral honesty, and moral courage; some say, of almost all good character. You yourself have taken the distinction, in the titles of your two massive volumes, between subjective truth, or what a man thinks, and objective truth, or that which exists independently of all human opinion. You have, probably, observed how the Northern mind often tries to think a fact out of existence; to shut their eyes to it, whether it be a principle of Scripture, a clause of the Constitution, or a maxim of common good faith and good behavior; to ignore it, to deny totally any acquaintance with it, as Peter did with his Master; and look you calmly in the face, in all apparent good conscience, as if the fact itself had been annihilated by their refusal to recognize it. You have probably observed, and if so, it must have been with alarm, the prevalent opinion among

that people, that there is no difference between objective and subjective truth; that whatever a man chooses to believe to be truth, is truth for him. You must have observed the suppression of printing-presses for speaking unwelcome truths, which it is intended to expel from God's universe, and cause them to cease to be truths, by ignoring them. You must notice how every fact connected with thirty years' social war of the North upon our institutions, is now diligently concealed from the Northern people; and how the most orderly, lawful, and proper revolution in all history, provoked by a train of insult and injury such as no other people ever submitted to for so long a time, is styled "the most causeless rebellion that ever was, against the best Government on earth." This disingenuousness is a very deep and cancerous species of depravity, when it becomes so wide-spread. With all your strong bias in its favor, yet with your natural stout honesty of mind, you must some times see this deep depravity of the Northern mind, or, at least, have startling glimpses of it. It has shown itself as clearly among your military leaders, as in your Secretary of State. General Pope's dispatch from near Corinth, last summer, that he had captured ten thousand Confederate prisoners, and a million of dollars' worth of army stores, from General Beauregard, in the retreat of that general, has never been denied by any Northern paper that we have seen, although it was a total falsehood. It may not be amiss to put on record here a few other things of the same description, for the eyes of those who come after us, as memoirs to serve for the history of the mystery of the iniquity of mendacity. When Jackson drove Banks and his army from the Valley of Virginia, last June, in one of the most affrighted and perfect routs on record, capturing his immense stores at Winchester, Banks's official report contained these words: "My command has not suffered an attack and rout. It accomplished a *premeditated retreat* of sixty miles, in face of the enemy, defeating his plans, and

giving him battle wherever found. Our loss is, thirty-eight killed, one hundred and fifty-five wounded, and seven hundred and eleven missing." At the very time when this report was published, there were to be counted in Virginia three thousand prisoners, captured from Banks's army on its "premeditated retreat." The defeat of McClellan's army in its entrenchments around Richmond, last June and July, was, as events have since shown, one of the most thorough and crushing defeats on record. The following appeared in the "New Orleans Delta," of the 10th of July: "Great battle fought! Richmond taken! Fifty thousand rebel prisoners taken! The last ditch captured! The Tennessee has arrived from below Vicksburg, bringing the following important intelligence: On the sixth instant, General Halleck sent a despatch to Commodore Davis, commanding the American fleet above, announcing that he had just received a telegram from General Grant, stating that a great battle had been fought at Richmond, with immense loss of life on both sides. Richmond had been captured, after a desperate struggle, and fifty thousand Confederate prisoners taken, with a vast quantity of stores, ammunition, guns, etc. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this great news, as it comes through a semi-official channel of a most reliable character. Three cheers for McClellan and the army of the Union!" The capital of the Confederacy may be taken hereafter, for all we know, if God so will, and even before these sheets go through the press; but it certainly was not captured by McClellan last July. Here is another incident, of the same period, involving the veracity of General McClellan himself, and taken from a trustworthy authority: "At Cold Harbor, after the fight was over, a wounded Yankee called to one of our officers, and besought him to tell him what devils had been fighting them, as he had 'never seen such a fight before.' The officer satisfied his curiosity, and, among other forces, mentioned those of Jackson. 'Was that devil *here*?' re-

plied the Yankee. 'Why, yesterday, *McClellan had an order read to the army*, saying that he had been cut to pieces in the Valley.'" (The Italics are ours.) Such is General McClellan's idea of the virtue of veracity. His own address to his army, on the fourth day of July, from Harrison's Landing, from which he soon afterwards made an inglorious escape, will further illustrate that virtue of this distinguished character. It commences: "Soldiers of the army of the Potomac, your achievements of the past ten days have illustrated the valor and endurance of the American soldiers. Attacked by superior forces, and without hopes of reinforcements, you have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement, always regarded as the most hazardous of military operations. You have saved all your guns except a few lost in battle, taking in return guns and colors from the enemy. Upon your march you have been assailed, day after day, with desperate fury, by men of the same race *and nation*, skilfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of number, and necessarily of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter. Your conduct ranks you among the most celebrated armies in history. None will now question that each of you may always, with pride, say, 'I belonged to the army of the Potomac.' You have reached this new base, complete in organization and unimpaired in spirit. The enemy may at any time attack you. We are prepared to meet them. I have personally established your lines. Let them come, and we will convert their repulse into a final defeat."

These specimens appear to be sufficient. We have no space for the vulgar mendacity of your hero, John Pope. It is equally gross and notorious. We spread these things here, Dr. Breckinridge, under the all-seeing eye of our God and Judge, and ask if this is not the most shameless perversion of truth with which you have ever met any where? They say that these men are required by their Government

to make these mendacious reports. It is vain to say, it is a part of the strategy of war to practise these arts. There is nothing whatever of the sort among the Confederates; nothing! That charge, if made, is as true as these despatches and addresses: not more so, that we know of. And this is the moral character of the Government, and of the cause, for love of which an aged and venerable minister of *God's truth* cares not how much of the blood of rebels, their wives and children, is shed. Oh, Sir, you have, some how, fearfully erred!

It is a grand and solemn fact, that neither a man, nor a party, nor a whole generation of men, can MURDER TRUTH, any more than they can murder God Himself. That discovery will have to be made, some time or other, by your Government and your people, if it is not made already. The giant Enceladus, lying under Mount *Ætna*, often threatens to arise and shake off the mighty mass of the superincumbent mountain. And some day he will probably arise, although the fabled giant is but the volcanic force of subterranean Sicilian fires, and not a giant of mind and soul. But there can be no conceivable mass of superincumbent falsehood, piled upon the bosom of truth, from under which she can not rise, when God shall so please, as readily as the Hebrew giant from the fetters of the seven green withes, which he broke "as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire." For God is the life and soul of truth. It is His breath, as immortal as His being, as unconquerable as His right arm. "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?"

Your Government seems, at length, to have fully set up the claim of right to confiscate the property, emancipate and ruin the slaves, and subjugate the people, of the Southern States. Have you ever seriously asked yourself, as in the presence of the Judge of all the earth, from whence have they derived such right? Was there ever

such a grant of our soil to your people, by express divine authority, as there was of the soil of old Canaan to the Hebrews, under Joshua? And if not, do you think that the invasion of Canaan by Joshua, and the subjugation and extermination of the people, would have been justifiable without the express divine command under which it was accomplished, and that it is a proper model for wars of subjugation and conquest in every age and country? Do you never *feel with* our great ancestors of the first Revolution, while Great Britain was attempting to subdue them? or with Holland, in her heroic story, while the haughty Spaniards were endeavoring to wrest from her her political and religious rights? Have you learned to *feel with the despots*, in all the great struggles for the rights of self-government and unfettered conscience, with which the annals of the human race are bespangled?

Do you profess to derive that right of confiscation, emancipation, and subjugation, from the Constitution of the old United States? The fact that the Union was a union of States clearly appearing before our eyes in the Senate, where great States and small are equal; and that the Constitution was adopted by States; and that the President is elected by States, and not by a majority of the whole people; and that almost every political function, except those which involve foreign nations, was transacted by States; ought to have satisfied the calm reason of every man that the instrument of the union of the States could never have contemplated the subjugation of one part of the States by another part; and the consequent destruction of those powers of voluntary sovereignty on which the Union depended. Logically, the claim to rule by coercion in this country, is a claim to *force* men to a *voluntary* action—one which must be voluntary, in the nature of the case, or else it can not be at all. It is said to be a war-making power. But certain powers are granted to the Executive, for times of war, by the Constitution, and these are not among them.

And all powers granted to the Executive, for all times, are restrained by the positive mandate that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and that in all criminal proceedings, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law.

Much is built upon the *insurrection* of the States against the Federal Government. This is a thorough perversion of the meaning of the word *insurrection*, as employed in the Constitution, as almost any publicist of the old and un-fanatical school of any party of the politicians would have admitted. But suppose the present claim to be well founded. Suppose that war removes from the Executive Government the restrictions of the Constitution in regard to the life, liberty, and property of the citizens of States in *insurrection*, as they choose to call it; then it would really seem as if the obligation of the Southern States to support that Constitution was dissolved also, by the act of your own Executive, in setting aside the instrument as the regulating authority of the war; even if the repeated infractions of the instrument by the Abolition States had not broken the covenant on all sides, by breaking it on their side; and even if our own solemn and legal act of secession and withdrawal had not released us from the moral obligation to support that Government. These considerations throw a lurid light upon the moral character of the war which you are waging upon us. Moreover, if a state of war releases your Executive from the constitutional restraints in relation to life, liberty, and property of the citizens of the States, then, clearly, you only need a state of war, at any time, to constitute your President the completest despot of the world. Surely, men who thus construe a written instrument under oath, are not the men through whom you can hope to secure the blessings of liberty for yourselves and your posterity; or for whom

it is either Christianity or worldly wisdom to spill much blood, guilty or innocent. They are such men as no people can elevate to power without fearful danger, to say the least.

Do you derive the right to subjugate and destroy us from natural justice, equity, or from any law of nature? This you will hardly pretend. The Abolitionists have long contended that the Declaration of Independence gave the negro the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, after the cruel fashion of their States. But even they have not yet advanced theoretically, although they have practically, to the splendid humanitarian conclusion, that natural equity gives those rights to the negro of the South, but takes them away from the white man.

A good deal is said at the present time about the great battle of Armageddon, the pouring of the seventh vial into the air, the division of the great city into three parts, and the dreadful apocalyptic hail. And a blessing certainly is pronounced upon those who wisely read, and hear, and keep the words and things of that prophecy. But there is another much plainer prophecy than those of the apocalyptic seer—a prophecy from the lips of the Lord Jesus Himself—one of those clear foreshowings of the moral destinies of this life, which He frequently threw upon the world—which, taken in connexion with its fulfilments, appears to me to be among the grandest of all prophecies of worldly affairs. It is this: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." The moral government of God in human affairs, His unwearied and unceasing special providence, and His eternal justice, appear together there in unequivocal form. What a prophecy that is for your beloved Government, to be fulfilled under the just eye and in the due measures of God! And what solemn days are before them, when they shall be receiving full and fair compensation, from Him before whom all truth lies in sharp objective shape, independently of all human attempts to think it down, or to outface it, for their social war of thirty

years against the South, under the stolen guise of humanity; and for their selfish and sectional presidential election; and for their total overthrow of the liberties of the people of the North, and, as far as they could, of the South also; for their intrigue of the Continent into this war; for the oppression, rapine, and murder, which have been committed; for Butler's deeds in New Orleans, for Andrew Johnson's in Nashville, and for Sherman's in Memphis; for all that the cells of Fort Warren, Fort LaFayette, Fort Delaware, and Fort McHenry have to utter in the unerring and retentive ears of the holy, impartial, and almighty God. Your Government may take comfort to itself, that there is little prospect that any earthly power will be able soon to be the instrument of administering the divine justice to them. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the hearts of the sons of men are fully set in them to do evil. Yet, remember that

“The mills of God grind very slow, but they grind exceeding small;
And though He may forbearing be, with exactness grinds He all.”

God is patient, because he is eternal.* His means of administering justice are as ample as His government is universal. He can and does do, in these days, without miracle, all that He did in former days by miracle. The New Testament dispensation is not one in which the order and plans of His government produce any diminution of the displays of His power in human affairs. The same power attends Him now as when the Red Sea closed on the chariots of Pharaoh, or when the destroying angel paid a visit by night to the hosts of Sennacherib. “Nemesis has always been represented as seeming to tarry, but making her appearance most opportunely at last. When man's passion is strong, and bent upon indulgence, avenging justice may seem as if it was standing aside, and inattentive; but it is only that it may seize him with a more powerful grasp, in

* St. Augustine.

the state of exhaustion that follows. When the plots of cunning and deceit are successful, it may look as if God did not observe human affairs; but when the dishonest man is caught at last, he finds it to be in toils which have for years been weaving for him. Napoleon, on his march to Moscow, concluded that he could command his destiny; but when the nations of Europe, alarmed at his ambition, shut him up in St. Helena, every one saw that his destiny had, instead, been all the time carrying him along, as the stream bears upon its surface the bubbles which its waters had formed. It not unfrequently happens, that every opposing power, which the wicked thinks he has crushed, rises up to pursue and punish him, when the tide of fortune is turning against him. Every drop of that cup of bitter elements which he has been filling for others, he must drink himself, when he has filled up the measure of his iniquities. The fagots which he has been collecting for the destruction of others, all go to augment the flame of his own funeral pile. The drunkard is not more certainly haunted by the frightful apparitions called up by the disease which follows excess, than crime is pursued by its avenging spirits. There is, if we may so speak, a gathering and closing in at the death, and that to behold his agonies and humiliation, of all the powers which have been in scattered scent and pursuit of him, throughout the whole hunting-ground of his career. It is affirmed of the drowning man, that in the brief space of time that precedes unconsciousness, every event of his past life passes in rapid review before his eyes; and there is certainly some thing of this hurrying in the avenging events, all having a connexion with his past life, which God crowds on one another, to make the ambitious, the proud, and the malignant, discover that He has all along been ruling their destiny."*

* McCosh on the Divine Government, Chap. II., sec. 3.

These eloquent sentences, written years ago, in the tranquillity of Scotland, sound as if they were written for the present times on this continent. Do not think, however, that we are unmindful of our own sins. Far from it. We know that divine justice owes us, and we feel that we are being paid heavily, for pride, covetousness, sensuality, worldliness, ungodliness. We trust that we are, in some measure, humbling ourselves, and coming to repentance for those great sins. But of the dreadful political and social sins, of faithlessness to compacts, and to oaths, and to constitutions, and to Holy Scripture; of falsehood and deception; of inhuman malice and barbarity; we do not greatly dread the inquisition of our Divine Judge. We loved and defended the Government of the United States, until the whole spirit of the bond was perverted by malignant enemies into an instrument for our oppression. While we professed to live under it, we did so with unsullied honor. Our sages made it. Our statesmen administered it. Our patriots freely gave their blood for the honor of its flag, while the flag was an emblem of justice. We bore with the insult and wrong of the Northern States with all patience, until hostility to us became the high road to popular favor among them; and until our patience received their sneers, and was construed into a confession of weakness, and a purpose of submission to the most lawless and fanatical of their meditated schemes of oppression. And we solemnly believe that one of the greatest obstacles to peace is the favorable record for us which truth would make of our great struggle and its causes, if the war should speedily close. We are, both parties of us, in the hands of God. We cheerfully leave our cause in His hands. Your beloved Government will one day fall into His mighty hands, whether you will or not.

When you say that your Government is worth any amount of the blood of rebels, their wives and children, how do you estimate the value of that part of the blood thus devoted

to be shed, which even you will admit to be innocent blood? The shedding of innocent blood is the crime to which, of all others, the severest penalties are annexed in the divine law, and put into execution in the divine government. It is forbidden from Mount Sinai, and in the inspired Jewish civil law, and in the laws of all countries. And the penalty which we see to come directly from the hand of God, into the conscience of the guilty man, is the most tremendous in nature. Time does not wear it away, but leaves it plainly exhibiting a nature and a power as eternal as the spirit itself in which it inheres. On the first occasion on which we know of innocent blood having been shed on earth, the voice of that blood was loud enough to be heard from earth to heaven. It cried unto God from the ground. And the earth which opened her mouth to receive that blood, opened it also to curse the murderer. He was denied the bountiful gifts of the earth, and made a fugitive and a vagabond upon her surface. One night a treacherous Jew sold the blood of an innocent man to the chief priests of his nation, for thirty shekels of silver. But before the hour of noon on the next day, the thirty silver shekels were hurled out of his hand as if they burned it; and the bare memory that he had had a part in exposing that innocent blood to be shed, had such fearful power in his mind as to extinguish his ruling passion of avarice, and blot out his hopes of the future, and crush the instinct of the love of life itself, and send his soul into eternity, reeking with the blood of the innocent Redeemer, and with his own blood besides. That same innocent blood, laid upon the souls of the children of God, as the sprinkling of the atonement, is of sufficient value to save unnumbered millions of souls through eternity. Laid upon the guilty heads of those Jews who, upon the day of the crucifixion, invoked it upon their heads, and those of their children, it has burned and withered them, and is now burning and withering them, until, in point of perfect loss of all existence as a people, they are sunk lower than

any other people on the face of the earth. If you really believe that this world is a part of the dominion of God, that His holy, and powerful, and infallible government and providence extends over it, and that might does not make right, and that delay of judgment is no sign that the sentence is either repealed or forgotten, then, indeed, you would better have a care of being found guilty before God of the shedding of innocent blood. Such men as old king Pharaoh, of Egypt, in the days of Moses, and king Herod, of Judea, in the days of the birth of Jesus, and Richard the Third of England, and perhaps a few of the Roman Catholic Inquisitors, have dealt in the blood of children. You are the first Christian Minister in all history known to us to be enrolled in that list, the distinctly and deliberately expressed atrocity of whose sentiments renders any defence of him impossible. We consider our own blood, when shed by our invaders, as innocent blood. And so do you, and so do all men of any thought in Mr. Lincoln's dominions, consider the blood of all other men but ourselves, in similar circumstances, to be innocent blood. Except ourselves, all other men in history, who bleed for independence, and against lawless oppression and injustice, are the greatest and noblest of men. But we presume that no one will question that the blood of our wives and children, which you have already shed, and which you may shed hereafter, is innocent blood. We commit that innocent blood to the justice of that God whose ears are attentive to its cry, and to His almighty power, and to His infallible memory. He keeps the blood of the prophets, and apostles, and martyrs. Vengeance is His. Self-defence and cheerful trust in Him are ours. We accept war just as long as He may permit it to be waged upon us. We feel perfectly clear and certain that, in the strictest and most faithful interpretation of them, the oracles of Christianity give us a full support as to the righteousness and holiness of the war which we are waging. We are not at liberty or at leisure to spend a single thought upon submission to

the Government of Mr. Lincoln. It would be unfaithfulness to God, to our own liberties, and to those of our posterity. Even if we expected to be subdued, we have no alternative but unceasing resistance. But we do not expect to be subjugated. We build these expectations on many things. We know that this is not an atheist world. We know that might is *not* right. We know that no generation of men can destroy the existence of truth by pertinaciously refusing to look upon her fair face. We know that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. We know that there is a government of God, which can make David stronger than Goliath; that there are times appointed, when one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. We pray a great deal for our leaders, for our rulers, for our armies, for our cause. We can clearly see that God is the hearer of our prayers. We commit the events of the future to His disposal. The whole disposal of them is from Him. Moreover, although we desire to do no boasting, save that which speaks in the booming of our cannon, and the sharp volleys of our musketry, yet we do not so trust in God as to neglect the use of the means. We lean ever upon God, and as we consult one with another, we find that He infuses hope, comfort, and cheer into our people's hearts, over the whole land, amid the deepest waters and in the sharpest flames of trial. But we trust also in the brave hearts, and the steady hands, and the deadly aim, and the sharp bayonets, of our soldiers. We trust in the skill of our military leaders, the firmness of our civil Government, and the unflinching and self-sacrificing loyalty of the whole mass of the people. We are placed in precisely such circumstances as were our fathers of the first Revolution. Their example gives us light. Their grand forms, walking in the path of glory before us, appear to beckon and to lure us on. Their reproaches are our reproaches; they were called rebels, just as we are called rebels. Mendacity and barbarity were tried against them, just as

mendacity and barbarity are tried against us; though far worse are the mendacity and barbarity of these times than of those; of Yankees than of English. They maintained a seven years' contest for their independence. It may appear to an all-wise Providence not to be a real good to us to win our independence in a much shorter time. It would be a crying shame to us to estimate our own liberties, and those of our children, at less than seven years, or than any number of years which may be necessary for their achievement. And the final success of our forefathers, together with the long list of splendid victories already granted to our armies, and the answer of God in our hearts, when we commit our cause to Him—these things cheer us. Mr. Lincoln's proclamations have always done us great good. They are enough to beget courage under the ribs of death. They are more than enough to fire the hearts, and nerve the arms of Southern men. They seem likely to continue to perform that office for us.

Of course, we know that war is an immense evil; there is so much precious life lost, there are so many souls sent unprepared into eternity, there are so many widowed wives, and orphan children, such measureless woes of bereavement, such trampling down of Zion, such an arrest of all progress of society. It is a great evil; and upon those who are its authors, in the sight of a just God, it rests as a great crime. But in the hands of God, and in the far-reaching plans of His government, history shows war to have been, in various and wonderful ways, an instrument, also, of vast blessing to the world. We believe that our armies are exhibiting, to a considerable degree, the silver lining of the sable cloud. Their great self-denial and trials have been sanctified to the souls of both officers and men, in many instances. Many in the armies have passed from death to life. We have many godly officers and soldiers. There have been, in our great struggle, not a few instances of manifest divine interposition, and of

evident answers to prayer. It is believed by many that both our armies and our people are approaching nearer and nearer to that state of a brave and diligent use of the means, and, withal, a firm leaning upon God in faith, which will make us as invincible as the armies of Joshua, and by the same power. Heaven grant that it may be so.

Give me leave to tell you, in conclusion, that your Government and your people are laboring under that deep blindness and delusion which are the natural result of crime. You think that your monstrous wrongs against us have either been committed in a dream, or that they are *murdered* truth and *dead* history. You think that, some how or other, with compromise or without compromise, we shall some day have some political union again with you. If you but knew the simple fact on that subject, you would, unless you are in the full possession of the evil one, zealously labor to undo what you are now zealously laboring to do; and eagerly strive, by all the arts of a merely subjective species of truth, to prove yourselves not to be, and never to have been, what you are now eagerly striving to show that you are.