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Poetry.

THE PALSY OF THE HEART.

BY RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES.

I see the worlds of earth and sky,
With beauty filled to overflow;
My spirit lags behind the eye—
I know, but feel not as I know:
Those miracles of form and hue
I can dissect with artist skill,
But more than this I cannot do,—
Enjoyment rests beyond the will.

Round me in rich profusion lie
Nectareous fruits of ancient mind,
The thoughts that have no power to die
In golden poesy enshrined;
And near me hang of later birth,
Ripe clusters from the living tree,
But what the pleasure, what the worth,
If all is savorless to me?

I hear the subtle chords of sound,
Entangled, loosed, and knit anew;
The music floats without—around—
But will not enter and imbue:
While harmonies diviner still,
Sweet greetings, appellations dear,
That used through every nerve to thrill.
I often hear, and only hear.

Oh, dreadful thought! if by God's grace
To souls like mine there should be given
That perfect presence of his face,
Which we, for want of words, call Heaven,
And unresponsive even there
This heart of mine could still remain,
And its intrinsic evil bear
To realms that know no other pain.

Better down nature's scale to roll,
Far as the base, unbreathing clod,
Than rest a conscious reasoning soul,
Impervious to the light of God.
Hateful the powers that but divine
What we have lost beyond recall,
The intellectual plummet-line
That sounds the depths to which we fall.

Correspondence.

For the American Presbyterian.

THE JUSTICE OF GOD.—No. 2.

Men have hard thoughts of God for sending the sinner to hell. I have often heard them uttered; and who has not? But, through sin, every sinner will be his own tormentor. Why then should he not have hard thoughts of himself, and harder thoughts of sin? Despite of all that God has said and done, he will drink the poisonous gall that will torment him in eternity. The Judge of all the earth does right. He lets the obstinate, determined rejecter of Christ, and despiser of salvation, eat of the fruit of his own ways, and be filled with his own devices. He lets him reap what, in his own desperation, he would sow. God would have snatched the cup of death from his mouth, even after his lips had tasted the poison, but he impiously dashed the hand of mercy from him; and, with contempt, turned his back upon him who would have been his Saviour. He even treads under foot the Son of God, and does despite to the Spirit of grace. Mercy would have saved him, but mercy was despised. Mercy was abused and set at naught. Hell is dreadful, but he would not let God save him. Heaven is glorious—indescribably so—but the bleeding, weeping, pleading Jesus could not persuade him to go there. Hell is dreadful in the extreme; but he makes it so, and would go there.

Again, Christians are afflicted, plagued, and chastened in this life—*is it right?* It is the very best thing God can do for them. I know it is not joyous to them now, but it is often very grievous; yet it is working out for them the peaceable fruits of righteousness. It is refining and preparing them for the heavenly Jerusalem. The hotter the furnace, the purer the gold which has been tried in it. The most precious metals are not refined without the most intensely hot fires. So, he who is to be refined and fitted for the city of our God, and to be great in the kingdom of our Father, must pass through fiery trials. No ordinary trials will suffice. The great characters of earth and of heaven are tried characters. It would have been needful for man to be an entirely different being from what he is, in order to be great without trials. Man untried could never have been better than a great heavenly babe—an almost good-for-nothing. While I fear and tremble, I bless God that he has permitted the introduction of sin, and all the trials consequent upon it. Through all the temptations and trials of this world, is the royal and the glorious way to heavenly and eternal greatness. It is a way that is worthy of the only wise and merciful God. Peter says: "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of the sufferings of Christ; that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy." Again, he says: "That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ." James can add: "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations [trials;] knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience." Paul also says: "Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons." Men chasten and correct their own sons whom they would save from folly and sin. They act kindly and wisely in doing so. So our Heavenly Father, in love and mercy, corrects and chastens all his children.

God often makes the wrath of men and devils praise him, by securing the spiritual and eternal good of his afflicted ones. Satan may bind a daughter of Abraham eighteen years; but God only permits him to do so for her good, and when the best time shall come, that daughter shall be free. God will loose her from her infirmity, in spite of Satan. As God reigns, when Satan has done his worst, he can only further the highest interests of Christ's children. "All things work together for their good:" Rom. viii. 28. There are no exceptions to this promise. To the eye of sight, all things may seem to be against them; like Jacob: Gen. xlii. 36: but really they are all for their good. The wrath of men and devils will only further God's great purposes of love.

Millions may be grievously oppressed, every right may be stricken down, the virtuous may be in want, while vice goes in silver slippers, and with the wrong-doer and the oppressor there is power; does the Judge of all the earth do right? Yes; though we can only see it through a glass darkly. We may only see the wrath of man combined with Satan. We may think and say many hard things; and had we the power, we would suddenly hurl the wrong-doer and the oppressor from his seat of power In our zeal for the right, in the spirit of James and John, we would, like Elijah, "command fire to come down from heaven and consume them." The man who tramples down the rights of his fellow, or who pours out liquid poison and death to a fallen brother, should instantly be blasted. When we think of what bribed judges and legislators do, our indignation may scarce know any bounds; and had we the power, they should speedily be hurled from the offices which they disgrace. Had we the power, right should be done to nations and to individuals, and tyrants should no longer be known on earth. But the Lord is doing all things well. He needs none of our wisdom, our counsel, or advice, and certainly he is just as merciful as we. He knows the best time to arrest all evils, and when that time arrives it shall be done. No sooner—no later. God is accomplishing greater good by permitting the evils, which we so sadly deplore, than if he had stayed them. Ah! he is wiser than we. The wrath of man, wherever or however it may be exhibited, will never be permitted to do any thing more than accomplish the great purposes of his love and goodness. God will see that exact justice is meted out. He is not in so great a hurry as we, but it shall be done at the very best time. "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice."

But why have so many nations been left in all the darkness of heathenism for more than forty centuries? Why have so many generations passed down to the world of spirits unwarned and unsaved? Is it justice? Is it right? I acknowledge that this is the darkest chapter in all the book of God's providence; I cannot even see through a glass darkly; and yet I believe that eternity will throw light on this chapter; yes, eternity will make it all light. But for the present, we can only say: "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." But we know that it seemed good in his sight, because it was really the best. But how? We know not; and shall not attempt to penetrate the veil, and reveal what God has not revealed. Faith says: It is best; it is right; and "what thou knowest not now, thou shalt know hereafter."

As God has invariably done right in all the eternity that is past, so he will do right in all the eternity that is to come. As the Judge of all the earth, he will mete out exact justice to every one. All shall receive right at the Judgment. No one will have cause to fear there, unless he fears right, and is unwilling that it should be done. The holy have nothing to fear, but every thing to expect from their Judge. The unholy will have every thing to fear, and nothing to expect, for in vain will they hope for any injustice to be done. The sinner has cause to be alarmed only on account of his sins; and not because God is Judge. "The reward of his hands shall be given him"—nothing more—nothing less. That which he sowed, that shall he also reap.

He who has taken Jesus for his wisdom—his righteousness—his sanctification—his redemption—his all and in all—has nothing to fear. He now fears no evil, and he can look forward to all eternity and fear no evil. The dark clouds which seem to threaten the world alarm him not, for he knows that his Father is on the throne. He dwells on high—his place of defence is the munition of rocks—hence, like the eagle perched above the storm, he can look down with perfect composure, for he knows that it cannot come nigh him.

"His steady soul can fear no more
Than solid rocks when billows roar."

He can with all his heart rejoice that God is just; for in and through Jesus he fears not justice; no, he only wants justice.

But the poor rejecter of Christ, and despiser of salvation, has every thing to fear, and nothing to hope from justice. Justice will overwhelm him. To him right is truly fearful.

JAMES KERR.

DR. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE'S FAST-DAY DISCOURSE.

We give the greater part of this discourse which was delivered at Lexington, Ky., on the 4th of January.

The first and greatest of these evils that we beseech God to avert, and that we should strive with all our might to prevent, is the annihilation of the nation itself, by tearing it into fragments. Men may talk of rights perpetually and outrageously violated; they may talk of injuries that are obliged to be redressed; they may talk of guarantees without which they can submit to no further peace; and there is doubtless much that has force and much more that is captivating to ardent minds in such expositions of our sad condition; for what problem half so terrible was ever agitated upon which it was not easy to advance much on every side of it? I will not consume the short time allowed to me in examining such views. What I assert in answer to them all, is that we have overwhelming duties and incalculable interests which dictate a special line of conduct, the chief aim of which should be the preservation of the American Union, and therein of the American nation.

To be more explicit, it seems to me that there are inestimable blessings connected with the preservation of our National Union, and that there are intolerable evils involved in its destruction.

For the blessings—there is the blessing of peace amongst ourselves; there is the blessing of freedom to ourselves and to our posterity; there is the blessing of internal prosperity secured by that peace and freedom never before excelled if attained by any people; there is the blessing of our national independence, secured by our invincible strength against all the powers of the earth combined; there is the blessing of our glorious example to all nations and to all ages; there is the blessing of irresistible power to do good to all people, and to prevent evil over the face of the whole earth; there is the blessing of an unfettered Gospel, and an open Bible, and a divine Saviour, more and more manifested in our whole national life as that life deepens and spreads, subduing and possessing the widest and the noblest inheritance ever given to any people, and overflowing and fructifying all people besides. It is the problem sought to be solved from the beginning of time, and, to say the least, the highest approximation made to its solution, namely, the complete possession of freedom united with irresistible national force, and all directed to the glory of God and the good of man. And this is that glorious estate now declared to be in fearful peril, and which we are called upon to beseech God to preserve unto us.

On the other hand, the evils of rending this nation: Which of the blessings that I have enumerated—and I have enumerated only those which appeared to me to be the most obvious—which of these is there, peace, freedom, prosperity, independence, the glory of our example, the power to do good and to prevent evil, the opportunity to give permanent efficiency all over this continent, and in a certain degree all over this earth to the Gospel of God; which of these blessings is there that may not be utterly lost to vast portions of the nation; which of them may not be jeoparded over this whole continent; which of them is there that may not depart for evermore from us and our posterity in the attempt to destroy our oneness as a people, and in the results of that unparalleled self-destruction? Besides all this, how obvious and how terrible are the evils over and above, which the very attempt begets, and which our after progress must necessarily make permanent if that attempt succeeds. 1. We have already incurred the perils of universal bankruptcy before the first act is achieved by one of the least important of the thirty-three States. 2. We have already seen constitutional government, both in its essence and in its form, trampled under foot by the convention of that State; and all the powers of sovereignty itself, both ordinary and extraordinary, assumed by it in such a manner that life, liberty and property have no more security in South Carolina than anywhere under heaven where absolute despotism or absolute anarchy prevails except in the personal characters of the gentlemen who hold the power. 3. We have already seen that small community preparing to treat with foreign nations, and, if need be, introduce foreign armies into this country, headlong in the career in which she disdains all counsel, scorns all consultation and all entreaty, and treats all ties, all recollections, all existing engagements and obligations as if her ordinance of secession had not only denationalized that community, but had extinguished all its past existence. 4. We see the glorious flag of this Union torn down and a colonial flag floating in its place; yea, we see that community thrown into paroxysms of rage, and the cabinet at Washington thrown into confusion because in the harbor of Charleston our national flag, instead of being still further dishonored, yet floats over a single tower.

What then, did they expect who sent to the harbor of Charleston, to occupy the national fortresses there, the son of a companion of Washington, a hero whose veins are full of revolutionary blood and whose body is covered with honorable scars, won in the service of his country? Why did they send that Kentucky hero there if they did not intend the place they put into his hands to be kept to the last extremity?

But I need not enlarge upon this terrible aspect of what is coming to us all if the Union is destroyed. These are but the beginnings of sorrows. The men and parties who initiate the reign of lawless passion, rarely escape destruction amid the storms they create, but are unable to control. Law comes from the depth of eternity, and in its sublime sway is the nexus of the universe. Institutions *grow;* they are not *made.* Desolated empires are never restored; all history furnishes no such example.

If we desire to perish, all we have to do is to leap into this vortex of disunion. If we have any just conception of the solemnity of this day, let us beseech God that our country shall not be torn to pieces; and under the power of these solemnities let us quit ourselves like men, in order to avert that most horrible of all national calamities.

Let us consider, in the next place, those rights, as they are called, by means of which, and in their extreme exercise, all the calamities that threaten us are to be brought upon us at any moment; nay, are to be so brought upon us, that our destruction shall be perfectly regular, perfectly legal, perfectly constitutional. In which case a system like ours, a system the most enduring of all others, whether we consider the history of the past, or the laws which enter into its composition; a system the hardest of all others to be deranged, and the easiest of all to be re-adjusted when deranged. Such a system is alleged to have a secret in it, designed expressly to kill it, at the option of the smallest fragment of it. I allude to the claim of the right of nullification, and the claim of the right of secession, as being Constitutional rights; and I desire to explain myself briefly in regard to them.

According to my apprehension, there is a thorough and fundamental difference between the two. The power of nullification, supposing it to exist, would be an extreme right within the Union, and is necessarily temporary in its effects and promptly tends to the termination of the difficulty upon which it arises.

* * * *

But even in its extremest form, it bears no proportion in mischief to the doctrine of secession. Considered in its true and original form, I judge it to be indispensable to the preservation of our political system; and that the opposite mode of interpreting our political duties, and rights, and remedies terminates in subjugating the States to the General Government, and in subjugating both the General Government and the exposition of every political principle to the Supreme Court of the United States. The former system is natural and permanent, the latter is absurd, and invites rebellion. This great phenomenon has occurred in this country, that, by reason of the extraordinary ability of some of the advocates of the system which passed away in 1801, it has assumed a new form and a new life in general opinion, and seconded by the peculiar constitution of the Supreme Court of the United States, the old Republican or Democratic notions upon this great subject, though constantly triumphant in the country, have been constantly disallowed in the interpretations of the Court. I judge that the doctrine of secession is an extreme reaction against this Federal interpretation of the relations of the States to each other and to the nation. For when you arrive at an interpretation which is final, and hateful to immense parties and interests; and there is no remedy but arms, secession, or absolute submission; the expression of the popular will against the interpretation you have made, brings society to a condition, that in an excitable race and amongst a free people, can hardly be expected to be safe or easy to be managed. You have, therefore, this perilous and extraordinary claim of the right of secession under this extreme reaction, differing absolutely from the idea of the old State Rights party, and differing absolutely even from nullification itself.

Secession is a proceeding which begins by tearing to pieces the whole fabric of Government, both social and political. It begins by rendering all redress of all possible evils utterly impossible under the system that exists, for its very object is to destroy that existence. It begins by provoking war, and rendering its occurrence apparently inevitable and its termination well nigh impossible. Its very design is not to reform the administration of existing laws, not to obtain their repeal or modification; but to annihilate the institutions of the country, and to make many nations out of one. If it is the Constitutional right of any State to do this, then we have no national Government, and never had any. Then, also, it is perfectly idle to speak of new Constitutions, since the new Constitutions can have no more force than the Constitution already despised and disobeyed. Then, also, the possibility is ended—ended in the very theory of the case, and illustrated in the utter failure of its practice—of uniting Republican freedom with national strength in any country or under any form of government. But according to my belief, and according to the universal belief of the American people but a little while ago, no such right, legal or constitutional, as that of secession, does or can exist under any form of government, and least of all under such institutions as ours.

And, first of all, no State in this Union ever had any sovereignty at all, independent of, and except as they were, *United* States. When they speak of recovering their sovereignty—when they speak of returning to their condition as sovereigns in which they were before they were members of the Confederacy called at first the United Colonies and then the United States; they speak of a thing that has no existence—they speak of a thing that is historically without foundation. They were not States; they were colonies of the British, the Spanish, the French, the Dutch Governments; they were colonies granted by Royal charter to particular individuals or particular companies. Pennsylvania was the estate, the property of William Penn; Georgia, the larger part, perhaps the whole of it, of Gen. Oglethorpe. They were settled under charters to individuals and to companies—settled as colonies of foreign kings and States by their subjects; as such they revolted; as such, before their revolt, they united in a Continental Government more or less complete. As such United Colonies, they pronounced that famous Declaration of Independence which, after an heroic struggle of seven years, still as United Colonies, they made good.

That great Washington who led that great war, was the Commander-in-Chief for and in behalf of these United Colonies. As such they were born States. The treaty of peace, that made them independent States, was concluded with them altogether as the United States. What sovereignty did Kentucky ever have except the sovereignty that she has as a State of these United States, born at the same moment a State of the American Union and a separate sovereign State? We were a district of Virginia. We became a State, and we became one of the United States at the same moment, for the same purpose, and for good and all. What I mean by this is to point out the fact that the complex system of government which we have in this country, did always, does now, and in the nature of the case, must contemplate these States as united into a common Government, and that common Government as really a part of our political system, as the particular institutions of the separate sovereignties are a part of our political system. And while, as you will observe, I have attempted while repudiating the doctrine of nullification, to vindicate the doctrine of State rights, which, as I firmly believe, is an integral and indispensable part of our political system; yet on the other hand, that the doctrine that we are a nation, and that we have a national government, is, and always was, just as truly a part of our system as the other. And our political system always stood as much upon the basis that we are a nation, as it stood upon the basis that that nation is composed of sovereign States. They were born into both relations; so born that each State is equally and forever, by force of its very existence and the manner thereof, both a part of this American nation and also a sovereign State of itself. The people, therefore, can no more legally throw off their national allegiance than they can legally throw off their State allegiance. Nor can any State any more legally absolve the allegiance of its people to the nation than the nation can legally absolve the allegiance due by the people to the State they live in. Either attempt, considered in any legal, in any Constitutional, in any historical light is pure madness.

Now the pretext of founding the right of secession upon the right to change or abolish the government, which is Constitutionally secured to the people of the nation and the States, seems to me—and I say it with all the respect due to others—to be both immoral and absurd. Absurd, since they who claim to exercise it are, according to the very statement of the case, but an insignificant minority of those in whom the real right resides. It is a right vested by God and recognised by our Constitutions as residing in the greater part of those who are citizens under the Constitution which they change or abolish. But, what in the name of God, and all the possible and all the imaginable arrogance of South Carolina could lead her to believe that she is the major part of all the people that profess allegiance to the Constitution of the United States? And it is immoral, because it is trifling with the sacred rights of others, with the most solemn obligations on our own part, and the most vital interests of all concerned. And it is both immoral and absurd in one, because as a political pretext, its use in this manner invalidates and renders perilous and odious, the grandest contribution of modern times to the science of government, and therein to the peace of society, the security of liberty and the progress of civilization; namely, the giving Constitutional validity to this natural right of man to change or to abolish the government under which they live, by voting, when the major part see fit to do so. It is trifling with this great natural right, legalized in all our American Constitutions, fatally caricaturing and recklessly converting it into the most terrible engine of organized legal destruction. More than that; it is impossible, in the very nature of the case and in the very nature of the government, that any such legal power or any such Constitutional right could exist; because its existence presupposes law to have changed its nature and to have become a mere device; and presupposes government to have changed its nature and ceasing to be a permanent ordinance of God, to become a temporary instrument of evil in the hands of factions as they successively arise. Above all places under heaven, no such right of destruction can exist under our American Constitutions, since it is they that have devised this very remedy of voting instead of fighting, they that have made this natural right a Constitutional right; they that have done it for the preservation and not for the ruin of society. And it has preserved it for more than seventy years the noblest form of human society, in constant security; and it could, if justly exercised, preserve it forever.

* * * It may confidently be asserted that if the power of nullification, or the power of secession, or both of them, were perfectly Constitutional rights, neither of them should be, under any circumstances, wantonly exercised. Nor should either of them, most especially the right of secession, ever be exercised except under extreme necessity. But if these powers, or either of them, is a mere usurpation founded upon no right whatever, then no State may resort to rebellion or revolution without, in the first place, such a just and necessary cause as may not be otherwise maintained; or, in the second place, without such a prospect of success as justifies the evil of rebellion or revolution; or else such intolerable evils as justify the most desperate attempts. Now it is my profound conviction that nothing has occurred, that nothing exists, which justifies that revolution which has occurred in South Carolina, and which seems only to be impending in other Southern States.

Beyond all doubt, nothing has occurred of this description, connected with any other interest or topic, except that of negro slavery; and connected with that, my deep assurance is, that the just and necessary cause of the slave States, may be otherwise maintained than by secession, revolution or rebellion; nay, that it may be incomparably better maintained otherwise; nay, that it cannot be tempt to do so will be fatal as regards the avowed object, and pregnant with incalculable evils besides.

In such discussions as these, the nature of the institution of slavery is perfectly immaterial. So long as the Union of the States survives, the constitutional guarantee and the Federal power, which have proved adequate for more than seventy years, are that much added to whatever other force States or sections may possess to protect their rights. Nor is there, in the nature of the case, any reason why States with slaves, and States without slaves should not abide together in peace, as portions of the same great nation, as they have done from the beginning. The unhallowed passions of men, the fanaticism of the times, the mutual injuries and insults which portions of the people have inflicted on each other, the cruel use which political parties have made of unnatural and transient popular excitements, and, I must add, the unjust, offensive and unconstitutional enactments by various State Legislatures at the North; the repeal of the Missouri compromise by Congress; the attempt of the Supreme Court to settle political principles, deemed to be of vast importance by all parties, in the Dred Scott case, which principles were not in the case at all; the subsequent conduct of the Federal Government, and of the people in Kansas; the total overthrow of the Whig and American parties, the division and defeat of the Democratic party, and the triumph of the Republican party; the ordinance of secession of South Carolina; the agitation pervading the whole nation, especially the greater part of the Southern States; and to crown all and if possible, to make all desperate, the amazing conduct of the President of the United States amidst these great disorders. This is the sad outline of the slavery agitation, the posture of which for a moment is thus exhibited, no one knowing how soon new and fatal steps may hurry us still farther. What I assert in the face of so much that is painful and full of peril, and what I confidently rely will be the verdict of posterity, is that all this, terrible as it is, affords no justification for the secession of any single State of the Union—none for the disruption of the American Union. All that the South has to complain of, terrible as it is, affords no justification for the secession of any single State of the Union.

They who make the attempt will find in it no remedy for the evils from which they flee. They who goad others to this fatal step, will find that they have themselves erred exceedingly. They who have had the lead in both acts of madness, have no hope for good from coming ages, half so great as that they may be utterly forgotten. Posterity will receive with scorn every plea that can be made for thirty millions of free people, professing to be Christian, in extenuation of the unparalleled folly of their self-destruction, by reason that they could not deal successfully with three or four millions of African slaves, scattered amongst them. Oh! everlasting infamy, that the children of Washington did not know how to be free. Oh! degradation still deeper, that the children of God did not know how to be just and to forbear with one another.

It is said, however, it is now too late. The evil is already done. South Carolina has already gone; Florida, it is most likely, went yesterday, or will go to day, even while we are pleading with one another, and with God, to put a better mind in her. Soon, it may be possible within the present month, all the Cotton States will go. We, it is added, by reason of being a slave State, must also go. Our destiny, they say, our interests, our duty, our all is bound up with theirs, and we must go together.

The reply to which is various: First. The institution of slavery as it exists in this country presents a threefold and very distinct aspect. First, the aspect of it in those States whose great staples are rice, sugar, and cotton, commonly, and well enough expressed by calling them the cotton States. Then the aspect of it presented by those States in portions of which those fabrics are raised, and in other portions of which they are not, which we may well enough call the mixed portion of the slave States. And then its aspect in those slave States which are not producers of those great staples in the midst of which, and out of which these great commotions come. What I assert is, that the relation of slavery to the community, and the relation of the community by reason of slavery to the General Government and the world, is widely different in all three of these classes of States. The relation of slavery to the community, to the government and to our future, in Kentucky, in Virginia, in Maryland, in Delaware, is widely different from the relation of slavery in all these respects, in Louisiana, in South Carolina, and in all the other cotton States. In the meantime, also, the relation is different from both of those, wherein it exists in what I have called the mixed States; in Arkansas, part of which is a farming country, and a part of which thoroughly planting; in Tennessee, part cotton, and the eastern part a mountainous and farming country; in Texas and North Carolina, where similar facts exist, and, perhaps, in some other States. What I desire is that you get the idea I have of the matter; that while it is true all the slave States have certain ties and sympathies between them which are real, and ought not to be broken, yet, on the other hand, it is extremely easy to carry this idea to a fatal and false extent, and to ruin ourselves forever under the illusion begotten thereby. In Kentucky the institution of slavery exists about in the proportion of one slave to four white people, and the gap between the two races is widening at every census. In South Carolina there are about five slaves to three white persons, and the increment is on the slave side.

The state of things I have sketched, necessarily produces a general resemblance indeed, because slavery is general; but, at the same time, innumerable diversities, responsive to the very condition of slavery, of its products, and of its relative influence in the body politic in the different slave States. And you never committed a greater folly than you will commit, if, disregarding these things you allow this single consideration—that you are a slave State—to swallow up every other consideration, and control your whole action in this great crisis. We, in Kentucky, are tolerant of opinion. Inform yourselves of what is passing of an opposite character throughout South Carolina, and reflect on the change that must pass on you, before you would be prepared to tear down the most venerable institutions, to insult the proudest emblems of your country's glory, and to treat constitutions and laws as if they were playthings for children; before you are prepared to descend from your present noble posture, and surrender yourself to the guidance and dictation of such counsels and such statesmen as rule this disunion movement. Nothing seems to me more obvious, and nothing is more important to be pressed upon your attention at this moment, than that the non-cotton States stand in a position radically different, in all respects, from the position in which the cotton States stand, both with regard to the institution of slavery and with regard to the balance of the nation. The result is that all these States, the cotton States, the mixed States, and the non-cotton slave States, and the free States, may enjoy peace, and may enjoy prosperity under a common government, and in a common Union, as they have done from the beginning; where the rights of all and the interests of all may be respected and protected, and yet where the interests of every portion must be regulated by some general consideration of the interests which are common to everybody. On the other hand, in a confederacy where cotton is the great idea and end, it is utterly impossible for the mixed, much more for the non-cotton States, to protect adequately any of their rights, except the right of slavery, to carry out any of their purposes except purposes connected with slavery, to inaugurate any system of policy, or even to be free, otherwise than as they servilely follow the lead, and bow to the rule of the cotton States. The very instant you enter a confederacy in which all is regulated and created by the supreme interest of cotton, everything precious and distinctive of you is jeoparded. Do you want the slave trade re-opened? Do you want free trade and direct taxation? Do you want some millions more of African cannibals thrown amongst you, broadcast throughout the whole slave States? Do you want to begin a war which shall end when you have taken possession of the whole southern part of this continent, down to the Isthmus of Darien?

If your design is to accept the principles, purposes and policy which are openly avowed in the interest of secession, and which you see exhibited on a small scale, but in their essence, in South Carolina—if that is your notion of regulated freedom and the perfect security of life and property; if that is your understanding of high national prosperity, where the great idea is more negroes, more cotton, direct taxes, free imports from all nations, and the conquest of all outlaying land that will bring cotton; then, undoubtedly, Kentucky is no longer what she has been, and her new career, beginning with secession, leads her far away from her strength and her renown.

The second suggestion I have to make to you is, that if the slave line is made the line of division, all the slave States seceding from the Union, and all the free States standing united by the Union: what I assert in that case is, that the possibility of the perpetuity of negro slavery in any border State terminates at once. In our affected zeal for slavery, we will have taken the most effectual means of extinguishing it; and that in the most disastrous of all possible ways. On the contrary, if this Union is to be saved, it is by the cordial sympathy of the border States on the one side and on the other side of the slave line that it must be saved. We have nothing to hope for from the extreme States on either side—nothing from the passionate violence of the extreme South—nothing from the turbulent fanaticism of the extreme North.

It is along that slave line and in the spirit of mutual confidence, and the sense of common interest of the people on the North and on the South of that line that the nation must seek the instruments of its safety. It is Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, on the one side: and Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri—God send that I might add, with confidence Tennessee, and North Carolina, on the other side: these are the States that are competent to save this Union. Nothing, therefore, can be more suicidal than for the border slave States to adopt any line of conduct which can justly deprive them of the sympathy and confidence of the border free States—now largely possessed by them. And nothing is more certain than that a patriotic devotion to the Union, and a willingness to do all that honorable men should do, or moderate men ask in order to preserve it, is as strongly prevalent at this moment amongst the people of the border free States as among those of the border slave States.

* * * * If under the curse of God, and the madness of the extreme Northern and Southern States, the preservation of the Union should be impossible, then it belongs to this immense central power to reconstruct the nation upon the slave line as its central idea, and thus perpetuate our institutions, our principles and our hopes, with an unchanged nationality. For even they who act in the mere interests of slavery, ought to see, that after the secession of the cotton States, the border slave States are obliged even for the sake of slavery, to be destroyed, or to adhere to the Union as long as any Union exists; and that if the Union were utterly destroyed, its reconstruction upon the slave line is the solitary condition on which slavery can exist in security anywhere, or can exist at all in any border State.

* * * * My unalterable conviction is, that the slave line is the only permanent and secure basis of a confederacy for the slave States, and especially for the border slave States; and that the Union of free and slave States, in the same confederacy, is the indispensable condition of the peaceful and secure existence of slavery. As to the possible isolation of Kentucky, this also, it seems to me, is not a result to be sought. If it should occur as the alternative to evils still greater, Kentucky ought to embrace it with calmness and dignity, and awaiting the progress of events, show by her wisdom, her courage, her moderation, her invincible rectitude, both to this age and to all that are to come, how fully she understood, in the midst of a gainsaying and backsliding generation, that no people ever performed anything glorious who did not trust in God, who did not love their country, and who were not faithful to their oaths.

It seems to me, therefore, that the immediate duty of Kentucky may clearly be stated in very few words:

1. To stand by the the Constitution and the Union of the country to the last extremity. 2. To prevent, as for the moment, the impending and immediate danger, all attempts to reduce her, all attempts to terrify her into the taking of any step, inconsistent with her own Constitution and laws; any step, disregardful of the Constitution and laws of the United States; any step which can possibly compromise her position or draw her on otherwise than by her own free choice, deliberately expressed at the polls, according to her existing laws and Constitution, whereby she will choose her own destiny. 3. To settle on her heart that the rending of this Union on the slave line is, for her, whatever it may be for others, the most fatal issue that the times can have, and the doing this in such a way as to subject her to the dominion of the cotton States for all time to come, is the very worst form of that fatal issue.

After all, my friends—after all, we have the great promise of God that all things shall work together for good to them that love him. I do not know but that it may be the mind of God, and his divine purpose, to break this Union up, and to make of it other nations, that shall at last be more powerful than it, unitedly, would have been. I do not know, I do not pretend to say, how the Lord will use the passions of men to glorify his name. He restrains the remainder of wrath and will cause the wrath of man to praise Him. We have His divine assurance that all nations that have gone before us, and all that will follow us, and we ourselves by our rise, by our progress, and, alas! by our decay and ruin, are but instruments of His infinite purpose, and means in His adorable providence, whereby the everlasting reign of Messiah, the Christ of God, is to be made absolute and universal.

Great, then, is our consolation, as we tremble for our country, to be confident in our Lord! Great is our comfort as we bewail the miseries which have befallen our glorious inheritance, to know that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! Infinitely precious is the assurance, amidst the trials now impending, and the woes which threaten us, that the heroic self-devotion with which our personal duty is discharged, is one part of our fitness to become partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light!

TOUCHING INCIDENT OF NULLIFICATION TIMES.

The following old soldier's story is told by the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*:—

A few days ago I met an old soldier who was one of the garrison at Fort Moultrie during the Nullification war. Then, not only Forts Moultrie and Sumter, but also Castle Pinckney, were in possession of the United States troops. Besides, several men-of-war were in the harbor lying under the guns of the forts. General Scott was the commander of all the forces. My informant, belonging to the company of Captain Ringgold, who afterwards fell a hero on the battle-fields of Mexico, narrated to me the following touching incident of that memorable and unfortunate rebellion, which I will give in his own words: "One night," he said, "we perceived the whole horizon over the city of Charleston painted with a gloomy red, which increased in brightness every minute. At first we believed that the Nullifiers were amusing themselves with large bonfires, but when the skies grew redder and redder, it became apparent that the city was on fire. Whilst standing and quietly looking, we were aroused from our reveries by the arrival of Captain Ringgold, who immediately ordered the company to fall into line, without arms, and marched to the landing. Unfortunately, however, the tide was very low, and the boat lying high and dry. He jumped into the boat and ordered us to carry it into the water, which we did. We then started in the greatest hurry, passing various United States vessels and posts, who, on hailing us, received as answer: 'Captain Ringgold's company, going to the rescue of Charleston.' 'Pass on,' was the sole reply. When near the city, the captain gave strict order to be as quiet as possible, that we might not be heard; for he did not trust the Charlestonians, as, only a short time before, they had driven a United States company out of town, which then had gone to Castle Pinckney. The wharves, however, were forsaken, and not a man visible. We marched in the direction of the fire, and soon came on one of the squares where the fire was. A large number of people were present, who immediately surrounded us. Seeing us without arms, and suspecting the purpose of our coming, they immediately gave vent to the most boisterous hurrahs for Uncle Sam's soldiers. Captain Ringgold approached one of the foremen of the fire-engines, asking him, as his men were propably fatigued, to let his soldiers work, which request was immediately complied with. We worked as hard we could until four o'clock in the morning. The inhabitants, soon after we commenced working, sent us large quantities of refreshments. The danger being over, Captain Ringgold ordered us to leave, and we marched down to the wharves. But before we could get there, we were stopped by a crowd of gentlemen, who insisted that we should follow them to an adjoining restaurant, where the tables were spread with the best things that could be had. We then left under the cheers of the assembled multitude. Thus did our forces fight the Charlestonians."

The old soldier, when he closed, wiped his eyes. His patriotic heart remembered olden times, when the same demon of disunion, but less fearful than now, threatened to destroy our glorious Union. He was then a young man—he is gray now. "But," said he, "in spite of all that, I would, even now, if England or any other foreign nation should threaten South Carolina, shoulder the musket again, and march to her rescue. Her inhabitants, though misled by traitors and demagogues, are still our brethren. No secession ordinances can sever the ties which so long have united us. There are yet Union-loving people enough amongst them. The hearts of the people cannot be divided."

OUGHT MINISTERS TO DISCLOSE CONFESSIONS?

Not many months since, the Rev. Dr. Patterson, a Presbyterian clergyman of Chicago, received from a lady connected with his congregation, a voluntary, written confession of guilt. That such a confession had been made, reached the ear of the aggrieved party through the offender herself. A trial was about to come on, and Dr. Patterson consulted counsel as to the course proper for him to take. He was advised that such a confession was not privileged, and that on the trial he would be compelled to produce it. Under this advice, he permitted its contents to be disclosed to the party who was to call for it on trial.

By a large portion of the secular press, this conduct of Dr. Patterson has been visited with bitter denunciation. He has been charged with "violating the confessional," and an issue being framed in which the supposed culprit was the prosecutor, and he the defendant, he has been found guilty.

For ourselves, we are disposed to object to this result. The term "Confessional," to our Protestant ears, is somewhat new. The Common Law, framed by men who held the casuistry of Rome in as deep detestation as they did her usurpation, recognised no confessional sanctity whatever. What was told the confessor, had to be told in court. If these reverend personages refused to answer, they were put in jail until they did, and the cases were rare in which this discipline was not effective. Within the last few months, as we observe from a debate in the House of Commons, the same principle has been reiterated by the Queen's Bench, and has been vindicated by the government in the face of the jeers and hoots of the Irish brigade. And the same is the law in every American State where a statute to the contrary does not exist.

Perhaps it is well for the morality of the country that such is the law. To say that confessions made to clergymen should be excluded, would be to interpose a clog in the way of the detection of crime scarcely less effectual than to say that the results of post-mortem examinations, or the evidence of by-standers, should not be received. Confession is an almost indispensable condition of crime. Guilt cannot keep its own counsel. Providence has given it this ear-mark, as if to secure its detection, and to refuse to use the preventive, is to license the crime.

Nor is it safe to public morals to open a public reservoir for confessions, inviting every one to throw his burden upon it, and telling him that everything placed there shall be sacred. Such a process is like the artificial digestions the Roman gluttons managed to secure, by which they could eat eight or ten dinners with only the ordinary inconveniences of one. Let a man have a confessional into which to ease himself immediately after committing a crime, and he will at once be fresh and bright to commit another. None of the little pangs of remorse will disturb him. All these he will deposit in his confessor's ear. The craving to let the secret out will be satisfied, and the secret out, he will be a revived man, ready to murder or rob with a lighter heart, as well as a more enlarged experience. What Providence designed if we may so speak, as a check on crime, is turned into an engine for its promotion.

No Protestant clergyman, we apprehend, should receive a confession without notifying the party tendering it, that neither in law or morals can such a confession be held sacred. If a confession be notwithstanding made, then, in case of gross public crime, a clergyman receiving it is bound, as would be any other citizen, to disclose it, so that the crime may be punished. And in no case can he refuse, when duly called on in a court of justice, to state whatever information he may have received.

Epis. Recorder.

SYRIA.

I recently visited Merj Ayun, but did not go as far as Hasbeiya, as none of our people, and indeed none of the people of the town are there, except Druses and Jews. I found great destitution in the Merj. Hundreds half naked and half starved, were crouching amid the ruins of their former houses, without a shelter above them, and scarcely a rag, or an old mat between them and the ground. I was able to extend the charity of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, to about 1,400 of the most destitute, and shall probably return next week, to take further supplies of money and clothing. I found the people attentive to hear the word of God, and whenever an opportunity occurred for worship, at a slight notice, quite a large number