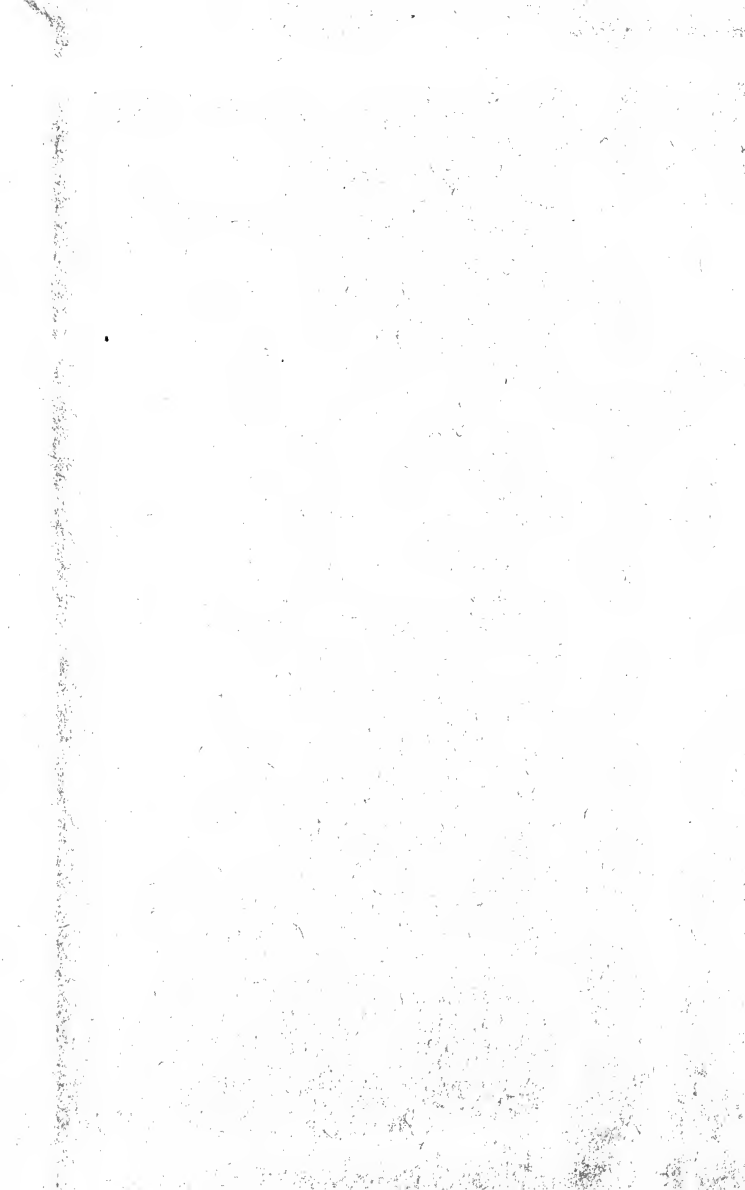


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LETTERS

ON THE

AMERICAN REPUBLIC,

OR,

COMMON FALLACIES AND MONSTROUS ERRORS REFUTED
AND EXPOSED.

BY THE

REV. JOSHUA R. BALME.

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"And Micaiah said, as the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me that I will speak."—1 KINGS XXII. 14.

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INTRODUCTION.

ON his arrival in this country, the writer was crushed to the earth by long continued persecution in the cause of freedom. Whilst here he has met with little practical sympathy in quarters where he expected to find it;—first, because he has a *white* face, many having reminded him that if he had come with a black one, he would have found his way to the depths of the popular heart;—secondly, he required friendly aid and succour, and this was quite sufficient in the present artificial state of society to subject him to renewed exercises of trial and difficulty; but in his deep emergency God in his kind and indulgent providence enabled him to engineer his way to success in the publication of his book, “American States and Churches;”—thirdly, the writer’s criticisms of Dr. Cheever’s sarcastic fling at this country in the “Trent affair,” and also his enquiry as to whether Frederick Douglas was reconverted to the faith which he once professed, and to which he has been so great an opponent in America—an enquiry prompted by Douglas taking the Lord’s

Supper at Halifax, Yorkshire ; although no animosity or unkind feeling was shewn or indulged in by the writer, their friends on both sides of the Atlantic made haste, not to explain their conduct, or to justify it, but to cover up their guilt by heaping on the writer calumny and abuse ;—and fourthly, the writer's opposition to the war party has been the signal for the most savage and vehement attacks on himself by Pro-Federalists in this country, which has rendered it necessary that he should take his sling from his side and try to make his mark on the foreheads of some of the Goliaths, who have threatened to give his flesh unto the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field ; consequently, the writer has had to fight his way through the ranks of opposing foes, and to fall back on the special providences of Jehovah, outside the “organized bands” of freedom in this country ; and he can assure the reader that his confidence in the arm of God's strength has not failed—that his little of the sparkling essence of life has not entirely evaporated, as will be seen in the following pages—that his opponents have not succeeded in closing every avenue of sympathy or door of usefulness against him, not even with their resort to a boundless assumption of falsehood, and wilful misrepresentation and abuse,—and also, that they can no more expedite the cause of truth and righteousness by such means than they can by availing themselves of the “shifting policy” of unprincipled demagogues and rulers, by giving to them their active countenance and support. Recently

two visitors extraordinary from this city have made their appearance in the New World. One of these, Mr. Patterson, assures his cousins in America, "that the people of this country are in favour of the war for the Union;" and the other, Mr. W. H. Newett, has been lifting up his flag of union and peace on behalf of the "two great Protestant nations, England and America, in the midst of that fearfully corrupt and demoralized national convention, called the 'Young Men's Christian Association of America and the British Provinces,'—an association which has never disfellowshipped the negro-hater or negro-trader, or *protested* against their abominable frauds and crimes, or detestable wickedness; and yet, forsooth, churches and evangelical bodies of Christians, who receive black spirits and white spirits, red spirits and grey, and cry, mingle, mingle, mingle you that may, except what they call 'strackle-brained abolitionists.'" Oh! yes, churches and bodies, such as the above, are to go hand in hand to evangelize the world! What a coalition! Should such be realized in the present condition of our churches and conventional organizations in America, to use the softest sentiments of charity, they cannot be "clear as the sun, fair as the moon, or terrible like an army with banners," against the "modern infidelity" of the age, or the outside heathenism or barbarism of the world. If such a union is designed to be emblematic of the Christian principles which control and beautify every thought and action of the Christian's life, there must

be something rotten in the state of the churches as well as in Denmark, or they must be strangely ignorant of the mind and will of Jehovah concerning the terms of fellowship, or what is necessary to subserve the interests of true piety, or of Christ's cause. But what corrupt ecclesiastical organizations and an all-powerful north cannot accomplish in America, "God and the negro," says the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, "are to do;" and, if we are to receive the testimony of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *already the work is done.*

In a letter published in the *Scotsman*, Edinburgh, she says, "The great work of liberation is substantially done. Thank God we live to feel that slavery is ended. No more coffles! no more slave markets! no more scourgings! no more fugitive slave laws! Instead, free labour, and an intelligent well-trained black army!" So that what the forty thousand pulpits and the millions of free men in the North have no disposition or power to accomplish, the creation of the "intelligent, well-trained black army" has already "substantially done." The army of General Lee thundering at the gates of Washington, however, shews that the work is not yet substantially done in the way she so fervently desires, or by the terrible means she is helping to call into requisition. How different is Mrs. Stowe and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, who avowed that he could not "contemplate with firmness so horrible a termination of slavery," when dreading an insurrection amongst the slaves in the

West Indies ; but the above would-be philanthropists not only contemplate insurrectionary scenes on the slave plantations with firmness, but feast their eyes on them with fiendish delight, and are now jubilant over the work of massacre and blood, which has been inaugurated in the south by stirring up revolt amongst the slaves against their former masters ! Everything, however, must have an end, even the present terrible war with its mask to cover up ulterior designs and mock philanthropy ; and when it comes to a close it will be the wonder of the age, “where the strength of the war party could ever have lain, just as in France, after the fall of Robespierre, people asked each other who could have been the Jacobins ?” And when the names of William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Cheever, M. D. Conway, Henry Ward Beecher, and Mrs. Stowe are given, how they will call forth the derisive cheers and convulsive laughter of mankind ; but I must not forget that on this day everything is *colour de rose* in America—that the whole nation is covered with the blaze of heroism and glory. But what a change in the three last fourths of July to those which preceded them ; how different their celebration ; and how unenviable the feelings of those who can look upon the struggle now going on in “the freest nation in the world” so-called, with approbation or delight.



AMERICAN PRIVILEGE.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—The words of John Bright must ever sound strangely in the ears of enlightened and upright men, and produce immense mischief in stirring up animosity and strife both in the Old and New World. "Privilege came forth every morning, and with blatant voice cursed the American republic. Privilege had beheld thirty millions happy and prosperous, without an emperor or a king, or a state bishop or priest." By the word "privilege," I suppose Mr Bright means the aristocracy with its vested rights, and its use in the above relationship presents him to the view of mankind as the opponent of monarchy and a paid ministry, denouncing them as "kingcraft and priestcraft." But as monarchy and the noble ordination of the ministry will not lack noble intellects, hearts and arms to defend them in this country, should the occasion demand it, let us lift up and make to pass in review before us "squatter sovereignty," another

name for aristocracy, or privilege, in America. Our "squatter sovereigns" are divided into two classes. The first is an aristocracy of men-stealers, or slaveholders. These look on slavery as the normal condition of the negro; consider property in him as inviolable as any other in the country; cherish a decided preference for that species of property so called; consider any interference with it by others as presumptuous, intrusive, and diabolical; avow that the emancipation of the slave would be dangerous to society and a curse to himself; certify that slavery is a great blessing, a kind of alkali which neutralises the antagonism of whites and blacks for the mutual interest of both; contend that slavery is invested with the sanction of religion and guaranteed by the constitution; affirm that they view it with thankfulness and gratitude as a providential arrangement ordained by the Almighty, and declare that all who call in question or entertain a doubt concerning the humanity and divinity of slavery display "bottomless ignorance," unteachable fanaticism, and blasphemously intrude between the negro and his God.

What fearful vested rights are disclosed in the above form of our so-called "privilege" in America. Into what bright forms the hideous features of slavery are transformed to woo and charm the unsuspecting and ignorant. With what presumptuous daring and matchless effrontery is it associated with the sacredness of religion. And with what subtlety and cunning do these "squatter sovereigns," or aristocrats, seek to

hide from the view of men the bloody slave-whip which is ever doing its cruel work, the red-hot branding iron which is ever hissing in the flesh of the wretched victims of its cruelty—and the anguish and sorrow which dwell in the hearts of multitudes of the oppressed !

O for a million tongues
To thunder freedom's name,
To utter a cry which should pierce the sky—
The indignant cry of shame !

Our eagle's talons are red
With the reeking blood of the slave,
And he proudly flings his protecting wings
O'er the sight of freedom's grave.
Awake in Thy mercy and might,
And hasten the day which shall open the way
Of truth, and justice, and right.

But whoever may speak against negro slavery, say our "squatter sovereigns," England must be silent, for if it be sinful and cruel to hold men in bondage, she has a heavy load of guilt to bear, since she first gave slavery to us in America. If true, England gave other things to us besides slavery, and we would not have them. She gave us Stamp Acts, but these created Riot Acts; she put threepenny taxes on our tea, and we threw it into the waters of Boston Harbour; and she imposed taxation without representation, and we resisted it with the rattling musketry of Bunker Hill and the roar of cannon from New Orleans to Saratoga. Each and all these we repudiated

because we did not like them, but we kept slavery because we liked it! How fearful, therefore, to delude ourselves and to seek to deceive others by casting off an awful responsibility which it becomes us to feel and meet with manly courage. And this we call privilege in America.

There is, however, another class of aristocrats in America whose "privileges" associate them with the "aristocracy of skin," which is the vilest thing the world ever knew or saw. These look upon the negro as a "superior animal" or "domesticated brute," and consider him as belonging to an inferior race to themselves. They say, "as the crocodile is to the negro, so is the negro to the white man; and as the white man may treat a negro, so the negro may treat a crocodile." "Prejudices," say they, "which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education can subdue, mark the people of colour, bond and free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable; subject them to every imaginable insult in their expulsion from the railway car, steamboat saloon, social circle, sanctuary, the states of Illinois and New Jersey; and with beseechings made soft with tenderness, cause the President to entreat them to leave the country, whilst he solemnly and earnestly reminds them that America can never be the black man's home, and that his country cannot continue to be polluted with their footprints. "Besides," say our Northern aristocrats, "God has provided for the negro a Canaan in Liberia; and when it shall be great and prosperous it will then doubt-

lessly be seen (say they) that a wise Providence suffered the negro race to pass through a long season of oppression in order that they might be elevated and purified, and demonstrate that God had been long elaborating in the depths of his unfathomable counsel, just as he elaborates the diamond in the mine, a gem of Christian civilisation, to blaze on the sable brow of Africa ; so that what Christianity could not do for them in America, it could, would, and should do for them in Africa ; and this is what we sincerely believe to be no fault of the coloured or white man, but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature."

Influenced by such considerations and governed by such principles and motives, need we wonder that our Northern class of aristocrats should spurn the negro, as the bigot of old did the Jew, or as the Turk did the Christian ; reveal a fixedness of purpose never to allow the coloured man equal social, political or religious privileges with themselves ; avow that in America the negroes "must be for ever debased, useless, and a nuisance from which it were a blessing for society to be rid ;" and pass decrees of a most oppressive character which are to stand against them in all their rigour, and which they say were enacted to work out their "ultimate and unbounded good" in order to relieve us of "their unwelcome presence where they are not wanted, and to induce them to emigrate *en masse* to Liberia, where they could repeat with the highest gratification to each other and feel the captiv-

ating spell of the sentiment contained in those lines which the far-famed comedian Garrick proposed as the commencement of an address for the opening of a theatre at Botany Bay—

“True patriots we, for be it understood
We left our country for our country’s good.”

What distinguished magi we have got in America. Is it not wonderful to contemplate such so-called far-reaching sagacity and benevolence?

It is no less amusing to observe these aristocrats seeking to penetrate into the “mysteries of infinity,” and to hear them talk with impious familiarity of the “designs of an all-wise Providence” to silence their fears in connexion with their own over-shadowing iniquities, and smother conviction arising from obligations which bring pressing claims to love mercy, do justly towards all men, and walk humbly with their God.

What phantoms of evil imaginations, which vanish into “airy nothings” when looked at with cool and undistorted vision! And how absurd to suppose that a people dwelling in so wide and rich a land as ours is, should be constantly saying to the millions of Europe, spiced with an invitation to the “cotton lords” to bring their mills and machinery with them to our “poor man’s paradise,” exclaiming “there is room enough for all,” and yet feel alarmed lest the coloured man should make his home amongst them to pollute or frighten them with the touch or colour of his skin.

How basely wicked is the thought! Oh, the deceitfulness of unrighteousness! Verily the "tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." And as these two forms of "privilege" cover our whole land, one pervading the South, and the other the North, it will be perceived that obnoxious as John Bright makes out "privilege" to be here; and sneeringly as he may refer to it, there are a few in the New World, and the writer amongst them, who have never been possessed or obsessed in favour of "privilege" there; and when "privilege" here and "privilege" there are brought into contrast would exclaim in regard to the former—

"O give us the freedom and home of the brave,
With soil never trod by the foot of the slave;
Where tyrants and dungeons and chains are unknown,
And liberty's smile is the stay of the throne."

Should the above be deemed worthy of a place in your columns, and the opportunity present itself in connexion with other urgent claims, I hope you will allow me the privilege and gratification of calling attention to some other monstrous fallacies which are propounded with all earnestness and gravity and sought to be industriously circulated in this country in regard to America. Meanwhile, allow me to subscribe myself—Yours, for truth as well as liberty.

J. R. BALME.

An American Baptist Clergyman.

32 Sun-street, Brownlow-hill.

THE REPUBLIC OF AMERICA AND ITS GLORIES.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—It is quite easy to fascinate men with the beautiful imagery which is employed by those who have embraced the Federal cause and policy in this country, and to excite their admiration and heroic appreciation of America by representing it as a “model country,” “a thing for angels to dream of,” for men are naturally fond of what is marvellous; but as the superb grandeur which invested the dignified order of our “squatter sovereigns” in America, and the bright halo of glory which surrounded their virtues, disappeared like the mist before the rising sun, on lifting up the mask in our last letter; even so, by pushing our inquiries into the real condition and true character of our country, we shall find that its bright colours will rapidly fade before us, and its towering glories speedily vanish at every step, and from every standpoint where we can have a glimpse of it.

If we look at America in the light of our great charters of freedom, such as the constitution and declaration of independence, and also our written laws, we shall find our honour as a people trampled in the dust, and our name made a reproach and byword

amongst the nations. The constitution provides for all, without limitation, restriction, and distinction of colour, the act of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, civil and religious liberty, the right of petition, and protection to person and property ; and yet to the negro these grand clauses in the constitution have been as “in-operative as a bull against a comet” from the first hour of our independence until now ; whilst through the perversion and misapplication of it the victims of slavery have increased from 647,000 to 4,000,000. What a black heritage of guilt has this tremendous feat of jugglery entailed on our land ! How wonderful that an instrument which was associated with the bright angel of liberty, and was made to carry the eagles of freedom, should by some mysterious process have been made to carry “a devil” with it instead of an angel. Our declaration of independence avows that “all men are equal, and are born to life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness ;” and yet, although it has been the motto of a thousand speeches, and the text of a thousand sermons, it is gravely alleged by the president and governors from their chairs of state, the senator in the senate chamber, legislator in the house of legislature, the judge from the bench of judicature, and the divine from the pulpit, that the negro is not a man, and that his equality with them is simply neither more nor less than the equality of the ox ; for as the law of Moses commanded that the mouth of the ox was not to be muzzled, that treadeth out the corn, even so, to use the language of President Lincoln, who denies the

right of negroes to vote, sit on juries, and intermarry with white people, yet this same negro has one right reserved by the President, and this right claimed by him and the magi who think with him, is simply and solely deemed to be the right of (the ox) to eat the bread which his own hand earns.

We have not only great charters of freedom in the documents referred to, but we have written laws. It has been truly said that no people are better than their laws. If so, in what a mean, low, and debased condition must our slave laws—our “black laws” so called in the Free States—and our congressional fugitive slave law, put us as a people. Our slave laws reduce the negro to a “chattel personal;” make every child born of a slave, the property of his master or owner so called; subject the slaves to the lash for learning to read, and the white man to fines and penalties for teaching them.

Our black laws in two of our Free States, so called, decree that no black man or mulatto shall enter, and in all but two exclude them from voting, and in one of these require a property qualification, whilst in all the Free States they are made the badge of an ignoble distinction, which excludes them from social rights and sanctuary privileges, and marks them out as the victims of a cruel prejudice. And then there is the Fugitive Slave Law, which strikes down in the most cruel and summary manner the natural right of the slave to be free, tramples under feet two of the most sacred guarantees of the constitution—the Habeas

Corpus Act and trial by jury—creates a tribunal unknown to the constitution in the persons of commissioners, offers a bribe to send men into slavery, and requires all citizens, under the heaviest penalties, to doff their manhood, don the bloodhound, and go yelping on the track of the weary, wayworn fugitive, in order to secure his arrest, although they may feel that the above law is opposed to every noble impulse of humanity, the express command of Jehovah, and that the code of Draco, which was written in blood, was white-robed innocence when compared with it.

What a glimpse our written constitution and laws give of our highly eulogised country. Our free representative government so called, gives us a further and deeper insight into the “wonders and glories of our republic.”

And first of all, there is our elective franchise, to which all citizens are entitled, and can therefore vote for the election of president, governors of States, mayors and members of city corporations; and those who are not citizens can be made so to subserve party purposes, whilst Indians sometimes are made to help to turn the tide of electioneering in favour of favourite partizans; and if these manœuvres are not sufficient to accomplish party purposes, men who have no regard to an oath, are induced by bribery to perjure themselves; “plug uglies” are also called in to block up every avenue to the ballot box to keep out opposing parties; and, recently, for the first time in the history of the world, whole regiments have had

furloughs granted them to leave the battlefield that they might vote in the interests of their military dictators.

Need we wonder, therefore, that by the use of such means, and from the force of contending parties who make a virtue of necessity, we should have had a succession of presidents who have violated the great charters of freedom, which they were sworn to uphold? so that if they had been dealt with as the law of the case demanded, many, if not all of them, would have had to expiate their crimes on the gallows! And such has been the corruption, speculation, and fraud which have filled every department of the Government and States, that our representative form of government, with its "unbalanced" democracy—which ought to be called "mobocracy"—has been brought into almost universal disrepute. Instead of winning favour, it has created dark withering frowns and shrugged-up shoulders amongst men! In the place of hosannas, it is bringing down upon itself a world's thundering anathemas! Instead of being a blessing, it has become the pesthouse of fraud, the lazar house of corruption—a great world nuisance!

The provision made for the education of the people gives us another manifestation of our republic. This provision is plentiful, for no country in the world has more schools, colleges, or churches; but the education is corrupt in quantity, and defective in quality. This is obvious from the fact, that if the simplest elements of justice, feeblest deductions of reason, or the first and

easiest lessons of Christianity, had been taught, a succession of ever-increasing victims could not have passed through the fires to the Moloch of slavery—the free negroes would not have so long continued under the ban of proscription. Northern schools, colleges, and churches would not have been filled with pro-slavery teachers, professors, and divines; the sons and daughters of slaveowners who have received their education almost exclusively in the North, would not have been so far inducted into the so-called humanity and divinity of slavery, as to have their moral sense extinguished—shown in their attempt to found a new republic based on slavery; all liberty sentiments would not have been expunged from tracts, pamphlets, and books written by authors in this country, before they have been put into circulation by our tract committees and publishers; men who have had the taint or smell of abolition about them would not have been isolated, ostracised, caricatured, abhorred, maltreated, or endangered in their position, prospects, or property; our best friend and ally, England, would not have been regarded and treated as our greatest foe; the fires of the volcano which is now sending forth its burning lava to ruin and devastate our land, would not have been so long concealed from the view of men, or allowed to gather its forces to produce such vast and extended mischief both in America and Europe; those who profess to hold in trust the enlightened principles of Christianity, which lie at the basis of a sound education, and to have a providential mission

to supply the antidote to those boundless elements of mischief, in the persons of Cheever, Beecher, Sloane, Conway, Mrs Stowe, and others, would not have abandoned moral for military issues, and have been running to and fro in our land with the Robespierre cry of liberty, fraternity, and equality on their lips to rouse the war passions and to let out deluges of blood. Captains and chaplains would not have been selected and appointed to go on a crusade to this country armed with "sacks of flour" and "butteries" to possess and obsess you in favour of our imaginary liberties, by making speeches and reading homilies on civil and religious liberty, and gravely reading Psalms in public which commence, "Not unto us, O Lord—not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thy name be all the glory," in homage of the greatness and glory of our republic now in ruins, and of our illustrious race of philanthropists, patriots, and Christians, who have accelerated its destruction. An all-pervading press and the wonderful powers of the telegraph would not have been controlled by military despotism, covered ignominious defeats with imaginary glorious victories, to enlist new recruits, to make more food for powder, or contract new loans, to prop up our doomed republic, or ambassadors sent to the Old World to astonish the nations by the assumption of extraordinary powers in connection with "tickets of leave." And yet, forsooth, we have philosophers, poets, statesmen, and divines, who point to the glory that dwells in our land, and strangely misguided pro-Federal advocates here

who reciprocate the sentiment of John Bright in his avowal that "there would be a wild shriek of freedom to startle all the world if our republic in America was overthrown," and that Privilege here would shudder at what would happen. I have still a few more points of interest to comment upon.—Yours respectfully, for truth as well as liberty,

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American Baptist Clergyman.

32 Sun-street, Liverpool.

AMERICAN MELODRAMATIC SCENES.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—It is quite amusing to read the statements of poets, senators, orators, and divines in America, and the pro-Federalists in this country, who claim for America the highest place amongst nations.

In a grandiloquent speech made by Secretary Seward in the senate chamber of the United States in the autumn of 1860, we find the following startling announcement, that the “worst slave state is in advance of England;” and in a lecture recently delivered by the celebrated novelist Thomas Hughes in the Collegiate Institute, the following paragraph was jotted down by the reporters, and published in the newspapers of this town—“He declared, from all his reading and his conversation with Americans and with Englishmen who had travelled in that country (America), that there was no country in the world where men are so free, so well educated, so noble in all respects—in all essential respects in which freemen ought to be noble—as the citizens of the States of the North, especially the New England States. (Cheers.) No nation had done so much to enlighten and elevate its people; and its people were worthy of the sympathy of those who had done well in the great ends for which nations were established.”

If, therefore, we are to give credence to the utterances of the persons referred to, your illustrious characters, such as Brougham, Gladstone, Livingstone, Spurgeon, Florence Nightingale, and Queen Victoria, must vanish behind the scenes, whilst the aristocracy of slaveholders or menstealers in the Southern States make their appearance in the persons of Jeff. Davis, Howell Cobb, Mason, Slidell, Floyd, Wise, Pryor, Barkdale, accompanied by a large retinue of lady major domos, surrounded by bright and beautiful landscapes, where the skies cleave asunder to pour down righteousness in the way of retributive justice ; where the incense laden gales of miasma from the dismal swamps of slavery fill every breeze ; where the soft sweet lullaby dies away, and then swells into a grand hallelujah chorus amid the din and clatter of bludgeons, thumbscrews, pincers, cowhides, cat-o'-nine-tails, bowie knives, revolvers, and bloodhounds, as these aristocrats trip it with fantastic toe, making heaven to weep and hell to rejoice, while the lash plays and the blood flows ; while women are whipped and children are sold ; while the paternal tie is rudely torn, and the marriage annulled ; while honest gains are filched and robbed, the souls of men are shut down in all the darkness of ignorance, and God himself is defied in the pretension that man can hold property in his fellow-man ; while all around the *great big serpent slavery* draws its long slow length along, over every sunny bank, under every shady tree, by the side of every meandering stream, coiling its snaky

folds or darting its sting and breathing its hiss under the shadow of their "patriarchal domes," filling the land with its unclean presence and spirit, impregnating the atmosphere with its stench, and turning the blooming paradise of the South into an Aceldama. And yet, forsooth, with this monster that binds so many hands, cords so many feet, blinds so many eyes, blasts so many intellects, crushes so many hearts, and opens so wide the jaws of destruction, and makes such a smooth path to it—yes, with this monster, slavery, we are to be fascinated; with its patriarchal scenes, so called in the "sunny South," we are to be entranced; and with such sounds we are to be filled with joys divine and rhapsodies celestial, if we are to bow to the dogma of the Hon. Wm. H. Seward. And if we are to receive the teachings of Thomas Hughes, your distinguished celebrities must still hide their diminished heads whilst the genii, so called in the North, whom Beecher designates the "picklock of society and the pickpocket of the world," and whose daughters, especially in the New England States, according to the testimony of the same divine, are to regenerate the South without the aid of the first syllable—oh yes, your illustrious personages must still go down into the shade whilst the above wonderful genii crowd upon the stage.

And here the scene opens with the crowding of the shores of the New World with emigrants, whom Dr. Guthrie calls the "scum of Europe;" and as they enter upon the business activities of life, down goes the value of slave labour, and up goes the feverish

anxiety of their Northern fleshmongering owners to realise their full market value. Hence, when they could find no market around them, they sent them into the Southern market, that they might exemplify their "thrift to fawning." It must be some consolation therefore, to those who have constituted the so-called "scum of Europe," to be of some service to the commonwealths of America in the North. The next scene brings before us a large procession of distinguished citizens, with clergymen robed in their canonicals leading the way to church, where they offer their devout gratitude to Almighty God for the passing of the fugitive slave law, and condole each other and the people that the Union was saved, the storms which threatened the Republic were turned into a calm, and that they would have peace in their time. Again the curtain rises, and we hear the bells tolling, as they announce the "glory departed" of Northern free cities in the rendition of fugitive slaves amidst the military tramp of armed men who are conveying them to the ship or railway station to be consigned to the hell of the Carolinas.

The next scene brings before us the fitting up of the slave ships and their departure from New York, Boston, and New Bedford, for Africa, to empty that country in order to humanise, civilise, and christianise them through the benign influences of the patriarchal institution of slavery.

Another scene opens to our view, and we see a parson salesman in a Baptist Convention in Philadelphia,

surrounded by great official dignitaries, such as Drs. Wayland, Cone, and others, and hear his voice as he proceeds, amidst the profound silence of the assembly, and without rebuke, to offer for sale his pious slave, whom he had brought with him from the South. We hear his voice exclaiming, "See, here is my christian slave, who has a desire to go to preach the gospel in Africa. I will take 200 dollars for him. Oh, what a chance for you who are anxious for the slave, to try your liberality." Then comes the Baptist missionary, Bushyhead, the agent of the Triennial Convention, which had its head-quarters in Boston. Bushyhead is surrounded with a beautiful plantation, well stocked with slaves, and is deeply solicitous about the Indians, and very assiduous in inducting them into the mysteries and blessings of the patriarchal institution, slavery, where this mystery of iniquity is now at work, showing its baleful influences among the red men of the forest.

Then comes before us the examination of the slave-breeding pens of Virginia and the border States by the representatives of the Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, appointed by committees in New York to see which slaves are ready for the market, and whether they can bespeak any of the proceeds of their sale for the printing of the Holy Bible, and to send missionaries to Turkey and India by getting their owners to become life members, or directors in the payment of the usual fee.

In the next scene the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher

leads the way in connection with a crowd of official dignitaries, and solicits attention whilst he reads a homily to prove that there is no *malum in se* in slavery. An electric flash goes through the crowd, and the editors of the *New York Observer*, *Express*, and *Christian Intelligencer*, frantic with delight, shout, "This our brother was dead, and is alive again; was lost, and is found." The Rev. Dr. Lord, of Dartmouth College, follows with another homily on the subject, to show that slavery is in accordance with natural and revealed religion, and the law of love. Professors Hoge of Princeton, and Stuart of Andover, thunder out the announcement that master and slave is a relationship of rightful authority, and that, after all the spouting on the subject, the Bible, which establishes that relationship, remains the same. The Rev. Van Dyke, of New York, with deepest and broadest emphasis avows that he finds slavery in nature and Providence. Dr. Nehemiah Adams declares that it is adapted to the beneficent workings of society, and regrets that he cannot introduce it into Boston. Dr. Blagden opens out his Bible and turns down chapter and verse in its defence. Dr. Baron Stowe finds that his Bible does not allow him to deny any courtesy to a man because he is a "Christian slaveholder." The Rev. Henry T. Cheever says a man may be a slaveholder and yet a Christian—there is no doubt of it. Dr. Gardiner Spring says if one prayer would free every slave he would not be the man to offer that prayer. And Mrs. Stowe brings up the

rear in this crowd of worthies with a brand-new mantle of piety for her dear "lady pious slaveholder," Mrs. Shelby, large enough to cover both the mistress and her stolen property—the slave; and whilst she looks with defiant scorn, and carries a whirlwind in her track against the pirate who has stolen a chest of goods, because he covets a mantle of piety to cover up himself and his stolen goods, thinking, doubtlessly, that if stolen men were no bar to the enjoyment of such a privilege, stolen goods ought not. But, poor soul, he is mistaken. He has not been inducted into the mysteries of our special justificatory circumstances in America, and the granting of special indulgences to absolution which exempt these great transgressors from the ban of condemnation.

Next comes a Republican convention, that makes America a place of torture for the black man, holds out to him Liberia as a Paradise, decrees no more slave territory, and yet elects a man to the presidency who declares that "if any territory desires slavery, and seeks admission into the Union, although he would be sorry to do it, yet he would admit it."

The next scene gives us a view of the successive plagues of America, the softening of the president's heart in view of all circumstances, and the cornucopias which rain down flowers upon him for his grand achievements as a rail splitter, tavern keeper, navigator of a flat boat, farmer catching coons, lawyer learning the "specious arts" to deceive, political debater in which he adapted himself to men of all

political creeds and shades of opinions, making Abolitionists believe that he hated slavery as much as any of them, Republicans feel that he had no love to the negro as a man, was quite inflexible in their belief that America was the country for the white man, and the white man only; and Democrats quiescent under the assurance that if he could save the Union and slavery as well, he would do it; or save the Union and slavery in part, he would do that; but if he could not save the Union without destroying slavery he would do it; and as President of the United States he has been honoured with the achievements of a Moses, although he has not acquired the power of a Pharaoh to let the slaves go.

In the next scene, Secretary Chase makes his appearance with his financial goose under his arm, and goes through the operation of putting gold into its mouth, and receiving a hurricane of greenbacks at its tail to show the sudden increase of wealth in our glorious republic, and assures the astonished crowds that if he can only monopolise the trade, he can prevent the republic from coming to grief or tottering to its fall.

And to close these melo-dramatic scenes, the Marplots gather in great force; and amongst them we recognise the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, armed with his knuckledusters, and bending his fists in the face of England amidst the wildest demonstrations of applause. There are also Cheever, Goodell, and Sloane, surrounded by torches of Greek fire, horns of powder,

percussive biscuits, and starvation shells, which, like so many Titans, they aspire to take up in the sling of mortal hate to hurl into the heart of the South, to start the slave population in revolt against their masters. Doolittle and Wadsworth claim that the thunderbolts of heaven will so avenge their cause that the South is sure to be turned into swamps for crocodiles if the southerners persist in their rebellion. Jim Lane, of Kansas notoriety, is so furious in the letting out of blood that he advocates the destruction of the Copperheads, or Democrats so called in the North, and certifies to a commencement of such a reign of terror in the state to which he belongs. Fred Douglas gives a significant look towards this country, administering at the same time a particular caution or warning that, if you interfere, Uncle Sam, though reduced to a skeleton with the scab, cancer, and bare-bones of slavery, will gather up the remnants of his Titanic power and "strike down the mailed hand of England." And Mrs. Stowe certifies that, on the bright roll of their war crusade, Garrisonians, and democrats, and republicans are all registered, and stand shoulder to shoulder, and with voice answering voice, and heart to heart, utter words of good cheer as they cry—

Draw your good sabres bright,
Gather your reins up tight,
Buglemen blow:
Now for the crimson fight,
Charge on the foe.

Man to man, horse to horse,
Hand to hand, force to force ;
Oh, but they fiercely fight :
Give them your sabres bright,
Pistol them too.

And these deluges of blood are let out in the name of justice, equality, and liberty. How deluded and misguided, to allow a love of country to override their love of justice! And yet, according to Thomas Hughes, these men are the world's greatest noblemen! What a satire upon the human race! This is what we call in America "beating the devil at long chalks."

In my next I shall notice "American Substratums."
—Yours, for truth as well as liberty,

J. R. BALME,

An American Baptist Clergyman,

32 Sun Street, May 4, 1863.

THE AMERICAN SUBSTRATUMS OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE EXAMINED.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—No nation any more than an individual can depart from the laws of God without being subject to His retributive justice. This is fearfully illustrated in the cataract outpourings of blood, and wide-spread scenes of suffering and woe which we now behold in the present unhappy condition of America. No country recorded in the annals of history has evermore persistently departed from first principles, or wickedly violated the just and righteous laws of God—a fact which no “mysterious cypher” or “hieroglyph” can cover up or hide from the view of men, who are acquainted with our condition or history as a people. If, therefore, the punishment bears any proportion to our crimes or guilt, God’s thunderbolts must flame with uncommon wrath to blast our country’s greatness, and make desolate our land.

These great and terrible judgments had long been predicted by distinguished citizens and statesmen, who pointed to the coming whirlwind of Divine vengeance and raised the warning voice as if they had been almost inspired; but our nation rushed madly on in its career of guilt and shame, until God shook down

upon it the "bolted fires" of His wrath as a just penalty for its sins. Long, long ago Jefferson exclaimed, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just. One day of American slavery is worse than a thousand years of that which we rose in arms to oppose. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest. And His justice will not sleep for ever." What words could have been more prophetic or appropriate?

Scarcely any, however, expected that the destruction of our "grand Republic," so called, was so near at hand or would be so suddenly affected; and fewer still anticipated that our Northern people would be the blind Samson in connexion with the terrible scenes now being enacted in the great drama of God's retributive providences in America, to pull down the pillars of our American commonwealth on themselves, and bury themselves in one common ruin with the Southern Lords or Philistines. Such, however, was the prediction of Longfellow when he dedicated his poem to the Senate of the United States, which contained the following stanza:—

There is a poor blind Samson in the land,
 Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
 Who may in some grim revel raise his hand
 And strike the pillars of the commonwealth,
 Till the vast temple of our liberties
 A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies!

When, however, the Unionists or pro-Federals cannot cover up the plague-spots of our country which

the crashing thunders and forked lightnings in the terrific displays of God's justice are now finding out, and disclosing to the view of men in their shifting policy, they acknowledge their severity, and recognise their appropriateness so far as the South is concerned, but claim exemption for the North, as if it had had no share in the bonds of wickedness to be unloosed, but had dwelt in the paradise of abiding peace established on the foundation of righteousness, than which nothing can be more fallacious or delusive.

Ah, but, says Dr. Guthrie, one of the vice-presidents of the Manchester Union Emancipation Society, "There is no country in the world, our own excepted, where there is such a deep substratum of moral and religious principle as is to be found in those portions of the American republic which have not been cursed with slavery, and considering so much scum from the old world has been poured into it by the tides of emigration, we have cause to wonder that the good bears such a proportion to the evil!"

Lincoln, Seward, and Co. are ever and anon introduced to our favourable notice by the pro-Federalists as bright ornaments to the cause of humanity, liberty, morality and religion. These men have a more exalted opinion of the worth of European emigrants at the present time than Dr. Guthrie, or they would not have appropriated three millions of dollars to open the floodgates of emigration, that a flood of the above-mentioned "scum" might flow into our so-called "Poor Man's Paradise!" In an address which

that great and good man Dr. Guthrie gave in the Philharmonic Hall of this town, he truly remarked that "the genius of Christianity was love, and that her highest worship lay in such works as sprang from loving God with all the heart, and loving their neighbours as themselves;" but does Dr. Guthrie or his pro-Federal coadjutors admire the love or appreciate the work of the above Christian statesmen, so called, who are now turning so lovingly, and beckoning so kindly to the able-bodied men of this country through their consuls and crimps, whilst they repeat the old ditty of the nursery rhyme:—

"Come into my parlour,"
Said the spider to the fly,
"Tis the prettiest little parlour
That ever you did spy."

Now, if, to use the language of Guthrie, "faith without works is a lie, a monstrous lie, a devil's lie, and one of the blackest that ever came out of hell," what must faith with the works of those Christian men-spiders be, in connection with the black and bloody work of enticing men away from home, friends, and country, to be dumped by Northern Christian scavengers into the "grand army of the North" to fill up the gaps of the dead and dying on the battle fields of the South, or amidst its pestilential swamps? What kind Christian solicitude! How deep or broad is the substratum of moral or religious principle that underlies such a work as that!

Moral and religious principle is a thing of great

value, and is everywhere very much required, but nowhere in God's creation is it more wanted than in our Free States, so called, in America. The scarcity of the thing there enhances the value of it very much. If we look to the science of political economy for it, we discover no trace of it in that department; for however minute or diligent we may be in our researches, we can find nothing but compromise, corruption, and fraud. In taking a survey of the whole field of political science in America and its different strata, we can confidently affirm that there is not a wicked or cruel act of the Federal Government on behalf of slavery, which has not been subscribed to, ratified, and endorsed by Northern senators and people, and for which they are alone responsible, as they could not have been enacted or put in force without their votes and consent. If we turn our attention to our religious theories and practises, as popularly taught and illustrated, we are again doomed to be disappointed in our researches for this deep, broad substratum of moral and religious principle, for there is no department in America that has been more perverted or corrupted than the science of religion, in theory or practice. Not only have the blasphemous doctrines that man may hold property in man, and that one man is inferior to the other, been chiefly taught and inculcated by our Northern professors and divines, but acted upon by our Northern people in their brokerage system with the Southern people, and, what is worse still, shown in their contempt of the negro race, and

usurpation of their sanctuary rights and privileges, where the negroes are met with the same biting sarcasms and blasting irony and scorn, as the Jews met the Gentiles when they drove them from their places in the temple and filled them with ordinary traffic, so that our Saviour in going into the temple had to pass through herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and busy crowds who were selling turtle doves and exchanging money ; indignant at the profanation of the sacredness of his house, he took a whip and drove them out of the temple, and overturned the tables of the moneychangers. And were our Saviour now on earth, would he not be indignant with the proud Yankees who drive men of a different colour from themselves from their places in the sanctuary, and show his displeasure by rebuking them, exclaiming, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people, but ye have made it a den of thieves,"—a brotherhood of thieves. Can we succeed any better in finding this deep, broad substratum of principle in our survey of the enlightened sentiments or opinions of the people? Had the people been touched with the fine issues that proceed from moral and religious principles, the overwhelming masses thereof would not have acquiesced in the death of that noble hero and martyr, John Brown, or demanded his execution for doing what he would have had every slave do to him under similar circumstances, and what the grand old Puritans covenanted to do in the cabin of the Mayflower at all costs and risks. Where, then, shall

we find this deep, broad substratum of moral and religious principle? Shall we find it in the fearful struggle now going on between the North and South? Is the fierce war spirit that is now cherished by the religious war crusaders, so called, evidence of its existence? If so, Robespierre and his coadjutors in the French revolution were great saints; and liberties lost, wrongs endured, hopes blasted, and sufferings undergone must be regarded as the work of a genuine philanthropy, putting darkness for light, and evil for good. And yet this terrible issue, which is sweeping all the mounds of authority, and ornaments of civilisation and safeguards of virtue before it, as with a whirlwind, is the only issue before the country. If this be the deep, broad substratum of moral and religious principle referred to by Dr Guthrie and his coadjutors the pro-Federals, what a terrible liberty-loving element it must be; and how it illustrates those scenes of unutterable horror which marked the era of the French revolution! In the report of the committee adopted at the 46th anniversary meeting of the Liverpool auxiliary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, recently held in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, there occurs the following extraordinary passage:—"We have no educated barbarian who tests the quality of his revolver and practises his own sportsmanship upon the bodies of the poor heathen whose souls he is sent to save. Nor can we find any one so afflicted with a mathematical monomania as to be driven by its delusions to leave his poor sheep in the

wilderness of heathenism, and return to England to bewilder those who are already in the fold, to tread down their pasturage and foul the waters of life. Happily, such is the prompt efficaciousness of our discipline, that, should such a prodigy appear, the very next mail would carry out his sentence—"His Bishopric let another take!" Have our Wesleyan brethren had no M'Clintock and Bishop Simpson in their midst to bewilder those who are in the fold, &c., by their misrepresentations of the condition of the Northern Branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church? and as those same divines are in full fellowship with those extraordinary "soldiers of Christ in America," described under the following heading in the *Liverpool Mercury*, May 20th.

SOLDIERS OF CHRIST IN AMERICA.

At a recent meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in New York, several of the reverend speakers denounced the rebellion of the South, and the conduct of the Confederates in extraordinary language. The Rev. Dr. Osborne, of White Plains, said he "had to contend against a great deal in his district, for the infamous Copperheads, sympathisers with the South, were as thick as blackberries, and he often felt as if he would like thrashing a man to be a Christian virtue, that he might have the privilege of digging into such fellows." Here there was a loud laughter from the reverend auditory, as well as a fluttering of

fans in the galleries. Encouraged by this, Dr. Osborne went on to say "that if he were President Lincoln, instead of suspending the writ of habeas corpus, he would suspend the Copperheads." A Rev. Mr Foster said that "the South hated the Yankees, despised, scorned, and held them in ridicule, and he for one hoped that the war would go on until such hellish, devilish ideas were whipped out of the people of the Southern States. To accomplish that object he did not care if the war went on for one, two, or ten years." A second Mr Foster, recently from New Orleans, where he had acted as chaplain to a regiment, complained of the ladies of that city, who insulted every Yankee they met in the streets, sometimes crossing on the other side to show their contempt. The common cry among them was, "Take care of your pockets, here's a Yankee coming." "He wanted that feeling whipped out of the Southern people by shot and shell." The Rev. J. R. Wakely informed the Conference that "the proper way to treat a Copperhead was to stamp your heels on him." As the same divines are in full fellowship with these soldiers, has any mail taken out the sentence to the above, "Your fellowship let others take?" How sad to contemplate such a degeneracy in our race in America! Mr Newdegate condescends to inform us that we need not be surprised at our condition, or with the troubles which have come upon our land. "You have got no established religion! Your President is not the vicegerent of Christ! You have

no bench of bishops, or fat livings for Churchmen ! Consequently you are a nation accursed of God !” His Excellency, Charles Francis Adams, ambassador to this country from America, says that they are to be traced to the “consequences of royal piety, in his Majesty King James the Second making his religion his politics, and his politics his religion.” “I may not forget,” to quote, “a resolution which his Majesty made, and had a little before entered upon it at the council-board at Windsor or Whitehall, that the negroes in the plantations should all be baptised, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free.” “Had James, therefore,” says Adams, “seen the true connexion between the maxims of Jesus Christ, and the relation of master and slave in the plantations, Christianity would in time have gained the mastery over slavery in America, as it did in Europe. He mistook it, and the consequence has been that slavery has gained the mastery over Christianity in one half of the Union. Religion, therefore, is the handmaid of oppression, and liberty is wounded in the house of her friends.” And Secretary Seward, in his address to the Parliamentary Reform Association at Paisley, traces the continuance of our troubles to the power of European opinion : “If all Europe could not only think but speak as you do, there would soon be no civil war or insurrection here.” What a trio of distinguished sages ! If the assurances of Mr Paterson, therefore, “that the people of England

are in favour of the war for the Union," should carry with them in America any weight of influence, according to Seward he will soon want no more citizen soldiers from the North, or alien soldiers from Europe, nor a Miss Dickinson, with her inspirations as the goddess of liberty.

Reserving a few more points, yours, for truth as well as liberty,

J. R. BALME,
American Baptist Clergyman.

32 Sun-street Liverpool, May 13, 1863.

EXPLOSIVE ELEMENTS AND PYRAMIDAL SCENES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—As no transcendent opening of grandeur, beauty, or inestimable worth could be found in connection with our explorations into the substratum of American society, in our last communication, we shall briefly call attention to the explosive elements of human passion, frenzy, and madness which are everywhere manifest in our degraded country, causing tremendous eruptions of the burning lava of malice and vengeful scorn to flow forth sometimes from South to North, at other times from North to South, and then again from both North and South alternately and conjointly towards England. These fiery eruptions in connection with the Northern substratum of society are abundantly made manifest in the departments of the science of our political economy, religion as popularly taught amongst us, our enlightened public sentiment so-called, and the philanthropy which the Rev. Newman Hall says lies at the bottom of the struggle going on in America.

And *apropos* to our figure, we have an illustration which will help to fix in our memories, and to move

us to the profoundest depths of our hearts in horror of the terrible wreck of virtue, morality, liberty, and religion which such explosive elements produce. The illustration is as follows:—During the drilling of an oil well recently, at a place called Tudione, in Pennsylvania, a sudden rush of oil in its crude state took place, forming a pillar which rose to the height of 41 feet above the surface of the ground, and also a circle of 100 feet in diameter. Above this jet or pillar the gas or benzine rose in a cloud, which kept extending itself until it came in contact with a fire in the neighbourhood, when a terrific explosion took place, instantly turning the jet of oil into a column of livid flame, and also the oil shower around it into a shower of fire, which fell like water from a fountain, and ignited the ground as each drop of oil came down in the shape of a blazing globe of fire, whilst the blazing gas or benzine above this pyramid of fire went dashing towards the heavens like lightning flashes until it licked the clouds with its furious tongues of heat; and as the fiery pillar was fed at the rate of 100 barrels per hour, the scene of combustion was tremendous, and, being continuous, it made a noise like the rushing of a hurricane or tornado through the forest. The heat of the fire became so intense that no persons could approach within 150 feet without scorching their skin or burning their garments, and the scenes of horror which took place were frightful to contemplate. Scores of men were thrown hither and thither by the force of the explo-

sion, and, being exposed to the shower of fire, were horribly burnt as they rushed blazing from the scene of their misfortune, shrieking and screaming in their anguish. Within the blazing circle could be seen the skeletons of those who had fallen a prey to the scorching and devouring flames. Some who escaped from the blazing circle of destruction and ruin afterwards died from the injuries which they received. Others who survived were so seriously injured by the scorching heat of the flames as to become great sufferers from pain ; and all who were present at the opening of the well sustained more or less injury by the explosion which took place.

The above is a feeble but fitting emblem of the scenes of suffering and trial which have been the sad experience of multitudes who have come within the vaster circle of the scorching flames of persecution that have been ignited with the fires of freedom in connection with the borings or drillings into what Dr Guthrie calls the deep, broad substratum of moral and religious principles in America. Not only in the degraded South, but in our "moral and religious North," so called, no drilling or boring could be made into any of the departments already referred to without discovering an abundance of fiery elements which the smallest spark of freedom or atom of moral and religious principle would cause to explode, or kindle into a grand pyrotechnic display of human passion, from which the uncompromising abolitionist would feel glad to escape, and the approach to which would

fill him with apprehension and alarm. Hence the almost universal precaution taken to warn the public against the abolitionist in churches, synods, and conventions, lest there should be an explosion and the peace of the churches or states be destroyed. Up to the period of the disruption, abolitionism was always considered the greatest crime in our Northern calendar, and the Christian abolitionist in particular had to be subject to the fiery ordeal of persecution, and to endure privation and hardship, inconvenience and loss. Not only were there hidden stores of danger in society beneath him, but around him in church and state there were active agencies, which sometimes resembled the scene given in the following picture, "A pyramid of serpents." The following is from the *Morning Chronicle*, and, although passing strange, the scene described may be true. A traveller in South America writes :—" In the savannahs of Isacubo, in Guiana, I saw the most terrible spectacle that can be seen, and, although it is not uncommon to the inhabitants, no traveller has ever mentioned it. We were ten men on horseback, two of whom took the lead in order to sound the passage, while I preferred to skirt the great forest. One of the blacks who formed the vanguard returned at full gallop and called to me, ' Here, sir, come and see the serpents in a pile.' He pointed out to me something elevated in the middle of the savannah or swamp which looked like a bundle of arms. One of my company then said, ' This certainly is one of the assemblages of serpents, which heap

themselves on each other after a violent tempest. I have heard of these, but have never seen any before. Let us proceed cautiously, and not go too near.' We were within 20 paces of it. The terror of our horses prevented our nearer approach, to which none of us were inclined. On a sudden the pyramid mass became agitated; horrible hissings issued from it; thousands of serpents rolled spirally on each other, shot forth out of their circle their hideous heads, and presented their venomous darts and fiery eyes at us." However uncommon such scenes as the above may have been to travellers in South America, scarcely a church in our principal denominations, conventional gatherings, or political assemblies, in our Northern States, but has presented the same hideous aspect to abolitionists. We have had some agitated masses in the church and senate chamber; and let any good man and true rebuke the present unholy, fratricidal war, and no parties in Church or state more than some who claim to be "famous anti-slavery agitators" will fling their envenomed darts or turn up their fiery, malignant eyes!

This is no uncommon thing in America, since no person or party is allowed to hold an opinion different to that of their own, without being subject to open rancorous malignity; or feeling Joab's vengeful stab.—Yours, for truth as well as liberty,

JOSHUA R. BALME,
American Baptist Clergyman.

ON THE AMERICAN UNION.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Our Union, so called, in America, is so drunk with sorcery and witchcraft, so corrupted and perverted with falsehood and fraud, and so wrinkled, withered, and bowed down with crime, that it is a matter of surprise how any sincere and upright man can look upon her haggard features, or her double-dyed garments of dishonour and shame with any other feelings than those of utter detestation and abhorrence ; and yet we find Federals and pro-Federals who profess to have the “honour clear,” and “soul sincere,” ever and anon introducing her to the favourable notice of mankind as if she was the grand polar star of attraction which was to draw all nations to worship at her feet—the mighty enchantress of the world, that could not only stir the air, but also the ears and hearts of men with harmony, and charm them wisely and well ! The Hon. Edward Everett is amongst the first and foremost of our country’s admirers to call our attention to the Union, and to expatiate on the spell of her enchantments, and the witchery of her charms ; whilst with deepest and broadest emphasis he puts the crown on her beauty,

pronouncing her to be "the nicest adjustment of human wisdom." When referring to the robes of splendour and beauty which she is said to wear, Peter Sinclair, Esq., the agent of the Union and Emancipation Society in this country, solemnly avows, in one of a series of letters to the *Edinburgh Review*, that she is covered with "the fairest fabric of human liberty the world possesses." And if we are to believe John Bright, M.P., or the Hon. A. H. Stephens, the Vice-president of the Confederate States, we must pass through "Glory's morning gate and walk in Paradise to obtain a glimpse of her heritage," since Stephens, in a speech which he made in the Hall of Representatives, Georgia, November, 1860, described her domain to be the "Eden of the world, the Paradise of the universe"—a sentiment in which John Bright coincides, as shown in his affirmation that "America is a land of which angels might dream."

According to the above, it must be delightful to dwell in such a land—to gaze on landscapes painted with such rich beauties and suffused with such heavenly light—where still waters glide through such meadows of enchantment and fields of paradisaical beauty—where flowers bloom along every pathway, incense floats on every gale, and where warbling songsters fill every forest and grove, and sweep the mystic chords of every heart with their enchanting

Tioû, tioû, tioû, tioû.

Spe, tiou, squa.

Tiô, tiô, tiô, tiô, tio, tio, tio, tix.
 Coutio, coutio, coutio, coutio.
 Squô, squô, squô, squô.
 Tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzu, tzi.
 Corror, tiou, squa pipiqui.
 Zozozozozozozozozozozo, zirrhading !
 Tsissisi, tsissisisisisisisis,
 Dzorre, dzorre, dzorre, dzorre, hi.
 Tzatu, tzatu, tzatu, tzatu, tzatu, tzatu, tzatu, dzi.
 Dlo, dlo, dlo, dlo, dlo, dlo, dlo, dlo.
 Quio, tr rrrrrrr itz.
 Lu, lu, lu, lu, ly, ly, ly, ly, liê, liê, liê, liê.
 Quio, didl, li lulylie.
 Hagurr, gurr, guipio.
 Coui, coui, coui, coui, qui, qui, qui, qui, gai, gui gui.
 Goll goll goll goll guia hadadoi.
 Couigui, horr, he diadia dill si !
 Hezezezezezezezezezezezezezezezeze couar ho dze hoi.
 Quia, quia, quia, quia, quia, quia, quia, quia, ti.
 Ki, ki, ki, io, io, io, ioioioio ki.
 Lu ly li le lai la leu lo, didl io quia.
 Kigaigaigaigaigaigaigaigaiguiagaigaigai couior dzio dzio pi.

“Before creating such a land,” says the celebrated Charles O’Connor of New York:—“God, in the benignity and far-seeing wisdom of his power, permitted the great family of mankind to live on, advance, improve step by step, 5000 years and upwards, until the earth was deemed mature for laying the foundation of our truly free, truly happy, and truly independent empire.” “Then,” says O’Connor, “God raised up a set of men whose like had never existed upon the face of the earth—men unequalled in their perceptions of justice, in their comprehensive benevolence, and in their capacity to lay safely, justly, soundly,

and with all the qualities which should ensure permanency, the foundations of the above empire—the first assembly of rational men who ever proclaimed in clear and undeniable form the immutable principles of justice, and consecrated to all time, in the face of tyrants, and in opposition to their power, the rights of nations and the rights of men.” Senator Doolittle has proclaimed it to be his religious belief that our American republic was the “political power foretold by the prophets—for which good men in all ages looked and prayed—and to whose duration and success Heaven, with all its omnipotence, was pledged.” The poet Longfellow has recently put the capstone of glory on the above column of testimony in honour of the Union in his ode to its greatness, in which he makes the Union to be the great keystone in the centre arch of Society and the world, and boldly declares that

“Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Hangs breathless on its fate!”

Such being the case in their estimation, it is no wonder that the Federals, or pro-Federals, such as John Bright, should dread disunion, or that the Hon. Secretary Seward should bring up the rear, and assure mankind that our great and glorious Union, so-called, has been ingratiated into the “world’s affections,” and that the different nations of mankind are “prepossessed in its favour to an extent that no other nation enjoys

or ever possessed before !” It remains for us, therefore, to examine this wonderful thing called the Union, which has so delightfully sprung into being, and is said to rise before the nations the marvel of beauty, wreathed with unfading honour and glory. And if we take into account its unnatural combinations, we shall perceive that its bright colours fade with the touch, and that an enormous fraud has been practised on mankind—a fraud as cruel and heartless as the hoax palmed off on the credulity of 700 ministers in France, and 4000 ministers of religion in this country—namely, that our Northern clergy and churches have diffused a gospel based on the sacred and inalienable rights of human freedom, concerning which we have had something to say in our book, “American States and Churches.” It has been said that the Union is the emblem of nationality; if so, our flag gives a correct but humiliating representation of its character and condition. The late Daniel O’Connell was quick to perceive this, and prompt to expose it, whilst with terrible sarcasm he rung the sentiment in the ear of the world—

“United States, your banner wears
 Two emblems—one of fame;
 Alas! the other that it bears
 Reminds us of your shame.
 The white man’s liberty in types
 Stands blazoned on your stars,
 But what’s the meaning of those stripes?
 They mean the negro’s scars!”

But can those stars be real when they are made to

coalesce with unnatural stripes? If they had not been mock stars, would they or could they have formed a combination with real stripes, or have remained in such a preposterous coalition for so long a time? It is incompatible with the principles of freedom to be in alliance with the stripes or scars of slavery. A peaceful, permanent, and happy Union on such a basis, was in the nature of things impossible. "When the republic was first born," says John Bright, "it contained the seeds of great peril." At first slavery was connived at, then tolerated as a necessary evil, and then enthroned in church and state as a cardinal virtue, where it acquired a colossal power to control parties and sects, the judgments of courts both civil and sacred, and the freedom of speech and the press! With such a combustible element at the basis of our republic, how could an explosion be well avoided by the mixing up of such incongruous elements? In such a case it needed but the spark of true freedom to explode the mine.

Whilst Jefferson, one of the founders of the Union, deprecated the existence of slavery, he also predicted that "it would be the rock upon which the Union would split." And so it has been, for it was impossible to impair the law of contract that existed between the slave and the free States without endangering the existence of the entire country. This was so patent to William Lloyd Garrison and party, that they uniformly and persistently demanded that the Union should be allowed to slide up to the time of

the disruption, and proclaimed the stars and stripes to be a "flaunting lie."

On January 31, 1861, the leading representatives of the above party met in Association-hall, Albany, New York, and resolved as follows:—"That the American slave system is the sum of all villainies, a compound of all cruelties and crimes—robbery, adultery, piracy, and murder, and whatever is impure, unholy, and accursed. Resolved, that slaveholders, as such, have no rights which any human being is bound to respect; that their slaveholding States are organised bands of thieves and robbers, living by plunder and piracy on the avails of unpaid and unpitied toil; that our governmental union with such States and men was an atheistic rebellion against every principle of reason and revelation, every law of nature and of God, which no possible circumstances could have warranted in its formation, or justify in its longer continuance; and that to call such a state of things a union is to outrage, beyond possible endurance, the common sense of creation; and the only relief in enduring such an unholy alliance, at once so devilish and disgraceful, is the hope that God, or some other power, will ere long dash it in pieces like a potter's vessel."

The Union was first formed to protect themselves from common danger. In order to meet England they had to be united. "Union was strength," said they; "United we stand, divided we fall." But whilst we have been secure from outward dangers,

we have fallen a prey to ruin from the greater dangers which have threatened us from within. Slavery has always been an element of disunion—a jarring note of discord—a bone of contention; but the South had nothing to fear from any abolition power in the North, for the good men and true who clung to the sacred principles of freedom on the basis of no compromise and no surrender, like the Spartans in olden times, were few and far between, scattered and peeled, driven hither and thither, and were subject to almost universal indignity and scorn when the war broke out. At that period there were only some three or four in Congress, such as Sumner, Lovejoy, and Giddings, who had stemmed the tide of opposition to their principles; and my friend, Wendel Phillips was uttering a loud lament that the cause of abolitionism had made no progress for twenty-five years previously.

And in that lament he was joined by that eloquent but misguided man, Frederick Douglas, as shown in his "Monthly" for June, 1860. Should the pro-Federalists point us to an advance of public opinion in favour of abolitionism in the election of Lincoln, we have overwhelming proof to the contrary in Lincoln's own statements, given in his campaign book, and letter to the Hon. Horace Greeley. At page 202 of the above book he says—"I should like to know if taking this old declaration of independence, which declares that all men are equal on principle, and making exceptions to it; where will it stop? If one man says

it does not mean a negro, why may not another man say it does not mean another man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get this statute book in which we find it, and tear it out." At page 193 of the same book he says—"I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior. I am as much as any other man in favour of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

But the above is not all. In page 18 of the book we have referred to, he says—"I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist." And in his letter to the Hon. Horace Greeley, dated Washington, August 22, 1862, he says—"I would save the Union; I would save it the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My

paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." And yet, forsooth, according to Peter Sinclair and the pro-Federals, the sentiments of Lincoln are worthy of a place beside the noblest utterances of Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, or any of your British philanthropists! Can deception, fraud, or hypocrisy be exceeded in the above? The moral world must be moving the wrong way on its axis when such beggarly shams and gigantic swindles as the one referred to above, can be palmed off at public meetings as abolitionist, receive congratulatory addresses as such, and receive their plaudits! By the duplicity, cunning, and fraud which Lincoln practised, he obtained a few abolition votes; but what contributed most of all to his success was the division which had taken place in the Democratic party. This gave him a large majority. But although Lincoln was elected, a larger number of Democratic or pro-slavery senators and legislators were sent by the people to Congress at the general election of 1860 than obtained in the Senate, or the Hall of Legislature at Washington, under the presidency of Buchanan, Lincoln's predecessor! The Hon. A. H. Stephens, when referring to this fact in an eloquent speech which he delivered in the Hall of Representatives,

Georgia, November 14, 1860, says, "The President of the United States, is no emperor, no dictator. He is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress." The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him. In the very face of the heavy majority which he has obtained in the Northern States, there have been large gains in the House of Representatives to the conservative constitutional party of the country, which here I will call the national Democratic party, because that is the cognomen it has at the North. There are twelve of this party elected from New York to the next Congress, I believe. In the present house there are but four, I think. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana, there have been gains. In the present Congress there were 113 Republicans, when it takes 117 to make a majority. The gains in the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Indiana, and other States, notwithstanding its distractions, have been enough to make a majority of nearly 30 in the next House of Representatives against Lincoln. Even in Boston, Mr Burlingame, one of the noted leaders of the fanatics of that section, has been defeated, and a conservative man returned in his stead.

Is this the time, then, to apprehend that Mr. Lincoln, with this large majority in the house against him, can carry out any of his unconstitutional principles in that body? In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him—this

after the loss of Bigler, Fitch, and others, by the unfortunate dissensions of the National Democratic party in their States. Mr Lincoln cannot appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate—he cannot form a cabinet without the same consent. He will be in the condition of George III., the embodiment of Toryism, who had to ask the Whigs to appoint his ministers, and was compelled to receive a cabinet utterly opposed to his views ; and so Mr Lincoln will be compelled to ask the Senate to choose for him a cabinet, if the Democracy of that body chose to put him on such terms. He will be compelled to do this or let the Government stop, if the Democratic men in the Senate should so determine. Then how can Mr. Lincoln obtain a cabinet which would aid him or allow him to violate the constitution ? So far, therefore, from there being an advance wave of public opinion in favour of liberty in the last general election of America, the result was a clear gain in favour of what is called the conservative or pro-slavery element, and Lincoln owed his election not to the Republican party, but to the dissensions and divisions which obtained amongst the Democrats. Why, then, it may be asked, did Southern senators and representatives retire from their places in Congress, and form themselves into a new government ? This will form the subject of my next communication. Meanwhile, allow me to subscribe myself, yours for truth as well as liberty,

J. R. BALME,
American Baptist Clergyman.

THE HAPPY FAMILY AND ITS QUARRELS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—In the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square, London, there used to be a man who exhibited a cage containing birds, reptiles, insects, and animals, said to be living in quiet grace and harmony, bearing the title of “The Happy Family.” But when any of them showed their irreconcilable natures, the exhibitor gave them a gentle tap on the head with a lath which he kept for that purpose. Our “Happy Union Family” in America, so called, bears a strong resemblance to the above, and with its antagonistic natures has required to be kept under restraint with the laths of presidential authority. The Abolitionist member, however, was the most difficult to manage, and had to endure not only gentle but sometimes very severe treatment in order to preserve its false harmony and peace from being interrupted, and its “nice and subtle happiness” from being destroyed, by the touch of his magical enchanter’s wand. And not only is its happiness demonstrated to be of an imaginative and uncertain character, but also insecure, for on the election of President Lincoln to assume the functions of supreme power with his lath, there was an outburst

of enmity which has produced alienation and strife ever since ; and the more President Lincoln has tried to reunite the different members of our once so-called "Happy Family," the more deadly have their resentment and hostility become. And although he has called to his councils and aid the Hon. W. H. Seward, who claims to be invested with extraordinary powers, shown in a despatch of Lord Lyons to Earl Russell, Nov. 14, 1861, which contains the following words, said to have been addressed to him by Seward—"My lord, I can touch a bell on my right hand, and order the arrest of a citizen of Ohio ; I can touch another bell, and order the imprisonment of a citizen of New York, and no power on earth, except that of the President, can release them. Can the Queen of England do so much ?" Although President Lincoln has the aid of such a wonderful man, with his spiritual mediums to boot, to all human appearance he will come to grief with the members of the Northern division in our Union family, and have his difficulties and trials the same as in the Southern one, over which he has lost all control, and for the subjugation of whom he uses all his powers and resources in vain.

"Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies ?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,

Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals nor forts :

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred ;
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain !”

With the above unhappy, unnatural, disastrous state of affairs, men acquainted with the condition of our so-called “ Happy family ” have felt no surprise. With them the wonder has been that the quarrels have not brought on the Union crash sooner, and that every atom or fragment of its existence has not been long ago numbered with the things that were, illustrative of the scriptural sentiment, that “ a house divided against itself cannot stand.” From the commencement of its existence, its fate has been sealed, and its knell rung, although in the articles of its original compact our Union representatives resolved that it should be “ perpetual.” But whilst man proposes, God disposes ; and we now see amidst the hurricane sweep of his retributive providences what a fearful and terrible disposition He is making of our so-called “ great, and wonderful, and glorious Union.” The astounding fact also is revealed that the destruction of the “ Old Union ” was necessary to promote the interests of liberty, commerce, and Christianity. No truth is more clearly substantiated than this, that the old Union has been a nursery for the growth of slavery. Over one half of its domain its plantations

have been stocked with the choicest breeds of slaves, whilst the other half has always been turned into hunting ground for the fugitive, and the official hounds of the Union, with administrative collars round their necks, have never been harmless in their barks, nor innocent in their bites, nor indolent with their capacious mouths and ponderous jaws when they have got upon his track, and he would not capitulate as "lawful prey," except when he has been successful in placing himself under the protection of what our American people call the "Queen-craft of monarchy?" But we are now gravely informed that our Union has undergone a change, and that our men-hunters, from President Lincoln down to the meanest official, have lost their tiger instinct, leap, and claws. And wonderful it is when it has only turned from the slave to shew their terrible claws and bare their teeth in savage blood-thirstiness to his master. This is a change that may serve as a bait to catch what the Honourable Edward Everett designates "easy consciences of weak-minded men and silly fools"—a fitting representation of the class to which he belongs—but it is a base trap, from which the common sense of the multitude will lead them to turn away and reject with contempt and disdain.

If we look at the culminating glory of our wonderful union in connection with our last tariff, we shall see under what terrible restrictions the commerce of the world is placed. In this tariff, dated July, 1862, the cotton goods of Lancashire are subject to duties

ranging from 25 to 40 per cent.; woollen manufactures, 30; and worsted, 35. Sheffield cutlery is made to pay 35 per cent. duty, and English railway iron from £4 to £5 per ton. No Wilton carpet can pass the Northern customs without a tax of 45 cents per square yard. Birmingham buttons must pay 35, and Coventry ribbons 40 per cent.! Such is the Northern Morrell Tariff. And yet, forsooth, these are the men for whom you are to erect your triumphal arches, peal your merry bells, and create a world's jubilee!

And when we contemplate the association of our American Union with Christianity, we may well take up the language of Jehovah, where he appealed to the Jews, exclaiming, "Will a man rob God?" And couple with it the response which he gave to the question in its application to them. "Ye have robbed me, even this whole nation!" Thus has it been with our American people; and no man can demonstrate that they can present the free-will offering of their hearts, flaming with supreme love to God, on His altar, when they turn away from their fellow-men because they possess a different colour on their skin to themselves; or if when turning to them, it is to subordinate them to their use in their persons, services, and lives, as "chattels personal!" Our Union, therefore, in America, in the above respects had become a world nuisance; and its existence and continuance on the old basis were not compatible with the government of God. We are quite aware that structures of reasoning, chains of argument, and link added to link

in those chains, enamelled with the flowers and beauties of rhetoric, have been constructed and thrown out in its interest and favour, but no efforts of its admirers or friends can brace up its weakness or hide its deformities. President Lincoln, the Hon. William H. Seward, and others, backed by overwhelming masses in the North, have tried both by the pen of the ready writer, the tongue of the eloquent, and the sword of the warrior, but have miserably failed. And now that huge imposture, called the Union, stands fully revealed, this greatest sham of the ages now stands unmasked with all its horrors disclosed to the view of the world, whilst a voice comes thundering down the roll of ages—Take away “the accursed thing.”

In a letter addressed to the governors of the different States of the Union in 1783, General Washington said :—“There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power. First, an indissoluble union of the States under one federal head ; second, a sacred regard to public justice ; third, the adoption of a proper peace establishment ; and, fourth, the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local politics and prejudices.” The above extraordinary letter of Washington discloses his deep anxiety for the fate of the “beloved Union,” records the conviction that the law of com-

compact which bound the slave and free States was not sufficient of itself to secure the perpetuity of the Union. Hence the necessity of the above extraordinary pre-requisites, which it was utterly impossible to call into being with such incongruous elements as composed the different classes of the Union. A knowledge of the compact, therefore, between the different States of the Union, is of paramount importance to those who feel an interest in America, and essentially necessary in order to obtain a proper understanding of the character and causes of those thrilling and appalling events which are now taking place in the New and filling the Old World with wonder, and, so far as they are comprehended, with intensest abhorrence and disgust! The compact designates the Union which it contemplated "The United States of America?" Its articles of agreement were to be its basis, although the Constitution of the United States and Declaration of Independence have never been called into requisition and acted upon from the day of their adoption as articles of the National Creed to the period when civil war broke out amongst us. The lofty principles inculcated in them, and the imperial heritage of blessing which they were designed to secure to all, without limitation as to sex, age, or colour, have neither been desired nor coveted by the overwhelming masses of people who have composed those States, except for the white man. Amongst other things, those articles which constitute the law of compact made provision for the sacredness and

supremacy of each separate State. The Hon. Secretary Seward, "whose bright and patriotic plans and purposes," says Peter Sinclair, Esq., "qualify him to fill a high office of trust, and administer it so as to become in many respects, along with Abraham Lincoln and Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, models for the study of the world."—Seward, when commenting on this clause in his place in the Senate Chamber, in 1860, addressed himself to the representatives and people of the slave States as follows:—"In your capital States you are sovereigns on the subject of slavery within your own borders, as we are on the same subject within our borders. It is well and wisely arranged. Use your authority to maintain what system you please. We are not distrustful of the result. If our authority shall be assailed from within or without by any enemy, or for any cause, and we shall have need, we shall expect you to defend us. If you shall be so assailed, in the emergency, no matter what the cause or the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your authority as the equivalent of our own!" "You are sovereigns," said Seward, "within your own borders on the subject of slavery!" Where there is sovereignty there is the exercise of absolute power in accordance with vested rights acquired or otherwise. But how fearful are the vested rights of slavery! And how terrible is the sovereignty that makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men, and traffics in human flesh! And yet, said Seward, "it is well and wisely arranged!" Well

and wisely arranged that four millions should be reduced from persons to things—articles of merchandise—commodities to be bought and sold! Well and wisely arranged that slaves should have no relationships which they can call their own, but, like cattle, be separated at the will of their owners—husbands from wives, parents from children, brothers from sisters, and friends from bosom friends! Well and wisely arranged that they should be robbed of the fruits of their industry, and stripped of all mental, moral, social, and religious culture! Well and wisely arranged that they should be subject to a robbery and tyranny unequalled in the world! Now, the Hon. W. H. Seward, when he uttered the above language, was well acquainted with the character of that system which these slaveholders sought to maintain. He knew full well the injuries which it inflicted, and the untold agonies which it produced, and yet Seward said, “Use your authority in maintaining the above sovereignty.” As if he had said, “Go on and multiply the wrongs of the negro slave in connection with this terribly ferocious system of inhuman bondage. Do it in every form in which their humanity may be assailed, and by every character of agency and appliance you may please to use. According to your taste, convenience, or caprice, make your exactions, enforce obedience with the utmost rigour, and make your will supreme; “we are not distrustful of you,” says Seward, “or of the result.” Their victims may weep, groan, or struggle in the agonies of death, but

it is no concern of ours, said the above "philanthropic man"—so called, the "astute philosopher, metaphysician, and model statesman of America." "You are sovereigns within your own borders," and, therefore, we repudiate all responsibility in the States where those victims of your cruelty and tyranny reside. Such was the Honourable William H. Seward in 1860, when he made a bid for the Presidency. What a wonderful model for the study of the world.

Another clause in the law of compact made provision for equal rights and privileges to all the separate states of the Union, both in regard to the protection of each State sovereignty and the general sovereignty of all the States from common danger, and also to a share in the common territory. The rights common to each were common to all. Our Union, therefore, was nothing more nor less than a partnership concern. And to all the articles of our political creed embodied in our law of compact, each State has given its "unfeigned assent and consent." And these possess a binding power on each and all which they are not at liberty to set aside or reject without endangering the existence of the whole. In the history of our country we have had repeated infractions of the law of compact by the Northern or Free States so called—in the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, which dispossessed the slave States of their equal rights in the national territory; as well as the personal liberty bill, which brought five of the

Free States into conflict with the United States ; in the Congressional Fugitive Slave Law ; and also in the threats made by the Northern people against the Southerners in regard to the tarriff, and to cherish a war of sections. Against these infractions the Southern States protested, but in vain. And in vain also did they point to the law of compact which had been infringed. Hence their determination to secede. And as there is a brotherhood as well as honour among thieves, it was the duty, and ought to have been the privilege, of Northern States to allow them to secede, and amicably to have wound up the affairs of the " Old Union Concern "—the " existence of which no possible circumstances could justify," said Wm. Lloyd Garrison, or " ought to continue ;" and " to preserve which," said General Washington, it required " the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which would induce them to forget their local politics and prejudices !" As we shall return to this subject, allow me to subscribe myself as usual, Yours for truth as well as liberty,

JOSHUA R. BALME,
American Baptist Clergyman.

THE BLACK PARTNERSHIP CONCERN.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Nothing can be more preposterous or absurd than to suppose that the above concern called the Union in America, possesses a basis founded on an enlarged philanthropy, or enlightened forecast; and if it had not been placed on record, it is scarcely possible to believe that any ruler or statesman should have fallen into so gross a delusion, as to avow, that it could continue amidst the dangers that would imperil its existence, since an impartial administration of justice, or the sinking down of a shaft to the rock called principle, would at any period have sprung a mine to destroy it with its false peace, at once and for ever! In its brief history those dangers have been frequent, from jealousy between the Northern and Southern partners in the acquisition of new states and territory—from the Tariff which led South Carolina to threaten to withdraw from the Union—from the war of 1812 which brought it to the verge of disruption—from the opposition of New England States to that war under the leadership of Massachusetts—from “Bleeding Kansas” and John Brown’s raid, which led the Richmond Whig to

announce that "their connexion with the North was a standing insurrection in the South! But the greatest danger which ever threatened the Union, was the election of Lincoln, who, like the Hon. Wm. H. Seward in his "Bloody Rochester Speech," so called, had made himself particularly obnoxious and offensive in an address which he delivered at Springfield, Illinois, June 12th, 1858.

In this address Lincoln said, "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this country cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents will arrest the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or, its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South" This speech was interpreted, by the Southerners to mean, "a war of

sections." Mr Lincoln being a representative man, and claiming to be the standard bearer of the Republican party, lead them to accept it as a standing menace, and to adopt for their motto, "no submission to abolition rule." Lincoln took the alarm, for when charged by the late Judge Douglas, August 21, 1858, at Ottawa, Illinois, with the utterance of the sentiments contained in the above speech, he replied, as recorded on page 77 of his Campaign Book, "When I made my speech at Springfield, of which the Judge complains, and from which he quotes, I really was not thinking of the things he ascribes to me at all, I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a war between the free and slave states. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a political and social equality of the black and white races. It never occurred to me that I was doing anything, or favouring anything, to reduce to a dead uniformity all the local institutions of the various states. But I must say in all fairness to him, if he thinks I am doing something which leads to these bad results, it is none the better I did not mean it. It is just as fatal to the country, if I have any influence in producing it, whether I intend it or not! The States also which had passed personal Liberty Bills, took alarm, and with dreadful haste, in which Rhode Island led the way, erased the "obnoxious statutes," so called, from the statute book in connexion with the State legislatures! In the general consternation and alarm which prevailed for the

safety of the Union, the churches, city corporations, and chambers of commerce, united to send their delegates to a Peace Congress which was called at Washington, where Wm. E. Dodge, Esq. of New York, (a flaming revivalist), with other delegates, by joint resolution, decreed to offer the slave states all territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$ for new slave states, if they would come back into the Union, bury the war hatchet, and smoke the pipe of peace? And to bring up the rear of the panic-stricken, the government took the alarm, sent for the late Judge Douglas to seek his interposition and advice, whilst at the same time the Secretary of State, the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, telegraphed to the Boards of Trade in Chicago and Milwaukie, conveying the startling announcement, "That heretofore the cry of Union has been raised when there was no danger. The question of slavery will not now be taken into account. We are to save the Union, and then save all that is worth saving." Our Northern people had often performed their antics before the Southerners, and prostrated themselves to pick up the nuts they threw down, in the shape of commercial tariffs—but at this fearful and rugged crisis of our history—they performed their antics without the nuts, the Southerners, having withdrawn from the Union menagerie, left them to find their own nuts to crack! All the energies of what are called mighty spirits amongst Northern Democrats, and the resources of their "great intellects were brought to bear on Southern representatives, but in vain. The South

had taken its stand for weal or for woe, and in the bloody contest which has followed, it has displayed an energy and skill which has won for its generals and armies the admiration of the world, and since there is more hope of the emancipation of the slave in the separation of the South from the North, than in their re-union—and also of the amelioration of his condition, who that is not blind to the signs of the times, can desire success to the Federal arms? The truth is self-evident, that if the Union had not given slavery a new lease of its life, in the barricades which it interposed for its preservation in the Fugitive Slave Law, Slavery would have been well nigh extinguished without the shedding of blood, or the interruption of commerce, for the same law which operated to send the slaves from the Northern States into Canada, when slave States, and caused their masters to make what they could out of their nimble “chattels personal,” would have had the same effect in the South, but for the vile subserviency of our Northern people, who placed themselves under the Union yoke to obey the powers that be, to hunt up the fugitive, and stand between him and his deliverance—thus making them a proverb and a reproach—a taunt and a curse to society and the world! And as it was never in the power of the South to preserve slavery, or extend it of itself, how imbecile and foolish it is to make slavery a stalking horse for the subjugation of the South? Even John Bright has confessed “that but for the secession of the South, nothing but a

miracle could have hastened the destruction of slavery." If, therefore, our Northern people, or the Pro-Federals in this country, had any regard for freedom, they would have said, "wayward sisters, depart in peace." And there was nothing to have prevented such an arrangement in our Partnership Concern, since, to use the language of the Rev. Dr Guthrie, "there is no Union or partnership which may not be dissolved without crime, but marriage." Such a course would have saved rivers of blood, and prevented an awful waste of property, which, will yield a heavy crop of heart-burnings; and, also, an accumulation of debt which will ere long send us with a thundering crash into the gulph of financial ruin. Besides, if there had been a particle of that sacred thing called honour, amongst the Northern partners of the Union, they would have withdrawn, or have dissolved partnership; but, alas, honour, which is said to be known and practised amongst thieves, was not to be found amongst our so-called enlightened statesmen and sagacious wise men! How much to be deprecated is the course which our Northern people and government have adopted. In their hands what a terrible scourge war has become both to themselves and the South, and to Europe. Who shall bridge the yawning chasm which their resentment has created, or heal the wounds which their war passions have produced!

"*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Amongst the current news of the day there is a

paragraph in circulation that a machine has been invented to be driven by the force of circumstances. Our union in America has often been praised as a machine which has turned every thing into gold, and wrapt men with visions of enchantment and beauty. How strange that it should now turn everything into blood and heaps of blackened ruin. And how desperate the force of circumstances which impel it in such a course as this! How fearful is the love of country when it leads men to seek to merge all in common ruin, rather than put the curb on the spirit of aggrandisement and conquest. And how rancorous their malignity when, if they cannot continue to get the lion's share of profit out of the wicked compact with the South, the cry goes forth in the spirit of burning revenge, make the habitations of men desolate, lay waste their fruitful fields, burn their populous towns and peaceful villages, and turn their country into a wilderness to be the haunts of wild beasts and crocodiles! And yet, in a lecture recently delivered in Hull, we have been gravely informed by the Rev. Newman Hall, that such a war, with all its vast extremes of guilt and cruelty, and unparalleled in the misery which it is producing in both hemispheres, "is legitimate," because it is a war for empire, is invested with the sanction and gathers force from the "practices of European governments," and has "philanthropy at the bottom of it!" O horror of horrors, to contemplate such frightful butcheries of men—such diabolical outrages as have been committed in this war! Surely, if we could get

the above divine, with his coadjutors, John Bright, Peter Sinclair, and other misguided men, who are the advocates of this war—if we could get them to look down into the gulph of ruin into which the nation has been plunged by reckless men that they might get a glimpse of the sepulchral shades of repudiation which lies at the bottom of the dark abyss—the fragmentary glories of our grand republic—and the skeletons of the men who

“ In blood

Stept in so far, that should they wade no more,
Returning was as tedious as go o’er,”

but never did get o’er, as they perished in the mad attempt.

Oh, yes! if we could get the above men to take such a glance, and in such a case they did not exclaim, Citizen soldiers, put up your swords into their scabbards, we would join with the Hon. Edward Everett in the pathetic exclamation, “ Throw open your doors, O just Bedlam, and send your abused philosophers, princes, and statesmen to their homes!

“ Cease your dull prate, ye teachers of morals! There is no crime, there is no barbarism, there is madness.”

Yours for truth as well as liberty,

J. R. BALME,

An American Baptist Clergyman.

THE TIP OF THE LAST JOINT; OR, GENTLEMANLY HONOUR AND STANDING.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Thus far our expositions of monstrous falsehoods have referred to others; in our present communication we propose to examine the delusion into which you have fallen in the use which you have made of the words “Gentlemen of Honour and Standing” in your Editorial of June 26, 1863, where you say, “But we must consider it amongst the worst evils of the present civil war that it compels gentlemen of honour and standing, like Mr. Adams and Mr. Dudley, to keep such very indifferent company, as that of some of the persons with whom they have recently been associating!”

Some there are who write and speak as if they were influenced by the belief that gentlemanly honour and standing in society, or the world, was only to be found in connection with prelacies and popedom—deaconships and bishopricks—mitres and crowns! Will such worldly rank and title operate with greater force on the imagination and affections than the charms of moral goodness? And since the former are not always associated with the latter, there are many lowly

cottagers who dwell in the shades of their greatness, endowed with noble qualities of intellect and heart which make them happy and useful, invest them with a dignity, and shed around them a halo of glory which will hand down their names to posterity although their virtues and deeds may be passed over in silence by the nobles and grandees of this world, find no place on historic page, or in the niche of the temple of fame! Such have a moral superiority which no mere worldly rank or title can secure or confer on their possessors! Theirs also is a happiness which is associated with the perennial spring of contentment, the overflowing consolations of peace, the enheartening visitations of hope, and the joyous prospects of a blessed immortality, where faith ends in sight, and hope terminates in the fulness of fruition! But whose pen shall describe, or heart conceive, those magnificently glorious results which have flowed from their meek and quiet spirits—the uniform consistency of their lives—their acts of self-denial and unrequited toil—and the triumphs of their faith! How sublime is such a spectacle! what a point of communication such a scene opens up to the view of men between heaven and earth! And how attractive, since here is to be witnessed “the actions of the just, which smell sweet and blossom in the dust!”

Others still speak to us of a “gentlemanly honour and standing” that is exclusively worldly. This is based on integrity, civility, and generosity. But for the highest style of “gentlemanly honour and stand-

ing" we must look to the Christian, since piety is the crowning link which is essential to form a genuine specimen of "gentlemanly honour and standing."

There are some worldly good men who set a noble example to many who profess to be truly Christian men. But where there is true piety, associated with intelligence, economy, punctuality, civility, integrity, and generosity, there must be the highest order of "gentlemanly honour and standing." The ties of consanguinity, the caprices of fortune, and the genius and skill of men in connection with plodding perseverance, may secure to men, in a worldly sense, "gentlemanly honour and standing." It, however, requires three things to make men of true honour, and the highest order of standing. These are a right principle, a right rule, and a right end. The right principle is the love of God. The right rule is the word of God. And the right end is the glory of God. These alone secure the honour which comes from God—invest men with the order of a rank which throws all others into the shade, and makes dim their lustre; and also confers on them an heirship, and prepares them to enjoy the blissful inheritance of heaven.

Let us, then, unfurl the roll of American history in search of this "gentlemanly honour and standing," and see if we can find this precious commodity, whether in the worldly or christian sense, amongst the Fathers and Founders of our country and government. And here are the men, the deed, and the day,

on which great stress is laid. The men, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. The deed, which was said to have made them immortal, the adoption of a basis of constitutional freedom, and the declaration of independence. And the day, which was to be celebrated by bonfires, and fireworks, triumphal arches, the peal of merry bells, and the roar of cannon—processions and music—orations, and huzzas, henceforth and for ever. If we examine the nature and character of those documents subscribed to, endorsed, and ratified by the men already referred to—documents which embodied the deed which they performed—to the execution of which they pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honour; and if we consider that these documents guarantee and secure to all men unrestricted freedom, irrespective of colour, sex, or age, we may triumphantly ask where is the “tip of the last joint” of that thing which is called “gentlemanly honour and standing?” When they signed those instruments did they free their slaves? Or, did they put the negro on an equality with the white man?

What does impartial history say? With a voice like thunder it says, No! Many, therefore, plead that, as they did not do these things, they did not understand these instruments as including the negro, or, as conscientious men, they would have freed their slaves, and restored the negro to an equality with the white man; be this as it may, these documents place it beyond a doubt or a peradventure that all were included, without restriction as to race, or dis-

inction as to colour ; and therefore it is a monstrous fraud to cover up their delinquencies in the avowal that they proceeded on the basis of making the white people the governing race, and others their inferiors.

If we cast our eyes on the successive pages of our history in connection with our government from the days of Washington to Lincoln, we find the same betrayal of trust, forfeiture of all claim to respect in the abominable fraud which has been perpetrated on the black man ; and in no one has this been more manifested than in the person of "Honest Abe Lincoln," so called, who disputed the "exclusive right" and "monopoly" of the late Judge Douglas of being *on all sides of all questions* in a speech which he delivered at Alton, Illinois, Oct. 15, 1858. And that he shared in the supposed blessings of what he called this "High Privilege" is abundantly made manifest in his published speeches, of which we have already given some remarkable specimens, and could give many more, but we will make one or two suffice. In a speech which Lincoln made at Galesburgh, Illinois, Oct. 7, 1858, he said, "I believe that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly affirmed in the Constitution." In another which he delivered at Cincinnati, Ohio, September, 1859, he said, addressing himself to slaveholders, "When we do, as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you," said he, "we mean to treat you as near as we possibly can as Washington,

Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institution (slavery)—to abide by all and every compromise of the constitution." What he meant by this phrase, "all and every compromise of the Constitution," we learn in his Inaugural Address on the 4th of March, 1861, when he said, "There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitive slaves from service or labour. The rendition clause is as plainly written as any other of its provisions. No person, held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due." "It is scarcely questioned," said Lincoln, "that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, and to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, therefore, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make an effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath."

The Constitution, therefore, according to Lincoln,

does *not* include property in man, and it *does* include it!

When solicited by a convention in Chicago to proclaim emancipation to the slaves on the basis of a military necessity, he replied that "it would be as inoperative as a bull against a comet." About three weeks from that time he issued the proclamation referred to!

In an address which he delivered at Ottawa, Illinois, Aug. 21, 1858, Lincoln said, "I think I would not hold one (a slave) in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not *clear enough* to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them, politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this!"

Again, when addressing the people at Chicago, July 10, 1858, he said, "I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist." Where is the tip of the last joint, of gentlemanly honour and standing in the above? Has it not disappeared and gone out of sight?

We shall find the same results if we trace the history of the abolitionists. We have seen already in the convention held by them at Albany the ring of metal which they gave in connection with the Union, proclaiming it to be an outrage on civilization, and a curse to be removed. In the letter of Mrs Stowe to Lord Shaftesbury we are informed that all classes of emancipationists stand shoulder to shoulder in the war for the Union, although there has been no change

amongst the administrators of the government or the people towards the negro as a man ; and at a large meeting recently held in the Church of the Puritans, one of the principal advocates has avowed that President Lincoln is the first slave that ought to be emancipated ! Here, again, the “ tip of the last joint ” of “ gentlemanly honour and standing ” has gone out of sight.

In our religious war crusaders we witness the same lamentable results. One moment they cry mightily to God as the author of peace and lover of concord, and the next, use their prayers as a whetstone on which their people may sharpen their war hatchets still to let out deluges of blood ! In such a war as that, we behold no gentlemanly honour or standing—no, not even the “ tip of the last joint.”

The blasts of the war trumpet by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher are terrific ! How sadly he has mistaken his vocation. And when the writer penned his glowing tribute to the Rev. M. D. Conway in his book, “ American States, Churches, and Slavery,” he closed his remarks as follows :—“ Neither have we seen from Conway any appeals to the material sword. But amidst the general defections that have obtained in the above respect, it is difficult to say who amongst the little band of Christian emancipationists have stood true to their mission of peace and good-will. Since then, Conway has mounted the war horse, blown with all his soul the war trumpet, and urged on the carnival of death ; and is now, as well as Beecher, in

this country to bespeak your sympathies and co-operation in favour of war to the knife and the knife to the handle. From the editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, who claims to be more American than Americans, we learn that Conway has been making himself less American than himself and Pro-Federal coadjutors, who he claims to be more American than Americans, in the offer which he made in the name of American abolitionists to Mr. Mason to use their influence to discontinue the war on condition of the -Southerns adopting gradual emancipation—for which offer Conway now declares himself to be very penitent and sad, but consoles himself with the thought that no one will be injured by his misguided zeal but himself, although in his letter to Mason he avowed his authority to make his offer in the name of the abolitionists! O! what “gentlemen of honour and standing.”

And the “last tip of the last joint” of this sacred thing called honour is beginning to disappear amongst the Pro-Federals, not only in claiming the black heritage of guilt in being more American than Americans theoretically, but practically. This is shown in a letter addressed to the *Edinburgh Review*, written by Peter Sinclair, Esq., agent to the Union and Emancipation Society in this country. In this letter Mr. Sinclair boldly demands, “What is the issue on the American question?”

And replying to his own question, he has confidently asserted that the issue in the present terrible conflict between the North and the South “is freedom

or slavery — liberty or despotism — remunerated labour, or unrequited toil—free school, or no school—a bible for all, or no bible for millions !”

To sustain the above position, he lays mighty emphasis on the following charges, made by John C. Breckenridge, Esq., recently Vice-President of the United States, against the present party in power, whom he designates a “Black Republican Party.”

Breckenridge says,

“I charge that the present and ulterior purposes of the Republican party are :—

“1st. To introduce the doctrine of negro equality into American politics, and to make it the ground of positive legislation, hostile to the Southern States.

“2nd. To exclude the slave property of the South from the territory of the Union, or which may be hereafter acquired.

“3rd. To prevent the admission in any latitude of another slaveholding state.

“4th. To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, and practically refuse to obey the constitution on that subject.

“5th. To refuse to prevent, or punish by state action the spoliation of slave property ; but, on the contrary, to make it a criminal offence in their citizens to obey the laws of the Union, in so far as they protect property in African slaves.

“6th. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

“7th. To abolish it in the forts, arsenals, dockyards,

and other places in the South, where Congress has exclusive jurisdiction.

“8th. To limit, harass, and frown upon the institution in every mode of political action, and by every form of public opinion.

“9th. And, finally, by the executive, by Congress, by the Postal service, by the Press, and in all other accessible modes, to agitate without ceasing, until the Southern States, without sympathy or brotherhood in the Union, worn down by the unequal struggle, shall be compelled to surrender ignominiously and emancipate their slaves.”

“Upon the above indictment,” says Mr Sinclair, “the slavery party submitted their case to the people, and the people said we want men holding these views to be our governors. By an overwhelming majority the candidate who brought these charges against the Republican party was rejected, and a man holding principles including all that was contained in these charges, elected.”

Here is a statement made by Mr Sinclair, that the political creed of President Lincoln included all that was contained in Breckenridge's charges!

Let us therefore put President Lincoln on the stand.

Lincoln, what do you say to the charge of negro equality? “Not guilty” is the response! This is corroborated in a speech delivered by him at Quincy, Illinois, Oct. 13, 1858, when Lincoln said, “I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of bringing about in any

way the social and political equality of the white and black races!"

Is it true that you would prevent new slave states from being admitted into the Union? "Not guilty." This is shewn in his speech made at Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1858, when Lincoln said, I should be glad to know there would never be another slave state admitted into the Union—but I must add, that if slavery shall be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance, and a clear field when they come to adopt the Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave Constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union!

Is it true that you would repeal the Fugitive Slave Law? "Not guilty," says Lincoln! In a speech which he made at Freeport, Illinois, Aug. 27, 1858, Lincoln said, "I have never hesitated to say, and do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law!" Is it true that you would abolish slavery in the District of Columbia? "Not guilty," says Lincoln! In a speech reported in the "Courier" in May 1860, he said, "he had not studied the subject—had no distinctive ideas about it—he never thought it worth while to consider it much—

but so far as he had considered it, he should be *perhaps* in favour of gradual abolition, when the slaveholders of the District "asked for it." And although he has signed a Bill which has been passed in Congress for its abolition since the Disruption—yet, at the period of his election, Lincoln could not be held responsible for entertaining such a sentiment—and was therefore "not guilty!"

As to the charge of anti-slavery agitation, Lincoln again pleads "not guilty." Such an agitation he says in a speech already referred to, "would be fatal to the country"—and be "productive of bad results!" Thus we see, that instead of including all that was contained in Breckenridge's charges, it included at that period none of the sentiments contained in those charges! What a position of "honour and standing" for an agent of an emancipation society! Who is most to be pitied or prayed for—the agent who propagates such statements—or the society which employs him?

Be this as it may, there cannot be the tip of the last joint of gentlemanly honour or standing in such work!

It is most strange that ambassador Adams and Consul Dudley can be "gentlemen of honour and standing," and keep, as the above mentioned editors say, "very indifferent company." We had thought, Mr. Editors, that a man was known by the company which he keeps. And that as he who would be wise must walk with wise men, what must be the charac-

ter of those who associate with crimps? If we stretch out our charitable indulgence to its utmost limits, we cannot say that such connections, when pronounced to be "very indifferent," comport with gentlemanly honour and standing. In such a case, we are sceptical about the existence of the "tip of the last joint!" But methinks I hear those editors whispering to each other the sentiment that those "who live in glass houses must not throw stones." And then comes the startling announcement, that "systems of evil are by no means likely to be uprooted by personal attacks, and we can only attribute the violence of his censure upon the Cheevers, Beechers, and Stowes to the fervour of his zeal in advocating the cause which he has espoused!" This is certainly very charitable, but whilst the writer disclaims all personal animosity he would claim the right of entertaining what opinions he chooses; and of expressing them when and where he likes—and of calling a spade a spade without asking any pardons, or making any apologies; and as the writer has been wantonly and wickedly assaulted by Federals and pro-federals, on both sides of the water, and false statements put to his account, is it matter of surprise that his virtuous indignation should be aroused and brought into full play, or that he should try to make the sword give a terrible rebound? God forbid that he, or any other man, should lie motionless under the heels of misguided and reckless men until all life is trodden out of them. An open field, and fair play, is all that the writer asks, and

falling back on his motto *nil desperandum auspice deo*, onward he is prepared to go—forwards, though floods and flames oppose.

Yours respectfully, for truth as well as liberty.

JOSHUA R. BALME.

THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET, LONDON.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BELFAST NEWS-LETTER.

SIR,—A terrible indignation has been shewn by those who have blindly embraced the cause of the Federals in this country, against the Lord Mayor of London for extending to Mr. Mason, a Confederate Commissioner, the rights of hospitality.

“The above act,” say these men, “has disgraced the metropolis and country,” because Mason is a “slaveholder,” the author of the “Fugitive Slave Law,” and represents a “Government based on slavery.” These sins are vile and infamous, and the writer has no cloak to cover them up, or inclination to extenuate them, or connive at them; but where is the difference in point of principle in the Lord Mayor of London receiving as his guest Mr. Mason and the public receptions which these same men have accorded to his Excellency Mr. Adams, Ambassador from our Federal Government, and the representative of a party which has always upheld the Fugitive Slave Law. “Hang Mason, who devised the above infamous law,” say these men. On the same rule, they would have to hang up and quarter Ambassador Adams, President Lincoln, ninety-nine hundreds of our clergy, and the

vast multitudes of our "meaner whites, or whiter trash," in the North, who have ratified and endorsed, sanctified and blest, this horrible law, and executed it in our so-called Free States in the North. On page 88 of Lincoln's "Campaign Book," the President says, "I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law." If so, what sin was there in Mason supplying the text of it? The above claim was sustained by Lincoln's perversion of the original draft of the Constitution, to apply it to the Fugitive Slave Law in his inaugural address to the Presidency, and has since been executed under the worst exasperations on the steps of our National Capitol, in full view of his Presidential mansion.

• However sinful or criminal it may be to devise such a law, it is ten thousand times more so to execute it; and this guilt attaches to our Northern people in America. The above law would have been a dead letter but for them. It still hangs over the people; and as its enforcement has alone preserved slavery, slave propagandists would have been powerless to preserve or extend the dire and manifold evils of slavery, but for it.

The same query with which we commenced may be extended to the different representatives of America, in its application to the Confederate and Federal Governments. The Confederates openly and

boldly seek to build up their Government on slavery. Our Federals represent our Government to be the freest in the world : and yet, from its foundation to the present, the victims of slavery have increased from 647,000 to 4,000,000. One stands out unblushingly like the libertine ; the other comes up under the garb of a sneaking hypocrite, and has never yet sought to wash its hands of its guilt, denouncing slavery as a sin, to be taken by the tail and dashed against the wall. And yet, forsooth, the meek reprovers of the Lord Mayor would reject the representatives of the Confederate Government, whilst they fawn upon and flatter, caress and cherish, the representatives of the latter. In the above respects both representatives are on a par ; but these men are not received by civil rulers and magistrates, or the authorities of city corporations, or their representatives, on the ground of their moral character, or the character of the government or people whom they represent ; but on the basis of their representative character touching the comity of nations in their relationships to each other. If any other rule was observed but this, in the present condition of society and the world, how restricted would be the intercourse of nations and men ; but whilst these men have cherished resentment to the Lord Mayor, and poured on him their reproaches and contempt for making Mr. Mason his guest at one of his banquets, they have subjected themselves to a tenfold greater reproach in the welcome which they have given, tributes paid, and gifts

bestowed to such persons as Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and others, who have come to this country not as the representatives of civil governments, but of the moral character of society, and the sacred principles of freedom. In such a case there must be called into requisition that grand element moral principle, as illustrated in their own experience and example, and in the parties whom they represent, or the cause which both parties profess to cherish and honour, suffers at their hands. Thus immense injury is done, or great good derived. Now what moral principle did Mrs. Beecher Stowe ever represent in the cause of freedom, in the mantle of piety which she provides in her *Key to Uncle Tom* for "lady pious slaveholders," or in the class of men whom she introduces to our notice in the same *Key* as "christian slave-traders;" and yet on one occasion a select circle met in an elegant mansion in the neighbourhood of Headingley, Leeds, where, three or four circle deep, Mrs. Stowe became the cynosure of all eyes, whilst one of those vehement denunciators of the Lord Mayor of London, in the name of the fluttering fashionables of beauty, put a beautiful purse, containing two hundred guineas, into her hands? There has been the same forgetfulness of principle by these men in their reception of American missionaries and endorsement of the American Board of Missions—a society supported by its twin sister, the Turkish Aid Missions, since the latter is only a *blind* to get aid for the former society—a society

which has never rejected those charming specimens of humanity, called Christian slaveholders and slave-breeders, as directors and life members—never refused to take unhallowed gains, extracted by the lash of the whip and thumb-screw, from the slave, to send the Gospel to the far-off heathen, etc., etc.; still the same meek reprovers of the Lord Mayor of London are the chief apologists and warmest defenders of the above Board and their missionaries. They put on “dark spectacles” when those terrible delinquencies are spread before their vision, and stuff their ears with the “cotton” of a false charity whilst Christ’s name is blasphemed through their monstrous evil practices, and shout “mad dog,” fanatic, fool, madman, to the man who lays them bare; but when they dwell on the “good they do,” they brush away their “specs,” and, inspired with the nectar of honeyed delight, point to new translations of the Bible, Arabs converted, &c., &c.

Recently, pulpit, platform, and press, have justly thundered their anathemas against Bishop Colenso for subverting the authority of Jehovah, in connexion with the historical records of the Bible—a man who has laid himself open to the severest censure—but scarcely a whisper has been heard concerning the corrupters and defilers of God’s heritage, who have come into your midst, transformed like Satan into angels of light, to tell of the wonderful works they have done in the name of Christ—and yet hide the black deeds of shame, in the robbery of Christ’s little

ones which has been constantly perpetrated in America, to make up their own salaries, and to furnish them with the machinery of missionary evangelization! Where is the thunder, lightning and earthquake in the latter case—and yet, is it not as dangerous and mischievous to pervert the fellowships of God's family, as it is to destroy the authority of God in his inspired book?

Recently there has been a tremendous philippic made by the Rev. Dr Candlish against the advisers of the Queen, for causing to be inscribed a quotation from the Apocrypha on a Highland "Cairn," in honour of the late Prince Albert; this by the Dr. is considered to be a great insult to "Bible loving Scotland,"—but it is no insult in the Rev. Dr. and his coadjutors to introduce men who represent Boards of Missions in America, which are a hissing and by-word, and reproach to civilization, christianity, and to the age in which we live!

The same dishonour is done to the cause of Christ in the introduction of books written by authors who have been the chief instruments of turning our American churches into "synagogues of Satan," by expurgating from the gospel and the churches that supreme love of liberty which in itself constitutes their greatest excellence and glory. In another place we have given an illustration of the above, in the case of the Rev. Dr. Candlish, and "Good, Better, and Best," a book written by the Rev. J. W. Alexander of New York!

This is also shown in the introduction given by Professor Smeaton of the New College, Edinburgh, to the "Closer Walk; or Believer's Sanctification," written by the Rev. Henry Darling, D.D. of Philadelphia; a book which discourses sweetly and eloquently on fellowship with Christ, but contains not a syllable about fellowship with Christ's "black little ones"—speaks fluently of the saints' "meetness" for heaven—but not a word on the "pious slaveholders" of America, and our "pious negro-haters" so called, being made meet to declare deliverance to their slaves, or to lift up the negro to an equality with themselves! And yet, in his prefatory note, Mr. Smeaton asks for Darling's book a kind reception amongst the christians of this country!

The same grievous and lamentable blunder has been made by the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, in giving an introduction to a "History of the Translation of the Bible" by Mrs H. Conant, a History which records the doings and sayings of the "Bible Union," New York—a society which has done more than all other societies in its brief history, to propagate a slave-holding and negro-hating christianity—a society which contains the blackest list of slaveholders and pro-slavery divines of any society in America, and amongst its "Black Constellation" of worthies, so called, we find that the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon's name figures conspicuously as a Vice-President! Moreover, in the above introduction referred to, Mr. Spurgeon has classified the Rev. R.

Fuller of Baltimore, one of the greatest defilers and corrupters of God's heritage in America with his pro-slavery theories and practices, with such men as the Revs. Daniel Waterland, D.D., Robert Lowth, D.D., and other great biblical celebrities! Could they arise from the dead, most assuredly they would protest against the unhallowed association!

As Mr Spurgeon has frankly avowed in his review of a book written by Mr. Mitchell, a coloured preacher, "that he would fling his most vehement testimony into the hypocritical faces of men-owning professors of Christianity," by turning to the "Bible Union Quarterly" for November 1859, and February 1860, he will find urgent claims on him for the above kind of work amongst his brother Bible Union Vice-Presidents!

But the most ludicrous mistake made by the divines of this country is to be found in the introduction given by the Rev. Thomas Binney, to a book called the "Rifle, Axe, and Saddle Bag," written by a blind preacher, named Milburne! This is abundantly made manifest in the following story, which the editor of the Eclectic, in the last number of the old series, takes out of the blind preacher's "Saddle Bags" for the benefit of his readers! The Rev. James Axley, familiarly known as "Old Jimmy," a renowned and redoubtable preacher, of East Tennessee, delivered a discourse one Sabbath Day at a place called Jonesborough. Another preacher was with him, and a double service was held. In the discourse which Mr

Axley delivered, he observed, "It may be a very painful duty, but it is a very solemn one, for a minister of the gospel, to reprove vice, misconduct, and sin, *whenever* and *wherever* he sees it—that is a duty I am now about to attend to. And now, continued the speaker, pointing with his long finger in the direction indicated, that man sitting out yonder behind the door, who got up and went out while the brother was preaching, stayed out as long as he wanted to, got his boots full of mud, came back, and stamped the mud off at the door, making all the noise he could, on purpose to disturb the attention of the congregation, and then took his seat, that man thinks I mean him. No wonder he does—it does not look as if he had been raised in the *white* settlements, does it, to behave that way at meeting? Now, my friend, I advise you to learn better manners before you come to church next time: but I don't mean him. And now, again pointing at his mark, that little girl sitting there, about half way in the house, I should judge her to be about sixteen years old—that is her with the artificial flowers outside of her bonnet—she has a breastpin on too—she that was giggling and laughing all the time the brother was preaching, so that the old sisters in the neighbourhood could not hear what he was saying, though they tried to. She thinks I mean her. I am sorry from the bottom of my heart for any parents that have raised a girl to her time of day, and yet have not taught her to behave when she comes to church. Little girl, you have

disgraced your parents as well as yourself. Behave better next time, won't you? But I don't mean her.

Directing his finger to another aim, he said, that man sitting there, that looks as bright and pert as if he was never asleep in his life, and never expected to be—but that, just as soon as the brother took his text, laid his head down on the back of the seat in front of him—went sound asleep—slept the whole time, and snored—that man thinks I mean him. My friend, don't you know that the church ain't the place to sleep. If you need rest, why don't you stay at home, take off your clothes, and go to bed—that is the place to sleep, and not the church. The next time you have a chance to hear a sermon, I advise you to keep awake. But I don't mean him. Thus did he proceed, pointing out every man, woman, and child, who had in *the slightest deviated* from a befitting line of conduct, characterising the misdemeanour, and reading sharp lessons of rebuke. A judge, named White, was sitting all this time at the end of the front seat, just under the speaker, enjoying the old gentleman's disquisition to the last degree, twisting his neck around to notice if the audience relished the “down-comings” as much as he did, rubbing his hands, smiling, chuckling inwardly. Between his teeth and cheek was a monstrous quid of tobacco, which, the better he was pleased, the more he chewed and the more he spat; and, behold, the floor bare witness to the results. At length the old gentleman straightening himself up to his full height, continued with

great gravity, and now I reckon you want to know who I do mean? I mean that dirty, nasty, filthy tobacco-chewer sitting at the end of that front seat—his finger meanwhile pointing true as the needle to the pole—see what he has been about—look at these puddles on the floor—a frog would not get into them. Think of the tails of the sisters' dresses being dragged through that muck!" The above preacher reproved *sin, whenever and wherever he saw it*, marked the *slightest deviations*, and yet the people he was addressing were slaveholders, but the great sin of which they were guilty, in making merchandise of the bodies and souls of their fellow-men—the sum of all villanies, which hung like a millstone around their necks, was not discernible to his quick and penetrating eye! And why? Because in his estimation it had been transformed into a virtuous, domestic, and patriarchal institution; so that, whilst he strained at the above gnats, he could swallow a crime as large as a camel! How strange that a book which recites the above with great gusto and delight, and lifts such a man up as a *model of fidelity* amongst preachers, is thus introduced to the enlightened and considerate regard of the people of this country! Such a course discovers an enormous amount of ignorance, or else a terrible connivance at sin! Some writers have won the sobriquet of being crazy men, for calling attention to the many widespread and fearful delinquencies that obtain; but then, nobody ever tried to do his duty without fear or favour, without becoming *crazy*. If it be a sign

that they have got a "slate off their roof," as some of their "kind friends" have declared, here is the intelligible and unmistakeable evidence of it in the clear, ringing and thrilling shout, that with such a Union, such a theology in America, and such a mistaken policy as the above, it is a wonder that any decent man retains the shadow of respect towards christian institutions! Sad mistakes have been made on this subject. Men have gone to the lives of professors, and seen so much of erroneous practice there, that it has warped their judgments and soured their spirits against christianity itself. This is however wrong. And "crazy" as we may appear to be in the eyes of *bigoted partizans*, we must not allow our religious belief to be split up and dashed to pieces on such a rock.

Yours for truth as well as liberty,

JOSHUA R. BALME

32 Sun-street.

CONCLUSION.

How sickening is the spectacle which America presents to the view of men in the terrible war which is now being waged with such deadly strife, producing such terrible results in the awful destruction of human life, the enormous waste of property, and the untold misery which is experienced through the disarrangement and annihilation of commerce. What a distressing and harrowing picture of the atrocities and fearful calamities of war are made manifest in the following article, published in the *Old Guard*, a monthly journal recently established in New York, under the heading—

“HOW WE ARE REVENGING FORT SUMPTER.”

“The reported casualties of this war from its beginning to Jan. 1, 1863 :—

Federals, killed	-	-	-	-	-	43,874
„ wounded	-	-	-	-	-	97,029
„ died of disease and wounds	-	-	-	-	-	250,000
„ made prisoners	-	-	-	-	-	68,218
						Total, 459,374
Confederates, killed	-	-	-	-	-	20,893
„ wounded	-	-	-	-	-	59,915
„ died from disease and wounds	-	-	-	-	-	120,000
„ made prisoners	-	-	-	-	-	22,169
						Total, 222,677

‘ They have killed twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four more of our men than we have of theirs.

“ They have wounded, not mortally, thirty-nine thousand four hundred and fourteen more of our men than we have of theirs.

“ One hundred and fifty thousand more of our men have died of disease and wounds than of theirs.

“ They have made prisoners of forty-six thousand more of our men than we have of theirs.

“ Our total casualties are two hundred and thirty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-seven more than theirs—that is, our casualties have been fourteen thousand more than as much again as theirs.

“ This is the way we have ‘ revenged the firing on Fort Sumpter.’

“ But this is not all. We have spent almost two thousand millions more of money than they have spent.

“ We have made two hundred thousand of our women widows.

“ We have made one million of children fatherless.

“ We have destroyed the constitution of our country.

“ We have brought the ferocious savagery of war into every corner of society.

“ We have demoralised our pulpits, so that our very religion is a source of immorality and blood.

“ Instead of being servants of Christ our ministers are servants of Satan.

“ The land is full of contractors, thieves, provost marshals, and a thousand other tools of illegal and despotic power, as Egypt was of vermin in the days of the Pharaohs.

“ We are rapidly degenerating in everything that exalts a nation.

“ Our civilization is perishing.

“ We are swiftly drifting into inevitable civil war here in the North.

“ We are turning our homes into charnel houses.

“ There is a corpse in every family.

“ The angel of death sits in every door.

“ The Devil has removed from Tartarus to Washington.

“ We pretend that we are punishing the rebels, but they are punishing us.

“ We pretend that we are restoring the Union, but we are destroying it.

“ We pretend that we are enforcing the laws, but we are only catching negroes.

“ That is the way we are ‘ revenging Sumpter.’

“ Selling our souls to the Devil, and taking Lincoln and Co’s promise to pay. We have it in greenbacks and blood.

“ That is the way we are ‘ revenging Sumpter.’”

As our Northern people have hurled the thunder bolts of war, they have also been made to feel the effects of war.

With the same measure in which they have tried to meet out destruction to the South, it has been measured back again, pressed down, shaken together, and running over with misery, ruin, and woe.

What a fearful and tremendous responsibility rests on those who instigated President Lincoln and his cabinet to the adoption of war measures for the subjugation of the South, and also now urge their continuance under the strange hallucination that they are fighting for freedom, whilst military despotism is trampling down their own liberties and those of the people under its black hoofs, and engulfing the flower and strength and resources of the nation in the vortex of destruction !

How infatuated and blind such parties must be, not to see that the great *call* in God’s providence was for the North to let the South go ! And this is equally manifest in their non-recognition of, and indifference to, the retributive providences of Jehovah, which thunder in their ears the announcement which He

made by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews, "Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour, behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."

Who does not see that if the "Old Union" had continued in America, the divine throne and government of God must have been subverted. If we believe in the moral government of God, we must admit that He will be supreme in the exercise of His authority over nations and men; and that whatever nations amongst men oppose his government, He will make it supreme over their wicked governments, as well as His laws and word over the wicked laws and corrupt creeds and blasphemous doctrines taught by men.

We owe it to his goodness and continued forbearance that as a nation and people we have not long since been swept away beneath the overrunning flood of His wrath for our accumulated transgressions and sins. We cannot wonder, therefore, that our brother's blood should cry from the ground for vengeance on the oppressors of our fellowmen. Neither do we feel surprised that, when men will plan and scheme to frustrate the purposes of Jehovah, although He may permit it for a season, yet He will ultimately accomplish the overthrow of their schemes and wicked devices, by their own wickedness, and bring the punishment on themselves, however formidable the league, or vast their conspiracy.

We cannot therefore pity our Federal administrators in their wicked blundering policy, or bid them 'God speed,' in seeking to restore a Union which has been based on a covenant with death and an agreement with hell in its law of compact, and associated with the foulest conspiracy against human rights, and on the grandest scale the world ever knew.

In vain do our orators, poets, and philosophers point to our prosperity, and with the magic wands of their enchanting eloquence make men feel their mighty spell as they cause new palaces, cities, and states to flit before their vision. It is here where has been the great mistake. They have interpreted our boundless prosperity as a sign of God's approbation instead of his forbearance; and, therefore, like Jeshurun of old, they have waxed fat, and kicked against the Almighty—and He has brought down His avenging arm on themselves in return. Thus our prosperity has proved a snare, and accelerated our ruin as a nation and people. These retributive scenes have come on us in America at a time when the nations were lulled to sleep on the lap of a false repose concerning the prospects of peace; whilst philanthropists and revivalists were taking up the trumpet of fame to proclaim the blessing of peace, and to announce the dawn of a political, as well as a spiritual, millennium amongst men.

In an able article recently published in the Liverpool Mercury, the editors remark:—

“A few years only have elapsed since the idea of the

Exhibition of all Nations was promulgated, which was to be the golden chain to unite the kindreds of the earth in brotherhood, peace, and love. The palace was built, beautiful in its proportions, fairy-like in its construction. From the frigid to the torrid zone the products of the earth were poured into it, and the many-tongued and diverse-coloured races of men met beneath its glittering roof, apparently forgetful of their jealousies, and happy as a prosperous and united family could be. Oh, thought some, the halcyon days of the world have dawned—the panacea for national woe has been discovered. Henceforth the only emulation will surely be that of becoming the best as well as the greatest, and of developing the resources of every country and clime. The cloudless sun of prosperity has reached its meridian brightness, and far away in human imaginings lie stretched the elysian fields wherein the nations of the world are to roam in amity and friendship. Bright and happy thoughts, yet, alas, illusive and vain; for ere the last remnant of the world's place of assembly had been removed, the thunders of the Crimean guns dissolved the spell, scattered the illusion, and proved the insufficiency of such day-dreams to arrest the spirit of aggression, and check the tyranny and power of man.

“Despite the failure, the experiment has been again tried, but with no better success, for at this moment the vast continent of America is torn by a civil strife which scarcely finds its parallel in the history of the

world. Without entering into the merits of the question involved in this struggle, we speak but the feelings of humanity when we say the heart sickens at the remembrance of the sacrifice of human life by which the war has been characterised. It is estimated that upwards of 800,000 human beings, comprising the bravest, the noblest, and the best of America's sons, have been immolated to the god of war. The most fertile land beneath high Heaven reeks with human blood; broken hearts are counted by hundreds of thousands, and the frightful catalogue of widows and orphans affords terrible proof of the devastations of the sword. Nor is this all. The resources of what might have been the richest country in the world have been drained, and a national debt of £200,000,000 has been contracted, which, like an incubus, will spread its influence over the land, disturbing its quietude, arresting its progress, and paralysing its powers."

In our deep emergency as a people, both Northerners and Southerners have courted the favour of England; and to influence the government and public opinion, one party has reminded you that your destinies as a people were suspended on a thread, and that thread a very tender one, namely cotton—and the other that they were bound up by a blade, and that blade a very slender one, namely, a blade of wheat. When referring to the former, Mr. Mann, an eminent citizen of Georgia, said,—“With the failure of cotton, England fails. Stop her supply of southern slave grown

cotton, and her factories stop, her commerce stops, the healthful normal circulation of her life blood stops." Again, he says,—“In one year from the stoppage of England's supply of southern slave grown cotton, the Chartists would be in all her streets and fields; revolution would be rampant throughout the island,—and nothing that is, would exist. Why, sirs, British lords hold their lands, British bishops their revenues, and Victoria her sceptre, by the grace of cotton as surely as by the grace of God.”

In the above sentiments Senator Wigfall united, saying, “If we stop the supply of cotton for one week, England would be starving. Queen Victoria's crown would not stand on her head one week if the supply of cotton was stopped; nor would her head stand on her shoulders.”

Vice-President Stephens also said, “There will be revolution in Europe; there will be starvation there. Our cotton is the element that will do it.” When referring to the latter, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a sermon on Thanksgiving day, Nov. 28, 1861, reported in the *New York Tribune*, said,—“Providence in giving us plenty, and ordaining scarcity abroad, had taken the crown from king cotton, and put it on the head of corn. The speaker had gone through the corn fields, and had heard the corn rustling, and he thought it was the wind blowing through the corn; but it was God speaking to him, and interpreting to him in a language he *now* understood, but then did not. And every blade lift-

ing up its head said, "Liberty is coming, Emancipation is coming." But how was liberty or emancipation to come? Hear him! "Now, just when mechanical England would have demanded our ports to be opened, she needs our corn more than cotton. The scarcity of food in England and France had put them on their good behaviour; and these two antagonists, liberty and God, slavery and the devil, were to fight out the matter between themselves."

Both parties, therefore, profess to hold your destinies in their hands, try to prepossess you in their favour, and lift up the thread and blade in turns as Ward Beecher says, "to put you on your good behaviour!"

England, therefore, say the Southerners, is bound to interfere—her supply of cotton, her commercial interests, her existence demands it. England dare not interfere, say the Northerners, for if she do so, bread riots will break out, and the people of this country will be thrown into a state of starvation!

One party says, we will compel you to break the peace of nations by the "grace of cotton!" And the other says, we will compel you to keep the peace by the influence of "king corn!" According to one, the British lion must wag his tail, and growl defiance to the North, or he must cease to be! According to the other, if he should do so, the lion must die of hunger. Either way, you have got to die. Therefore, it is not so much our national existence that is imperilled in America as your own! How monstrous the delusion! What a story to tell by a people who were

born to national existence with falsehood on their lips, and the fruit of robbery in their hands ; and who are now undergoing a severe punishment, justly due for the enormous guilt of their crimes !

What arrogance and pride such language discovers ! We are a great people ain't we ! And we can't help thinking that if the interests of this country are in the hands of our American people—they are like the interests of freedom in "villainous custody." For it is impossible to "recognise in the corrupt mass of American politicians, North or South, the chosen instruments of the world's regeneration."

"Whilst the Hon. Gentleman," (Roebuck), says Bright, "told them that the North was overbearing, he forgot to tell them that its government had hitherto been administered by his friends of the South." This is quite true, but not the *whole truth*, since that administration was with the *consent* of the North, and no truth looms up to our view more clearly or distinctly in connexion with the inexorable logic of facts in our American history, than this, that if our Northern people had sought to embody the original charters of her freedom in the spirit of impartial justice to all, irrespective of colour or condition, the Union would long ago have been destroyed, and slavery too. When God created the world, He said, "let there be light ;" but all great parties in America, both North and South, have combined to put down agitation. Peace, peace, shouted the President from his chair of State in the White House—the governors in their annual

messages—the judges from their benches—the senators and legislators from their places in the Halls of Congress—the editors from their columns in the newspaper—and clergymen from their pulpits; peace we have had, when there has been no peace, because it has been a false peace; the first threat of agitation to let in light upon our terrible condition, used by President Lincoln only as a “catch word,” and not intended to be enforced by him, has brought the whole frame work of the Union to the ground, and laid prostrate the “Grand Republic” in ruins! How insecure were its foundations and rotten its timbers, when a political mountebank brings it down with a word which he uttered as a prediction, and disavowed it as expressing a wish or purpose on the subject of freedom or slavery!

How true the words of Bishop M'Croskey of the Episcopal Church in the State of Michigan, when he said, “there was less religion and more pretence in the United States of America, than in any country of the world professedly christian!”

In an Egyptian legend it is said that every five hundred years Phoenix comes to the altar of the sun, and burns himself to ashes. On the first day after this a worm springs out of the ashes—on the second, an unfledged bird—and on the third the full-grown Phoenix flies away. Out of the ashes of our revolution we shall have not only a new nation in the shape of a worm, but probably many. They may creep the first day, be weak the second, but at last their free pinions will

strike the air, and brood over the whole land, to be claimed by each and all as the bright heritage of freedom. Thus will the Phœnix of our revolution be prolific, and in her pangs not only give birth to "a new and better order of things," but to a higher and nobler life for her progeny! The process is trying and severe, but the fiery process was necessary in order to remove the "hindrances to the development of our social, political and spiritual well-being." All hail, therefore, to the new progeny that are to crown with freedom America's destiny. O worms, let us see you crawl out to your new life, rise up before the nations full formed and fledged, the marvel of strength and beauty. Then the air will breathe peace, and the different tribes of men will sing the anthem of peace, and no harsh words in the hallelujah chorus of peace will disturb the world's harmony like those which Wendel Phillips, Esq., in his celebrated Abingdon Speech, said, were uttered by the Rev. Moncure D. Conway, "Let the English come on, we will meet them." Neither would the hoarse voice of the auctioneer be heard—

"Going, going, going!
Who bids for the mother's care?
Who bids for the blue-eyed girl?
Her skin is fair, and her soft brown hair
Is guiltless of a curl.

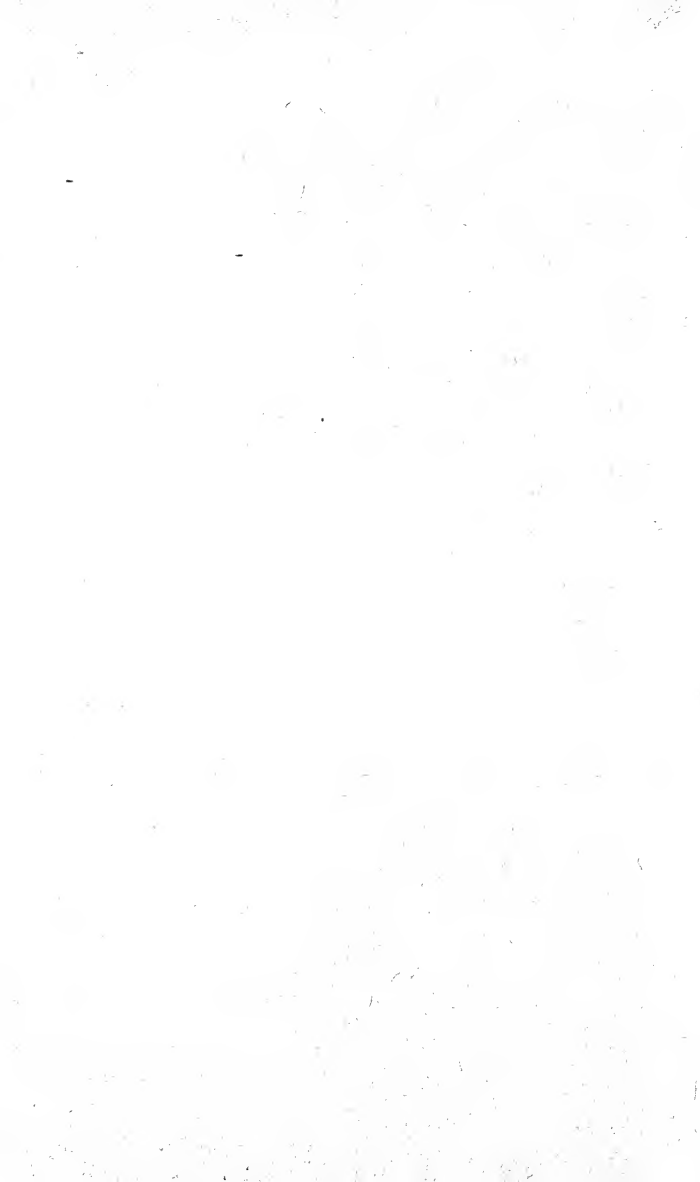
"Going, gentlemen, going!
The child is worth your bids.

There is a bargain to be gained ;
This tiny thing will one day bring
A pile of yellow gold."

All hail the blessed day of freedom.

JOSHUA R. BALME.
An American Baptist Clergyman.

32 Sun Street, Liverpool, July 2, 1863:



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