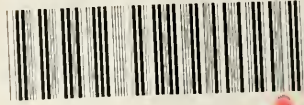


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# A REPLY

TO THE

## RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY THE LATE

### PHILADELPHIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

Methodist Episcopal Church

IN MARCH, 1864.

WITH A SLIGHT NOTICE OF THE ACTS OF THE LATE  
GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SAID CHURCH  
IN THE FOLLOWING MAY.

BY

JOHN BELL ROBINSON.



PHILADELPHIA:  
JAMES CHALLEN & SON,  
PUBLISHERS, BOOK-SELLERS, AND STATIONERS,  
No. 1308 CHESTNUT STREET.

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# A REPLY

TO THE

## PHILADELPHIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

### METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

AT THEIR LATE SESSION IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

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#### FELLOW SUFFERERS OF THE M. E. CHURCH:

I regret that circumstances compel me to raise my voice against the misrepresentations contained in a preamble, and six or seven of the ten resolutions passed by said Conference under date of March the 9th, 1864. If any one had told me even one year before, that a majority of the Ministers of this Conference would have voted for, and passed a set of resolutions so full of thirst for their brother's blood, and containing such a tissue of insults and misrepresentations, I should have thought them insane, or vile persecutors of the true friends of God, and their country. But to my great surprise and chagrin it is even so. I have been looking for a reply to the vile slander, persecution, and insults therein contained from some more able pen, who would be fully competent to expose the fallacy of these vile misrepresentations, and who would do them justice. But I have seen nothing, nor heard of any attempt in so just a cause.

And I hope all will pardon me for my presumption in taking hold of such a task. I know you would do this, if I could get you to realize the deep, personal interest I feel in the Government of the United States, *which was formed by the Free Sovereign State Governments*, and without which there *can* be no free United States Government, nor any free Government by the people thereof. The "People" owe their allegiance to their own several State Governments, and the several Sovereign States owe allegiance to certain freely conceded powers granted by them, not by force or obligation, but by their own free Sovereign wills, for the mutual benefit of all then in existence, or that should thereafter come into the family of States. The powers granted by the States, for this great Union-machine, were all particularly specified by name in the Organic law that they framed for the foundation of the National Government, reserving all other powers to themselves. The States owe no allegiance whatever, beyond what was written in the Organic law, or Magna-Charta as formed by our great and holy fathers, in the Conventions of 1787, and 1789, and accepted at pleasure by the Sovereign people through and by their several Sovereign States, by the free sovereign franchise of the legal voters of each separate independent Sovereign State, by their own free choice. No shoulder straps, brass buttons, swords, or "green-back" influence were brought to bear to coerce any voter to allegiance, as I believe was done by the majority of the 270 Methodist preachers in the late Philadelphia Conference, as will be apparent before I close. Two of the said States, if I mistake not, reserved the right (in their state ordinances, accepting the Constitution, formed

for their mutual advantage) to go out again at pleasure, others accepted it voluntarily (of course,) because it was totally void of any coercive clause to hold them in under this new Government, that was created by the Sovereign States, *and was only an experiment at that time.* If there had been any coercive clause in it, there could not have been fifty people found in any one State who would have accepted it. And those few were of the iron-shod or despotic make. But this new experiment for a free general Government, soon proved to be the greatest temporal blessing ever bestowed upon mankind since the fall, and expulsion from Paradise. God must have presided over those great men, for no such glorious temporal machine could ever have been invented and put in motion by mortal man, unless God had been with him. It was a United States machine in every way suited to the wants of poor fallen man. Yea, it soon proved to be such a blessing, that that glorious Paradise from which he had fallen nearly 6000 years prior, soon hove almost in view. No such glory, peace, prosperity, and union had ever before crowned the brow of any people on the face of the globe. God was glorified by every section, article, and clause in the Constitution, or Organic law of the Nation, as long as it was faithfully adhered to by all the States. Yea, it was not only made a blessing to our revolutionary fathers, and their posterity, but proved to be an asylum to the oppressed of God's people who sought its coverts from all the nations of this sin-stricken world. Even the poor black Africans were taken from a land of heathen barbarism, (where they kill and eat each other at feasts, as we kill and eat turkies, and where they burn the wives and children on the funeral pile of their husbands, and where their wretched kings sacrifice thousands upon thousands of their own tribes annually to huge images of great black serpents, which they rear up as objects of worship,) and even these tribes were put under its benign influences, and civilized by Christian masters, and made most useful subjects of this God's great temporal kingdom, that he had made a type of that Paradise from which Adam was expelled. And even that black heathenish barbarous race was made to aid in the glorification of the great God of the Universe.

To attempt to describe the glorious blessings that the Constitution, under the providence of God, had proved to be, would be useless; for there is nothing visible to compare it to, to demonstrate or illustrate its glories to mortal man, for all materials are wanting. And when we say, it was in every way suited to the various soils, climates, productions, businesses, peace, union, and happiness of this great and glorious country, we have not said enough, but all that we can say. And it was thought by our holy fathers who formed this great general machine that can only be run by the *free will* of the several sovereign states, which machine was formed for the mutual benefit of the states, that they had so created it, it being entirely in the hands and under the control of the several sovereign states, that it was utterly impossible for any tyrant usurper to get such a hold that he could ever usurp the powers that belonged exclusively to the states, *in which the only, and all the sovereignty of the Nation lay.* But alas! how sadly were they mistaken. The devil had to use a "serpent" to overthrow the Paradise formed for Adam. And he sent serpents to beguile this Nation into "transgression," that we might be overthrown. But while the "serpent" that beguiled Eve, was of the animal tribe, the ones that beguiled the people of the Northern wing of this Nation, were bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and blood of our blood, who "dipped with us in the same dish." These "serpents" are the great "serpents" which are at the head of our downfall and ruin, and many of them are ministers who were ordained to preach the everlasting Gospel of God our Saviour, to poor fallen man; through whom we hoped for the perpetuation of this glorious Government to the end of time. But, O my God! what have some of them not done to ruin this great Nation, that was chosen by *thee*, and placed as a city upon a hill, that all the world might see our greatness, and glorify thy great name.

I joined and shall adhere to the democratic party, not because it is a party merely, nor because it has been mostly victorious, but because when danger came it mainly flew to the only hope and safeguard for the union—the *Constitution* of the United States—and because every man with the slightest

knowledge of human nature, and state of affairs, knows that there never could have been any union of these great states, nor permanent peace, prosperity, and happiness, *without a full and complete adherence to that great, glorious, and God-ordained instrument*, the Constitution of the United States. Therefore I joined the democratic party, because they hold the Constitution with all its safe-guards, and restrictions, and with them I expect to live and die, provided they stick to the principles of that great instrument, as ordained by our fathers under the guidance of Almighty God. It was clearly one of the offsprings and instrumentalities of the Gospel of God our Saviour for the temporal salvation of man. Therefore the Philadelphia Conference must pardon me for my disrespect to their prayer, but their request I will still hold under consideration. For I do think the Constitution of the United States of far more importance and value to me, and all the "*people*" of this great Nation, than the Philadelphia Conference resolutions. For even the Negro slaves themselves had an asylum under its glorious wings and safe-guards, and were made the happiest recipients of civilization on the globe.

I will here say that whoever calls me a traitor, or charges me with being in secret league with traitors or rebels of any kind against the government of the United States, as handed down to us by our fathers, makes the charge without the slightest foundation or evidence of any such thing on my part, by word, act, or deed. They have simply *raised a standard for treason of their own contrivance*, that they may bring into disrepute the true men of the nation, who adhere to the only legal or constitutional government ever formed by the United States: that they may adhere to and uphold the most wicked and diabolical usurpation of power ever before seized upon on the globe; by which they may blind the masses while they are destroying this glorious system of a free government, and building up a terrible military despotism on its ruins.

I will now take up the preambles and resolutions of said conference on the state of the country. But what they had to do with the state of the country in their ecclesiastical deliberations I am at a loss to know. Unless they had become so swelled up or infatuated with treason against this, the best and most humane form of a free human government ever before hit upon by mortal man, that they concluded they were the House of Representatives of the nation.

#### *Report on the State of the Country.*

"Whereas, A rebellion, unjust and *causeless* in its origin, and infamously wicked in its objects, continues to threaten the existence of the government framed by the *wisdom and sacrifice of our fathers*, and founded upon the corner stone of the *freedom and equality of all men*: And

"Whereas, The success of the leaders in this unholy rebellion, in their avowed objects,—the dissolution of our National Union, the dismemberment of the country, and establishment of a new Confederacy within the present territorial limits, having for its corner-stone the system of human slavery,—would be to imperil the existence of civil and religious liberty, which is the life of the nation; And

"Whereas, As ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, we relinquish no rights as American citizens, but are compelled by the express letter of God's word, and by our articles of religion, to preach to all loyalty to the powers that '*are ordained of God.*'"

I will make a few remarks on these "*whereases*," before I go into the resolutions, and will say, once for all, that I have no sympathy with secession whatever. And he who charges me with belonging to that party, charges me with what he or she does not know to be the truth, and what I know to be false. I have never seen a democrat who was a secessionist.

It gives me pain to feel compelled to come out against the ministers of the church of my choice, and to which I have belonged for thirty-eight years. I loved those men more than any others, because I believed them to be the true representatives of the Prince of peace, truth, union, the rights of men, and liberties of conscience. But oh! how sadly I have mistaken them. I revered all ministers of the gospel, wherever I saw them, and vehemently defended them when spoken against, any where and every where, especially those of the church of my choice.

I have given and spent enough for their support, protection, and enjoyment, to relieve me from present embarrassments: and it gave me great pain because I could not do more. I did not only love and reverence the ministers of our

church, but to meet and associate with her members was a little heaven to me. And my remarks now must not be applied to the true friends of God and man; for I still reverence them, whether in the pulpit or on the main floor. I shall speak in severe terms of Abolition preachers only, and their followers. I pity those who have yielded under *latent fear*, and voted even against their own convictions for the preamble and resolutions of the late conference; for I am not unacquainted with such fears, and know how to sympathize with all such, and exhort them to stand fast to the truth, and pray for the courage that sustained Paul before Agrippa; and for God's sake don't imitate Peter before the servant girl at the trial of his Lord and Master any longer. I pray that the echoes of the crowing cock may reach your ears as they did Peter's, and that you may remember what the Lord and Master said, as Peter did, and that you may repent and turn, as he did, to the true Shepherd and only hope of this great nation. In the first preamble, these ministers declared this rebellion to be "causeless." Now, however wicked it might have been, it was not "causeless." For there were such causes at least twenty-five years ago, that many far-seeing men warned us of our danger. The great and mighty Clay of the West, as far back as 1833, warned the Abolition preachers and their followers against any further encroachments on the constitutional rights of the Slave States, with all the powers of his great eloquence, and the mighty powers of his gigantic intellect, to stop their interference, and then told us what the result would be. And again in 1850 he threw his patriotic soul into the scale of constitutional liberty, and with all the powers of his gigantic mind told you what you would do if you did not stop your treasonable attacks upon the lawful rights of other States; and portrayed this untold catastrophe and ruin to a great and happy nation. Yea, he pointed out all that has happened to us, as far as it has gone; and doubtless if you persevere in your wicked and treasonable course, his entire prediction will be fulfilled; and then, instead of being more blessed than all God's people, we shall be sunk below the lowest civilized or partially civilized nations on the globe. As far back as 1803, disunion leagues were formed in New England, which have been kept up ever since that day. And by some mysterious transformation, their name was changed about two years ago to Union League, but in name only. The Hon. John Quincy Adams told the public of them in 1827, in two or three public letters, that those treasonable combinations were organized in 1803 and 1804, and that they made the annexation of the New Orleans territory a plea for the overthrow and destruction of the nation. Mr. Adams said that they had all of their military chieftains appointed, and had formed an alliance with Great Britain, that their success might be sure. About the time they got all things ready, the New Orleans territory annexation became very popular, and therefore their pretext failed them; for it was only a pretext.

Those Puritanic saints did not disband their leagues, but kept up their military organizations to await a new excuse to strike the terrible blow. If I remember right, the first embargo was laid in 1807, upon which the traitors seized as a sufficient cause for dissolving the Union and establishing a New England monarchy. The New England States have always been opposed to free government. Our informant goes on with the narrative: In 1809 they had every thing ready to strike the terrible blow. Mr. Adams was made acquainted with all the secrets of that most wicked league, and so well satisfied was he that unless something was speedily done the days of the National Union were numbered, that he wrote to the President, laying all the facts before him, and told him that he thought nothing could save the government but a modification of the embargo, which was done at once, and the terrible catastrophe was averted the second time. But those saints of disunion did not falter in the least in their determination to overthrow this glorious humane government, because it placed all the "people" on a political equality. Therefore they did not disband their secretly-organized army, but still kept up their preparations. The quarrel being still continued between the United States and Great Britain, the embargo was relaid in full force in 1812, if I mistake not, and they determined then to strike the blow at the root of the government. But just as they got all things ready to commence hostilities by secession, in which they declared that they had a right to withdraw at pleasure,

but if the nation attempted to interfere Great Britain was to join them and crush this government out of existence. But just as they thought all was ripe and ready for the lance, the United States declared war against Great Britain for various insults, and our Puritanic saints were foiled the third time in their attempt to crush out this government. But they still held on to their wicked and treasonable military organizations, increasing their wretched numbers, until they should find a weak point, that they might strike a sure and fatal blow, and establish their cherished monarchy. They kept up their secret military organization through the war of 1812-13, and burnt blue-lights on the coast, to guide the British vessels-of-war in and out of Boston harbour at night-time, being their *secret allies* to overthrow the United States Government, and did many other things as astoundingly wicked and diabolically treasonable as this. In 1814 they came out more boldly, and called the Hartford Convention for the purpose of seceding from the Union of States, and establishing a New England Confederation. At that Convention they matured all their wicked plans for the destruction of this great constitutional government, because *Jehovah God* was the great King of the nation, and those Puritanic wretches wanted a temporal kingdom with absolute powers, that they might continue to burn witches, hang, whip, and banish Quakers, as they had done almost from the time they landed at Plymouth Rock, in 1620. At this treasonable Convention they laid out all their diabolical plans, arranged all their materials, got the powder ready, and arranged with the governors of the New England States to meet them in Boston, I think in December, or the following January, with a new delegation appointed by their assumed authority to co-operate with them, and strike the fatal blow. And then they appointed a committee to petition Congress to divide the military fund of the nation, and give New England her proportion, that she might be independent of the United States in her military. This committee was to report to the adjourned Convention from Hartford to Boston; and if their petition should be granted, it would be a source of encouragement in their schemes of treason; but if denied, it was to be a signal for immediate secession from the Union. Mr. Adams gives a great many other evidences of the determination of the Puritans never to live under a free Republican form of government, where all the "people" had *free and equal political* rights, wherein they (the Puritans) could not sway the entire sceptre, and flog negroes and Indians for being out after night, and flog, hang, or banish Quakers for differing with them in religious opinions, or having a different mode of worship or dress; which affliction they did execute until they were cut off by the adoption of the Constitution, and the formation of the Union of the several sovereign States, afterwards called the United States. Mr. Adams gave a number of specimens of pulpit denunciations of the Constitution and the Union, commencing as far back, I believe, as 1803 or 1804. In a very short time after that, their Puritanic disunion gospel declaimers made their churches echo with sounds of disunion, and in favour of their much-cherished New England Confederation. Some of the northern pulpits have kept up the same thing ever since. Those Puritanic saints were all this time deeply interested in the foreign slave trade, and had a very large amount of capital invested in that business. Mr. Adams gave many incidents too tedious and lengthy for this *exposé*.

The Convention met in Boston pursuant to adjournment. And the Governors of each of their States had their special representatives there to co-operate with them in their diabolical treason against the Government of the United States. The committee reported that Congress had denied their petition, which report brought them up to a sparkling heat, and they commenced to arrange all their plans for a powerful and successful strike against the union of States. But just as they got all things in trim to unfurl the New England confederated flag, and to defend it by the puritanic sword, a vessel arrived from London with the treaty of peace, between the United States and Great Britain, by which, said Mr. Adams, "under the providence of God," we were saved from the greatest catastrophe that had ever befallen any nation on the earth. And more surprising than all the rest, there was not the slightest objection made to negro slavery up to 1815, (when the treaty of peace was published) by those myrmidons of treason and ruin. They had to adjourn again



without consummating their treason against Constitutional freedom. I may make some slight errors in this synoptical view I have given from the Hon. John Quincy Adams' pen. For I write entirely from memory of history I read some years ago. Get the history and read for yourselves, and you will be satisfied of the truth of what I say. (See 2d vol. Randall's life of Jefferson.) The slave question was never named as an objectionable point to the Constitution of the United States, until all other pretexts had completely failed to bring about their cherished object, the dissolution of the union of the co equal Sovereign States. I know the Quakers petitioned Congress on some specialities of slavery long before 1803, but only in a lawful way. After peace was proclaimed in 1815, those wolves in sheep's clothing disbanded their army, but kept up their secret organizations, and changed their modus operandi entirely. Instead of seceding from the south, they made up their minds to compel the south to secede from them if possible, which I will now endeavor to show. And every true candid union-loving man will see it just as I do. They then had General Washington's farewell address, and read his warning against Sectional parties, and what the result of such parties would be. They seemed to have caught the idea, and commenced the work of Sectionalism at once. And seeing that the slave trade could no longer be safely followed, and having been unprofitable in all the northern States, they seized upon that question as the most prolific one for sectionism, and determined by that question to drive the southern States out of the Union, instead of withdrawing themselves. If I could show you what they have done in the way of slander and defamation of the character of our fathers who gained our liberties for us at the edge of the sword, some of you would be astonished at least. William Lloyd Garrison, many years ago, declared in the columns of the Liberator, that the Constitution of the United States was a league with hell, and the Union a covenant with the devil. Garrison is now and has been the sum and substance of the principles of the whole abolition party in this country. The declaration has since contained the entire creed of that most ungodly party. There has been no shape that a slander could be put into against the south, that it has not been put into that shape, and belched forth with all the venom of a rattle-snake against an innocent and inoffensive people. Large public meetings have been called in all the northern cities, to reek out their bitter slander not only against modern slave-holders but against our revolutionary fathers. I have heard Gen. Washington denounced by their most popular leaders as a thief, murderer, and robber, while the whole assembly of Abolitionists would shout over the foul slander. Negro speakers at large Abolition gatherings have been allowed to belch out the same venomous slander upon the character of that great man, simply because (as they said) he was a slave-holder, and they denounced all slave-holders as thieves, murderers, and robbers. They commenced some thirty-three years ago to instruct all children in day and Sabbath-schools, in all sorts of slanders upon the characters of all slave-holders, wherever they could get access to such schools, or could reach them by any means. Falsehoods and slanders upon slave-holders were the highest virtues, and the greatest accomplishments to an Abolitionist. No language was too vile, nor charges against the southern people too vulgar and degrading to instruct the young of both sexes of the north in, or for topics of the social circle, or to promulgate in the large assemblies. And no declamations would produce such merriment and joy as a tremendous blast from the speaker of such foul and vulgar slanders that would cause a blush among harlots. The most heart-sickening stories were told of cruelties to slaves. Millions of books and periodical trash have been published and spread broad-cast over this whole country, and also Europe, containing the foulest slanders, and the greatest vulgarities against all the southern people, both in and out of the Christian church. Uncle Tom's Cabin did more to produce this most wicked rebellion than any other book ever published, it being introduced into all the theatres of the free States of America, and then England, and I believe France, and Spain too. It was played for four or five years, and almost exclusively in some of them. Such foul slanders were more acceptable to the people of these free states than any virtuous representations.

And in that way the people of the southern States were held up before the

people of nearly the whole civilized world, as the most wicked, vicious, degraded, and vile wretches on the face of the globe. And the vicious slander-lovers were feasted everywhere at the expense and ruin of our southern character. Mrs. Childs of Wayland, Mass., and the two Misses Ghrimke, have figured largely in the publication of all sorts of slanders and falsehoods against the best people (to take them altogether) on whom the sun ever shone. These Abolitionists have held their Annual Conventions for many years, and they usually gathered up all the copies of the Constitution of the United States they could lay their hands on, to take them to those treasonable Conventions, and burn them to ashes before those large assemblies, with appropriate ceremonies to the occasion, and the whole assembly would shout aloud, that the effect of the Constitution should soon share a similar fate; which was the social institution of the south. In short, every thing was done in this way that could be done or desired by the wickedness of bad men and women, to drive the southern States out of the union. And had they not been great adherents to the Constitution, and lovers of the Union, they would have struck long before they did. But they deprecated the very thought of secession or disunion: and civil war a thousand times more. These abolitionists gave the southern people the character of fire-eaters because they refused to acknowledge their infamous and foul slanders, and denounced them as such, and threw them back from whence they came with suitable indignation, the name you gave them being only appropriate to yourselves. As soon as you found you had worked the south up to a sufficient excitement and alarm, you entered the arena of national politics; which was in 1840, and ran James G. Birney, of Michigan, for the Presidency, and a Mr. Lamoine of Penna., for Vice, and gave them 7000 votes. You took them up again in 1844, and then they got 62,140 votes. They were run strictly on the Garrisonian principles; that the Constitution of the United States was a league with the devil, and the Union a covenant with hell. Just after this, Martin Van Buren, through disappointment, came out against his party, he, always having been a wolf in sheeps clothing, that is, an abolitionist in the garb of a patriot. The Abolition Convention which met at Buffalo in 1848, nominated him for the Presidency, and Charles F. Adams of Mass. for Vice President, as the free-soil candidates; that being a new name they took to deceive the people; it being more popular among the half-converted Abolitionist or disunionist of the free States. He received 296,232 votes. Here was an enormous vote given for the overthrow of the social institutions of the south, or to drive those States out of the union. In 1852, they took up John P. Hale as their nominee, and polled for him 157,296 votes. In 1856, they took up John C. Fremont, then of New York, as their Presidential candidate, and Dayton of New Jersey, for Vice President, and polled 1,341,812 votes. There was no man of the slightest intelligence and observation, north or south, who did not know that this enormous vote was given against the Constitutional rights of the south, and their political and social institutions. In this enormous vote, there was scarcely a handful given south of Mason and Dixey's line: I think about 1100. That is, in all the slave States. And Van Buren only got a little over 300, if I remember right, in all the slave States in 1848. Their candidates each time, for the vice Presidency being sectional also. In 1848, Judge Douglass, moved in the United States Senate, to amend the Oregon bill by extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, and it was carried through the Senate by nearly two-thirds. Even John C. Calhoun voted for it, and all the southern members. It went to the lower house, and there, every southern man voted for it, except one, (the Hon. John W. Houston, of Delaware.) And every free State man voted *against* it, except four democrats. The Hon. C. J. Ingersoll, of this city, was one of them; I forget who the others were. The bill was lost by almost a unanimous *sectional vote*. And doubtless, to prevent a settlement satisfactory to the south. When in this, they offered to give up exclusively to free labor forever, 900,000 square miles of the public domain, while there would only be left 300,000 square miles; in which the Abolitionists would have equal rights with them, and the majority of voters from each territory therein would decide the question of slavery in their new State Constitutions. But this would have allayed all bad feelings forever between the two

sections of our glorious country; and prevented separation and civil war; therefore it was rejected by the Anti-Christian Infidel-Abolition party. *Rev. Theodore Parker, said in a sermon,*

"The man who attacks me, to reduce me to slavery, in that moment of attack alienates his right to life, and if I were the fugitive, and could escape in no other way, I would kill him with as little compunction as I would drive a mosquito from my face."

Remember that this Puritanic saint did not denounce slavery, but that he would kill a man without the slightest compunctions for exercising his constitutional and lawful rights, when his Lord and Master told him that he must obey the powers that be.

Wendell Phillips, of Massachusetts, said, at a free-soil meeting in Boston, in 1849:

"We confess that we intend to trample under foot the Constitution of this country. Daniel Webster says 'you are a law-abiding people;' that the glory of New England is that it is a law-abiding community. Shame on it if *this be true*—if even the religion of New England sinks as low as its statute-book! But I say we are not a law-abiding community. God be thanked for it!"

He said again, in a pamphlet-proclamation, in 1850:

"We are disunionist not from any love for separate confederacies, or as ignorant of the thousand evils that spring from neighbouring and quarrelsome States, but we would get rid of this Union."

Again he said:

"No man has a right to be surprised at this state of things. It is just what we abolitionists and disunionists have attempted to bring about. There is merit in the Republican party. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face, but calls itself national; but it is not national: it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North pledged against the South."

Again he said:

"The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. Tear it in pieces and make a better. Don't say the machine is out of order; it is in order; it does what its framers intended—protects slavery. Our aim is disunion, breaking up the States. I have shown you that our work cannot be done under our institutions."

Again he said:

"No act of ours do we regard with more conscientious approval or higher satisfaction—none do we submit more confidently to the tribunal of Heaven and the moral verdict of mankind—than when, several years ago, on the 4th of July, in the presence of a great assembly, we committed to the flames the Constitution of the United States."

I am met, and told that Wendell Phillips is a crazy fanatic. If this be true, (doubtless it is), let us see how many crazy fanatics are in possession of this great government. He was invited, I think in 1862, by leading men who control the powers that be, to deliver a lecture in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C. He was on the spot at the appointed moment, and before him were nearly all who hold the destinies of this great nation in their fists, all of whom had sworn to protect and defend the Constitution of the nation. His main point was an attack upon that *sacred* instrument. He told his auditors that he had been labouring nineteen years to get nineteen States out of the Union, and that he then rejoiced that his desire was almost realized, and that the days of the Union could now be numbered. This declaration brought down that crowded house with shouts that made the very foundations of the temple shake. Why did they thus rejoice? Because that arch traitor struck a withering blow upon the head of the glorious government of these United States. And when he had closed his anathemas upon the Constitution and the Union, there was a rush by all the heads of departments and their satellites toward that arch fiend, not to do what ought to have been done on the spot, but to extol his name far above that of General Washington, whose name he had denounced so often as that of a thief, murderer, and robber. But the rush was to see who could get the first shake hands with this diabolical traitor. He was highly extolled for his manly blows by those myrmidons of treason, civil commotion, and murder. His hands were shaken as they never had been shaken. He was invited by the Vice President of the United States to visit the Senate chamber next day, according to the reports of eye-witnesses. He accepted and went. The Senate had organized, but when he entered the door,

the Vice President sprang from his seat, and then on to the main floor, as reports say, perhaps as had never been done before. All business was informally suspended. His Honour caught him by the hand, and led him before that august body of (Dis-)Union Leaguers, and formally introduced him; and there was another rush for his sacrilegious hand. He was caressed and petted, as no one had ever been before on that spot. He was taken to the White-house, and there met the same cordial greeting, and was told by the President that he ought to travel and lecture all over the country. And just at that time he received a telegram from the Capital of this State, tendering him the Senate Chamber to belch forth his diabolical treason to the Abolitionists of this State Legislature. I ask, was this not clear evidence that the south could not have been mistaken in their impressions that these puritanic saints intended to overthrow this glorious Government, and usurp a despotic one on its ruins. *Think of it.* But see further. John P. Hale said, at an Abolition Convention in 1856, in speaking of the disgrace of the union, and the probabilities of its overthrow, and his surprise at the chances of the overthrow, and that he would not be more surprised to see the "*fruit following the bud and blossom.*"

He wrote to an Abolition committee of New York, on the 10th of August, 1856, regretting that he could not be with them at their meeting at the Tabernacle.

And said,

"I rejoice in your movement \* \* \* I look forward hopefully for the day when the word slave shall be without practical meaning in this, or the Eastern Continent; when universal man shall stand erect, as God intended he should, *calling no one lord or master* \* \* \* and recognizing no Government that is not founded on universal rights of humanity."

"*If I did not believe that the election of Fremont and Dayton would be a step in that direction, the movement would receive little sympathy from me.*"

And again,

"On the 7th day of February, 1850, John P. Hale insisted upon, and along with Chase and Seward alone, voted to receive, refer and consider a petition demanding of Congress an immediate dissolution of the Union, because a union with slaveholders is violation of divine law and human right."

"John P. Hale, on the 23d of March, 1848, presented a batch of eight petitions at once demanding the dissolution of the Union."

David Kilgore said in the Indiana Abolition Convention in 1850, that the "Negroes of this country had ten times more intelligence than any foreigners who emigrate to this country."

"Mark! how stands Massachusetts at this hour in reference to the union. Just where she ought to be, in an attitude of open hostility."—William Lloyd Garrison,

Hon. J. R. Giddings, said on the Representative floor, that he would kill a slave-holder in search of his slave property, as he would a sheep killing dog. He said in the house of Congress, all that a vulgar black-guard could have invented to slander and insult the whole south time and again. Yet, his district would re-elect him and send him back to do the same thing over again.

"On the 26th of February, 1842, Mr. Giddings presented a petition from a large number of Abolitionists of Austinburg, in his district, praying for dissolution of the Union, and a separation of the slave from the free States."

John Q. Adams presents a petition for dissolution:

"On the 24th of February, 1842, John Quincy Adams, presented a petition in the House of Representatives signed by a large number of citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, for a peaceable dissolution of the Union, 'assigning as one of the reasons the inequality of benefits conferred on the different sections.'" [Blake's History of Slavery, p. 524.]

William H. Seward said in 1848,

"Whenever the public mind shall will the Abolition of slavery, the way will open for it. \* \* \* Slavery can be limited to its present bounds; it can be alienated. It can be, it must be abolished, *and you and I can, and must do it.*"

Abraham Lincoln, said in a letter in April 1859, in answer to an invitation to address an Abolition meeting in Boston:

"This is a world of compensations, he who would be no slave, must own no slaves, he who denieth freedom to others, deserves it not for himself, and under a just God he shall not long retain it."

He declared in a speech in the House of Representatives of the United States,

That any part of the people of any Government, had an unconditional right to secede at pleasure from the Government under which they lived, and to coerce all in their territory who should oppose them; provided they had the power, they had the right at any time.

I have not given the thousandth part of the declarations and resolves of traitors and disunionists against the blessed Government of the United States, as formed by our fathers, when there were no Abolitionists, partizan politicians, nor Government suckers, or thieves in church or state.

In their State Convention of 1851, the Radicals of Massachusetts, on whom the mantle of the Hartford Convention had fallen, and animated by the same purpose,

*Resolved*, That the Constitution which provides for a slave representation and a slave oligarchy in Congress; which legalizes slave catching on every inch of American soil; which pledges the military and naval power of the country to keep four millions of chattel slaves in their chains, is to be trodden under foot and pronounced accursed, however unexceptionable or valuable it may be in its other provisions.

"That the one great issue before the country is the dissolution of the Union, in comparison with which all other issues with the slave power are as dust in the balance; therefore we have given ourselves to the work of 'annulling this covenant with death,' as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the slave power."

In 1856, the same party passed the following in convention:

*Resolved*, 1. That the necessity of disunion is written in the whole existing character and condition of the two sections of the country, in their social organization, education, habits, and laws; in the danger of our white citizens in Kansas, and our coloured men in Boston; in the wounds of Charles Sumner, and the laurels of his assailants; and no government on earth was ever strong enough to hold together such opposing forces.

*Resolved*, 2. That this movement does not merely see disunion, but the more perfect union of free States, by the expulsion of the slave States from the Confederation in which they have ever been an element of discord, danger, and disgrace.

*Resolved*, 3. That it is not probable that the ultimate severance of the Union will be an act of deliberation or discussion, but that a long period of deliberation and discussion must precede it; and here we meet to begin the work.

*Resolved*, 4. That henceforward, instead of regarding it as an objection to any system of policy that it will lead to a separation of the States, we will proclaim that to be the highest of all recommendations, and the greatest proof of statesmanship, and will support politically such men and measures as appear to tend most to this result."

Mr. Garrison made a speech in 1856, in which he declared:

"I have said, and I say again, that in proportion to the growth of disunion will be the growth of Republicanism." \* \* \* \* "The Union is a lie. The American Union is an imposture, and a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." \* \* \* \* "I am for its overthrow." \* \* \* \* "Up with the flag of disunion, that we may have a free and glorious Union of our own."

At a Republican Convention held at Monroe, Green County, Wisconsin, in 1856, the following resolution was passed:

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the North, in case they fail in electing a President and Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the government."

Anson Burlingame made a speech in 1856, in which he blasphemously said:

"The time is coming, and soon will be, that we must have an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

The Montrose Democrat, of May 10, 1856, said:

"We recollect that over a year ago we heard Mr. Wilmot make the following declaration:

"I am determined to arouse the people to the importance of the slavery issue, and get up an organization through which they can get the control of the government in 1856. And if I become satisfied that these efforts will fail, and the people will not assert their rights, then I'll be d—d if I don't join the party that I think will send the country to h—l the quickest."

Horace Mann on one occasion said:

"In conclusion, I have only to add that such is my solemn and abiding conviction of the character of slavery; and under a full sense of responsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, better disunion, better a civil or servile war, better anything that God in his providence shall send, than an extension of the bonds of slavery."

"I have before declared that the path of duty was clear as to the fugitive slave act, and that I am bound to disobey it." [Charles Sumner, Sept., 1854.]

"If the Republicans fail at the ballot-box, we shall be forced to drive back the slaveocrats with fire and sword." [James Watson Webb.]

The True American, a Republican organ in Erie County, Pennsylvania, in commenting upon a speech delivered at a Democratic meeting, says:

"This twaddle about the Union and its preservation is too silly and sickening for any good effect. We think that the liberty of a single slave is worth more than all the Unions God's universe can hold."

Rufus P. Spaulding, now an Administration member of this House, and a member of the convention that nominated Fremont, said, in that convention, that—

"In case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes."

In 1854, the abolitionists of Massachusetts and of other States sent petitions to Congress, from which the following is an extract:

"We earnestly request Congress at its present session to take initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union, as the exigencies of the case may require."

Henry Ward Beecher says:

"A great many people raise a cry about the Union and the Constitution, as if the two were perfectly identical; but the truth is, it is the Constitution itself that is the cause of every division which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the foundation of our troubles by attempting to hold together as reconciled two opposing principles which will not harmonize nor agree."

Salmon P. Chase says:

"Slavery in the States would not continue a year after the accession of the anti-slavery party to power."

Fred Douglass says:

"From this time forth, I consecrate my labours to the dissolution of the Union; and I care not whether the bolt that rends it shall come from heaven or from hell."

I quote from the New York Tribune, which was laid upon the members' desks just before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act:

"We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of Northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of justice and humanity, resistance to the last. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild disorder—nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins, than this perfidy and wrong should be finally accomplished."

General Banks said:

"I am willing, in a certain contingency, to let the Union slide."

Rev. Dr. Bellows, President of the Sanitary Commission, in one of his public discourses in the city of New York, disgraced the pulpit by uttering the following:

"It is no longer a war in defence of the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws."

The American Anti-Slavery Society passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That secession from the United States Government is the duty of every abolitionist, since no one can take office or deposit his vote under its Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slave-holder, and committing a sin.

"Resolved, That years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chain of the slave; that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the remains of the present American church, and the grave of the present Union.

"Resolved, That the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of this agitation to dissolve the American Union."

James S. Pike, long editorially connected with the New York Tribune, and now Minister to the Netherlands, said:

"I have no doubt that the free and slave States ought to separate. The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South."

John W. Forney, editor of the Philadelphia Press, over the *nom de plume* of Occasional, writing to his paper, said :

"Let us unite the North by any means: When men no longer volunteer, let there be conscription. Silence every tongue that does not speak with respect of the cause and the flag. Do away with politics, with luxuries, with comforts. Let us cease for the present to speak of laws, and restrictions, and what are called safeguards."

Mr. Seward, at Boston, foreshadowed the purpose of the abolition party :

"What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams, the people have for their standard-bearer Abraham Lincoln, conferring the obligations of the higher law which the sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending for weal or woe, for life or death, in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery! I desire only to say that we are in the last stage of the conflict before the great triumphant inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States."

Mr. Seward, in the Senate, threw this fire-brand at the South :

"Then the free States and slave States of the Atlantic, divided and warring with each other, would disgust the free States of the Pacific, and they would have abundant cause and justification for withdrawing from the Union, productive no longer of peace, safety, and liberty to themselves," &c.

In the Republican Convention of Chicago, 1860, at which Mr. Lincoln was nominated, the following occurred among the proceedings, as published in the New York Tribune of May, 1860 :

"Judge Jessup said that he desired to amend a verbal mistake in the name of the party. It was printed in the resolution, 'National Republican party.' He wished to strike out the word 'national,' as that was not the name by which the party was properly known."

N. P. Banks, in a speech in Massachusetts, in 1856, thus predicts a "military dictatorial government:"

"I can conceive of a time when this Constitution shall not be in existence, when we shall have an absolute military dictatorial government transmitted from age to age, with men at its head who are made rulers by military commission, or who claim a hereditary right to govern those over whom they are placed."

Mr. Schurz, in 1860, said :

"May the God in human nature be aroused and pierce the very soul of our nation with an energy that shall sweep as with the besom of destruction this abomination [slavery] from the land. You call this revolution; it is. In this we need revolution. We must, we will have it. Let it come."

On the 12th of July, 1848, John P. Hale said :

"All the terrors of dissolution I can look steadfastly in the face, before I could look to that moral union which must fall upon us when we can so far prostitute ourselves as to become the pioneers of slavery in the territories."

In the Senate, February 26, 1856, Mr. Hale, in speaking of the conflict, said :

"Good! good! Sir, I hope it will come; and if it comes to blood, let it come. No, sir; if that issue must come, let it come; and it cannot come too soon."

I will say here, that the Hon. John Q. Adams never favored a dissolution of the Union of the States, or any interference with slavery in the southern States, and attended no Abolition meetings, but held to the Constitutional right of petition, but said it was better to part in peace than to be held together by constraint. If it was true that the south, or any part of them desired to break up the Union of these United States as formed, by the adoption of the Constitution, how was it that all their members of both houses of Congress *always* not only voted against, but *indignantly protested against* all the petitions ever offered for a dissolution of the union of States, why were they so bitterly opposed to such movements? If they desired to be separated from the free States, why was there no response favorable to such petition, except from such men as Seward, Chase, Giddings, Hale, and all such Abolitionists of the free States? Ministers of the gospel, think of this, and stop and try to save your own souls. Read the 18th and 19th verses of the xxii. chapter of Revelation.

The language of those traitors can only be interpreted one way, and that is to destroy all the social systems of the south, or drive them out of the union, whenever they should get the reins of the Government in their hands. They said a great deal more on the subject as strong as this at different times and

places. Salmon P. Chase, penned a resolution which was unanimously passed at a large Abolition Convention in Buffalo, in which they resolved that whenever they should take the Constitutional oath, that they would make a mental reservation of the fugitive slave clause in the Constitution, and not consider it any part of the Constitution, and would not be bound by it. I have enough of such resolutions and speeches to make a large volume, nearly all from the leading men now at the head of the Government. Southern citizens of the highest standing have been shot dead by our people, for daring to come north, to regain their slave property according to the Constitution and laws of the nation. And thousands of the people exulted over it. The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, was evidently got up in Massachusetts, and they (the actors) now publicly rejoice that they aided in getting it up. And they glory that they had a hand in the first blow in this most ungodly civil war. Helper's book was written in the north, to be published on the heels of the John Brown raid; in which book it was said, "*Slavery must and shall be abolished, so help me God.*" I will quote one full paragraph from that celebrated production, got up perhaps by the same men, (United States Senators and Representatives, doubtless, that the John Brown raid was.) And they hired the name of a poor North Carolinian, who got a very bad name south, not for his opposition to slavery, for he was not an Abolitionist when he left there. I read in the book as follows:

"INELIGIBILITY TO SLAVE-HOLDERS."

*"Never another vote to the trafficker in human flesh. No co-operation with slave-holders in politics. No fellowship with them in religion. No affiliation with them in society. No patronage to slave-holding merchants. No guestship to slave-waiting hotels. No fees to slave-holding lawyers. No employment to slave-holding physicians. No audience to slave-holding parsons. No recognition of pro-slavery men, except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals. Abrupt discontinuance of subscription to pro-slavery newspapers. Immediate death to slavery, if not immediate unqualified proscription of its advocates during the period of its existence. A tax of sixty dollars on each and every negro in his possession at the present time, or at any intermediate time between now and the 4th of July, 1863," &c., &c.*

This is verbatim, and I think conclusive. It is in such perfect keeping with what I have heard from the mouths of Abolitionists, and read in Abolition books and pamphlets, for more than thirty years, that it could not have been written by any other than a northern Abolitionist, of the Sumner, Chase, Wilson, Seward, Hale, Lincoln, and Beecher school. But this book, like the old John Brown raid, would not have been much, had it stood alone on its own intrinsic strength. If all in the free States had condemned that old murderer, thief, outlaw, and traitor, we should be a happy and prosperous nation this day, instead of being in this terrible civil conflict. But, instead of that, hundreds of meetings were called, churches were thrown open, large halls were rented, where thousands upon thousands assembled to endorse the murderous and treasonable doings of that old devil incarnate. And he was completely sainted, yea, further, he was fully deified by thousands of professing Christians and Christian ministers, around their altars, reared and dedicated to Almighty God. And there he was fully sainted, and announced as the second Jesus Christ, who had just been crucified, to turn and make black negroes equal to white men. Churches were hung in mourning, and "sack-cloth" was put on. This was so general throughout New England, and even this great city was so disgraced that this national air was composed: "John Brown's body is mouldering in the grave, but his soul is marching on." And many young ladies and gentlemen would sit at their front doors until midnight, or march through the streets singing this national air. So also with the Helper book. It would not have been much, had it had no names to it but that of the alleged author. But how was it? It was fully and completely endorsed. By whom? Not by the signatures of the Philadelphia Conference, but by the signatures of 69 Republican (Abolition) members of both houses of the Congress of the United States, and recommended as *the* book. I hope the conference will look at this picture, and think of the cause and effect. There is a moral in your preamble that places your ecclesiastical reputation at stake. Think of this, before you frame and pass any more preambles with untruths embodied in them. After looking over this whole matter, do you not see that



this terrible and wicked rebellion was not causeless? Think of the 69 members of both houses of Congress endorsing the Helper book, and the millions in the free states who endorse them, for endorsing that wicked and treasonable *Abolition, Anti-union, production*. And the millions also who endorsed all of old Brown's treason and murder. Now, do you not see, clearly see that you voted for an untruth, when you voted for and passed the words, "causeless rebellion?" Don't you think, in the name of Christianity, that this rebellion was not only not "causeless," but that the greatest causes and provocations were given, that ever before were given, that produced such ruin, desolation, and devastation? Let us look at this matter in view of the great day of God, and say, if it does not look as if the rebellion was provoked by bad designing men in the north, in order to get a large army into the field to subjugate all the States, and then establish a military despotism, for a national Government, on the ruins of this glorious Constitutional Government, adopted by our fathers; a Government that produced general peace and prosperity to all of its recipients. Yea, so great was our glory, peace, happiness, and general prosperity, that all the crowned heads of Europe looked on with wonder, jealousy, and envy. But you, in your preamble and resolutions, have fully and completely endorsed all the means used by wicked, bad men, to bring this political and social ruin upon this great nation. The pulpits have made all the mischief, that is, it never could have been done without them. They have overthrown this great Christian nation, and converted it into a military despotism, and into dens of thieves, plunderers and robbers, under a pretence to free the negroes.

2d. *Whereas*:—"The success of the leaders in this unholy rebellion in their avowed objects,—the dissolution of our National Union, the dismemberment of the country, and the establishment of a new Confederacy within the present territorial limits, having for its corner-stone the system of human slavery,—would imperil the existence of civil and religious liberty, which is the life of the nation.

3d. "*Whereas*, as Ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, we relinquish no rights as American citizens, but are compelled by the express letter of God's word, and by our articles of religion to preach loyalty to the powers that are ordained of God?"

In reply to the first part of the 2d "*Whereas*," I will merely quote a few historical facts, which will set forth the wrongs of this part of the preamble. In December 1860, while a vast majority of the people of this whole country were trembling with fear that we should be plunged into a civil war, and thereby a dissolution of the union would ensue, the good people of the south did all in their power to prevent a collision, and thereby a dissolution of the union, that they prize above all other temporal blessings that would have been conceived of under the canopy of heaven. And there were none for secession; only those who thought the movements in the north for the last sixty years favored a dissolution of the union, that our holy fathers vouchsafed to us, and sealed with their patriotic blood. But the movements in the free States for the last forty years were such that demonstrated to them, beyond all possible contradiction, that we were resolved to drive them out of the union. For, let it be remembered, that the votes of the party now in power have been almost entirely sectional. And the movements for the last five years were such that they were left without a doubt, that they (the south) were to be driven or crushed out. (See *John Brown and Helper*.) It was too clear to their minds for them to rest in peace. Therefore they called southern Conventions all over the south, and passed all sorts of resolutions to try to prevail upon the sectionalists of the north to let them alone in the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights, as they (the south) never had disturbed the peace of the north, in their sacred rights under the Constitution. They even then humbled themselves greatly, and offered to yield largely of their dearest rights, if the north would let them alone in peace with the balance; but all to no purpose. They were only pressed the harder, and slandered the more. Nearly all their members of Congress were instructed in 1860, to make the last effort for a peaceful settlement, but to take nothing short of their entire Constitutional rights. And if that could not be had without humiliation, to withdraw and go home. Therefore, their Representatives and Senators did all in their power to settle the question on a fair and honorable basis. The late Hon. John

J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, offered a compromise to save the union, that was extremely humiliating to the south: though they had unanimously offered the same thing in a full southern Convention in 1850, which met at Nashville, Tenn. But it was treated with contempt by all the Abolition Congressmen, when it was presented there. A crisis committee of 13 were appointed in December 1860, to try to draft something for an amendment to the Constitution, that all would agree to. But the Abolitionists voted down all that was reasonable. In fact, they voted down everything that was offered, and offered nothing themselves. After all had failed, even the Crittenden compromise, the Hon. Jefferson Davis offered the following resolution, which he held to be necessary as an elementary principle of an adjustment that would satisfy the south.

*“Resolved, That it shall be declared by an amendment of the Constitution, that property in slaves, recognized as such by the local law of any of the States of the Union, shall stand on the same footing in all Constitutional and Federal relations, as any other species of property so recognized, and, like other property, shall not be subject to be divested or impaired by the local law of any other State, either in escaping thereto, or of transit or sojourn of the owner therein; and in no case whatever shall such property be subject to be divested or impaired by any legislative act of the United States, or of any of the territories thereof.”*

This was lost, the Republicans all voting against it, and all others for it.

Then the Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, offered the following resolutions, which were lost by the same votes:

*“First, That the people of the United States shall have an equal right to emigrate to, and settle in the present or any future acquired territories, with whatever property they may possess, including Slaves, and be securely protected in its peaceable enjoyment until such territory may be admitted as a State into the Union, with or without slavery, as she may determine, on an equality with all other States.”*

*“Second, That property in slaves shall be entitled to the same protection from the Government of the United States in all of its departments, every where, which the Constitution confers the power upon it to extend to any other property; provided nothing herein contained shall be construed to limit or restrain the right now belonging to every State, to prohibit, abolish, or establish and protect slavery within its limits.”*

*“Third, That persons committing crimes against slave property in one State, and fleeing to another, shall be delivered up in the same manner as persons committing other crimes, and that the laws of the State from which such persons flee shall be the test of criminality.”*

Here are the offers made by those two leading men of the South. Had either been accepted by the abolitionists, the peace of this nation would now “flow as rivers,” and the Union of all the sovereign States would now be as the Union of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, under the spirit and *letter* of the Constitution; and the affections and the union of the hearts of all the people towards each other would be as that of the apostles of our Lord and Master; and the preachers of the Philadelphia Conference would now be preaching the gospel of the Son of God, instead of *thirsting and clamouring for their brothers’ blood*. For humanity’s sake compare the spirit of the resolutions above to the spirit of the resolutions passed at your late session in Wilmington, Delaware. See the longing in those of the Georgian and the Mississippian for permanent peace and union, in which they spoke the mind of the entire South; while yours breathes forth disunion, malice, vengeance, war, blood, desolation, and ruin.

The determination of the abolitionists has been too manifest for the last forty years, and that of their successors, the so-called Republican party, for the last seven years especially, for you to be able to blind all the people with such humbuggery that none would be left to expose your treason not only against the United States and of all the sovereign States, but against the spirit and *letter* of the Holy Bible, especially the New Testament. Read the four gospels of the Son of God, and the apostles’ creed, and tell me where you get your authority from as the representatives of the Prince of peace. I have searched it, and if it is there, I confess I am too dumb or too blind to see it. For it abounds in the principles of justice, mercy, love, peace, harmony, tranquility, and union; and it calls upon you to “do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” Is there any such spirit perceptible any where in the spirit of your most ungodly preamble and ten resolutions? Compare the

spirit and letter of the John Brown raid and of Helper's book, that was endorsed by sixty-nine abolition members of Congress, with the spirit and letter of the above offers of Davis and Toombs, and you will see who were the rebels and who were not; both of which most positively contradict your assertions in the second preamble. They were the very spirit, sum and substance, of that part of the Constitution as meant by our fathers in '87. Can you show the slightest inconsistency in them with the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, or the spirit and letter of both the Old and New Testament Scriptures? Look at the Mosaic law, the precepts of our Lord, and the letters of St. Paul in reference to slavery, or any other clause in Divine law or instruction, or the modern rights of men. Then why did you not "*as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ,*" condemn the guilty party, and not imbrue your hands in innocent blood, as your exemplar Judas Iscariot did? Why did you not, whilst boastfully speaking of your love for loyalty to a great usurper and tyrant, remember that part of the organic law of the nation, and the act of Congress under that Constitution which requires us to deliver up fugitives from labour, on proof of their master's right to such property? You know as well as I, or anybody else, that he to whom you have pledged your allegiance is a traitor to the organic law of the United States, and is trampling under foot every principle of the Constitution of the nation and the *reserved rights of the sovereign States* who formed the national government, and are its *sovereigns*. I have already said more on your preamble than I thought of saying on the whole; therefore you must pardon me for saying little on your ten resolutions, though I am deeply interested in them all.

"*Resolved, 1. That, as ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church within the bounds of the Philadelphia Annual Conference, we re-affirm our past declarations since this war commenced in reference to the rebellion, and our pledged determination to sustain the government in this crisis of our national existence.*"

I understood, from the New Testament and the ordinations of our church, that ministers were pledged to, and sent forth to preach the doctrines of the gospel of peace, union, and love to all mankind. And "When you pray," saith our Lord, "say, Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and *forgive us our sins AS WE FORGIVE those who sin against us*; lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory."

Forgive us, O Lord God Almighty, our sins against thy holy law as we forgive our Southern brethren with swords and bayonets thrust through our hearts; forgive us with musket shot, cannon balls, and bomb-shells; blow our cursed hearts and brains out, blow our legs off by thousands, then set the woods on fire, and burn us to death in the slowest, in the most torturing manner, and send us to the bar of Thine eternal justice in a state of anger, malice, and vengeance, that we may find no spiritual pardon, that we may be cast down to hell, where the smoke of our torments shall ascend up for ever, *yea, for ever and ever*. We have no right to look for forgiveness at the Throne of Grace or at the Mercy Seat only as we forgive our enemies, (whether superiors or inferiors,) their sins against us. And no preacher of the gospel, or layman, who repeats the Lord's Prayer, either in public or private, in his devotions, but who prays just as I have described above, if he favours the preamble and resolutions of the late Philadelphia Conference. Forgive us our sins as we forgive the Southern people their sins. Read the resolutions and see how those abolition gospel-preachers deign to forgive the sins of the Southern people for refusing to give up all their original and constitutional rights to a set of abolition tyrants and usurpers. Do they not pray for eternal destruction to themselves? May Heaven have mercy upon all such preachers!

"*Resolved, 2. That while we acknowledge the war as a great national calamity, and lament the untold miseries that by it are entailed upon the land in the loss of precious lives, (no care for precious souls expressed,) and in its sad demoralizing influences, we believe that the duty of the nation is to prosecute the war with its resources of men and money until peace shall be obtained by victory, (Tom Iyer like, of course,) the rebellion be completely subdued, the legitimate power and authority of the government shall be re-established, and till the flag of the nation, as the emblem of the undisputed sovereignty of the Federal Government, shall wave over every foot of the territorial domain.*"

I could not fully discuss this resolution in less than twenty-five or thirty pages; therefore I have *italicised* those parts of it that I wish specially noticed. And I will remind the reader that this resolution, as well as the others, were framed and passed by those who allege that they are the representatives of the Eternal Prince of peace and glory; and he says unto them, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Matthew v. 9. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Matthew v. 8. Yet these Philadelphia Annual Conference belligerents propose to carry on this war for the sake of a pugilistic or Tom Hyer victory, rather than to do good to their enemies, and in that way to heap coals of fire on their heads, as commanded by their Lord and Master. But our Lord's sermon on the mount did not seem to suit their taste; therefore they do not wish a Christ-like victory, for that would restore the government as it was, and Abraham would not be made emperor, nor the M. E. Church the National Church.

Our Lord said, in Matt. vi. 14, 15, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." "But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." All I will say now on the words "undisputed sovereignty of the Federal Government" shall be brief. There never was a time, since the adoption of the Federal Government, when the States had not the right to dissolve the Federal Government, and each State receive back the powers conceded to this great United States machine. It is a government of limited powers, and cannot go on without the legal consent of the States. The States created it, and they can uncreate it; and there is no power in the General Government to move one iota without the sovereign States, only as they are now moving, and that is by usurpation and tyranny. What a glorious thing it would have been, if these and all other professed gospel-preachers had only taken our Lord's sermon on the mount for their ministerial guide!

"Resolved, 3. That as the Constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land, makes it the duty of the government to suppress rebellion, and as government would be a nullity aside from its administration, we maintain that loyalty to the government is only to be understood, as loyalty to the administration of that government as duly elected under the Constitution, and that rendering to 'Caesar the things that belong to Caesar,' the entire, prompt, and unqualified obedience of all under its authority is to be rendered to the administration, not for wrath, but for conscience' sake, and that resistance to its authority, either by word or action, is not only rebellion and treason to the civil government, but to God."

This resolution seems to cap the climax. If such a resolution had been passed by a set of infidels, or open and avowed traitors to the Government, whose design was to overthrow it, or even by a set of hungry starving pot-house politicians, I should not have been so much surprised, but for 270 men who claim to be "Ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ," to adopt such did surprise me greatly. In the first place, it is not true that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, only so far as certain powers were granted by the States for specified purposes, and those purposes and powers are set forth in the Constitution as clearly as day light. And the States have the right to change them in a specified manner, and they are the makers of the United States Government, and have it in their own power legally to stop the whole machinery of the United States. The people of the States vote for no officer of the United States Government, but for State officers, who have to get their authority to act from their own several sovereign States. Not even the President of the United States is directly voted for by the people of the several sovereign States, but the people of each State, vote for and elect a certain number of free citizens of their own free state (under and by an agreement entered into by the free will of the several sovereign States, when there were no United States laws to guide them) as electors to vote for a citizen of some one of the several States to act as President of the United States, for a given time. Turn to Article 2, Section 1, of the Constitution, and read it carefully, and you will see how fearful our holy fathers were of such usurpers and tyrants as are now at the head of the nation. They had studied human nature, and they were men of great experience. And they knew that untrammelled and unlimited powers placed at the disposal of a single man would ruin this nation as it had ever done others. Therefore the safe-guards and restrictions were placed in

the Constitution of the United States. There is no direct relation or association between the people of the several States and the United States Government. The State Governments are the only medium through which the people can have access to any legal power in the nation. The President is a mere servant of the sovereign States, and possesses no power whatever independently of the sovereign States. There is no sovereignty placed in his hands whatever, independent of the States. He has no power beyond what is written in the Constitution. There is nothing left optional with him of moment. *He is a servant.* And if he steps beyond the limits of the Constitution, and assumes any powers not granted by the States in the Constitution, he at once becomes a usurper and traitor, and all who endorse his illegitimate assumption of power, are traitors to the United States Government, and the State Governments. And the Philadelphia Annual Conference have rushed into treason with their eyes wide open, and have declared it to the world in those resolutions. There is no power given to the President, or either, or both houses of Congress to suppress rebellion or insurrection within the bounds of any sovereign State; the United States Government was ordained by the States as a servant of economy, to do certain specified work, that each State would have had to have done separately, and it would have cost each State the same that it costs all through this scheme of national economy, in which the States agreed to concede with every possible restraint and safe-guard, power over post-roads, and to establish Post-offices, rivers, lakes, and harbors, the high-seas, and our navigation of them all. And to collect revenue by taxing foreign imports, and watch other nations, and see that no imposition was committed by them on our trade, or our persons when abroad. And to protect our commerce on the high seas, and in foreign ports, and to settle disputes between sovereign States, through a Supreme Court of the United States,) only when that State shall find the rebellion too strong for its own sovereign powers to put down, and shall call upon the President of the United States, through their own State Executive, or their Legislature, to send help to that State. The President has no legal power to invade any State with the army of the United States, without the consent of said State or States. He has no power given him even to raise an army, or to declare war. If he needs soldiers, he must look to Congress, and Congress has to look to the States, or give the President authority to do so. And the States are not bound to comply; even if the soldiers are needed, it is optional with them. Therefore this war was got up to get a great army placed at the disposal of a so-called President of the United States, to break down State rights, that they might overthrow the State Governments, and subjugate them all, and establish a great central power at Washington, with a despotic form of Government, which will make slaves of all the "people," far worse than any southern negro slavery ever established. The rich to be the only free people, therefore, this rush for money, by stealing, plundering, robbery, or in any way they can obtain it; is that they may be counted among the aristocracy, and escape the thralldom of serfs, for which this great and happy nation will be mainly indebted to the pulpit; for the overthrow of its peace and happiness could not have been effected without them. The National Government is a "nullity" with the administration, "aside" from the sinews of State rights and powers. Loyalty to the Administration, may or may not be loyalty to the Government. If the Administration should be truly loyal to the Constitution and law, then we could not be loyal to one without being loyal to both. But we are not called upon to be loyal to the Administration, but to the Constitution and the law. We are bound to honor the Administration, just so far as it honors the United States Government, and no further. And no State, people, "conference," or individuals *can be loyal to the present administration, without being disloyal and traitors to the Government of the United States.* And every preacher who voted for the above resolution, voted against the Government of the United States, and is guilty of legal treason to the Constitution and the laws of the nation. No man can be really a loyal man who will stand by and see the Administration trample upon every principle of the Government, as the present administration is doing, and not raise his voice in tones of indignation against such an Administration, even if it costs him his individual

liberty for a period, or his life. The "people" owe their allegiance to their respective State Governments, and no where else except through their States. In fact we owe no loyalty to any Administration, for we are not subjects, but the sovereign powers, or the source of all power either of State, or the United States. The Constitution and the laws do not belong to any Administration, nor do the people, but all the Administrations of the States belong to the "people" of their several respective States. They are our servants, and the people have all claims on them, and they have no claims on the people only for their wages, and when they get those all their claims are satisfied. The Administration of the United States belongs to the citizens of all the sovereign States, through their several State Governments. Therefore all allegiance is due to the "people," either directly or indirectly, and the people owe none, for they are the sovereigns themselves. The charges of rebellion and treason against all who desire to adhere to the strictest letter of the Government as directed by the Constitution are too perfectly super-ridiculous to be replied to. It is very strange that those preachers should have such respect to parts of the Constitution or Organic law of the nation, as to charge all with treason and rebellion, (not only against the Government of the United States, but against the moral Government of God,) for adhering to the whole Organic law. What right have they to call us all traitors for loving the Government more and the Administration less; which Administration they resolved to sustain, though it has trampled upon every section, article, and clause of the Constitution of the nation, that comes in the way of their diabolical treason and rebellion against the best human Government on which the sun ever cast a beam of light? It is our right and duty under the Government of the United States, and of our own State, to denounce the whole course of the present Administration in this ungodly war, as high treason and rebellion against the Government of the United States, and of all the sovereign State Governments as well as the moral Government of God. And I will do it at the risk of my life or personal liberty; and if arrested and put in a bastille by the order of those political tyrants, I will denounce them there, to all whom I may see through my prison bars, or the key-hole of my dungeon, as such traitors and rebels, for the very fact of my arrest will sustain the charge. I know I have the Constitution of the nation and the Bible on my side, as far as I am able to understand them. And my plea being for Constitutional liberty and Bible truth only, for this and all future generations, I feel bold in making the charge of treason and rebellion against the present Administration, and all intelligent men who endorse them in their treason against this glorious Government of the United States. For I believe it was suggested by the spirit of the Almighty to our fathers, and by them adopted. For none but the God of the Universe could have planned such a glorious system for a human Government. Therefore I conceive it treason for me to fold my arms and look on a set of political tyrants destroying that glorious system of temporal salvation, and cry to all who pass by that the Government is gone beyond recovery, because it will endanger our lives and liberty to attempt to save it. Oh, fellow countrymen and democrats, suppose our Lord had thus done, and thus said, when he saw the nails, the hammer, the cross, and the glittering spear of the "Jewish Sanhedrim," or our great revolutionary fathers had thus said, when they saw the mane and switching tail of the British Lion? Would Lord Cornwallis have ever delivered the British sword to our great General Washington, or should we have ever known Christian or Constitutional liberty? No, therefore let us cry out with the great Patrick Henry, give us our civil and religious "liberties or death."

*Resolved, 4.* That while we recognize the right of citizens to discuss the measures and policy of the Government, we yet affirm that it is a religious duty not to speak evil of Ministers and Magistrates, and that, especially in times like these, when the utmost wisdom is required in the Administration of civil affairs, the right of even such discussion is only to be exercised with great caution, prudence and forbearance."

What a pity it was that these Abolition saints did not think of this before they plunged us into this fratricidal war. For had they let the question of negro slavery alone, we should now be at peace from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And our union, peace, love, and prosperity would be

unchecked and undisturbed from the centre to the circumference of this great nation. They seem now very sensitive on the subject of free discussion, after they and their kind have plunged us into this desolating, fratricidal war, by free discussion and treasonable protestations against the "Government" of the United States, as some of you alleged, because it sanctioned human slavery, and since you find you have succeeded, and have brought ruin to the door of every man in the entire nation (both white man and negro slave, and all except army contractors, and all other Government thieves and plunderers,) it is now very convenient to pass resolutions to suppress free and full discussion, for fear lest its authors might be exposed. The Abolitionist leaders are guilty of the treason that has destroyed this once glorious human Paradise, and turned it into a nation of thieves, murderers and robbers. And they are guilty of cold-blooded murder in every life that has been or shall be lost in this great civil contest that they have brought upon us. And, oh, how it pains my heart to find the church of my choice, whose ministry I loved more than all others, (yea, I revered them wherever I saw them,) should now endorse that guilty party, and try to cover up their guilt, and worse than all, to lay it upon those whom they know to be innocent. I am glad to know that many of the 270 Ministers of the late Conference did not vote on those resolutions. The chairman of the "committee on the state of the country," who has labored long in the Abolition cause, so framed the resolutions (to catch all those whom some of the young ducks, as well as some old ganders—they took such delight in calling copper-heads and traitors on that floor) that they could not vote against them without voting against some principle of pure Christianity. They could not vote against modern Abolitionism (treason) without voting against what is called loyalty to the Government. Therefore they did not raise their hands for nor against them. In that way it went out that those resolutions passed unanimously. Doubtless, many voted for them under latent fear,—persecution and foul slander being very hard to meet. I can sympathize with them, for I know what it is.

"Resolved, 5. That so far as our influence may extend, we discountenance and condemn the illy-concealed treason of those who, influenced by party spirit, or sympathy with human bondage, find fault with every warlike measure, under the pretext of discrimination between the Constitution as the supreme law of the land, and the administration of the government as framed by the Constitution. They are the secret foes of the government, with all the venom, but without the manliness of rebels in open arms."

The reader must excuse me for not replying minutely to the above resolution. I could not do so short of thirty or forty pages of manuscript. It is so slanderous, treasonable, and insulting to every true National Democrat, or old line Clay Whig, that I should be at a loss for language to express my indignation. Had it been passed by a set of hungry pot-house politicians, it would have been in keeping with their profession. But they represent themselves to be the true representatives of the Son of God, or "ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ." I have not the language to express my grief and sorrow that the church should be so afflicted by such men while professing to be the sons of God, yet are trampling upon his sacred precepts, and turning his house into abuse, slander, and thirst for their brothers' blood. I shall hereafter speak of it in a general way.

"Resolved, 6. That we recognize in slavery—so justly characterized by the fathers of our church 'as contrary to the golden law of God, on which hang all the Law and the Prophets, and the inalienable rights of mankind, as well as every principle of the revolution'—the root and palpable cause of this most foul and wicked rebellion; and we rejoice that a system so contrary to the letter and spirit of our holy religion, so abhorrent to humanity, to civilization, has, by the sword of resistance to the government, secured its own destruction; and that, in the emancipation policy of the government, we recognize the hand of Him who, thus over-ruling the councils of men, caused a military necessity 'to coincide with the principles of everlasting righteousness in the extirpation of slavery—the prolific mother of wicked legislation in the State, and of discussion and bickering in the church.'"

I have said a good deal already on many points in this resolution in my comments on the preamble. This resolution is far more fraught with wickedness, if possible, than the fifth; for they have loaded all the *untold crimes of this unholy war upon the shoulders of the holy Son of God*, who said to Peter, in the gospel, "Put up thy sword into his place, for he that taketh the sword

shall perish with the sword." I will point out a few passages of the golden rule, for to me the whole Bible is a golden rule, and not a single passage only. Please refer to the following passages, and read them without party prejudice or favour, and remember that the Bible is the only foundation of the Christian ministry: Gen. ix. 19-27, inclusive; Gen. xvi.; Gen. xvii. 12, 13; Gen. xx. 14; Exodus xx. 17, 18; Exodus xxi. 1-27, inclusive. *Please read this with marked attention.* Lev. xix. 20; Lev. xxii. 10, 11, 12; Lev. xxv. 38-55. *Please read these carefully, and with marked discrimination.* Deut. v. 14-21; 1 Kings ii. 39, 40. *Take particular notice of these.* Matthew viii. 5-13; Ephes. vi. 5-9; Colos. iii. 17-25; Colos. iv. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 1-8; Titus ii. 9, 10, 11; the whole book of Philemon (one chapter); 1 Peter ii. 18-24. I hope the reader will read all the above passages with great care. (They are all from St. Paul, named in the New Testament, except one.) The one referred to in first Timothy vi. 1-8 inclusive especially. Think while you read of the modern abolitionist. Mark how completely that great apostle and prophet of our Lord points to that Puritanic saint, the Chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country, Rev. J. Walker Jackson. He was rocked in the cradle of abolitionism. St. Paul gave special caution to the Christian church to be on the lookout for such pretenders as follows: "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doating about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself." Verses 3-5 of this chapter. "All who teach otherwise," &c., &c. What does this holy apostle mean by this positive precept, "from such withdraw thyself?" From *whom* are we commanded to "withdraw?" Read the first and second verses of this chapter, and you will see that it is mostly ministers who "teach" differently from what St. Paul taught on the subject of master and slave. Rev. J. Walker Jackson and his hosts of followers are the very men pointed to, from whom the great apostle charges all good men to withdraw themselves, and from all such. I have some time since made up my mind to obey this precept to the strictest letter in all church matters, and shall continue to do so while I live. I don't mean to withdraw from the church, not as long, at least, as I can find a true follower of St. Paul's doctrine in the ministry. But I shall withdraw from all abolition gospel-preachers, for they are a great *curse* to both Church and State, and a *nuisance* to all good society. They have ruined this great and glorious "country," destroyed the peace and unity of society, and broken up almost all true social Christian relations. They are the prolific source of all disputings and bickerings between brethren of the same Christian altars. They have, by their infidelity to the Holy Scriptures, destroyed not only the peace of the nation, but all good feelings of one party to the other, and created hate, malice, and venom between those who were bound together in the strongest ties of Christian brotherhood, and fraternal confidence, and love. They have plunged this great and happy nation into this bloody, fratricidal, and most ungodly civil war, overthrown this great, godlike government, devastated and desolated this new political paradise of God's own choosing, and turned it into a *political hell*, destroyed a million and a half of "precious lives," and sent that many souls to the bar of a just God in a state of angry rage. They have demoralized one half of the whole nation, and they glory in shedding their brothers' blood, and in all the plundering and ruin of the very best part of this mighty country, and in all the cold blooded murders and desperate rapes on pure, virtuous ladies by negro heathens. They have wasted thousands of millions of dollars, and justify the wanton destruction of as much more. They have driven out thousands of families from their comfortable and plentiful homes, where they were in ease and affluence, and burnt and destroyed their houses, barns, and all other improvements, and left whole districts of country a barren waste. They have caused the murder and starvation of thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousands of poor unfortunate negroes who were peaceable and happy with their Christian masters. They have reduced hundreds of thousands of the best and most useful people in the nation to utter want, and placed their estates in the hands of that many



thieves and plunderers. If the Philadelphia Annual Conference had disapproved of all this wickedness, it would have been praiseworthy; but did they do so? Read the fifth and sixth resolutions, and you will see that they have fully justified all of this carnage, desolation, and ruin not only on the principles of war that these abolitionists had plunged the nation into, but they have justified the war with all its atrocities, and justified all the steps of usurpation taken by the so-called President, his secretaries, and the Congress of the United States; and declared, in solemn resolves, that God so over-ruled the councils of the nation, that a military necessity became justifiable for all the purposes of the untold wickedness of this abolition war, which has stopped the social wheels of the government, and completely checked the progress and prosperity of the whole nation, and degraded us in the eyes of the whole civilized world. And they declare, in the sixth resolution, that slavery is the "*palpable cause of this most foul and wicked rebellion.*" This I most positively deny. If they had said slavery had been made a mere pretext to drive the South into rebellion or secession in order to get up a war, and, as I have already said, to get a great army into the hands of him whom they intend to seat upon the *throne* of America, they would have told the truth. Believing they could easily subjugate the South, and supposing they would have a vast majority of the free States, they would have no trouble in establishing a military government, with Abraham the First on the throne. *This was to be the climax of all his "jokes."* I admit that if there had been no slaves we could not have gotten up a war on that subject; but I don't say that we should not have had the war; for I have shown from the best of authority, that slavery was not the source of complaint when those Puritanic saints of New England first commenced the rebellion. They tried several other pretexts before they came to the negro slave question, and even that was far more tedious than they anticipated; for the affections of the South were so glued to the Constitution and the Union of all the States, that they found it a very hard and tedious job to break them loose. I will here mention one other scheme of nine at least of the free States, and I am told eleven, to drive the South into rebellion or secession, and that is the so-called "Personal Liberty Bills" passed by those nine or eleven States. I have several of them in my possession, all of which completely repudiate the following clause of the Constitution of the United States, and an act of Congress under said clause, either directly or indirectly.

"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."

If all the Philadelphia Conference preachers would get these laws and read them, they would wonder how the South held out as long as they did, even if nothing else had been done to drive them to desperation besides the enactment of those unconstitutional and treasonable State laws.

The Hon. Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the Constitution, said, in 1851, in a speech he made in Albany, that those laws were treason and rebellion against the Government of the United States, and he warned the abolitionists to withhold their opposition to the government of the nation, and told them what it would produce if they did not. The Hon. John Quincy Adams gave a like warning in New York city, in a speech, and he as much as said that the contract (Constitution) was broken by the majority (the free States); therefore the minority were released from all responsibility to the Constitution. But still the South tenaciously stuck to the Constitution and the Union, because they loved both; if they had not, they would not have made the offers they did in December, 1860, which offers I have already quoted. Those offers failed to get one single *Republican* vote, and were lost; and after they were lost, despair was said to be visible on every Democratic brow in the Senate crisis committee of thirteen, especially on those of the South, or slave States. At this moment silence prevailed for a season, and was only broken by the offer of the Crittenden Compromise as a final settlement of the whole trouble. After considerable hesitation on the part of the Southern members, the Hon. Jefferson Davis rose from his seat with despair depicted on his cheek, and said something like the following: "Gentlemen, I come here instructed not to

agree to any settlement that shall alienate any rights of the slave States under the Constitution of the United States. *But, gentlemen, I see the disasters ahead to this Union of States, and although it will now be humiliating to ourselves and to all our constituents, yet, if you will give us the Crittenden Compromise, we will accept it, and abide by it for ever. Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, rose and endorsed him, and pledged the whole South to it.*

The vote was taken on that noble offer, and was lost just as the former offers were. Every democrat and every southern man voting in the affirmative, and every republican in the negative. This extremely liberal offer by the southern members failed to get one single Republican advocate from either house of Congress, and the cry came from all stages and classes of that party, "We have got them and we will drive them to the wall, and we will see if they will be as good as their word." This was said by many leading republicans, ministers of the gospel, and laymen in the churches; and the States, Governors, Secretaries, and legislatures, all joined in the resolve. A member of the Philadelphia Conference said to me at head quarters, that he would see the union split into a thousand atoms before he would yield one iota of the Chicago platform, and as he said it, he clinched it by letting his ponderous fist fall from aloft upon the counter. I read Davis and Toombs' offer to a great leading republican one day, and he raised his hand and stamped his foot and said in an excited manner that he would see the Constitution and the Union sunk into the lowest pit of hell before he would accede to any such propositions. Such expressions came from nearly every republican to whom I spoke on the subject. And amid all the carnage and ruin now before us they still stick to it. I was denounced in 1860, as a sensationist by many, and by many others as a "union saver," and by others as a "union shrieker," and not a few as a fool, for supposing that there would be the slightest danger to the union or the peace of the nation by the success of the republican party. When I thought a child ten years old ought to have seen that the election of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, was the final success of the Garrisonian party who had labored so long and faithfully for the overthrow of the union, and the total disruption of our glorious Constitutional Government, formed by our great fathers. A Government that had proved to be Heaven's best and greatest blessing to all good men and women, yea, it even took the negro, heathen, barbarians, who were even far down below the lowest of the brute creation, and made them happy recipients of civilization, and of grace and glory, by being placed under its glorious covert, in the hands of Christian masters. I published a book of some 400 pages in 1863, on the moral, social, political and natural questions of negro slavery, which will satisfy any candid Christian man or woman in the nation, that God made the African race for servile labor, and that they never have been, nor ever will be of any use on the face of the earth except as slaves, and are a natural curse to society, just in the ratio that they are freed. And that if they should be all freed even by common consent of their masters, it will ruin this whole nation. Yet, as slaves they have proved one of God's greatest natural blessings to this whole nation. Therefore, I will not argue that question in this reply. Get the book and read it, and answer one point in it on that question if you can. The efforts that have been made since it appeared to destroy my character both in and out of the church, for its publication, are sufficient proof that the book is unanswerable, and if men and women go down to ruin through their party prejudices, and hatred to free and equal rights of "God's chosen people," it will not be my fault, for I have at the risk of my liberty and life too, faithfully warned all to flee the political wrath to come. Doubtless, many voted for the above resolutions for bunkum, others voted through latent fear, whilst others voted with a clear design to make the negro the white man's equal, when they know that both the Old and New Testament Scriptures protest by all their teachings against such ruin and degradation to his, God's people, and that everything in the natural appearance, physical nature, natural habits, and his whole history from Abraham to our Lord Jesus Christ, and from our Lord to Abraham, the first intended king of America, proves beyond all successful contradiction that the African negro was made for servile labor. And he who cannot read his history thus, is not now nor ever was fit

to preach the gospel of God our Saviour. I rejoice to learn that many did not vote for such a burlesque on the Christian church, while some made a strong set against them. I have already written far more than I intended, therefore, I am compelled to leave uncopied four resolutions. They are very long, and would lead me beyond my space. In the 8th resolution, they speak of the freed men's aid societies, and compare them to our Saviour, yet they are the very men who have plunged us into this ruin and degradation, and contradict the Scriptures of truth, call Abraham, Moses, St. Paul, and all the holy men of Bible history, "thieves, murderers, and robbers," and Abraham the joker an angel of light. How it is these poor black Africans have so much higher place in the sympathies and affections of those leading Puritanic saints of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the M. E. church, than the 75,000 sewing women of Philadelphia and New York, I am at a loss to know. I saw and talked with one this afternoon, who is making soldiers' drawers at 75 cents per dozen pairs, that is 6¼ cents each, and she had to work day and night, and could only make 30 pairs per week, \$1,87½ in green backs, or a little over half that amount in money, and had to support herself and family out of that small pittance. There are thousands upon thousands of just such cases, but there was no sympathy in the hearts of those negro shriekers who call themselves "ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ," for these poor white women who mostly are pure and spotless Christian ladies. (How can these things be? Is this Christianity?) and not one iota of sympathy for any of the poor starving white women and free negroes who have always been a thousand times worse off than any of the freed negroes ever were before they were seduced to leave their masters by those aid societies. Thousands upon thousands have starved to death since they were freed by those enemies of God and man. But starvation has only just begun. I believe in merey everywhere and under all circumstances. But to delude those poor negroes to such an extent is more than the world ever has been guilty of before. Yet, the so-called "ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ" have not only endorsed this wickedness, but all the wickedness of this most ungodly war, and recommend in solemn resolutions, that this bloody fratricidal war shall go on until a Tom Hyer victory shall be gained, and all the diabolical, wicked, and most ungodly policy of king Abraham shall be fully established on the ruins of this glorious Paradise of God. In the preamble to two other resolutions passed in another batch, they say, "We have reason to fear that some of our members and ministers have shown themselves in favor of slavery, and against the Government of the United States.

What do they mean by this? Is it not that all who are favorable to negro slavery are opposed to the government of the United States? They have doubtless assumed this ground for two reasons: one to establish that *wicked, infidel doctrine* that Abraham is the Government of the United States; and the other, to establish the charge of treason against every man in the nation who holds to the Bible and the Constitutional doctrine of negro slavery, and all who disagree with Abraham (the tyrant), and favor State rights. How painfully saddening this is to all true lovers of the Holy Bible, the Constitution of the United States, and pure Christianity, for such a scheme to be adopted by a set of men, to whom we looked for counsel in divine truth, to attempt to establish a doctrine, the establishment of which is the complete overthrow of a pure, free, and republican form of government; and that General Washington, Jefferson, and all those great, holy patriots who signed the Constitution of the United States, and all their true followers, were and are traitors, and therefore none of those great men, or any of their successors, should have ever been allowed, or should now be allowed to die natural deaths, because treason is the forfeiture of life. You beseech us, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to return to calm reason, and from our evil way." The latter clause of the last resolution of the second batch reads as follows: "We record it as our *solemn* judgment, that no such man ought to be a *religious teacher* in our church; and if there be any such, *we do hereby request* him to withdraw from among us." I feel strongly impressed that those saints have simply made a sad mistake in their authority, and named the wrong master; for in the history of the "Lord Jesus Christ" I can find no such authority. I have read the sermon on the mount, and I can find nothing but love. Our Lord

did say, in the twenty-third chapter and thirty-third verse of Matthew: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" I would refer all advocates of those resolutions, or whoever endorses them, to that whole chapter. Our Lord was so much better a lecturer than I am, and that chapter is so appropriate to all modern abolitionists and all abolition gospel-preachers, that I will leave you all in his hands on that clause, knowing that he will deal justly and love mercy. But all who voted for the last clause of the last resolution, and all who endorsed them, I will refer to the sixth chapter of first Timothy, the first eight verses. I hope all will read and try to understand them; and if you are bothered, call to your aid Dr. Adam Clark—who hated slavery—or some other good theologian, such as Watson, Benson, or Burkitt's Notes; and then read all the passages in both the Old and New Testaments that I have referred to, and the quotations I have made from the Constitution of the United States. If you are not then satisfied of your great error, it will be no use for me to try to bring you "to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus," and also in the Constitutional Government of the United States, all of which condemn your resolutions, just as you will be condemned if you do not speedily repent and turn from your treasonable course against this great and *glorious free* government that God gave to our fathers to be their glorious inheritance and the inheritance of their posterity for ever. But you have forgotten the holy precepts of Almighty God, and have concluded that "*gain is godliness;*" therefore you have turned *your affections over to "mammon,"* and thereby completely *ruined and demoralized the best organized society for the conversion of the world ever established since Apollyon got possession of the apostolic church;* which, like the Government of the United States, could not have been thus established, had not God directed the minds and hearts of those who founded it. For this cause, the devil assailed both from the outside in their very infancy, and has not ceased to assail them since; but made little or no headway, until both church and State placed abolitionists (who were the true emissaries of Apollyon) upon the *sanctum sanctorum* of both church and State. The peace of both has been corrupted from that day. I speak now of all Protestant denominations. They even made the Roman church an object to be watched by all others, while they were working in and poisoning the minds of all other Christian denominations, that they might, under their father the devil, be able to overthrow both church and State, that he might drive Christianity and liberty from this great country, where God had set his "people" upon the throne of civil and religious liberty, that the whole civilized world might see that his "people" were capable of self-government. At one time I had no fear that so many members of the Philadelphia Conference would ever have given themselves over for the fit tools for such wickedness; yet it is even so. John Randolph said, in a speech—" *You can never change this government but for a monarchy.*" Those Methodist preachers who voted for those resolutions know this as well as anybody else. If they did not know human nature well enough to know what Mr. Randolph said would be true, they are not now, never were, nor never will be fit to preach the gospel of God our Saviour. They know, or ought to have known, that God never designed the African race for self-government, and he (the Almighty) fitted that race for servile labour only. It is God's own plan for the government of mankind that this abolitionist party are determined to overthrow, and not the humble opinions of Burkitt, Clark, and other great men. It is against *his* wisdom that they are struggling, and not against the Democratic party only. I confess that the so-called Union League have driven many to want by proscription in all sorts of ways; and they intend to crush all out who oppose them in their *treason* against the Constitutional Government of the United States, and against the sovereignty of all the State Governments. But I, for one, intend to stick to the Bible and constitutional truth, even if I should be crucified with my head downwards, or placed in a bastille. If that should be my lot for standing up for the truth, it shall be for God's own truth, and not for sustaining the tricks of any party. And my conscience shall be at ease there, and I will preach Bible truth and constitutional liberty to all I may see through my prison-bars, or the key-hole of my dungeon, whenever I may hear a voice within speaking distance. I know I am right, and no power shall

stop my tongue from contending for these noble principles for the glory of God's "chosen people," the Caucasian race, until my tongue shall be palsied, and my mind cease to think; for my heart is in this cause.

It is clear to my mind that this "wicked rebellion" was not causeless, (however much we may depreciate and condemn it,) and who produced it, and that every violent and arbitrary means have been adopted to close the mouths of the righteous and truthful, for fear of exposure. Thousands have been locked up for attempting to show the truth, and thousands more have been incarcerated or banished, because those myrionids of ruin knew they had the truth and they (the Abolitionists) feared they would tell it, because they knew they would stand by the truth. That greatest of all great patriots, the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, was arrested and banished for the truth, in tenaciously adhering to the Government adopted under God, by our great revolutionary fathers, and is now an exile in a foreign land, far away from his family and friends. For fear of the truth, the bastille and the gibbet have been established. Had it not been for the extremes of this arbitrary power, the Philadelphia Annual Conference would never have even offered such resolutions. But they thought the bastille and the gibbet would prevent exposure.

The Abolition portion of the Christian ministry know that they have mainly plunged us into this untold misery and ruin, therefore they deprecate the facts in the case more than they do sin. May Heaven have mercy on all such. I published a pamphlet last April, that every man in the nation ought to get and read. In that you will see to what extremes in fraud and corruption those Abolitionists will resort to keep the truth down. In that you will see that the frauds on the ballot-box in this state were at least 137,000 votes, and in Ohio, 160,000, and they sent an army into Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and even little Delaware, to prevent all from voting who sought the truth, because the establishment of the truth would overthrow Abolitionism and save the nation from ruin. Hon. Alexander Henry, Mayor of Philadelphia, said, in a speech he made in the State-house yard, in 1861, that "our trouble is, that the south believe the north opposed to their institutions. That belief is unfounded and mistaken, but it becomes all to see to it, that where public sentiment has been misled, it must be restored to the stand-point occupied twenty years since. *The unwise rhapsodies of the lecture rooms and pulpits on the subject of slavery must be indignantly frowned upon.* It is thus that you may hope to abate the agitation which has shaken the Government to its centre." No man will doubt the sincerity and truthfulness of Mayor Henry. He has always been looked upon by all parties as one of the purest and most intelligent men in this great city. He has been elected Mayor by the Republicans, and holds the chair now by their votes; and he fully sustains me in my opinions on this subject. He knew what the Hon. Horace Greeley said in a lecture, and published it in the great leading Abolition organ, the New York Tribune. See as follows, on the *American flag*:

All hail the flaunting lie,  
The stars grow pale and dim,  
The stripes are bloody scars,  
A lie, *the vaunting hymn.*  
It shields a pirate's deck,  
It binds a man in chains,  
It yokes the captive's neck,  
And wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting lie;—  
Half-mast the starry flag;  
Insult no sunny sky,  
With hell's polluted rag;  
Destroy it, ye who can;  
Deep sink it in the waves,  
It bears a fellow-man,  
To groan with fellow-slaves.

Seal the boasted lie;  
Till freedom lives again,

To rule once more in truth,  
 Among untrammelled men,  
 Roll up the starry sheen,  
 Conceal its bloody stains;  
 For in its folds are seen,  
 The stamp of rustling chains.

The above was extracted from the New York Tribune, that had more kind attention and regards from the White-house than any other journal in the nation, since 1861. Why was it so, when that paper had labored so incessantly for so many years for a dissolution of this glorious union, by driving out the slave States which were the very bones and sinews of the prosperity and glory of this great Republic? If Abraham Lincoln was a union man, have I not given evidence enough to prove to the satisfaction of any sane man, that it was the intention of the Abolition party to destroy and completely break up the entire social and political systems of the republic, as soon as they should elect their choice man to the head of the National Government? Yet the Philadelphia Annual Conference pass two batches of resolutions endorsing and sanctioning all that the party in power has done, and all they intend to do. Even making it a military necessity to exterminate the whole white population of the south that the negro slaves may be placed on an equality with God's own chosen people. I now call upon 300,000 democrats in the State of Pennsylvania, who were all set down as traitors and rebels by solemn resolves, in the late conference, to see to this. Are we to support those men just to insult, slander, and abuse every man and woman in this country because we see proper to stand by the Constitutional Government of the United States? Let us "indignantly frown upon" all who would tear it to pieces for a black race of heathens, and thereby destroy the last hope of civilization, peace and protection to that poor unfortunate race. I call upon the 254,171 democrats who voted at our late election, and the 25,000 (perhaps) whose votes were changed by some mysterious hand from democratic votes to republican or abolition votes, after they were handed in. And I call upon the 75,000 democratic voters who were away in the army, and therefore could not vote at the late election, to look into this matter. And let us take measures to put a stop to any further insults from this source. Let every democrat indignantly frown down all such outrages from whatever church or creed they may come. And if they do not stop it speedily, let every lover of Constitutional freedom withdraw his or her entire *support from all who uphold such doctrines in the pulpit or elsewhere*. They are not the representatives of the prince of love, peace, and glory, but the representatives of the prince of darkness and blood. Every cent we pay to such hypocrites is just so much towards the destruction of our glorious system of Government, that has given us such peace, happiness, and prosperity.

It is time for a reform in the Christian churches. The Christian church could even now save us from political overthrow and ruin by turning away from advocating war and blood, and preach Christ in his glorious character of love and mercy to all mankind, and teach slavery only as Paul did to the Ephesians, Colossians, and follow his instructions to Timothy, Titus, Peter, and Philemon. This would be their legitimate calling, and would bring peace to this distracted country in a very short space of time. Unless they do this, they are a demoralizing curse to both church and State, and will totally break up all social intercourse in the nation, and our venom against each other will be such that we shall be totally unfitted for self-government, and a military despotism will be necessary for our government. Therefore, Democrats, and all lovers of self-government, arouse from your slumber, and let us frown down all such pulpit wretches. St. Paul said, "From such withdraw thyself." We cannot sit under any such teachers without disobedience to St. Paul's precept; therefore, unless we do, we shall sin against both Heaven and earth. I have made up my mind to follow Paul's injunction, even if my name should be cast out as evil. My persecutions cannot be much greater than they have been since 1860. I have written what I have written, and said what I have said, from a pure love for the peace, happiness, and glory of this great country. My object has been, and still is, to protect the rights and liberties of all, espe-

cially the working-men, toiling women and children,—of all whom the party now in power are grinding into the dust, while they are feeding hundreds of thousands of negroes at the public crib, and pressing and driving hundreds of thousands of labouring men and sewing women almost to starvation to support those negroes, all of whom they have stolen from happy homes, where they were most useful, but are now demoralized and ruined. And yet all this is done to make them our equals in both church and State, and also in the social circle. I would not trust the power exclusively in the hands of the rich. I have seen enough to know that they would be hard masters if they should get the ballot-boxes out of the hands of the laboring or working classes, and exclusively deposited in theirs. There are rich men who could be trusted to any and all extremes, but such would be in the minority. Those of them who stand up with the Democratic party now deserve all praise, for the democracy cannot be made to mix with the aristocracy, one being Republican, (not abolitionists,) and the other Monarchical.

*Reasons for My Course Defined, and a few Strictures on the doings of the General Conference now in Session.*

I will now close with a few remarks in reference to the course I have pursued in this great national trouble. I am a Union man, but a Constitutional Union man; because I know that there can be no advantageous Union of the States outside of the Constitution of the United States. My present personal interest prompted me to go in with the Republican (abolition) party; the interest I felt for a liberal support of my family prompted me to take the same course; my great love for the social intercourse with all my old friends, my love for money, and all surrounding circumstances prompted me to support the Administration, and I *did* support it as long as it supported the Constitution of our great sires. But if I had been a traitor, or disunionist, I should *not* have supported it then, but should now, with all of my energies. If I now had the slightest desire to totally destroy the Union of States, I should at once repudiate the present democracy, and join the so-called Republican party with all its deceptions and cheats, and I should have no fear of not realizing my fullest desire on the success of that party in its present policy. If I had given way to selfishness and the love of gain, I should have joined the Republican (abolition) party at the time the Administration commenced the arbitrary arrests; for I saw then, without doubt, that my personal safety and financial success would be in "Abraham's bosom," where nearly all of my rich, influential friends had taken shelter, and a vast majority of my beloved personal Christian friends, whose social circles were more delightful to me than gold. The confidence and sympathies of those were more desirable to me than life and riches. I saw all this, but with that I saw that the party that had just ascended to the Presidency had adopted the policy of those who had sought the overthrow of this free constitutional Christian government for many years, with all its glorious benefits; a policy which I thought would ruin the entire nation, take away the liberties of the "people," and reduce us all to mere *serfs*, with all posterity, who would rise up and curse us for our wickedness and imbecility, by entailing upon them such ruin as I thought I saw the policy of the abolition party would render to them. Therefore I felt that the present wrath of all my friends, with financial ruin and poverty would be more pleasurable to me, than to be with all my old friends in "Abraham's bosom," where all this ruin was being concocted, and would be entailed upon us and all future generations, if successful. Therefore I have chosen my present course with my eyes wide open, and I am not blind to what the consequences of the publication of this may be to my liberty, or even my life. But I love a free Republican constitutional and an *unaltered Anglo-American* government more than I fear all the consequences of the wrath of all his fanatical adherents. It never shall be said, in truth, that I had any hand in bringing these ruins upon this once great and happy nation, either by adhering thereto, or by withholding my opposition to it. No; God forbid. If Abraham should be successful in his policy, we shall be reduced to mere serfs, and have a debt of \$6,000,000,000, the annual interest of which will be \$360,000,000. To support the government will require \$200,000,000. This would be a nice little tax of \$560,

000,000 a year, through all time to come. Remember that it would cost three times as much to support the government hereafter, as it did before the overthrow of the Government of the United States by the abolitionists now in power; for a strong military government would have to be established to govern all the subjects of the throne. Bear in mind what I tell you about these negro slaves, who were the great producers in the nation, who will produce nothing after they are all freed. The products of cotton alone, in 1859, were 2,278,000,000 lbs. that, at twenty cents per pound, would amount to \$455,600,000.00. Get out your census reports, and compare this alone with the entire products of free labor in all the free States of the United States. And now hear me, and remember what I tell you, that one fourth of the above quantity of cotton will never be produced in one year in this country after the slaves are all freed; for freed, not free, negroes will not till the soil, and no other tribes can, in those climates, on the face of the globe; for they are (as laborers) like the beasts of burden, wonderful producers of the good things of the soil, with masters over them; but without masters who can hold absolute control by law over their muscles and minds, they are mere consumers or devourers of the "people's" labor, and the spontaneous growths of the earth. Get the book I published last year, called the *Pictures of Slavery and Freedom*, of about four hundred pages, in which you will learn the nature of the African race, and see the ruin that has been produced to every country on the globe, wherever universal emancipation has been effected to that race, where the labour of the negro was requisite. God has made Torrid Zones in the world, as well as the Frigid, and the natural laws that control them; and whenever man attempts to change those natural laws, he will only sink himself down where God never intended him to be, only through his disobedience to the laws of nature, which are God's own laws. And every attempt we make to raise the African race to an equality with the Anglo-American, we shall (as the Irishman said) only *hoist* ourselves down to the negro level. This has been the experience of the world from Abraham the Patriarch and Prophet, to Abraham the Tyrant. I will say also, that there has been more substantial civilization effected by the negro slavery in this country, with the aid of the foreign slave trade, than by all the *foreign* missionary efforts of the world. This, doubtless, will startle many; but prove the contrary by historical facts, and then I shall be with you.

We have heard very extravagant stories told about the civilization of Africa by Missionary influence. I remember when I thought the time would come when Africa would stand on a level with the most civilized nations on the globe. I argued thus, in my ignorance of historical facts and negro human animal nature. Millions are being deceived in the same way by false reporters. But do the facts sustain that idea, or hope? *They do not.* What has become of the 10,000 negroes who have been colonized there from this country the last thirty-five years? Where are they to-day? Can 10,000 negroes be found on the coast of Africa who have the slightest visible marks of civilization upon them? No; there is no truth in those stories of wonderful civilization among the Africans. I know it is reported that the 10,000 we have colonized there, had civilized 120,000 natives of that most unfortunate race. Do the facts sustain those reports? They do not, unless I have entirely misunderstood the principles of civilization. If I understand the principles of civilization aright, they do not merely mean that men shall cease to kill and eat each other. They do not merely mean that mankind shall learn to read, write, and talk, or even to be religious. But they consist in all that pertains to peace, comfort, improvement, prosperity, happiness, and Christian civilization, none of which can be perpetuated without constant, wise, industrial habits, and a careful, prudent cultivation of the soil, with judicious economy in all things, and to do "unto others as you would have them to do unto you." If this be civilization, all of which are the fruits of Christianity, there certainly is but little in the American and English colonies on the coast of Africa, if there be any truth in verbal history by intelligent seamen who trade with that country, and bring their articles of spontaneous growth to this. It is evident that instead of the 10,000 having civilized and Christianized the 120,000 natives, the latter have completely heathenized and barbarized more than



two-thirds of the negroes who have been colonized on that coast. Many of the emigrants hold out, but their children born there mostly grow up lazy loafers. There is no real genuine cultivation of the soil worth notice on that coast, or husbandry of any kind. Let the face of white men be totally withdrawn from that land, and they will sink to the present state of Dahomey's kingdom in less than twenty years. Jehovah has thus formed them for servile labor, for the good of all mankind, and for his own glory. And all the Abolitionists in the world cannot reform them, and every attempt to raise them up will just so far carry both races back towards the darker ages of the world's history. The Government of the United States as adopted by our fathers in 87 and 89, under the lead of the Spirit of God, proved to be the greatest blessing ever before bestowed upon poor fallen human nature. The devil saw this, and it gave him pain, and he set at work to overthrow it in its infancy, and he knew that without moral culture no free Government could long stand, and that the Christian church was established by God himself for that specific purpose, and unless he could first corrupt that in all its various forms of denominational creeds, he could not overthrow this temporal kingdom over which God reigned through the representatives of the prince of peace and glory, (the Christian ministry.) But the devil was too subtle to attack the Government through the Christian ministry at first, and used other means for a while, until he got the way prepared by removing the foreign slave-trade by an act of Congress. And then he soon introduced his emissaries into the church of God, in the shape of Abolition gospel preachers. He had them ready installed twelve or fifteen years before he allowed them to attack the Government on the slave question; though they were creating all the prejudice against it, they could on other points. And even then they labored incessantly in preparing the soil for the plough-share of ruin. They got all things ready by the year 1840, and then commenced a direct attack upon the Government by trying to get its reins into their sacrilegious hands. From that time a large number of the professed Christian ministers, let off broadside after broadside against the Constitution of the United States, because (as they alleged) it sanctioned negro slavery. And now with an open Bible which as clearly sets forth that slavery was originated, endorsed, and sanctioned by the Almighty himself, as it sets forth that Jesus Christ was God incarnate. Yet they make negro slavery a plea against the Constitution, and the union of the several States. And the Philadelphia Conference passed the ten solemn resolutions as a motive power to drive the plough-share of ruin (not only) through this glorious Government, but also the church of God on earth. In these resolutions they declare that they are "Ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ." Oh, what impudence, right in the face of Divine truth; and they even charged the holy God with producing this most ungodly war, to destroy his own handy work, in order to justify their own wickedness. And they charged every man with treason and rebellion who desires constitutional peace throughout the land, or justifies negro slavery, when they know that both the Bible and the Constitution of the United States uphold it. If they do not, they ought to be expelled from the ministry for ignorance, for no such are fit to preach the gospel or sow its seed. We are told in the book of God, "That whatever we sow, of that shall we reap." If we sow peace, love and union, we shall reap the same. And if we sow *war, desolation, malice and vengeance, we shall reap the same, as sure as God lives.*

There is a strong move on foot now, to blend church and state. Inducements are held out at the King's palace to the ministry. May Heaven avert such a disastrous ruin and desolation.

#### *The General Conference of the M. E. Church.*

Since writing the above, the General Conference of our church has convened in this city. This Conference is the supreme power of the M. E. Church. They have the right to change or amend the rules and regulations of said church, by consent of a majority of the Annual Conferences; and from their course since their present Convention, any one would suppose they had power over not only this church, but over the sovereign States of the Union, and that the moral Government of God is in their hands. Literally that "whatsoever they should bind on earth should be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they

should loose on earth, should be loosed in heaven." Their assumptions are such as to impress the mind of every thinking man that they had all power given unto them in heaven, earth, and hell; and that they were charged to *tinker* as they pleased the moral law, or revelation of Almighty God, as well as the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of the Sovereign States. They have also appointed a committee on the state of the country, to investigate the legal transactions of the Sovereign States, and of their united powers at Washington. They have, like the Philadelphia Annual Conference, become so wild and fanatical on the subject of freedom and equality of the negro race, that they have concluded they are the powers "that be," of this whole nation, therefore they dash into whatever looks like Christianity or civilization among men, as though the church had formerly mistaken the impudence and malignity of old Apollyon, for the glorious principles of peace, love, harmony, tranquility, and "Union," as taught by the Son of God. They certainly teach as our Lord and his holy apostles never taught. They have dashed rough-shod over almost every principle of Christianity and civilization. They have not only insulted and denounced every slave owner of the present day as being guilty of the greatest abominations known in the catalogue of crimes; but they have insulted heaven, and every authorized medium between heaven and earth from Noah down through all the Patriarchal history of the Old Testament, and snatched the sceptre from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and charged his holy apostles with crimes more malignant than the devil himself could be guilty of, or as bad as he would have man to be for the safety of his own reign in this world. I think that every candid man will see and acknowledge that the "Prince of darkness" could not have presumed more, when he led our Lord up into the Mount to tempt him, or placed him on the "pinnacle of the temple, and then told him to dash himself down;" than the majority of the General Conference now in session have, since they convened. They have even had the presumption to pass resolutions to amalgamate the pure white Anglo-Americans with the African negroes in all church-worship and sittings. If this General Conference would only adjourn to Kingston, Jamaica, and attend worship there, and then visit the interior of that Island, and spend a few weeks among the amalgamated citizens, and attend their places of worship, where amalgamation and equality were perfected by law some twenty-five years ago, we should have no more of amalgamation and equality between those distinct races, from the genuine Christian portion of that Convention. If amalgamation is all, the majority of this Puritanic assembly seem to long for, it would not be quite so bad, but they have also endorsed all the abominations of this fratricidal war. They have appointed a committee to hold up the hands of the tyrant-joker at Washington, and to encourage him in all the untold ruin and disgrace that he has brought upon this great heaven-born National Government, planned by God himself, suited to every nook, corner, plain, and climate of the entire country. They seem to glory in the ruin, as far as it has gone, and exult in the prospect of a complete overthrow of the liberties of the "*People*;" because they say negro slavery is to be no more, therefore, all will be well. If this Convention be made up of Christian ministers, and guided by the Spirit that was in our Lord, I have altogether mistaken the spirit of Christianity. And the great change that was wrought upon my heart thirty-eight years ago, by a speck of faith in the Son of God, which brought about an entire change in all of my habits from that day to the present hour, which change caused me not only to love God supremely, but to love my enemies, and to do good to all mankind: was, and is a fatal mistake, and was produced by some sort of a spirit unknown to the Christian Bible. But, if I was not mistaken in that spirit and faith that made such a radical change in my heart, and gave me such profound love and reverence for the Christian ministry; it is high time that all true lovers of a pure Christianity and a free Government should strike for a reformed church. I certainly am in favor of a reformed Methodist Episcopal Church, in which there shall be a Bishop elected for each Annual Conference, whose term of service shall be four to eight years only, unless re-elected for another term, and whose duty it shall be to travel throughout his Conference as often each year as is in his power, and meet the preachers of his diocese at a given time and place each year as they now meet, and make

the appointments for the subsequent year, to which appointment the same minister may be sent four years in succession if desired by the people, and convenient for the Bishop. In which reformed M. E. Church, it shall be a misdemeanor to introduce any political questions whatever, except as St. Paul did to all parties, in the first five verses of vi. chap. of 1st Timothy. The General Conference to meet once in four years, where the Bishops shall be elected — but no Abolitionist ever to be admitted to the pulpit of said church.

One other point in the preamble to said resolutions, that I have omitted to speak about, to show how little the Philadelphia Annual Conference respected the truth, is found in the latter clause of the first preamble, as follows: "Government framed by the wisdom and sacrifice of our fathers, and founded upon the corner stone of the *freedom and equality of all men.*" I will here make one or two quotations from the Constitution of the United States, which ought to be sufficient for all thinking, candid, Christian men and women, without comment from me. See Constitution as follows: the latter clause of Article V. :

"Provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article."

Article I., section 9, first clause :

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808."

Third clause of section 2d, Article IV. :

"No person held to service or labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

If in the "*wisdom and sacrifice of our fathers*" they formed a "government founded upon the corner stone of freedom and equality of all men;" why did they put the above clauses in the Constitution prohibiting "the congress" from interfering with the African slave trade for twenty years, by any of the states that saw proper to import Africans as chattel property? I will tell you why. The New England delegates said to that patriotic assembly, that if they cut off the foreign slave trade abruptly, it would ruin the New England States, because they had a vast amount of capital invested in that trade, and that unless they could have time allowed them to get their capital out in safety, they could not accept the Constitution of the United States, and therefore would be compelled to remain outside. Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina determined that the foreign slave trade should be stopped by the adoption of the Constitution for a United States. Luther Martin of Maryland, a leading opponent of the slave trade, took strong grounds against its continuance one day after the adoption of the Constitution. When New England saw that the foreign slave trade would be abruptly cut off by the adoption of the Constitution, they proposed to the three above southern slave states, that if they would allow the foreign slave trade to go on for twenty years longer, they would agree that three-fifths of all the African slaves held by them should be counted in their enumeration for congressmen. This took with Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and they agreed that the time should be extended twenty years to enable New England to get her money out of that trade without loss. See again, third section of Article IV., That no state should at any time pass any law, or make any regulation, that should interfere in any way with the right of a master to go into any state in the United States and arrest his negro slave that might run away to that state. This right stands under the Constitution until this day. If the corner stone of the Government was the "*freedom and equality of all men,*" how came these clauses to be placed in the Constitution by the "*wisdom and sacrifice of our fathers?*" Methodist preachers (and all others) look at this and study it well before you vote on any more such resolutions. For it is as wrong to vote for what you do not know to be true, as it is to vote for what you know to be false. I know some contend that the Constitution does not say that it was negroes, who were to be imported as chattels. Suppose they were not

negroes, and were white men, does that alter the question? Are negroes any better than white men? Can you find a candid, respectable man in the United States who has read the Constitution and the history of slavery that will say to-day that it was not the African negroes, and negro slaves, who were to be imported as chattel property? For the rescue of whom, from their importers or purchasers could there any law be passed by any other state, or by the United States, that could destroy the master's title to the earnings of all such persons for life? Then was the "Government" of the United States "*founded upon the corner stone of freedom and equality of all men?*" Could the true representatives of the Prince of truth, righteousness, and peace have solemnly passed such declarations and published them to an intelligent nation? May Heaven awaken such pretenders, and bring them to their senses! But when I look upon the ruin to this entire nation by you abolition ministers, I wonder how pardons are to be obtained now for sins that will be committed 500 years hence, for you have made, and put in motion, machinery that may be manufacturing wickedness and cruelties hundreds of years hence. It is like Paine's "Age of Reason," which will work evil to the end of time; not only to the "people" of this nation, but to the poor unfortunate African race in this country. Yea, you have brought a *withering curse* upon the whole civilized world. The poor of England and France are even now starving and dying by the effects of the machinery that could never have been made and put in motion had you faithfully adhered to your legitimate calling, to which your Lord had called you. You have placed the entire Christian church in an antagonistic attitude to this Government; that must have been formed under the fostering care of the Son of God, or it never could have produced such union, peace, happiness, prosperity, and Christian brotherhood; and abolitionism must be of the devil, or it would not have so suddenly ruined both church and state, after they threw their doors open, and invited them to come in and take part in their deliberations, the peace and happiness of both were disturbed, and they (the abolitionists) proved to be the seeds of ruin to all who embrace their doctrines. And they soon demoralized and blunted the moral sensibilities of a majority of both church and state to such an extent, that to them and their adherents, or converts, murder and plunder of the southern "people" as well as to rob our own Government, would seem to be the greatest virtues known to mankind.

I met a gentleman the other day who seemed to be glad to see me. He spoke of Gen. Grant's success with the greatest confidence. He said there need not be a doubt on the mind of any loyal man about his success; that he would be in possession of the Confederate Capital in less than a week. He said we were now on the very verge of perpetual peace, union, and prosperity. I asked him why he thought so? He said we should soon be clear of slavery which had produced this war, but he said he was opposed to war, but this war would be the greatest blessing to this nation ever before bestowed upon any people. Although he was opposed to killing men and women, still, rather than there should be one slave left in bonds, let every white man, woman, and child, in all the slave states be destroyed. He was a professing Christian man, I regret to say, and made the above declarations without the slightest regrets, and with a Christian placidness that betokened the greatest satisfaction or fruition possible, under any circumstances. I always had looked upon that man as one of the best of Christian gentlemen. His calm countenance and tone of voice were lamb-like; even when he thus expressed himself in favor of such a monstrosity. But, "by their fruits ye shall know them." There was no room to doubt that this gentleman had been a true convert to Christianity, but by some Satanic influence he had been led to the threshold of abolitionism, which is infidelity, and inhumanity in disguise; and he stood as it were with one foot shod with true Christianity, and the other with the very essence of old Apollon. We know many such men, and women also, who seem fruitive of such sentiments. Now, who has sown such seed in the Christian church? How is it that we find so many thousands of such leading the hosts of professing Christians of all the Protestant denominations? Why is it, that when they make a convert, they make him "two-fold more the child of hell than he was before?" What! Christian men and women to clamor for, and exult over

the prospect of the slaughter of 7,000,000 of their own race and color,—yea, their blood kin, and Christian brethren,—simply because they refuse to give up their liberties and rights to their own legal property, and all that is near and dear to them, to a set of intruders, invaders, and Abolition tyrants; who have no Constitutional or moral right; not even to dictate to them, much less to invade, rob, and murder them?

I will give another case to illustrate the effects of Abolitionism upon the Christian heart, with some collateral testimony, that what I tell you is correct. I left a church in this city for good causes, the particulars of which I would love to publish, but my limits forbid it. I withdrew in the regular way, by taking my certificate of membership. Abolitionism was the cause. I went to hear a young man stationed at another M. E. church, and I soon became much attached to, and sought an introduction with him, which took place in front of his pulpit after preaching. I was pleased with his manners. He solicited my certificate, which I gave him the next Sunday morning, and became a member of his church. At the first interview, he told me that he was a Democrat in his politics, and therefore I would never hear any partisan politics in the pulpit from him. I went with my wife regularly to hear him, and was edified, and besought my friends to go and hear him also. But, after some weeks he began to pray a little for the success of our arms, and not to Jehovah God, to bless all righteous means to bring peace to our afflicted country, as he had done formerly. The next Annual Conference stationed him at Hestonville. I published a book called, "Pictures of Slavery and Freedom," which came out in June 1863. I met him one day in the city. He said he would like to have one of my books on Slavery, and gave me his Post-office. I did not send the book by mail, but visited his village in the following September on other business, and took him the book. To my great surprise I found him one of the most heartless destructionists I had ever met. He told me that he both prayed and preached war; that he prayed God to strengthen the arm of the President to carry on this war until every traitor (Democrat of course) was swept from the country, north, south, east and west. That he approved of all the arbitrary arrests, and hoped that Abraham Lincoln would arrest and lock up all who spoke against his policy, for all such were traitors. He desired however to read my book. I told him that if he would pledge himself to read it through and then bring it into the city and leave it at a certain store, I would lend it to him. He agreed to the proposition, and I left the book, and told him to take his own time and gather the facts it contained, and if I had misstated anything to point it out to me in writing. The Rev. Gentleman promised me positively to do so. I handed him the book, and bid him good-bye. The book was left the next morning at the book-store as agreed to, except the reading, with the following note folded and put under the cover of the book without seal, and it laid there about eight days before I got it, for I had no expectation that it would have been brought in so soon. I will italicise some words in the note that I wish noticed specially.

HESTONVILLE, *September, 1863.*

BROTHER ROBINSON:—

Common courtesy demands that I should thank you for the loan of your book. I opened and attempted to read it, but felt that it was a profitless waste of time. Its style is so barbarous, its egotism so offensive, its perversion of facts so apparent, and its ignorance of history so glaring, that I am surprised you ever ventured to publish such a monument of folly. Hoping that you will for ever dismiss from your mind the allusion that I am a disciple of your school, I remain yours truly,

THEODORE STEVENS.

This is the Rev. Theodore Stevens, a member of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of M. E. Church. The reader will please take particular notice of the words in his letter I have italicised. He declares that he did not read any portion of the book, yet he took the liberty of making those insulting charges against its author. I think comment would be an insult to all intelligent readers, for the letter tells its own story. But I am somewhat puzzled to define the last clause of said letter. "Hoping that you will for ever dismiss from your mind the allusion that I am a disciple of your school." The only "allusions" I made in the debate we had when I loaned him the book, that I recollect, were, that I thought he was a minister of the gospel in our church,

and that I also thought he was a democrat. One or both of these schools he wished "dismissed from my mind." The allusion that he was a disciple of your (my) school was offensive to him. I hope Brother Stevens will tell us if it was either, and if it was, which; or if it was both, to let us know, for it is a very important matter to us all. You told me, sir, that you were a democrat, and that you could be nothing else; that your father lived on the eastern shore of Maryland, and was a democrat, and that you had thus been educated in that school. Therefore if that is the school you allude to, it was your own fault that such a fatal blunder was made by me.

This conversation took place in Green Street Church on the Sunday night before I handed you my certificate of membership, if I recollect correctly; and now you pray God to enable the president to sweep from the country every democrat. For you told me that you prayed daily and hourly, that this war might go on until every traitor was swept from American soil. And in answer to a question of mine; whom you called and looked upon as traitors, you replied, every man and woman who spoke against the war policy of Mr. Lincoln ought to be exterminated, and that you prayed God to sweep the country of all such. You will doubtless remember my reply, that was, that I had been a member of the church from about fifteen years before you were born into the world, and therefore had the greater experience.

I will make another quotation from Helper's *Impending Crisis*. The former one will be found on the 155th and 156th pages. I quote now from the 186th and 187th pages, as follows:—

"To the summons of the righteous monitor within, we shall endeavor to prove faithful; no opportunity for inflicting a mortal wound in the side of slavery shall be permitted to pass us unimproved. Thus, terror-engenderers of the south, *have we fully and frankly defined our position; we have no modifications to propose, no compromises to offer, nothing to retract.* Frown, Sirs, fret, prepare your weapons, threat, strike, shoot, stab, bring on civil war, dissolve the union, nay, annihilate the solar system if you will—do all this, more, less, better, worse, anything—do what you will, Sirs, you can neither foil nor intimidate us; *our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven; we have determined to abolish slavery, and so help us God, abolish it we will! Take this to bed with you to-night, Sirs, and think about it, dream over it, and let us know how you feel to-morrow morning.*"

I have italicised the words I wish especially noticed, but read the whole quotation with calm deliberation. Don't say it was written by a southern man, and therefore it does not change the nature of the case. No southern man ever wrote it. I know one "Hinton Rowan Helper" gave his name to it and received a foreign important mission for it. It chimed in too nicely with the John Brown raid, as I said, to the previous quotation. There cannot be a doubt but that it was written by the same parties who surrounded a table at an eating-house in Boston, Massachusetts, in July or August 1859, with old John Brown at their head. The whole company consisted of leading New England politicians who now take the lead in both houses of Congress and cabinet, who were overheard by an Irish gentleman, talking about Harper's Ferry and arsenal, and the number of arms therein, a farm in Maryland, and many other expressions that were not understood by the gentleman at the time; but on the report of the seizing of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry in the following October, the whole conversation was fully explained and defined. Read over what I have said before on this point. There never was published a more wicked, slanderous, devilish, insulting work than this said Helper's book. If the devil had penned it, it could not have been any worse than this Yankee production. It abounds throughout in the most extravagant, bitter hatred, vindictives, and tirades of abuse. Get the book and read it, and you will wonder how such malice and falsehoods could have been written down on paper. And yet sixty-eight Republican members of the United States Congress endorsed it with their own signatures in the winter of 1859-60.

Now, while you read the quotations I have made from that book, remember the endorsers are all at the head of the Government of the United States, and this fratricidal war. Then, was what is called the Southern rebellion "causeless;" and did the Son of God turn devil to induce the Southern states to resist the constant infringements by Abolitionists on their Constitutional rights, in order that all the abominable atrocities of this war might be perpetrated? this

is clearly the inference from the Philadelphia Conference resolutions, and from many prayers and sermons before and since the passage of said resolutions, and also some of the resolutions and speeches of the late General Conference. One of the so-called "Ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ," prayed powerfully in one of our city churches for God to kill all copper-heads and pitch them headlong into hell. Another at Phoenixville, Chester county, on Sunday night, the 19th of June, prayed about in same style, and then in his sermon that followed, he said he wanted to see every copper-head (democrat of course) hung up by the neck, and let hang until they rotted, and he hoped that that town would be cleansed of them soon, and recommended it to begin at the Mansion House at the lower end of the town, and hang all in the Borough. The patriotic declaration went through the congregation like electricity, and a great shout was produced among the loyalists of that church. And one great patriot (a member) sprang to his feet and proposed to begin at once on the spot and hang all in the church first to the chandelier, and then rush to the streets and lanes of that Borough, and hang all the rest to the sign-post or other suitable places, and pledged the Son of God to assist them in their glorious work of exterminating all the copper-heads, (democrats of course) and then a glorious peace would ensue. The Rev. Mr. P., has long labored for such a result, and his heart may be made satisfied before long if he perseveres in the intentions of the Philadelphia Conference resolutions. How the copper-heads must have trembled. The celebrated Parson Brownlow, on the same Sabbath afternoon addressed a meeting in the 12th street church of this city, in the presence of Bishop Simpson, in which he recommended "all the negroes be armed, and the lions and tigers of South America, the alligators of Florida, and all the devils in hell to be fully armed, and all" (those monsters) "turned loose in the Southern States against the whole white population, and there kept until every white man, woman, and child were destroyed and sent to hell." A shout rent the church, and loud praises went up to God for such a great patriotic hero. These are only some of the results of the course of this and other Conferences. Am I wrong in believing that all such are of the devil, that they are his chosen people to destroy the true Christian church, and the glorious Government of the United States that was won by our great Sires of 1776, and by them adopted in 1787, that has given the whole nation such a glorious union, peace, harmony, tranquility, and prosperity for seventy years? I appeal to all good Christians of all the different Christian churches for the truth of what I say on this subject. And I call upon all the opposition to the overthrow of this Great Constitutional Government, whether Democrats or Whigs, to unite in solid phalanx against such atrocities by these inhuman pretenders of Christianity. Let us sustain the *true ones*; for there are many true men among them; and "frown down" the wicked infidel Abolition gospel-preachers. By their fruits they are known. St. Paul commanded us to "withdraw from all such." Then shall we support and honor them with our presence? I say no, for our Lord said of all such, "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" Therefore shall we not sin against both heaven and earth by subscribing to and supporting any such men, or encouraging them with our presence at their preaching? Let us rather hold up the hands of the true ones, and sustain them to the extent of our ability in every Christian form. I am for peace to this whole nation, and *then union by Christian means, and in no other way.*

But are we to have peace, and if so, on what terms? It seems to me, that any man with the slightest perception ought to see what kind of peace we shall have, if the States in rebellion should be brought into the Union as the Philadelphia Annual Conference and the late General Conference have resolved upon. That is, by a complete subjugation by the sword, and a complete social and political equality of the white and negro races in this whole country. Any man or woman who has studied human nature to any extent will readily foresee what kind of a peace and union it would be. A union by force of arms would end all freedom to the American people. Such a union would be the worst kind of a despotism. If any State should be forced into the Union, and compelled to stay in after having been forced in by the sword, that State would not be a free State, but a subject to a tyrant. Or if any State in the Union

should be compelled to remain in by the force of arms, the freedom of that State ends the very moment the right of staying in or going out at pleasure should be assumed by the rest of the States. And, if there had been a power when we were a perfect Union, that could have issued an edict that would have been binding; that every State in the Union should have been compelled to remain in the Union for 500 years, every State in it would have become dissatisfied in less than one year, and civil war would have been the result in less than five years, and no peace could have been had, only such as is had under despotic Governments. This is human nature, and all the Abrahams and General, and Annual Conferences in the world cannot change it. And those who attempt it, contend with the Eternal God, and as sure as God lives they shall be made to lick the dust. Therefore, a peace on any such terms, will be a most grinding, humiliating, and terrible peace. Yea, it will be a peace such as they have in Turkey and Arabia. It will be a peace such as we have had for the last three years in the free States. Men and women will be arrested and banished into strange countries, penniless; or will be cast into political Bastiles, or dungeons, without a hearing, or ever knowing what for. May Heaven save us from such a peace and union. But let us have a peace and union founded upon the eternal principles set forth by the Son of God, and contended for by his apostles, and all true followers and seekers after a Christian peace. On such principles was the Government of the United States founded. Therefore our peace flowed as rivers, and the Union of States was voluntary, therefore free and confident. And had their lawful and just rights not been interfered with, and they been threatened to be whipped in if they attempted to go out, no State would ever have had a desire, or thought of leaving the Union. Heaven itself would be a hell, were men and women forced to go there, under an arbitrary law, sealing their fate, to remain there throughout eternity; therefore God never decreed that any man should go there and remain against his own will. If he had so decreed, none of his chosen people would ever have followed him in pleasure, but in malice and hatred. God made white men in his own image, and intended them for Self-Government, and therefore he gave them a will of their own, and the principles and capability to take charge of this world, to manage, rule, and cultivate it, until they should usher in the great millennium foretold in the Bible, or the time when "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion, and the fatting together; and a little child shall lead them." Isa. xi. 6. This was given by the prophet to denote what was to be the glory of man in this world through the preaching of the gospel, and a faithful obedience to the moral law. He gave us the Christian Bible and ministry for our security that the great millennium should first appear in this our country; but alas, a majority of these safeguards (the ministry) have preferred the example of "Judas" and betrayed their Lord and master; and unless they speedily repent, turn, and forsake their evil way, our hope of millennial glory has gone out, never to return to this land, as a starting place for a pure free Christian Government. God has made us free to choose and make our own laws and regulations for our own Government, and he will aid and guide us in safety as long as we respect the only infallible law ever written in this world (the Bible); all human laws are fallible, and therefore, unless the blessing of God shall rest upon us, we can never have a pleasant peace, and none but such a peace and union as they have had in Mexico from the time they freed their negroes, and placed them on a perfect political, civil, and social equality. No free Constitutional Government has ever yet existed with peace, harmony, and union, where the negro race had anything to do with it, except as menial laborers, nor never will, for God has thus made them to serve those of whom he said, "For unto me the children of Israel are servants; whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." Lev. xxv. 59. Please read this chapter from the 38th to the 55th without prejudice or favor. Don't let your prejudices destroy you, both soul and body: and with you the best Government ever formed since the one formed in Eden, which was formed by God's own wisdom and economy, and where perhaps the incumbents had servants to do the menial labor, which servants were used as instruments by old Apollyon to overthrow that glorious



Government formed by eternal wisdom; the overthrow of which brought the Son of God into our world to save us from the ruins of a broken law; and to do which he suffered martyrdom upon the cross. Those servants, or the one that was used by the devil for the overthrow of our race was called a serpent, because of his serpentine act in beguiling Eve to break the law. Read Adam Clark's opinion of the serpent that overpowered Eve in argument, and you will have a slight key to my views of the character of that serpent. To bring us as near back to our primitive and heavenly state, as possible in our fallen state, God has caused a race of human beings to spring up in the world, (growing out of the disrespect of Ham to his old father Noah, over 4200 years ago, while in an *accidentally* unfortunate condition, (see 21st to 27th ix. Gen.) to do the menial labor for his chosen people. And now we are likely to be overthrown in almost the same way, and may be thrown back another 6000 years. Eve was beguiled by placing herself on an equality to a servant God had given her, and we are doing far worse than Eve did, for she merely listened to the arguments of one far beneath her; but our Government rulers are slaughtering, and having slaughtered hundreds of thousands upon hundreds of thousands of God's chosen people, to place us on a perfect political, civil, social, and matrimonial equality with the African negroes. Though God had formed them so abhorrent to nearly all of our senses, that it was thought by all good men in this country when the Constitution was adopted, that no respectable set of men or women would ever be found in this chosen land, for the re-establishment of God's temporal kingdom in this sin-stricken world, who would ever sink so low as to advocate such wickedness. God will never work out his plans for our restoration to purity, by arbitrary power; such a rule over his people has no favor in his heart; for he has not indicated such a rule any where in his written or revealed law, for the moral culture of the human race; but he placed this new paradise in our hands to be managed by us, his chosen people, the pure Anglo-American race. No people who have the slightest stain of African blood in their veins will ever be made managers of a free Government. If this be not true, how is it that the African race in their native Africa have been sinking lower and lower for the last 4000 years? And why are they now so far down below any of the animal tribes of the forest? Are there any among the animal creation that kill and eat their own species? If there are, then there is an animal as low down in the scale of civilization and morality as the native African race. Look at our condition now, that we have been brought down to by our attempts to raise that race in this country to be the white man's equal! The Eternal God has withdrawn his guiding blessings, and left us to ourselves, and if we succeed in the wicked undertaking of freeing all the negroes, and taking them to our bosom and beds, our Constitutional lamp of freedom will go out, to be kindled no more, perhaps for ever. Where is there a nation or tribe on the globe who have a mixture of African blood in their veins, who make any encouraging show for civilization, pure Christianity and Self-Government? There is no such to be found. And on the other hand, where is there to be found a pure white race on the face of the globe, who are not to a greater or lesser extent civilized and Christianized, and who are not capable of, and do maintain a Government of some kind? If all men are created equal, why are those great differences so palpable all around the globe? Answer these questions by historical facts, ye Abolition gospel preachers, before you take any more steps for negro equality. For you have already destroyed the glory not only of the Christian church, but also of this great nation, whose great general head was the Son of God. God is against all despotic Governments over his people. Man glorifies God by governing himself, as the people of the United States did for seventy-five years; or until the Abolitionists got the reins of the general Government into their hands: From that day "Ichabod" was written upon the Capitol gates of this nation, and one of the first steps taken by the infidel crew was to elect an infidel Abolition gospel preacher, over a true preacher of Christ, as Chaplain to Congress. Yet the Philadelphia Annual Conference, and General Conference of the M. E. church in the United States, endorsed it with all the other abominations of the party now in power. May Heaven save us from the influences of Abolition gospel preachers.

They say slavery made this war, and must be blotted out. I have already



proven that slavery did not make the war, but was made the pretext to get up a war against the slave States for plunder and robbery, and to destroy the freedom of the Government. They say slavery is a sin against heaven and earth. They find one single passage in the whole Scriptural code to sustain the assertion, and that is the passage in Matthew, "Do unto others as you would have them to do unto you." This passage is just as binding on the slave to do his duty to his master, as it is on the master to treat his slaves as exhorted to do by St. Paul, in so many letters to brother apostles, and recorded in the New Testament Scriptures for our instruction on that great subject. It also binds the Abolitionists to treat the masters as they would be treated. Let them give us some infallible rule to sustain their assertion, that no one man has a right to own another; and I for one will be content; but they give us no authority to sustain their declaration, but call us traitors and copper-heads for dissenting from them. Abolition gospel preachers, can you name any infallible moral law to sustain your blood-thirsty opinions? Doubtless you will agree that the Bible is the only moral rule and guide to the Christian's conscience. Now, if you have found any other safe guide you are bound to give it to the public, as preachers of righteousness. Jesus Christ, whom you profess to represent, left no other guide for our faith and conscience, nor did he name any other. But he commanded us to "search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." Therefore the Scriptures are infallible, with all their precepts and teachings. But your opinions as well as mine are fallible, and all the books written subsequently are just as fallible as you and I are. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the Misses Grimkes, Mrs. Childs, Dred, the Impending Crisis, by Helper, Rev. H. W. Beecher, Wendell Phillips, or Abraham Lincoln, and all of his advisers and lovers are alike fallible. And therefore all of their opinions on any moral question must be judged by the one and only infallible guide, the Holy Bible. Now show me one single passage in the book of God from which even an inference can be gathered by any fair, honest construction or application to negro slavery, and I for one will yield the whole question, when decided in your favor by any competent commentators. I would allow you to choose Dr. Adam Clark for your arbiter, though he did say that the punishments of hell were inadequate to the crime of slavery. Yet I will accept him, or Burkitt, both of whom were English commentators, or any other competent divine, who wrote in view of the judgment day of God. Turn to the passages I have referred to, a few pages back in this reply, and read them in view of meeting me at the eternal judgment bar, remembering that the Bible is infallible, and the only infallible moral instructor. If you are a professed infidel, and deny the infallibility of the Bible, then I will meet you on the nature of the African race wherever they are found on the face of the globe. I will meet you on every historical fact concerning their fitness for freedom and Self-government. I will go with you through Mexico, Central America, New Granada, Venezuela, Equador, German, French, and British Guiana, and all the West India Islands, and if I don't prove to you that the negroes in nineteen cases out of every twenty have fallen far into heathenism by freedom, and are a thousand times worse off than they were before freedom, I will yield the whole question, and record my name against slavery. If I do not also prove that there are now over 2,500,000 square miles of the very best land in the world in the above named territories, thrown out and have become a wilderness, in consequence of the universal freedom and equality of the negro race with the white race, and that the freed negro will not till the ground for love nor money, I will yield all my opinions on this part of the question of the war policy. And if you will show me any native Africans who have ever emigrated from their native land to try to better their condition, and have gone to work and cleared the soil and built themselves up comfortable houses; or any number of American free or freed negroes (pure black negroes) who have emigrated West, East, North, or South, by their own choice and will, and gone to work and built themselves up comfortable homes, and in any degree become useful in the improvements of the country or to society, or any other improvement to either church or state, I will on such a showing agree that all men are created free and equal. Throw away your apologies and excuses for their degradation, and show us some evidence of the fitness of the negroes for freedom and equality with us, and at the next annual Conference, name them by a solemn resolve, and if you find historical facts to fully sustain them, I will be for freedom. I will give one more witness to prove that this abominable war was got up by the people of the free States. The Hon. Edward Everett, of Mass. was written to by a gentleman of this city in 1861, to address a Constitutional Union meeting. He answered, but declined, and gave his reasons as follows:—"There is no use of addressing any more meetings for the Union, unless the free States will repeal all their unconstitutional personal liberty bills." You will certainly respect this witness, for he very soon after writing this letter, took shelter in Abraham's bosom, and is now safely lodged there with all the shodatics, &c., &c., &c. David said, "I am for peace, but I when I speak they are for war." It is even now possible for the Christian church to save this great nation alive with all its resources of peace, pleasure, and prosperity, if the professed Christian ministry will turn to their only hope of salvation, and the political salvation of this once happy and peaceful nation, and cast themselves entirely upon the mercy and will of him who said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Now Abolition gospel-preachers, and all who name the name of the Son of God, will you not for Christ's sake do this, that this great nation may live again? Methodist ministers take the lead in so glorious a work, that heaven and earth may again kiss each other.