

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

BENJAMIN S. JONES, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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## The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

### BROWNSON ON SLAVERY AND THE CRISIS.

[We extract from BROWNSON'S Quarterly for April, the following interesting expressions of opinions on questions now greatly debated. They occur in the critical notice of a work on negroes and negro slavery. The first an inferior race—the latter, its normal condition, by J. A. VAN EVRIN, M. D.]

The design of this book is to prove that negroes are a distinct and inferior race, and a race designed by the Creator to be slaves of the white race. Whether the author regards them as human or as purely animal, as created with souls and redeemed by our Lord or not, we are unable to say. If they are men they are of the same race, genus, or species as the whites; if they are not men their nature was not assumed by the Word in the womb of the Virgin, and they have no direct part or lot in the Redemption, and it would be as absurd to preach the Gospel to them as to an ox or a horse, a monkey or an orang-outang. Difficulties of this sort, however, weigh not with Dr. Evrin, who seems destitute of the slightest belief in Christianity.

The theory, however, of the author is the only one on which he can justify negro slavery, and we are not surprised that it should find advocates among the scoundrels who wish to make it appear that slavery is a divine institution. It is no part of our present purpose to refute the theory, or to examine the alleged scientific facts which go to prove it. These facts, so far as facts they are, admit of a different explanation, and in no sense warrant the author's induction. The ancients defined man to be a rational animal, and reason taken in the sense of intellect and will, or the faculty of apprehending and acting in reference to moral truth or moral obligation, is, to speak essentially, the differentia or characteristic of man. This capacity the negroes have, and therefore they are men, with human reason and human affections. So much is certain against all *semitists* or half-bred notions who babble nonsense about their being of an inferior race. They are human, and therefore of the same genus and species with white men, whether we are able to account for their variations from white men or not. Actually inferior as a class to the whites they certainly are, but he must know more of history than we do, who can assert that they always were or always will be inferior. We have known some white men far inferior to some black men we have also known. They are capable of intelligence, of intellectual and moral improvement, and Senator Mallory gravely informed us that the planters took care to prevent their slaves from learning to read lest they should become intelligent, for if they should become intelligent the rights to hold them in slavery would lapse. Who can say what they would become if proper measures were taken to elevate them, by intellectual, moral, and religious discipline to prepare them for freedom?

We know just now, as an offset to those who denounce slavery as *malum in se*, and in no case excusable, it is fashionable to maintain that slavery is a divine institution, and attempts to prove that negroes are not human. We defend neither extreme. Religion disapproves of slavery, and throws all her influence on the side of its gradual and peaceful abolition, but it does not absolutely prohibit it in all cases and in all circumstances. It never regards it as the normal condition of any portion of the human race, and it never will be so by any one who has a Christian conscience. The South have no doubt a right to hold their slaves, but at the same time they are bound in conscience to treat them with humanity, to respect their moral freedom, to respect in their behalf the laws, precepts, and institutions of Christianity, and to look to their ultimate elevation to the rank of free men, and the final extinction of slavery. But this, politically considered, is their business, not ours.

We would not if we could use the Federal Government either to abolish slavery where it now is, or to extend it to a territory where it has not a legal existence. Our observation has satisfied us that chattel slavery is an evil, and a greater evil to the slaveholding population than to the slaves themselves. But at the same time we do not believe it the only evil in the country, nor perhaps the greatest evil. We are no more satisfied with the constitution of society at the North, than we are with its constitution at the South. We re-

ted at the last election with the Republican party, but not with it as an abolition party, and we have no sympathy with that wing of the party which hails its success only as a means of abolishing slavery. We voted for it chiefly because we were satisfied that the Democratic party was rotten inside and out, and recent developments have proved, and because the North had submitted long enough to the disunion threats of the South. The real curse of the country is its sectarianism and its democracy. We believe universal suffrage one of the best hits the devil has ever made, and that any people who attempt to make it the basis of their institutions are sure to go to destruction. We think it a real gain that we have got rid of the name *democrat*, and have got in place a party under another name, and a better name. We wish, however, to see the party in places assuming the good old name of Federal, as far as the Union is concerned, and laboring to restrain as far as possible the democratic tendency in the States themselves.

We have little hope in politics, but we would urge upon the new Administration a Union policy, and to cut itself loose from the abolition and ultra democratic section of the party that has elected it. We care nothing for Chicago platforms or any other platforms except the Constitution. We shall deeply regret to see the Administration favor slavery, and no less to see it favoring abolitionism. If it is to save the country at all, it must do so by planting itself on broad conservative principles, and place the Union, the wise, just, firm, and economical administration of the government, above all questions relating to slavery either for or against it. Its first step must be to disavow the revolutionary doctrines and principles defended by the American press generally, to assert the authority of the government, and prove that it respects itself and can make itself respected. It must arrest the revolution, it must vindicate the insulted flag of the Union, and assert the majesty of law. If to do this it must suppress armed insurrections and hang traitors, let it do so, or else abdicate itself. If civil war is the consequence, let civil war come, for civil war cannot be worse than no government. Let it be just, let it be for-bearing, but let it perform its constitutional duty and its whole constitutional duty. It must not be frightened by the words "coercion" and "invasion," neither of which probably will be necessary if the government shows firmness and resolution, and a determination to abide by the Constitution. In this way it is perhaps possible to arrest the evil; but no measures looking to the protection or abolition of slavery, and no policy that turns on the slave question will save us from utter ruin.

That the Administration will be able to carry out the policy we suggest, we think extremely doubtful, because we fear that there is neither wisdom nor virtue enough in the American people to sustain it. We know not where the elements of a true and sound Federal party are to be found. They are in the minority at the North, and a minority at the South, and we fear so in the great Central and Western States. Democracy has perverted the whole American mind and heart, and we hardly know a single State, with the exception of the State of New Jersey, in which the mob is not supreme. Yet we may take too gloomy a view, and there may yet remain amongst us something of our old traditional respect for law, and something of the patriotism and good sense that won our independence and formed the Federal Constitution. Time will soon show, for events travel fast. The new Administration has a difficult task before it, and we dare hardly hope for its success. But let it do its duty, and leave the result to Providence.

### THE BATTERIES ON MORRIS ISLAND—HOW THE CAROLINIANS ARE PREPARED TO DRIVE OFF REINFORCEMENTS.

The Charleston correspondent of the New York Times writes as follows:

I was carefully shown all the batteries on the island, for which I wish here to thank the Commandant of Camp Gregg, and especially Capt. McGowan, the Quartermaster, who extended every possible facility to me. Starting from Cummings Point, let me describe them in detail.

At the point nearest to Fort Sumter, called Cummings' or Palmetto Point, we have first the COLUMBIA BATTERY.

This battery is commanded by Captain Green, and has four ten inch mortars and two Columbiads. Secondly, the STEVENS' BATTERY.

This is commonly called the Iron Battery. It was invented by the Cashier of the Planters and Mechanics Bank of Charleston. Mr. Stevens submitted the plan to Gov. Pickens, but meeting with no encouragement there, he showed his plan to Mr. Mathew, who interested the Secretary of War, Mr. Johnson, in it, and he praised the idea so highly that Gov. Pickens gave his consent to the erection of it. His brother commands it. Here there are three Columbiads, sixty-four pounders, the front or glacis, as I believe it is called, is protected by sand bags twenty feet thick. The doors for the embrasures work by a lever, which, although bomb-proof, can be opened and shut through a novel contrivance, by a chain. There are three feet by three and a half. The "trap" of this battery, as the place for the reserves is called, is protected by sand bags fifteen feet thick. Here one hundred men can repose in perfect safety. The roof of this battery, as I believe I have before mentioned, is covered with two layers of the T pattern rail which are dove-tailed together and closely pinned to the sbrincous Palmetto logs underneath. This whole battery is so unique and so strong that doubtless it is destined to revolutionize all the old fashioned ideas of fortifications. It is the intention of the Palmettoes, when they occupy Sumter, to pour into this battery a perfect shower of iron ball to thoroughly test its merits. They are confident that the slightest impression will be made upon it. Learning this rhapsodic-like mass of Palmetto, iron and sand, we come thirdly to

**FORT MORRIS BATTERY.**  
This is commanded by Capt. Green. Here there are three Columbiads and four mortars, which can be used either for Fort Sumter or for the channel, being en barbette.

All of the above guns can be brought to bear directly on Sumter, and each one of them can throw a shell every five minutes. Fourthly, we have

**GREEN'S BATTERY.**  
This is also commanded by Capt. Green. Here there are four Columbiads, and two forty-two pounders en barbette, which will sweep the whole island. Capt. Green is a wealthy planter, and has in his company five high privates who are each worth \$200,000. They were lounging in their rough barracks when I passed, a regular Hudson River Railroad looking Irish shanty!

Fifthly, we have

**COL. MACREARY'S BATTERY.**  
This is defended by three forty-two, and one thirty-two pounder, all en barbette, which sweep the island.

Sixthly, the

**CHANNEL BATTERY.**  
This is commanded by Capt. J. G. King. Here there are three twenty-four pounders, en barbette. Seventhly, the notorious

**STAR OF THE WEST BATTERY.**  
Captain Green holds this point with four twenty-four pounders and one forty-two pounder.

At the North-east point of the Island where the channel turns, we come to the Eighth, the

**DARLINGTON BATTERY.**  
This is commanded by Lieut. Warley, late of the United States steamship Richmond. There are two twelve pounders, of 10 inch; they command the whole channel up and down.

We come now to the narrow part of Morris Island, and where it is only one hundred yards across. This is called the

**VINEGAR HILL BATTERY.**  
Here there are three guns, eighteen pounders, en barbette.

Four thirty-two, en barbette, are placed near the old beacon, on a range of sand-hills. We now approach No. Eleven, on an elevation one hundred feet, where the ex-United States Light house stands, which is not allowed to burn at present. This is called the

**LIGHT-HOUSE BATTERY.**  
This most important point is guarded by two forty-two pounders, en barbette.

In the rear of this, intended to open on "a fire in the rear," is the

**LIGHT-HOUSE INLET BATTERY.**  
This post of the inlet is protected by three twenty-four pounders, and two forty-two, en barbette.

The entire island is thus fortified in the strongest manner, and every point is carefully watched day and night by two thousand men. The strictest military discipline prevails. Col. Gregg, to set his men a good example, keeps no liquor himself, and if any is found in the soldiers' quarters it is thrown away. The men are all volunteers, serving for six months; and as they enlist for glory, they submit to regular New York "tenement-house" quarters without a murmur. Their cuisine would shock a French soldier. I was hospitably entertained at Col. Gregg's, and found on the dinner table very excellent *Fulton Market* beef and *Gothen butter*. Lamar, of *Wanderer* notoriety, was one of the party of twelve. He belongs to one of the regiments.

### ABOLITIONISTS AMONG THE INDIANS.

The following is a letter dated Armstrong Academy, Choctaw Nation, and is addressed to the editor of the *Quitman Herald*, in Wood county, Texas:

DEAR SIR: It is known to everybody that knows anything about the Choctaws, that they can not, and will not remain much longer as they are. They are rapidly becoming advanced enough to assume sovereignty over their country and become a State. The Northern men see this and are doing everything in their power to train the mind of the Choctaw to hate slavery and everything and every person connected with it or upholding it. They are using every means to prepare the Choctaw Nation for "freedom." We see, now and then, some beautiful Abolition papers that have been slipped around amongst them. Recently a large number of these were distributed amongst the school boys at this place, by a neighbor, unknown to the Superintendent, who, by the way, was greatly incensed at the outrageous act.

That Abolitionists are at work here is evident, and men passing from Kansas to this country always know and call on men here who are avowed free-soilers. This is a well established fact. The threat that they intend to have this country (Choctaw and other Indian Nations) is no idle boast. There are Abolitionists here who speak the Choctaw language well, and they can ultimately get two-thirds of the natives on their side, and will do it, if allowed to remain. They are dangerous men. They sneer at the South for the course she is pursuing. One even went so far as to say he believed a certain man was stricken down sick for delivering a lecture in favor of the institution of slavery; that it was a providential occurrence, &c.

Are such men to not in this manner right in the midst of slaveholding States, (and Texas not the least interested) without attracting attention to this country? I should think not. There is certainly not in all the Territories of the United States a more important country than that occupied by the various civilized tribes. We need a few such men up here like those who took those abolition devils of your own State in charge last summer. A few men of such grit would do much to prevent further trouble which is now brewing. I think, Mr. Editor, you should stir your people up to the importance of this subject, or at least give them timely warning of what is going on so near them. Why, sir, the negroes here, or at least

some of them, declare that they will soon be free, right here, in a stone's throw of you. I hope that Texas will soon act in this matter.—With proper management she can secure herself and greatly relieve us of their machinations. Respectfully, CROXTAW.

From the Columbia (S. C.) Guardian.  
**A SOUTHERN PROPOSITION.**

**THE TWO TARIFFS—HOW THEY MAY BE MADE TO HARMONIZE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO EITHER CONFEDERACY.**

MR. EDITOR: Let the Independence of the Confederate States be acknowledged by the United States, and then by treaty stipulations let it be agreed between them that the United States shall have a collector, with all needful assistants, in every port of entry in the Southern Confederacy, who shall be privileged to collect the United States duties upon all goods destined for either of the United States. And let the collector of the Southern Confederacy collect the goods destined for any State in the Confederacy, according to the Southern tariff. One custom house may answer, or be made to answer for both collectors. Goods fraudulently entered for a Confederate State, when actually destined for one of the United States, should be forfeited to the United States or subject to such laws as the United States may prescribe. Surely, no State which prefers the Northern to the Southern Confederacy would object to paying the duties imposed by the government of its choice.—How much better an arrangement of this kind than the desperate expedients proposed by the Republicans for securing the revenues of the United States. I believe it to be perfectly practicable, and well calculated to harmonize the two republics. Or, let the Southern collector, under proper securities, and with suitable compensation from each government, collect the duties for both.

The Southern States have no desire to make their laws operate to the prejudice of the United States.

The mails might remain as they are, under separate laws.

A. B. LONGSTREET.

**THE WESTERN VIRGINIA CONFERENCE.**—The Western Virginia Methodist Episcopal Conference, at its annual session at Wheeling which was brought to a close a few days ago adopted the following preamble and resolutions.

WHEREAS the General Conference at its late session at Buffalo has inserted a new chapter in our Book of Discipline on the subject of slavery; and whereas there exists some difference of opinion as to the expediency and uniformity in administration and harmony among ourselves are very desirable: therefore.

1. Resolved, That we deeply regret the action of the General Conference "changing the chapter on slavery, regarding such actions as unnecessary.

2. Resolved, That, in our judgment as a Conference, the new chapter is not regarded as a law; that no administrative or judicial action can be had under it against any member or minister; and that we are left under it to be governed by the Scriptures, amenable as individuals for our administration only to God and our annual Conference.

3. Resolved, That we utterly condemn any attempt in any way whatever, to interfere with the legal relations of master and servant, and that we will seek to promote, as did our fathers, their best interests by preaching to them the unsearchable riches of Christ, and by teaching them their reciprocal duties as taught in the Holy Scriptures.

From the N. Y. World  
**FEDERATIVE UNIONS OF EUROPE, AND THEIR FATES.**

To devise a federal bond strong enough to hold together free communities, without crushing their liberties in the very attempt to combine them, has been the object of thought and experiment to the founders of liberal constitutions for twenty-five centuries. The Amphictyonic Congress of Greece is even older than authentic history. It was a venerable, but powerless council, without executive vigor, or even effective judicial power, which sought by influence, mainly, to heal the feuds and dissensions constantly springing up between those free democracies. When the Greeks found it necessary solidly to combine against the colossal power of Persia, they did not unite under the Amphictyonic Congress, but under a general confederation specially assembled for the purpose. The Pantheon of the twelve commercial states of Asia Minor had even less of administrative consistency and strength. It was rather a festive religious solemnity than a political organization; and though not without untold political influence (all popular conventions are attended with more or less of that,) utterly inadequate as a federative bond.

The Boeotian, Etolean and Achaean leagues, successively formed from the sixth to the second centuries before Christ, show a great development of the grand political idea of federation.—The last named, the Achaean league, consisted of several states of lower Greece, with Corinth at their head. Conspicuous by the eloquence of Aratus, and the military genius of Philopomen, it formed the last barrier of Greek nationality and independence. But shortly after the death of the great man who formed it, the union was dissolved, and the states fell, one by one, before the highly centralized, and therefore invincible, power of Rome. The political elements left loose by that dissolution, along with the foreign invasion to which it left the country exposed, demolished not only the liberty but the very fertility and population of that once rich and flourishing region.

"The civil contests of the Greeks among themselves," says Herodotus, "and the wars which the Romans waged on their soil, made that land a wilderness; for whole days' journeys the country lay desolated, or was a mass of ruins and robber bands. Three thousand fighting men, were the utmost all Greece could furnish"—that Greece united, was an occasion for the greatest monarchy of the world on the battle fields of Marathon and Plataea, and staved the sea with the

wrecks of her vast fleets at Salamis and Mycale. The modern attempts at federation have been more successful. The Helvetic confederacy has taken five centuries to reach its present power. In 1307, three cantons, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, entered into a confederacy for mutual aid against Austria. Other cantons have been added from time to time—some by conquest, others by voluntary annexation. The present number, twenty-two, was not completed till the time of Napoleon I, and the present compact, by which all are placed on a perfect equality, only dates from the peace of 1814.

The Swiss confederacy greatly lacks political unity and efficacy. It is rather an association of cantons for mutual defence, than a fusion and assimilation of people into one body politic. The general diet, it is true, declares war, concludes peace, contracts foreign alliances, nominates diplomatic representatives, determines the amount of military force, and governs the expenditure of the finances of the confederation. But it has no head. The president of the diet is simply the burgomaster of the canton in which it meets. The republic has no president, no individual executive under any name. The scanty executive and judicial powers which are vested in the federal government are lodged with the diet, a body consisting of fifty to a hundred members, and therefore tardy and inefficient in its operations. If a Swiss canton is invaded, it demands help from the adjacent cantons, and at the same time sends word to the *corvet*, which convokes the diet, and federal interposition cannot be had till after the debates and decisions of that body. A rapid and energetic enemy, as in the case of Massena, has often done great and irreparable mischief before the unwieldy powers of the general government could be summoned and concentrated. Switzerland, which has been compared to a great town, of which the valleys are the streets, and the mountain groups of contiguous houses, owes the preservation of its liberties more to its very peculiar physical surface than to the energy and efficiency of its government. Its free and hardy races are held together more by the circumambient pressure of the European monarchies, than by the strength or vitality of their federal "band."

The provinces, or states of Holland, federated by the "Union of Utrecht" in 1579, enacted a brilliant part in the history of Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The compact was an imperfect one—a combination of states, not a union of people, animated by one political life. Identity of language, religion, interests, and dangers, however, secured a long duration to this confederacy; and with all its imperfection, its astonishing results have caused it to be regarded as a master piece of enlightened and successful policy. Under the combined influence of freedom and union, the people who occupied that strip of sand, not unfrequently submerged beneath the ocean, rapidly rose, to the rank of a first rate power, attained a great colonial empire, a commerce and an opulence beyond that of any other nation in Europe, and enjoyed internal tranquility and religious freedom and life, while the rest of Europe was desolated by religious and political convulsions. Long prosperity and teeming wealth, however, engendered or stimulated the seeds of political decay. Holland was rent asunder by the violence of party dissensions, and weakened by an increasing disposition to intermeddle in the wars of France and England. After the terrible vicissitudes of her later history, she was willing to repose under the shadow of royalty, and the great republic of the Old World is now one of the smallest of its monarchies.

The benefits which union and freedom had conferred upon her, however, appear from the fact that, after all her losses, and the long interruption of her commerce, Holland was still, at her emancipation from the yoke of the French, in 1814, "the richest country in Europe."

**STARTLING NEWS FROM THE TERRITORIES.**

Intelligence has just been laid before the Administration that commissions are now in New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora and Chihuahua, dispatched by Texas to confer with the people in those Territories in relation to the present political crisis, and to invite their co-operation in the formation of the Southern Confederacy, to be composed of such slave States as may unite themselves for this object. The commissioners have issued a very artful and captivating address to the people of these Territories, which seems to have been well received. The commissioners were invited to attend a convention, called to meet on March 10, at Mesilla, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present political crisis of the country. This convention, it was confidently believed, would adopt some plan for the carrying out of the movement contemplated for the commissioners. This intelligence has created great uneasiness on the part of the Administration. This is another embarrassing question; but has to be met, and that promptly too, for the Administration clearly see in the movement the designs of the South towards the fertile plains of Mexico. The facts communicated show more plainly than anything else that has transpired that the whole disunion movement was planned by sagacious and ambitious men long before actual revolution was precipitated. In this connection it may be stated, that the rights of the Confederate States to Territories are asserted in the Congress at Montgomery, and that they, as well as the forts off the coast of Florida, will doubtless be part and parcel of the general policy of the new government.

**CIRCUMSTANCES AFTER CASEA.**—We understand that a resolution was recently made on Gov. Pettus, by the Governor of Tennessee, for the delivery of a fugitive from justice, and that Gov. Pettus refused to comply.—*Vicksburg Whig.*

That's just what Gov. Deshaun was denounced as an ungodly Abolitionist for doing. Gov. Pettus, of Mississippi, refuses the requisition of the Governor of Tennessee, as scores of Governors have done before him, and will do after him. But, as there's no chance to make any political capital out of the case, we hear no denunciations, and nobody cares.—*Chic. Com.*

### SLAVERY THE GREAT BOND OF UNION.

The time seems to have come, when the institution of slavery is to constitute the great and only bond of American Union. All our movements and doings, in general, whether ecclesiastical or political, have been evidently drifting in this direction for more than half a century; and things have already culminated in a point where the question of our union of dissolution must depend upon the disposition we make of slavery. The time was, when slavery might have been abolished in our country, both by Church and State, without endangering the union of either; but that time has gone by. We have now become so demoralized by the corrupting influence of the booby abolitionism, that there is scarcely left us the power or the disposition to resist its growing exactions. Like the miserable inebriate, who has long pursued his cups, we must die, if we continue our suicidal practice, and we must die if we leave it off. Or, like the sick man, who has become so reduced by disease that he can neither bear it any longer, nor survive its removal. The only question now is, whether we shall put away our cups, and die sober, or tippie on for a brief space longer, and sink into a drunkard's grave! The slave oligarchy are determined to involve us in the latter alternative; and their dough-faced, compromising allies of the North—a mean and wretched set—are engaged in extending to them all the aid and comfort in their power.

It is now universally felt, that from some cause, we are in a bad case; and the great enquiry everywhere is, what is to be done?—while no oracular response, or satisfactory answer is heard from any source. Some will have it, that Lincoln is going to save the country; and others, not a few, that nothing under heaven will do it but a separation of the slave and free States into distinct and independent governments. But the hubbub of the hour is, that our salvation depends upon the Union; or that, if we can by any means, save the Union, the Union will save us. Hence, the multiplication of Union-savers, all over the land.

But how are we to be saved by saving the Union, when the Union can only be saved at the sacrifice of honor, conscience, liberty, self-respect, and all that renders life at all desirable? It is high time we understood, that to cling to the Union is to hug the chains which bind us; and if we saw, as we ought to see, that to save the Union by compromising with slavery, the only way now proposed to save it, is to surrender all our rights—the liberty of speech, of the press, of conscience, of life itself—into the hands of a ruthless banditti, who have long lived upon the spoils of man-stealing, and various other species of rapine and plunder. Why, then, hold on to the Union, polluted and rotten to the very core, as a remedy for "the irrepressible conflict" which is raging between the two great sections of our country, as if the extreme antagonisms of right and wrong, of holiness and sin, of freedom and slavery, could be brought into a state of harmony and concord with each other? Surely, it were a happy task. As soon might the helpless lamb find safety in the companionship of the wolf, or the child of God in that of the devil.

Very likely our political Union might be saved by means of a national convention, who should nationalize slavery, and provide constitutional guarantees for its protection. Nor is it certain that our ecclesiastical union might not be saved by assembling an extra session of the General Conference, and adopting "the sum of all villainies," as an institution of the Church. Nothing short of the one, it would seem, will suffice to keep the slave States in the Union, politically, while the other is demanded as the price of our continued connection with the Border Conferees in Church fellowship. As the voice of the Border, on this subject, a convention lately held at Easton, Maryland, declared, among other similar resolutions, "that harmony and unity can only be secured and maintained by blotting from our discipline every word relating to slavery—that the Bishops be solicited to convene the General Conference, in extra session, for this purpose—and that their refusal or neglect so to act, will be sufficient cause for separation, and will certainly lead to it."

The alternative, of union or dissolution, held out to us by the South, is suspended upon our acceptance or rejection of their own terms of reconciliation. The hope is, that we shall be ejected or frightened into submission to any terms they may choose to dictate. If they fail in this, they will all go off—ecclesiastically, and politically—the seceding States stealing all the government property that either violence, or intrigue, or treachery shall place within their reach; and the seceding Conferees, still more unscrupulous, and Jesuitical, doing the same thing with respect to the property of the Church. The truth is, they are morally, as well as ecclesiastically and politically wedded to slavery; having no affinity for free institutions or a free people; and exacting, therefore, remain with us, except we become assimilated to their own institutions and character. To get rid of the South, whether Church or State, we have no need to go into secession ourselves; we have only to remain firm in our opposition to slavery, and they will dissolve the Union. Like the sinning angels, who kept not their first estate, but forsook their bright abode"—i. e., voluntarily, and of their own accord, for the reason that they could no longer endure the society of the good—they must, in the nature of the case, fly from us as those fallen spirits fled from their unweelcome company in heaven. Whether, in their eagerness to escape the associations of the free and the virtuous, they will "fall nine days," as Milton affirms of the fallen angels, we know not; but nothing is more certain, than that they will seek a "depth of barbarism and crime, from which the tormenting ray of the light of civilization and religion, will be forever excluded." "Heaven," to them, "would be the severest part of hell;" and all connection, on earth, with the virtuous and free, a source of infinite torment. They must either corrupt us, or leave us. The light we are continually pouring upon their consciences in our anti-slavery charges