

TWO LECTURES
ON
THE PRESENT CRISIS,

BY THE LATE
THEODORE PARKER

AND THE LATE
HON. HENRY CLAY.

DELIVERED AT DODWORTH'S HALL, ON THE MORNING AND EVENING
OF SUNDAY, DEC. 16, 1860.

MRS. C. L. V. HATCH, MEDIUM.

" They being Dead yet Speak."

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INTRODUCTION.

In presenting the following lectures to the public, the Publisher has not been actuated by a thought of gain more than a sincere desire to furnish additional evidence of the power of the departed to commune with the children of earth. As these pages treat upon the question which to-day agitates the whole nation, they will probably obtain a more general circulation than any production which has heretofore set up the spiritual claim. Hence the following explanation—which is not intended for, and would be deemed superfluous by the thousands of intelligent minds who have listened, spell-bound, to the utterances of this highly favored medium. From a book of Lectures delivered through Mrs. Hatch, and published two years since, we quote the following brief account :

“ Mrs. CORA L. V. HATCH, who was the means of conveying to the world the thoughts contained in this volume, was born in the town of Cuba, Allegany county, New York, the 21st day of April, 1840. Thus a part of these discourses were delivered before she was seventeen years of age. Her literary scholastic attainments are such as she was able to procure in a rural district of the country antecedent to her tenth year, at which time she became an entranced speaker. Up to that period she had no knowledge of spiritual intercourse. One day, with slate and pencil in hand, she retired to compose a few lines to be read in school; and while seated, lost her external consciousness, and on awaking she found her slate covered with writing. Believing that some one had taken an advantage of what she supposed to have been a sleep, she carried the slate to her mother, and it was found to contain a communication from Cora's maternal aunt (who had departed this life some fifteen years previous), and addressed to Mrs. Scott, the mother of Cora. * * *

“ At the age of fourteen she became a public speaker, and even at that early period of life manifested powers of logic and elocution which would have done honor to mature minds, and to which but comparatively few ever attain. She married in August, 1856, and removed to New York city, since

which she has spoken from three to four times a week, mostly in New York, Boston, and Baltimore. She has been brought in contact with the most powerful minds of this country, in both private and public debate; but I believe that no one has ever pretended to have successfully sustained an argument against her. The variety of subjects treated will be sufficient evidence that her inspirations are not confined to any particular class of ideas, but are as universal as Nature; and as her discourses are entirely *improptu*, if she is not inspired, she must be regarded as the most remarkable, intellectually-developed person of the age. 'In private life she is simple and childlike to a remarkable degree; but while speaking before an audience, her flights of eloquence are bold, lofty, and sublime, beyond description.'"

At the close of a lecture at Dodworth's Hall, on Sunday evening, Dec. 9, 1860, it was announced by the influence controlling Mrs. Hatch, that on the following Sabbath the exciting political question now agitating the country would be discussed in the morning, on the one side by the late Theodore Parker, and in opposition, in the evening, by a departed statesman, the name not given, but subsequently identified as the late Hon. Henry Clay.

These speeches were characteristic both in manner and matter, and it would have been difficult for the most skeptical who had been acquainted with the above named parties to point out any marked difference in the manner and bearing of these distinguished men while living, and their impersonation through the organism of the medium. * * * While, as a general thing, we should be inclined to ignore names as of very little consequence, cases may arise where identification, in a public gathering, of those who have been prominently before the public in their earth-life, may be productive of great benefit. This I deem one of them.

It is proper to remark in this connection that Mrs. Hatch, while speaking, is entirely unconscious, and is frequently made to utter sentiments and opinions entirely at variance with her own. With these few remarks we commend the following pages to the attention of the reader, trusting, he will find ample compensation in their perusal.

THE PUBLISHER.

LECTURE BY THE LATE THEODORE PARKER.

Delivered Sunday, A. M., December 16th.

MRS. C. I. V. HATCH, MEDIUM.

I HAVE been requested to state that the object of the present discourse, and of that which will follow this evening, is two-fold ; first to represent as nearly as possible through one human organism, two distinct identities of opposite character ; and so distinctly shall we endeavor to identify ourselves, that those who know us may perhaps recognize us as being present ; and secondly, to give you two opposite and distinct sides of the question which is now pending in your national government, and show you that while in the invisible world there are opportunities of observation, of knowing the future and perceiving the present, greater than in the evident world ; there are yet differences of opinion, perhaps as distinct and positive as those that characterized us when we were with you, and as those which now mark the political struggle in your nation, or the struggle between right and wrong, as we understand it.

I propose upon this occasion not to enter into a religious discussion of slavery, for we have no standard of what is religious and what is not religious, save that which is embodied in the truth. We do not propose therefore, to appeal to your religious prejudices in behalf of any movement or of any principle connected with American slavery. But we propose to appeal to your reason, to your judgment, to your sympathy, to your humanity ; and if these are not religion, where is the altar that is sanctified to worship ? We do not ask you to recognize slavery or anti-slavery, because it is revealed in this book, (the Bible,) greatly as we revere it, much as we approve of many of its doctrines ; yet we know that God

speaks oftener to human souls, through human affections, than through written laws. The mind is a great and positive revelation ; and human sympathy and human intelligence are the recorded evidences of his power and greatness. We shall appeal, therefore, to your high manhood ; to your great sense of human justice ; to your comprehension of the Infinite, and ask you what means this struggle which is now pending.

History has rendered familiar to you, as to us, the nations, which from various causes and policies, and under various circumstances, have regarded slavery as right ; as a policy of national government, and we well remember, in the history of every nation where slavery has existed, how with the dawning of intelligence, with the increase of humanity, with the bursting forth of what is called Christian light and Christian love, slavery has gradually melted away like the hoary frosts of winter, melting before the sunshine. But now, when we, in the nineteenth century, look over all the broad, civilized, and enlightened countries of the world, and over pagan and heathen countries, we find that nowhere does slavery, save as a form and consequence of monarchical government, exist ; nowhere is it a national policy, nowhere is it recognized other than a wrong ; nowhere is it upheld, other than to support thrones and kingdoms. I look to Russia ; but in the serfdom of that theocratic government, recognize not one tithe of the human slavery that exists in another government that I know. I look to Austria, and behold in all her pride and regal pomp, and in all her assumed power, in all that belongs to her force of arms, and all that belongs to her ministration of strict and positive tyranny, nothing but the willing enslavement of mind, and thought, and feeling, to what they suppose to be right. I look to France and England, Christian countries, and I behold there no slavery. I look to Italy, that new-born star just bursting forth from the bosom of the earth, like a gem upon the night, and behold there

nothing save the up-springing buds of freedom and patriotism ; and I see before the bright sunshine of liberty, the mists and darkness, and tyranny of religious slavery fast dying away. I look to South America, and behold in the republics there, which are newer than your own republic, which have received its sanction, which were born and fostered, and in some degree encouraged by it, and I see no slavery there, as a national policy. I look to the remotest islands of the sea, and I behold ignorance and bondage, which is the result of ignorance, but I see nowhere one human being bought or sold. I look back to the ancient Romans and Grecians. I see their trophies of war, their prisoners made captive, their slaves bought and sold, not as the price of human souls, but as the prize of captured nations.

But I look to America, the star of liberty, the morning glory of the earth, the beauty and pride of the world, as it has been called, and I see, not monarchy, but professed liberty. I see no kind of a throne, no monarchical rule, no theocratic government, no popular tyranny, nothing but the ensigns of freedom—freedom—freedom, emblazoned o'er all the land ; but what else do I see? Along with the name of liberty I see slavery ; bondage, hand in hand with freedom. Beneath the flag of stripes and stars, I see the dark stains of human torture. Above the loud huzzas and cheers of national patriotism, I hear the cries and moans of oppressed millions. And more than all this, and deeper than all this, and more terrible than all this ; I see men, professing patriotism, sanctioning by word and deed, by religion and legislation, this terrible slavery under the name of liberty. What does it mean, that just two centuries from the time when our pilgrim fathers landed upon this bleak lone coast, was witnessed one of the greatest struggles for human liberty and the redemption of the African slaves? What does it mean that after all the bloodshed, after the heroic toils and battles, after struggles which would have

done honor to any nation or kingdom in the world, they at last gained, and in 1776 proclaimed their independence ?

In that memorable and glorious preamble of the Declaration which makes your nation as it now is, free in name, but alas, not in reality, we perceive that it is founded upon the strictest elements of human equity, human justice, and human equality. *All* beings are created free and equal. *All* persons have alike a right to life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Still later, for purposes of confederation and mutual protection, the United States of America, as they are now called, but then separate colonies of your country, met in convention for the purpose of mutually cementing the ties which had been formed in battle together ; and we see that the first principle upon which that Union was predicated was individual human liberty. We know that the Constitution of the United States was but the natural sequence to the Declaration of Independence. When your forefathers declared their independence of Great Britain, of the oppression, tyranny, bloodiness and selfishness of the then ruling power, Christianity was its predicate ; it was founded upon human right, justice, and liberty. We know that there never was a foot then trod upon the American soil that did not recognize these principles of human liberty, of the pursuit of happiness, of liberty and of life ; but first of life. Life is that which is bestowed by its author, that no human being can take away with impunity, or having once taken that life, can restore it. It is painful, dreadful, terrible to witness a nation struggling for life with another nation ; but we know of horrors that are more terrible than war, of a death, the more terrible because it is a living death, than that which comes from the sword. We honor, we adore, we worship almost, the man who dies for his country's freedom. But what do we think of him who takes into his possession a life that he has not created, which he does not own, which belongs to God, and who says,

"This is mine, body and soul ; this is mine to purchase and to sell ; so much for this body and soul I will have?" What do we think of the man who takes into living death a human being, upon a soil and in a territory dedicated to freedom ?

We are all familiar with the struggles in forming the American Constitution, and with the struggles which have since occurred in Congress. But we will point out to you by way of illustrating our position a few of those incidents to show you with what justice slavery is associated, and with what humanity slavery is still kept in existence, and with what freedom and liberty America retains and approves and upholds her Constitution and declaration ; and with what glory and pride this free nation, and free country, hold in bondage children of God's creation. We are well aware, not as statesmen, but as citizens of the United States, that when this confederation of Thirteen States was first formed, which has now extended vastly in numbers, and vastly increased in territory population and power, the subject of slavery was purposely left entirely out of the Constitution ; and that the object of this was to prevent future turmoil and disquiet among the various States of the Union. But we also know that there was a tacit obligation and understanding by not a few, but all of the various States, or representatives from the various States, that slavery should be abolished from the Union. We know that the North required this, and that the South consented to it.

We have since been told by politicians and by Southern statesmen that the South did not design doing this. So much the greater their treachery ; so much the deeper their wrong ; to enter into the Union with the stain of slavery upon their names and hearts, to commence with the understanding that it was to be abolished, and then at last to say that they did not design doing any such thing. We know that the Constitution properly avoided this subject. It was a matter of discussion in the various conventions, even after

the general constitution was adopted and approved by Congress, and various States sent in their approval or their disapproval suggesting amendments that would favor the continuance and further extension of slavery. From the time that the Constitution of the United States was formed, up to the present year, 1860, there has been a continued succession of struggles, and battles, and warfare; often with words, sometimes with blows. The subject of slavery we know has been from the first the germ of all the evil that has grown up in the country. And this evil has been caused, not by the North, but by the South. We know and will point out to you that they have not lived up to the obligations of the Constitution, or to the principles upon which the confederacy existed. And if they secede from the Union, which we individually hope they will, it will be because right and wrong cannot exist together; because error and right can make no compromise; because between light and darkness there is no union; because, thank God, the right is the strongest.

We know that those states in the confederation where slavery exists, then seemed to regard it precisely as the North, for it then existed in every state of the Union; and slavery was resisted with such sad and such earnest supplication, that the North at last abolished it, under the conclusion that the South would fulfill its part of the treaty, and continued in harmonious relations with them, in legislation in Congress, until the great question of the territories was to be decided. The North asked nothing of the South until then. The North said, "We will wait until it is convenient for you to fulfill your part of this treaty." It was not the treaty of the Constitution of the United States. That spoke for itself. But it was the treaty of honor between the several states of the Union, which treaty has been wilfully, constantly, and successfully violated from that time until the present day. Now, instead of thirteen states, we have thir-

ty-two, and territories which will number in their turn, perhaps as many more. Still the cry is further extension of slavery, and not for its abolition. Still the cry is "More room for darkness ; more room for bondage ;" and not "less room." The cry is not "Teach us how to liberate our slaves ;" but, "Teach us how to extend the area of our bondage." The cry is not "We regard slavery as a great wrong ; we regard it as being the only wrong existing in our Union, but we will abolish it as soon as possible." The question with your forefathers, with those whose names we love and revere, with Washington, and Jefferson, and Hancock, and Hamilton, was not slavery, but our country ; was not self, but the nation ; was not an individual state of the United States, not any particular institution which, being conceived to be a lesser wrong than the tyranny and oppression of crowned kings, it was supposed would die out of itself in a free soil ; for who ever knew goodness to associate with evil, and command thrift, or prosper in a soil uncongenial to its culture ? Who ever knew a tropical plant to flourish in the frigid zone, or an iceberg to form and grow up and become almost a living temple, beneath the burning sun of the torrid zone ? No one. Slavery was then, as it is now, a political question and not a national one. Slavery was then, as it is now, a question of individual state policy and not of national governmental policy.

But slavery was not then, as it is now, interwoven with the very constituents and elements of your national government. Slavery was not then, as it is now, an armed host marching on to devour and uproot the very principles of liberty. Slavery was not then, as it is now, the Gorgon head of evil against which the early patriots and founders of your country sought to defend you. Slavery was not then, as it is now, spread over the most beautiful portion of your territory, extending as far North as the people and the religion of the North would allow it, and which would extend

till farther, but for the earnest and glorious warfare which has been fought to prevent it.

We remember with what reluctance, with what degree of sadness, even the most earnest upholders of slavery in 1820 regarded the Missouri compromise ; what a battle was then fought ; what eloquence their statesmen poured forth then. We remember with what earnest regard for the welfare of their country, with what depth of sadness and earnest prayers, it was at last admitted into the Union as a slave state ; but upon the strict condition that the remaining portion of the territory which Missouri then claimed, should belong to the United States, and should be free from slavery. We remember the act which was introduced to prevent the further existence of slavery in Missouri, by providing that after twenty-five years slavery should be abolished, and that every negro born in the State should at the age of twenty-one years be free. This was overcome by Southern policy ; and at last that great death-blow of human emancipation was signed and approved by Congress. Individually, we have always regarded it as the signing away of American liberty ; as setting the seal of the nation upon slavery, as an act of human oppression ; and individually, we shall always pray that this nation may not prosper until those compromises between truth and error shall cease, and the struggle shall be an open, bold and free one ; and we know that the right will conquer, whether it be for slavery or for freedom.

When by the treaty of 1802, from France the United States obtained possession of those territories which she claimed, and when with Spain the treaty was signed delivering up those territories which naturally belonged to the United States, when Louisiana was ceded to this country by the French, the treaties then entered into had very little relevancy to the institution of slavery, but regarded it as being interesting only to the particular States where slavery existed. Consequently those treaties were formed to protect the

then existing Southern States which held slaves, and who could not free themselves from what they regarded then as a curse, but what their children now regard as a divine blessing and dispensation. Did Washington, did Jefferson, did Clay, did any, save Calhoun, regard the institution of slavery, or the right of individual states upon slavery, as being a sacred or strictly a State institution? Never. They regarded it as one of the contingencies of the early settlement of a new country, one of the contingencies of a revolutionary country, one of the contingencies which the population of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida acquired in removing the natural obstructions which then existed in the cultivation of the soil, which, regarded as an expediency, was a good one. But when Ohio, under a similar Southern administration, under similar interests, applied for admission into the Union, and at the same time applied for permission to receive and to retain in slavery, slaves for a period of ten years, the Congress of the United States found it inexpedient, and repealed the act, and forbade the extension of slavery into that territory; and from that day to this, Ohio has been a free State.

Massachusetts I am proud to call my mother; proud for more than one reason, but greatest because she was first to liberate her slaves; proud of her because she was the first, and has always taken the first steps towards the approval of the emancipation of slaves; proud of her because she first recognized in the negro slave the right to the title of human beings; proud of her because she is represented in the various sessions of Congress by so many heralds of emancipation; proud of her because for the sake of slavery one of her sons, more noble in our esteem than those who fight with swords, was stricken down in the midst of the expression of his honest sentiments; proud of her because she has endured, and suffered, and triumphed over the evil which now threatens your whole country; proud of her because

er sister States, looking up to her, and following her example, proclaimed the negro free.

We well remember what a feeling of indignation swept through the whole North when the Fugitive Slave bill was first introduced ; and what were the objects and purposes of Mr. Mason in introducing that bill. It was designed, as we conceive, as a deliberate insult to every Northern State. The Constitution of the United States provided for the contingency of persons who fled from servitude, and for the contingency of their being returned again to their service and their master. The word "slave" or "slavery" does not exist in the American Constitution ; for humane minds, patriotic minds, free and elevated minds, were unwilling that upon the page of history there should be a blot, or a mark, or a scar, known as slavery in the Constitution of a free people. It was very wise, very judicious, very far-sighted. It is also most singular what expressions were used to represent slaves. The word "person" is always applied. The person escaping from servitude and flying from the service of his master must be returned by the other States of the Union. But when in addition to this the Fugitive Slave bill was introduced, as a proposed provision against contingencies, I remember well that it was with indignation, with scorn, almost with contempt, that the Fugitive Slave bill was first received.

But what was looked upon at first with indignation was at last regarded by the compromising patriots of the North as being well done. The South demanded this protection of her property and her rights, and she had it in the Constitution. The North at last grew willing to give more ; and thus the Fugitive Slave bill was passed, which prevented every State in the Union from recognizing the rights which the Constitution gave it, to make such laws and such provisions against the recognition of slavery as it might deem expedient ; and now, in the growth of civilization and intelligence

which has dawned upon the minds of the people, eight of the United States of America have refused to recognize the Fugitive Slave bill. We are glad of it. It is not unconstitutional, because it is not the Constitution which they refuse to recognize, but the Fugitive Slave bill which was passed by the Congress, not of the North, but of the South, the fugitive Slave bill which takes away the individual positive right of the States, and which recognizes in itself the absolute power and rightfulness of slavery.

We are still in remembrance and in the midst of the Kansas-Nebraska struggle, and Heaven only knows how it will end ; for now the question is, not of slavery in the territories, but of slavery in the States ; not of the nation, but of individuals ; not of patriotism, but of selfishness. And we thank Heaven that it is so ; because if there is rottenness in the heart of anything that is fair and beautiful, we would rather that it should be known than concealed ; that it should be known before it is too late to save even the fair portion from darkness, corruption, and decay. There are men of the North to-day that wear sheep's clothing, but are not so bad as those that disguise themselves under the plea of patriotism, and mean policy ; that disguise themselves behind the Constitution and mean monied interests ; that disguise themselves behind the Declaration of Independence and mean the rise and fall of stocks and bank suspensions ; men of the North that say compromise because of love of the Union, and mean compromise because of love of the dollars ; that say compromise because of religion, and mean compromise because of selfishness ; that say compromise because of the greatness and glory of our union, and the disgrace that will follow a civil war, the servile war which must grow out of it, but who mean compromise because we are *afraid*, compromise because we secretly uphold slavery, compromise because much of our subsistence (but none of our wealth) is derived from the

South, compromise because the price of stocks will fall, and banks will fall to the ground.

But we do expect, and we do pray as individuals, that rather than have another compromise like that which made Missouri a slave State, rather than have another compromise like that which made disgraceful the country in the rejection of the Wilmot Proviso, rather than have another compromise like that which we witnessed in the struggle of 1850, rather than have any compromise like that which has been sought for, under the present election and in the present political struggle, we may see every one of you in arms, marching on to battle, every one of you saying, The right shall conquer, or we are ready to die. Compromise? For what? Why, for the preservation of our Union. What Union? Where is the Union? The North and the South are as bitter enemies as any nation that ever lived; are as distinct and separate as nations can be. England, Austria, Russia, France, are united more than they. Those who war and fight over the States in confusion in Italy, those who over that bone of contention seek which shall have the largest morsel, are more united than those States which exist with slavery and those which exist without slavery called the United States of America. England and France, Russia and France, Austria and France, England and Russia, all those States are respectively and separately more united with each other and with the United States, than are the States of America united with themselves. And shall we say compromise, which only means, smother the volcano a little, while longer before it bursts; conceal the mouth of the earthquake a little longer, until the whole nation shall be plunged in ruin? Shall we say compromise, which only means, let slavery extend a little further; let it creep like a serpent along that great Father of Waters; let it spread out its branches and roots until it establishes itself in the

very soil of freedom ; let us have more room for slaves, more room for the four millions which we already have, and for those which we shall want to import hereafter, more room for the opening of the African slave trade, more room for contention, and cries, and groans, more room for degradation, for the lack of enterprise and industry, for the suppression of the mechanic arts, and of free education and free schools, more room for the prevention of extending into all these States which might be rendered valuable, the field of Christianity, of education, of all that belongs to an enlightened and civilized country, more room for darkness and degradation ? Shame ! Shame ! Shame !

The man at the South who legitimately inherits slaves, which are his only support, his only means of providing for his family, is in some degree excusable when he turns to us at the North and asks, " If I were never so willing to liberate my slaves, and regarded the holding of slaves as ever so great a misfortune, how am I to do it ? " We do not blame him for asking the question. When the man at the South, with a hereditary title to slaves, which are his only inheritance, and which he regards as justly belonging to him, asks the question, though we would help the captured human being to his liberty even at the expense of life, if we had another life to lose, we would still say that that man is justified. But when men of the North who have no slaves, men of the North who inherit nothing but their manhood and independence, and gain a sustenance unaided, who depend upon their industry, and economy, and education, with which to gain wealth, say, " Let us compromise with slavery ; let us have slavery ; let us extend slavery ; " for them there is no excuse, and no punishment too severe.

When men of the South do not debate in Congress as statesmen and patriots and orators, but as passion-loving men, and say, " Give us our rights, or we are no longer one of you," and when men of the North unite in that, it means

not simply "Let slavery alone where it is," but it means "Let slavery alone now ; and by and by, let it alone when we shall extend it into Kansas ; and after that, let it alone when we shall extend it into California, for though California is now a free State, that is in question ; and after that, let it alone when we shall extend it into every other State and every other position which can render it at all profitable ; let us alone while we elect the Presidents and the Congressmen ; and let us alone when at last we shall conquer all your State enactments, and when the Fugitive Slave bill shall give place to another, which permits us at will to go into the Northern States." And when you have made compromise after compromise, when the whole North is swallowed up in the sea of slavery, it still says, "Let us alone ; we will be protected in our rights by the Constitution."

This is the meaning of compromise. This was the meaning of the Missouri compromise. This was the meaning of the application for admission into the United States of Missouri and Ohio. This was the meaning of that treachery—Oh Heaven, what treachery was that, and what a traitor ! Arnold was considered the greatest traitor that America ever knew ; but we know of one who now sits upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, in our opinion, is as much greater a traitor than Arnold, as is darkness darker than light itself. When Jackson, through personal malice, desired to overthrow the Bank of the United States, and when the then existing personage under the administration desired not to do it because it would be unconstitutional, Jackson, with his favorite oath, resolved that it should be done ; and he employed this Taney, who is now Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to accomplish that act of treachery against the Union. We know that he is a fit man to be a traitor against humanity. It was he, who, in that decision which sent a thrill of horror through the heart of every philanthropist in the Union, de-

vided that Dred Scott was not a human being. Shame upon such a traitor! He cannot die by the hand of man; but we know of a retributive justice who in the all-wise administration of his power will deal to such traitors their just deserts. We leave him alone with that justice.

We are still fresh from the bloody contest of Kansas; and even now this war, in another form, is raging. We know, and you know, its cause. Abolitionism is said to be its cause. Abolitionism is said to be the fiery element that has stirred this up, and caused this warfare of bloodshed, and starvation, and oppression. But if there was no slavery to abolish, abolitionism would not be the cause. So long as there is slavery, we are glad that it is the cause. When people fight for liberty, I would rather see them fight than to see them yield to a compromise which countenances error. When we sent arms and ammunition from our mother State, and when you sent arms and ammunition from here, we regarded it as a most sacred, religious rite. And now that starvation is upon them, now that suffering is there, we regard those who send food and clothing, and, if need be, arms and ammunition, as performing a religious rite. And we regard those who first send these requirements as being the greatest Christians.

And now, is the North or the South to perish? Must this Union, this glorious country, this free America, this Christian organization, at last totter and fall into ruins? If a man builds up a beautiful temple, and deck it with the most gorgeous architecture, puts grace, and symmetry, and perfection in every form, but builds it upon a foundation that is in itself rotten—a foundation which is not firm, but must at some time fall—much as we may regret that so much beauty should perish, still remembering that the foundation is not secure, you would rather the structure should fall at a seasonable time, when every one is expecting it, than that some great calamity and loss of life should occur because no

one is prepared for it. Rather let it fall at once, or tear it down, take stone from stone, bolt from bolt, joint from joint, corner-stone from corner-stone, until it is all ready to build up again in security, than to prop it up here and prop it up there, to compromise here and compromise there, until at last from its very weight and its lack of foundation, it falls, and masses are crushed beneath its ruins.

If, then, America is builded upon slavery, the sooner America is no longer a Union the better. If slavery has its foundation in the Constitution, the sooner that Constitution is not recognized, the better. We see it not in the Constitution. We regard that as sacred. We regard it as the highest and loftiest conception of human intelligence and human perfectness. But if men pervert it and subvert it, if it is made the lever of the power of error, if it is made the strongest of the levers to overthrow the Union, then we say, Let it perish before it is too late.

All republics, Greece and Italy not excepted, have fallen into that greatest of all misfortunes—anarchy. If America chooses, she may become, not an anarchy, but a republic ; We mean that portion of America which is a republic. If America chooses to compromise, she may become what all republics have become—an anarchy. We are not accustomed to prophesy ; but when we know the natural sequence of a cause, we must expect it ; and when we know that cause produces certain effects, we are blind not to recognize that cause and that effect ; and to-day we would not mask, or screen, or veil from the eyes of all the world, this stain, this darkness, this corruption that exists in your republic. But we would say, as men, as patriots, as human beings, as those who love goodness and despise error, who love freedom and despise tyranny, who love liberty and despise bondage, let the contest be now or never between freedom and slavery. It is no longer a question of State or of national policy. It is no longer a question between the North and the South which

can be settled when all others have been disposed of. It is no longer a question subject to the admission of other States or other territories into the country, which can be postponed until a new tariff bill shall have been decided, which can be taken up after all others have been disposed of, to be discussed and compromised, and pasted up, and bolstered up, and propped up—but it is now or not at all ; it is compromise if you will, but if you do compromise you are destroyed.

We are glad that Vermont has refused, and taken the initiative in refusing, to enter into such a compromise. We are glad that other States of the North are not backward in the expression of their opinions, that men are not afraid to venture the assertion of the truth. We are glad that the Union is not considered a Union unless it is a unity of soul, for liberty, and justice, and humanity. We are glad, therefore, that this country, at the present crisis, with all the struggles which must ensue, is upon the verge of such a warfare ; and were our views to be heard, were our opinions to be sought for and recognized as being true, we would say the sooner it is decided in war the better, because there is more cruelty in those words and those actions that prolong the suffering, that prolong the slavery, and its recognition in the Northern States, and there is more wrong in it, than there is in saying : "We are two, we will see which is the strongest." That is the way that nations settle all their difficulties. We would wish in all battles that those who created the wars might have the wars to fight ; but such is not the case, kings are not generally the leaders of their armies ; they do not generally fight face to face, but they marshall their hosts of valiant men to bleed and suffer for their individual captiousness. We wish all disputes could be settled according to the code of honor of South Carolina. We wish that it might be made personal, and that those of the North and those of the South who never can and never

will recognize each other as members of the same confederacy, might face to face now settle the difficulties that exist between them. The innocent would not then have to suffer for the guilty. But so it has always been, and so perhaps it must be forever.

And now all that we have to say in conclusion is, that if America cannot be free upon these principles, we do not want America at all. If it cannot be established as a republic upon these principles, there can be no republic at all. And if within a confederacy must be fostered, and nourished, and recognized, this poisonous upas which will eventually grow and spread its branches, and taint the very atmosphere of American liberty, then we say we want it not at all. Countries, nationalities, governments, have no right to exist, unless they exist upon a positive foundation and understood basis. Great Britain's policy is known; the policy of Austria and of Russia are known; the policy of France is, or will be, known. America has no right to screen, under the name of liberty, or under the name of a republic, anarchy, or a despotism which is worse than anarchy itself.

We might say much more, but have not time, and are not willing to tax your patience upon this occasion; but at some future time we propose to discuss the origin and rise and fall of slavery in the various empires of the world, from the existence of time until the predest day, concluding with the origin of American slavery, its progress and probable duration. To-day we have had to deal exclusively and distinctly with the present contingencies which seem to surround your nation as a national government, and the right and wrong as it presents itself to our conception. If we have wounded the feelings of any one, we do not ask his pardon, for it has not been designed. We have simply expressed our individual opinion. You have a right to yours. If we have in the utterance of truth gone farther than is prescribed by

human justice or human mercy, then we say that the fault was in our judgment, and not in our intention. If we have ventured to affirm too much, we simply ask for time and opportunity to prove all the assertions we have made. And now in the name of that liberty and that justice and that divinity which means all godliness, we ask the Father and Spirit of Life to be with you wherever you may go ; and may Liberty, as it means with God, unfurl her banner above the States and Nations of the world ; and may this Republic, once young and beautiful, now growing and prosperous, but filled with something of darkness and something of crime, recognize, in her beauty and prosperity, freedom as her only guide ; and stretching her hand across the seas and across the countries of despotism—across where kings and rulers have fought in vain—link her hand and heart closely with that young and new and growing Republic, which may perchance even outrival America itself. And, Father, God, bless thy children, with the consciousness of thy blessing ; teach them to do and to feel what is true ; teach them to be fearless and brave ; and may they know that he is greatest, not who sacrifices most to self, but who conquers most his selfishness. Amen.

LECTURE BY THE LATE HON. HENRY CLAY;

LECTURE BY THE LATE HON. HENRY CLAY.

Delivered Sunday, P. M. December 16th, in reply to Theodore Parker.

MRS. C. L. V. HATCH, MEDIUM.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : It is customary in any controversy or debate of a political kind, that it shall take place under the jurisdiction or especial administration of either committees who have a Chairman, or in legislative halls under a Speaker, chosen by the House that represents the nation. In this instance, however, it is deemed advisable for us to address you on topics of a political nature, leaving you to be the Speakers, the Chairmen, the Representatives. It is with the utmost reluctance that I enter upon this controversy, upon this occasion, and yet it is with great pleasure. You have listened, upon this morning, those of you who were present, to the views, and doctrines, and advocacy of principles, believed in and professed by one whose great erudition and learning I will not question, whose sincerity I do not profess to doubt, whose mind and thought I must positively admire. Therefore, it is with reluctance that I enter in opposition. But it is also with pleasure that I venture, first, to personify the interest which I take and always have taken in this great country. It is with pleasure, secondly, that I may also give some views, to represent, in some directions, the great general feeling of patriotism which I feel does pervade this Union, notwithstanding party strife and party contention.

Your speaker of this morning advocated this question as a matter of right and wrong, of moral evil ; claiming that slavery as it exists now, and as it may ever have existed in these United States, is a positive moral evil, and consequently, should not have been permitted to have an exist-

ence ; or if permitted, should have been as early abolished as was possible. We might, with the same degree of propriety, say that no slavery should ever have existed in the world ; that no nation should ever have been superior to any other nation ; that there should never have been any struggles for supremacy ; that no revolution should ever have been fought ; that conquering nations should never have claimed their superiority. We might, with the same degree of argument, say, that never, since the history of time began, should one supreme ruler of a nation, have affirmed his power over his subjects. We might, with the same degree of propriety, say that no legal administration, no execution of governmental laws, should be carried into effect, that have a tendency in any degree to injure the rights and privileges of any human being. We may say this ; but of what avail is it ? The past is filled with the written and unwritten history of oppression and bloodshed.

And my learned friend forgets, when he advocates the cause of American abolitionism, that he is advocating a cause directly opposite to the policy of the national government, the national administration, and the national Constitution, which, in my humble opinion, has its foundation in the highest and holiest ordinances of Heaven. It is not with me a question of the right and wrong of slavery itself. It is not with me a question whether slavery is morally or religiously right and wrong. That I do not profess to decide. Of course, each individual has his own opinion. You have yours ; I have mine. Your speaker of this morning has his. Many earnest and devoted minds believe with him. But there are as judicious men, as intelligent men, as patriotic men, as truth-loving men, as Christian-loving men, who believe the opposite to be true. There are those who believe that slavery is a righteous institution, who believe that they have inherited it rightfully, that it belongs to them under the law of this glorious Union, and the Constitution

upon which it was built. There are those who likewise believe, religiously, that it is right, that it was approved by sacred and divine revelation, that Christianity never for one moment rebuked it, or sought in any degree, or in any manner, to interfere with it. There are those who believe that it is a right by divine inheritance; therefore, their sincerity is none the less.

The history of this country is well known. Our friend pointed out, we must say with some degree of partiality, and no little degree of party feeling, the action of the various sessions of Congress upon this subject of slavery. It must be remembered that when the Constitution of the United States was formed, slavery was not a Southern institution, but national; that there was no State in the Union or out of the Union, no State which constituted the various colonies of these now United States, that did not recognize it, that did not to some extent justify it, that were not in some degree in possession of slaves. It must be remembered, also, that there are geographical distinctions between the Northern and Southern portions of the United States which render it impossible for slavery to exist in one, and impossible almost for the States to exist without it in the other. It must be remembered that the Northern States are not adapted, either agriculturally or in climate, to the successful promotion of slavery; but it is also remembered well by you that the South could not then, and cannot now, exist without slavery. It is not for us to decide which shall eventually conquer. It is not for us to decide which is right or wrong. It is not for us to say that the Northern Abolitionists are in the right, or that the Southern Secessionists are in the right. Both are probably wrong.

But it is for us to ask, in view of what does exist, ladies and gentlemen, in view of what already exists in the Union, in view of what is entailed by hereditary lineage upon those who constitute the Southern portion of these United States,

and in view of the various governmental compromises and treaties which have been formed in reference to this subject, is it not better, before taking any decisive step, before taking any distinctive and positive ground to rupture this glorious fabric, this chain bright and glittering which has been formed into our glorious confederacy, to pause and consider : first, that the eye of man and the eye of God differ widely in conceptions of right and wrong ; and while slavery abstractly may be an evil—no one pretends to deny it—where two evils exist in any nation, in any policy of government, in any occasion of public or of domestic life, the least of the two is preferable?

Now we ask of you, what has the North done? Our friend stated this morning what we do not regard as being strictly in accordance with facts, or defended by history, that the South had always been the cause of each and every trouble and contention that had existed upon the subject of slavery, because if slavery had not existed there would have been no trouble at all. The South did not create slavery. Before the Constitution of the United States was formed, previous to the Convention of 1787, previous to the Declaration of 1776, slavery existed in all the colonies, the North as well as the South. Slavery was inherited, slavery was promoted, slavery was assisted as much by the North as by the South. Northern merchants, Northern commerce, flourished upon the traffic of slavery. And those who now cry out loudest against Southern institutions, and Southern men who uphold these institutions, are perhaps the very ones whose forefathers encouraged and assisted slavery, and brought into this country the slaves, or the forefathers of the slaves, that now exist in the South. The slaves were here ; what was to be done with them. They were to be emancipated by the modes and means and in the manner which every State thought proper to adopt, if consistent with the internal policy of each separate State. Therefore the Constitution

of the United States forbore any action, any treaty, any law, which could in any degree interfere with the respective rights of the individual States, either to retain or to abolish slavery.

Our friend this morning furthermore stated that in each and every step which had been taken for compromising, the difficulties which had arisen between the South and the North upon the subject of slavery, had originated in the South, in its demands, in its aggressions, in its perseverance for the promotion of the cause of slavery. We ask of you, what was the South to do? Each individual and separate State was in itself an absolute confederacy. Each individual and separate State has within itself the power to regulate its own internal laws. No other State, no other combination of States, no power of Congress, no power of any legislature at all, has a right to interfere with it. No matter whether it is right or wrong, that is the case. To illustrate: in New York city, the great metropolis of this Western continent, there are laws, we will suppose, heinous to human morality, laws which pervert the highest and holiest sensibilities of government, laws which are at variance with the Constitution, laws which positively and entirely overthrow the very principles upon which your Constitution and country is predicated. There are laws upholding and legalizing prostitution, laws that uphold and legalize gambling, laws that uphold and legalize robbery. What would the municipal government and authorities of New York say, were the citizens of Charleston, of South Carolina, to come forward and say, "This is un-Christian; this is morally wrong; therefore will we teach the citizens of New York, the ignorant portion of your society, those who are subservient to State authorities, those who hold places under your Government, to come out against it. We will raise an insurrection of your State power and State authorities, and you shall not have this continued any longer, because it is morally wrong, because it is not in the eye of heaven right." Would not you, would not

your State authorities, would not every other man, in your nation or in your State, say that it was none of your business? Most assuredly.

Now, whether slavery be right or wrong, so long as the North has the privilege of admitting or restricting slavery in its States, it has no right to interfere with it where it already exists, and did exist, when the Constitution of the United States was formed. So much for that.

The second point is, that every compromise which has been made, has tended not to fulfill the compact between the United States of the Union, which was established in the confederacy of the Constitution, but to destroy, and utterly and entirely annihilate everything, that has existed in accordance with an understood and tacit treaty, which was supposed to exist, when the Constitution was formed. What then was to be done with the increase of slaves? What was to be done with those that were constantly imported? What was to be done with those that Northern merchants, failing to sell at the North, still carried to the South, for Southern citizens to buy and to support, and to send them, in return, the profits of slave labor? What is to be done with the gradual and almost unobstructed increase of these people that were in those States?

The Missouri compromise was sought for and obtained, honestly advocated and supported, by the one who is now addressing you, upon the simple ground that it is better to have slavery extended than to have a nation ruined. For if slavery is wrong, and there is a God of justice, it will die of itself. If it is not morally wrong, but only politically impolitic, then the individuals of the respective States have the right to decide whether it is impolitic or not. Therefore, admission of any State into the Union, predicated upon the ground that slavery shall not exist within its limits, is unconstitutional, unless the inhabitants of that State shall so decide. With regard to the extension of slavery in the ter-

ritories, you well remember what was sought for and procured, and afterwards repealed, about that same time, with reference to the extension of slavery in the West and Northwest territory. You well remember what a struggle ensued, and what has since been the struggle upon that same subject.

But most respectfully do we submit that the North and not the South have been the aggressors. Most respectfully do we submit it to your knowledge of the history of the respective countries, and of the position which the South has taken, to your knowledge and consciousness, of your own governmental laws, and your own Constitution. For be it remembered that the South has a conscience ; the South has a religion ; the South has social and domestic relations ; the South has the relations of husband and wife, of father and son, of parent and child, as positively and distinctively as the North. The North has its own religious and educational institutions, its own manufacturing institutions, its own arts, its own commerce, its own internal laws and administration, and so has the South. These always have and always must exist, so long as the difference of climate, the difference of products, the difference of sentiment, the difference of temperature exists, which now exists between the Northern and Southern portion of these United States.

It has always been a mooted question, and probably will be, unless finally and decisively settled during the present struggle, whether slavery shall or shall not be extended into the territories—whether the South shall or shall not have equal rights in territories, that are equally their own with the North. It is not a question whether a State with slavery shall be admitted into the Union, and no anti-slavery persons shall exist within that State, no Abolitionists, and no Republicans shall be admitted ; but it is the question whether a State shall be admitted, and the North and the South shall have equal rights therein.

We claim this, ladies and gentlemen, in behalf of the South; not of that extreme portion of Southern sentiment which says, "Give us what we ask or we are at war;" not of that extreme Northern sentiment which says, "Abolish slavery at once, or we do not care what becomes of the Constitution or of the Union." We regard as the mildest form in which we can express our opinion of either of these two classes, that both are treacherous to the country, that both are unpatriotic, that both have regard more to self and sectional interests, than to the welfare of the Union or of the nation. It always was and always is my earnest, individual desire, to perpetuate and strengthen by any and every means, consistent with consistency itself, this glorious Union and Republic. I see nothing in the present crisis, nothing in the struggles of the past, nothing in the various and opposite opinions that now exist in different States in reference to this subject, to prevent a full and entire disposition of it, provided there are patriots, statesmen, and lovers of the country, enough to do it.

Again, our learned opponent upon this subject thought proper to denounce the compromise of 1850, as being the last ratification of slavery, the last resignation of liberty, the last seal which the nation set to prevent the emancipation of slaves. In my humble opinion, it was the greatest to preserve the country, the greatest to prevent that calamity which seems now approaching. It was the greatest to serve the interests of the nation for which our mutual fathers, North and South, bled, and fought, and died, upon which they established the glorious, the divine confederacy, which now exists in your country. Situated, not in the extreme South, not in the cotton-growing States, but verging upon the border of the Northern States, having every opportunity of witnessing slave labor in the cotton-growing States, and in the native State of the speaker, which was chiefly productive of tobacco, and of witnessing the struggles going on

in the North, the advancement of free labor and the progress of free institutions, the speaker had ample opportunity of judging between the two. And I must say, with all due deference and respect for the opinions that were advanced upon the occasion of this morning's argument, that I never saw, and never believed, and never for one moment suspected, that slavery, as an institution, as it exists in the South, was in any degree opposed to the national government, to the national Constitution, or to the Declaration of Independence, for which our forefathers so earnestly fought. On the contrary, it would seem to be entailed upon us, because, you will remember, we ourselves inherited it from our mother, Virginia ; it would seem to be an inheritance which we were to accept, or to have nothing at all. When the Abolitionist tells us that slavery must be abolished, that slavery must not be extended, that the South must not have the right to extend slavery into the territories, but that it must dispose of it in the best manner that is possible, and at its own discretion, the surplus of slaves that it possesses, we do not know what it means. It proposes to tear down the institutions of the South—to take away from the South its means of subsistence, and its commercial resources, to take away all that belongs to her wealth and posterity, in the persons and property of those slaves, and to substitute—what ?

No abolitionist ever consents, even for a moment, that the nation shall buy these slaves ; because, say they, if it is a wrong we will not countenance the wrong by paying for it. If it is right, or if it is not morally wrong, say they, the South should dispose of the slaves themselves ; but the nation should not do it, because they justly perceive that it is not a subject with which the nation has anything to do. And whence is the nation to derive its means of paying for those slaves ? Why, if it is as a nation, the South as well as the North should be taxed ; and whence would it derive its money to pay for the slaves which it owns itself ?

Again, individual men in the South, perceiving, perhaps, from their own consciences, from their own religious opinions, or from any other motive that we choose to attribute to them, that slavery was wrong, have emancipated their slaves. But there are those in the South—and those constitute the great masses of the population—who do not know of any other means of revenue. There are States that subsist upon this, States that have no other source, no other provision made for their existence. And what would you who are a mechanic, what would you who are an agriculturist, what would you who are following any other profession in the North, reply to the man who should come and say to you: "This pursuit that you are engaged in is morally wrong; we will not countenance it; we desire you to leave it." "But what shall I do?" you ask. "Oh, do whatever you can; but you must leave this. We will not give you any employment; we will not encourage you in getting any employment elsewhere; we will not extend your prosperity; we will do everything in our power, even by interfering legally, even through the national Congress or Legislature, to destroy the mechanical interests of the North." What would you say? That it was wrong; that it was an aggression upon your rights; that you had as much right to go where you pleased in pursuit of your business, and business interests, as we had. Of course it would be wrong. What would you who have families to support, who have wives, and daughters growing up around you, say, if we were to tell you that you were to be deprived of your rightful inheritance, even though we may believe that inheritance to be wrong? Still regarding it as sacred, and as justly yours, belonging to you by rightful heirship, you would ask: "What are we to do? what will you substitute in its place? what shall we receive in compensation for this inheritance?" We answer: "Nothing." Where would be the

justice, where the equity, where the liberty of such a proceeding ?

Again, our friend does not seem to take into consideration when he views this subject, that human beings have all the right to the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness, as they shall decide ; and that the slaves themselves, who in their own individual condition, as is not generally known, or professed not to be known by Northern abolitionists, were in a worse degree of bondage and slavery than can possibly be conceived of as existing among the most barbarous and tyrannical masters that the abolitionists have pictured as existing in the South ; and that therefore the slave himself is not injured ; and that if, when Northern slavers were engaged in the trade of importing African slaves, they had considered it morally wrong then, and had not countenanced it, had not assisted it ; if it had been strictly and entirely a Southern institution of Southern importation, they might have demanded, upon the adoption of the Constitution, upon the ratification of the confederacy, the emancipation of the slaves, and the discontinuance of the slave trade. But for many years after the Constitution existed, the North supported slavery ; and even up to the present day, the most conservative and Union-loving and peace-loving men at the North still say, " While we have no slaves, and do not wish for slaves, we have no right to interfere with yours." This is, in our opinion, the only just construction which can be put upon the constitutional rights of the South by any candid mind. This is in our opinion the only manner in which the question of slavery can be solved, and the Union preserved from the ruin which must assuredly follow dissolution.

We were much grieved in listening to the course of the argument of our friend this morning, to hear that at whatever sacrifice, at whatever cost to this Union, he approved of the most strenuous measures being adopted by the North to prevent any compromise. But we are glad to perceive.

in our individual conception, that such a proposition is revolting, not only to the South, but to every patriot and every lover of the Union in the North. We do not believe that if you who are here assembled, or who in all your Northern States are assembled to-night for worship in the name of heaven, were to assert your true opinions, there would be one out of a hundred who would say, "Dissolve this glorious confederacy, come what may." No ; if they are so strong and earnest in their belief that slavery is wrong, they should be willing to leave it with Him who always uproots wrong wherever it exists. If they are not so willing, it shows that it is a sectional party feeling, and not a patriotic feeling, which prompts their remonstrances. We are happy to believe that our friend was sincere ; but we are sorry that his judgment and conscience lead him in such a direction.

Again, ladies and gentlemen, you all remember with what earnestness and with what desire for the advancement of humanity, and for the recognition of every human government predicated upon principles like our own, the speaker advocated the recognition of the States of South America upon their forming themselves in various republics, and seeking to gain countenance and favor from our own Government. You well remember with what earnestness and power the administrators of your national Government, who perceived that the republics of South America, Bolivia, Lima, and all that now embody that beautiful country, sought to be recognized, urged that it was the policy of this Government, in justice to humanity, in justice to the recognition of its own principles, to take into favorable consideration these new republics. You will also well remember the course which our Government pursued in reference to the Republic of Mexico ; how long and earnestly it was advocated that our Government did not pursue the right course towards that country, in that it did not recognize its rights and privileges as a separate government, a separate republic ; and that at last it did de-

cide, although it has never decided as fully and as positively as the present speaker would desire, to recognize fully and entirely those principles of humanity wherever they exist.

You cannot, therefore, doubt the speaker's interest in the general amelioration of the condition of every nation where tyranny, monarchy, or political oppression, have existed. Nor can you doubt the speaker's intentions in reference to the condition of slavery in your own country. Because, be it remembered, that while we may consider African slavery as abstractly wrong, we may nevertheless regard it as a greater wrong and a greater evil to dissolve, or to disturb by sectional controversies, the Union which nearly a century has sought to establish. Nay; I would say to you, Republicans of the North, preserve your Union. You need not hold slaves. Your territories need not be peopled with slaves, because the geographical lines and limits of slavery are more strongly drawn than any action of Legislature or of Congress could draw them. You need not emigrate to slave countries. You need not form a part and portion of slave confederacies; but preserve this Union, which is founded upon justice, upon republicanism, upon the highest forms of national administration that exist in the earth. Do not seek to establish an anarchy in your own midst, by the very proposition which our friend encouraged this morning.

We say, if difficulties exist, compromise—compromise. Where two, whether individuals or nations, exist in a union, having mutual interests, when to separate would be destruction to both parties, the most judicious way is to compromise. We will apply it personally. Suppose difficulties arise between man and wife, members of the same family, father and son, or partners in business, and those difficulties are of such a nature that neither the one nor the other can recognize in the opposite party the existence of right, yet both are well aware that to sever the union, to sever the ties, to sever the relationship, would be productive of de-

struction to both themselves and their posterity, would you not say, "Compromise if you can?" Would you not say to partners in business, who are in financial difficulty, who have had contest after contest, and yet whose interests are so intimately blended that to separate would be to destroy forever the life and vitality and financial prosperity of both, would you not say, "It is better to compromise?" Would you not say to either party who have been the aggressors, "Retract?" Would you not say to both parties who are in the wrong, "Acknowledge your wrong?" We think that every true man, every candid lover of justice, will sanction our utterance.

For be it remembered that it is not a question now of simple right or wrong, that it is not a moral question in which your nation is engaged, that morality and religion are exclusive reservations by your Declaration of Independence, that each and every individual may retain his own forms of religion, his own conceptions of morality—provided that morality or that religion does not interfere with the great general laws of the Constitution of the United States. And each separate State is specifically instructed not to form laws which shall interfere with the Constitution; but in every other respect each is a distinct and positive nation. When we hear the North crying out: "Dissolve the Union, or emancipate your slaves," and when we hear the extremists of the South crying out: "Adhere and sustain us in our rights, in the extension of slavery, in the preservation of our slave property, or we will secede," we see on the one hand traitors to the Union and to patriotism, and we see on the other hand traitors to the Union and to patriotism. The greatest evidence of being in the right, is the pursuance of that course which is willing to sacrifice self for the interest of the whole. If any State or States are selfish enough to say: "Give us all that we desire, or we will dissolve this Union," or if any man or men say: "Give us all that we

desire in our selfishness or our fanaticism, or we will dissolve the Union," we say to both parties, "You are no patriots; you are simply demagogues, loving self; you are no advocates of the Constitution, no advocates of the Declaration of Independence, no advocates of the government of the United States, no advocates of the glorious institutions which we have here established; but you are traitors!"

We are sorry, too, for another form which this has assumed, which is, appealing to the religious sentiments of the people who have always sought strenuously to avoid the entangling of State with Church. We are sorry that the abolitionists have thought proper to introduce this element of religion. We would always like to see religion in state and legislative halls, to see a Christian spirit carried into every department of governmental life. But we are very sorry to see the political effusions and tirades emanating from Christian pulpits and Christian ministers. We are very sorry to hear it at the South or at the North, because it argues that both sides are wrong. For while religion can with impunity be taken anywhere, everything cannot be dragged into religion. It is the policy of your national government, strictly to avoid the mingling of Church and State, and an appeal to religious bigotry or to any religious feeling, in those things which belong strictly to the governmental action of your country, we are sorry, as I before observed, to witness. We are sorry, therefore, to see this illustration of a desire to appeal, rather to religious sensibilities, which are not founded upon strict conceptions of justice, than to the inherent judgment of a people, whose constitutional rights are well known.

If we have a Constitution, abide by it. If we have laws, abide by them. If we have the foundation of a government, abide by it. If we have none, then establish one. If we have what was sought for, a glorious confederacy of free, individual, and yet limited states, if we have a nation that is

so intimately blended, that to separate one portion would entirely destroy, or effectually blot out the interests and the beauty of the other, then we say, let us abide by the laws upon which that union was predicated. Let us as patriots, as lovers of liberty and of justice, encourage nothing which will, in any degree, mar or blot the sacred beauty of that holy edifice.

Finally, it is in accordance with our conceptions of discretion and patriotism, of peace and liberty, that the people of these United States unite now in this last effort—for it will be the last, unless the need and power of justice is more strongly felt than we now perceive it—to unite their forces, individually and collectively, in the preservation of the Union. Let sectional questions, sectional interests, decide themselves; and let no form of party or selfish interests interfere with the general patriotism which shall be felt. Oh, we would love to see in your legislative halls, those men who could sacrifice self and selfish interests for the nation's welfare; those who in calm debate and in gentlemanly encounter, in strict statesmanship and political right, would discuss this question; who would stand up, not as representatives of sections, but as representatives of the nation, and say, "What is best to be done?" We would love to hear the people of the North saying, "Whatever we have done that is wrong, we retract; we will compromise." We would love to hear the people of the South saying, "Our judgment was hasty; we will compromise." We say to you of the North, Compromise, because it is the only way to preserve your prosperity and your union. Would you see thousands of your own citizens thrown out of employment, and starving in your midst? Would you see them struggling with poverty, hunger and cold, on account of sectional strife and party contention? Would you witness all this vast nation in arms, in warfare, in parties and sub-divisions, until there are no two alike, until each section is for itself,

until it is no longer a union, but a combination of anarchies existing among you? Would you like to see your own friends all around you, starving for lack of employment? Would you like to see the South, with all its claims upon your sympathy and upon your encouragement, precipitated upon the verge of ruin?

But more will it effect you of the North, who are non-slaveholding States, because to the South do you look to a great extent for the encouragement of your arts, your manufactures, your science. Upon them to a great extent do you depend for the encouragement of your inventions, the creations of that genius which exists among you as your prerogative. Then shall all this be destroyed and sink into nothingness? Shall all this depart, and leave but fragments, broken, desolate, deserted? In the name of all that is good and true, we answer, No. In the name of this Union which has so long existed proudly and prosperously, we answer, No. To the credit of you who are here present, and of those of the North who form the great majority of your community, we hear the answer, from thousands of hearts, No. And to the credit of the South, which was hasty and passionate at first, but which in its cooler and calmer hours is still yielding and tractable, we hear from them the response, No. If the selfishness of party feeling, and the selfish hands of political demagogues, do not touch with their vile fingers this fabric, it will yet be preserved. But beware of these! Could we address you in your Representatives, could we address you as a nation, we would say to you of the North, "Compromise;" to you of the South, "Compromise;" there is everything to be gained by this, everything to be lost by the opposite course.

And again, and lastly, all that forms the beauty and power and purpose of your country, all that belongs to its great social and religious institutions, all that belongs to its prosperity in art and science, and to its triumph in commerce

and manufactures, all that belongs to everything that is so intimately connected with the individual welfare of human beings, depends upon those of you who love peace and detest war. Bloodshed is the last resource when there is no peace. Bloodshed is the last attempt of the desperado, or of nations who seek to settle their difficulties when compromise is no longer possible. Warfare or force, then, would be the last resort of this nation to settle its difficulties between the various sections of its own great confederacy. And, therefore, in all due respect, and with all due deference to the speaker who preceded us upon the occasion of the morning of this day, we say that in regard to slavery, whether right or wrong, we leave its final adjudication, its final prosperity or obliteration, in the hands of Him who knows better than we what is right and what is wrong. And in regard to the political administration, or to the continuance of the Government, we say that as patriots, as citizens and members of the various States of this confederacy, you should preserve to the last, not your sectional interests and party strifes, not your individual conception of right, but the nation which is founded upon right. Preserve that, and rest assured that the remaining portion will adjust itself. And now we commend you all to the God of Justice and Liberty.

I have mentioned to you the State of my nativity—the interest which I have taken in the various struggles that have existed in your country, and by that you may know me.

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