

AMERICAN CITIZEN.

"Let us have Faith that Right makes Might; and in that Faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it"—A. LINCOLN.

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A WARNING.

TO THOSE WHO ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE CALLED BY THE STREETS BY NIGHT.

If your boy's love to swear and fight,
And have no sense,
As soon as they are from your sight,
I join the public street at night,
And you can think it all right,
Let 'em run.

Let 'em run, run, run, run,
That ever their steps will slack,
Ah! not they soon will learn the trade
Of gawking, gog and and bludge,
To run a muck in sin's crusade,
And curse the day that you were made,
To father such a pack.

II.

Should ever you meet a boy at night,
A rascalish clown,
Blaspheming God, and awful "right,"
Who jure at you with all his might,
And says he's "right" for a fight,
Knock him down.

Aye, knock him down, and never fear,
About the deed you've done;
Ah! not his parents are not near,
To shield the boy from them so dear,
No! stop! an idea strikes me here:
You may be smiting, oh how queer,
Your own dear drunken son.

III.

Well never mind, they are but boys,
And may be fun,
But then, you need not care,
You boys, like you, may learn to swear;
In doory at night—why you could bear
Such solitaire.

Aye, let your boys at random run,
And time alone will show;
That after all, the boys are done,
And errand boys are done,
Whether or not, a hell they've won;
Would you not give to account your son
A candidate for woe?

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Citizen.

Politics and Religion.
It is a well known fact, that this subject is exciting considerable attention, and honest inquirers on every hand are seeking a truthful and reasonable solution of the problem. Not pretending to be wise above what is written, we feel in duty bound to contribute our mite, in opening up this rather intricate subject.

Questions meet us at every step, contrary opinions and feelings, with numberless unwarranted assertions, charges and what not, confront us in the daily avocations and business of life; and all comes from a civilized, christianized and professing community and people. Can all be right? Does God's Holy spirit lead one man in one direction, and another in the opposite course? People whose interests and well-being, nationally, socially and morally, are one and the same.—We think not! Why then this jarring, jangling, clashing and confliction of opinions, theories and principles? There must be a cause—and a prolific source, from whence all this flows. If we can succeed in stripping off the veil, and showing this matter in its clear light, our object is gained.

The writer is not a politician, never expects to be; is prone to look at every subject from a moral standpoint, where he has a chance of seeing. Will the reader step up on to the platform and take a look at the subject?

When we look at the raging strife going on between north and south, at the terrible bitterness of parties and of party spirit, at the blood shed, sorrow and misery of many thousands of our fellows on every side, we are constrained to believe the world has gone mad, and as it were, by our consent, have set upon each other to kill and destroy all within their reach. But the subject still wears a more gloomy aspect, when we reflect that these sections and contending parties all profess to worship the same God, be influenced by the same spirit; guided by the same volume of inspiration, may more, belonging to the same religious societies, members of the same churches, professing the same faith and practicing the same religious precepts. Still farther. Each contending section, party and army, have Chaplains, Bibles, religious books, tracts &c., to inspire their soldiers with bravery and courage. Each have their days of fasting, prayer and devotional exercises—each invoking God's blessing. Each imploring his aid against the common enemy.—How must the eye of the all seeing God, look down upon this strange combination of religious display, or devotional opposition. Why is it, are we in earnest? are we sincere? do we devoutly wish for what we pray? if so, can our prayers be answered? can one God supply such opposite extremes of desires? Truly a Philosopher might be puzzled, and exclaim:—"Whom the God's would kill, they first make mad."

Now let us see if we can account for this strange comedy:
1st. We lay down a few fundamental principles, which you will do well to examine. If they are good and true, they may safely build upon them—if false, then the structure must fall, no matter how fine or costly the building.

First then, there must be a ruling element in religion, to make religion right; that element must be *vital Godliness or piety*, unless this element be in our religion, it will be no better than the religion of Boodah, Juggernaut or Guadamah.—This principle is the same to religion, that Leaven is to the meal. Gal. 5th and 9th. *It gives it life; It is life*; without it religion is a dead, loathsome carcass, a barren idea, a forgery, a libel—proof, see heathen mythology, human sacrifices, &c.

2nd. *This true religion*, must be the ruling element in daily life, in society and in politics. The same to these that the Leaven is to the meal. Now if this rule were followed, there could be no war, for true religion leads to peace, quiet, liberty, equal rights, and to love our neighbor as ourselves, and this religion is not many, but one—the religion of Christ.

Having laid these foundation principles, I proceed to build my argument, and here notice that, this religion may be safely brought into every avocation of human life, into every principle of human government, every good institution, and is productive of good in each and every department, for it sanctifies the whole mass, purifies the whole economy of nature.

The contrary cannot be truthfully said, we cannot bring anything else into our religion of our worldly, selfish or common affairs, without producing disastrous results. Religion will not stand that kind of mixing, and right here is the grand source of all our troubles, as we shall show. Religion can stand alone, it has stood for eighteen hundred years, amid the scorn, contempt, carresses, fawnings, corruptions, persecutions of Kings, Emperors, courts, popes, nations and people, and stands out at the present hour in bold relief, from the dark clouds of national sorrow, to show us our way out of this dire conflict, and will it be thought presumption in me, to assert, that if we ever reach the shore of our troubles, the goal of peace, religion, true and undefiled, must be our pilot or guide? Thank God then, that we have a President, who earnestly calls around him this hallowed influence, in his appeals to us for our prayers, sympathies, sermons and general co-operation, in the fearful struggle for our national existence. God bless him and give wisdom, is our fervent prayer, and we will try to give the nation light, it is our imperative duty, and solemn promise. Now to see where we have run off the track, and the obstruction—but if we bring into our religion as a ruling element drunkenness for example, and although in other respects, it may be said we are good hearted, kind, affectionate, good citizens, &c. Yet where this pernicious practice or evil-habit prevails, it becomes the ruling passion or element of the man's life. His social interests happiness &c., as well as mental culture and moral principles, give way to its overpowering influence, and the man presents to the eye of even the casual observer, a wreck of character. Can we mistake the cause, had he made religion, true religion, the ruling element of his life, the passion would have been restrained, overcome. The habit broken up, and instead of a wreck of character, you would discover a man of moral worth. The same thing may be said of every vice of which as a people we are guilty, let either fraud, lying, stealing, Sabbath breaking, gambling, incest or even speculation, (for this is a kind of polite fraud) be indulged in as a practice, and the passions of our carnal natures, such as anger, wrath, malice, evil speaking jealousy, prejudice, inordinate love for earthly objects, covetousness, &c., be cherished by us and "rolled as a sweet morsel under our tongues."—It will become the lever or moving power of the soul, and will finally subvert every moral principle which we may have imbibed, and our profession become a stink in the nose of every intelligent man or woman acquainted with our course.—But you inquire, what has all this to do with politics? I answer by stating facts patent in our country's history, as a section, the southern people have made *Politics*, (not religion) the ruling element of their society. *Slavery the leaven of politics and politics the leaven of society.* Religion has been humbled before it, made to give place. Proof, see a few white men present at every religious meeting, or see the meeting pronounced unlawful. See learning prohibited the slave; see the marriage institution ignored; fornication and bastardy, common in every quarter, professing christians selling their own flesh and blood into perpetual slavery. Does the blood the abuses you inquire, certainly in a majority of cases, there are noble exceptions of course, but the majority of southern churches and professing christians have yielded, yea sanctioned, and have given their influence to perpetuate and extend this God dishonoring, Heaven daring institution. Notwithstanding the denunciations of Jehovah's word against oppression,

his commands to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, and in open violation of the good common sense of every enlightened man and woman, they have constantly paraded before us, to cover their guilt, the old Mosaic laws, regulating servitude, as authority for the vilest oppression known to exist in the enlightened world, and indeed but little if any more revolting, to be found among the most degraded and barbarous nations of the earth, trying if possible to throw the quilt of their iniquity in the very face of Jehovah, and make him the author and upholder of all sin, and indeed many in our own part of the country take the very same ground, and plead for the institution as a divine rite. "O when will fools understand knowledge." O, why pervert the very patience and long suffering of God, into a cloak of concealment for the protection of the most disgusting and Hell deserving vice of the age? But to return to our design.

Religion being humbled before politics, and politics being made the leaven of society and of the church—true Godliness or piety feel from their religion, and left it a body without a soul—a stinking carcass. Loathsome in the sight of honest enlightened men. Loathsome it must be in the eyes of a just and Holy God, who has always abhorred oppression. See Ecl. 7th and 7th.—Psalms, 72d, 4th, 54th, 3d, 12th, 5th, 62d, and 10th. Isaiah 5th, 7th, 33d, and 15th. Ezek. 17th, 5th, and 10th. Mal. 3d, and 5th. James 2d, these are a few of the many passages of scripture truth to be found bearing upon this subject, which I beg my readers to consider, who are in favour of the lovely institution of American slavery—*fool blot upon our land of freedom.*

Tis Strange that our Ecclesiastics and learned men of the south, forgot the Mosaic year of Jubilee. Why was it, that in the fiftieth year of American Independence, "Liberty was not proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof?" Lev. 25th, 10th.—Why hold so strenuously to one part of Mosaic Law, and reject another on the very same subject—its evident that dishonesty exists somewhere. How will we answer to God, who knows the secrets of our hearts, and the motives by which we are actuated, for our glaring ignorance or dishonesty in this affair of public interest? Let us look the matter fair in the face, and not yield to prejudices and party spirit longer.

But now in conclusion, what has politics become in the south by this improper mixing? *Ans. Rebellion!* What is Rebellion? *Ans. Sacrilege!* And are we not vending our steps to such a result, when we suffer party feelings and prejudices to rule our better judgments, embitter our social intercourse, distract and destroy our love to each other, in the same church, divide us in our efforts for good, perhaps cause us to leave our church, and find a home where political spirits congenial to our own are found, or bring disturbance into the church in some way or other; perhaps charge the preacher for bringing politics into the church, in preaching against national sin and praying for the Government, when the truth is "thou art the man" who has brought your politics into the church. The preacher only brings the influence of the church, and his own, to bear on politics; purifying politics, squaring them by the eternal rule, which will never fail, and this is right; just what God designs; that we shall bring his religion into every principle, and avocation of human life, and human affairs; sanctifying and renovating every part thereof, so that we may be cleansed from all unrighteousness, and properly qualified to take our proper position in society, and exert a salutary influence on every hand. There is then, a wide difference between mixing politics with religion, and mixing religion with politics; perhaps you say, "we can't see it." I once could not see the difference between "a solid half foot, and half a solid foot;" but when I became a man, I put away childish things, and when I saw that the figures would produce the difference, I gave up that it must be right, so try the figures on this, according to the rule of Divine truth, and see if it does not produce the same result.

Speech of Hon. J. K. Moorhead,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1864.

Mr. Moorhead said:
Mr. Chairman: My colleague from the 21st district [Mr. Dawson] has made confessedly the ablest speech on the other side of the House, and has stated with great frankness and clearness the grounds of his opposition to the war. Although it was well answered by my colleague from the 19th district, [Mr. Schofield,] I feel it incumbent upon me to give it some attention, as our districts adjoin, have like interests and feelings, and as special efforts have been made, by the circulation of his speech to affect the political sentiment of Western Pennsylvania. We both live at the head of the great channels of trade formed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and their tributaries, down which the coal, lumber, and agricultural products, and the manufactures of glass, steel, iron, copper, wood, &c., of our people were accustomed before the rebellion to float safely and without let or hindrance, to the inhabitants of thirteen States, and on through the Gulf to foreign markets. Valuable as the Federal Union is to the people of other States, is beyond all price to Pennsylvania, and especially to his constituents and mine, who alike love their country, are proud of its history, believe in free government, hate slavery, are ready to die rather than see their national flag dishonored at home or abroad, and will not permit the destruction of their Government by aristocratic slaveholders, who treat and speak of northern people—Democrats as well as Republicans—with more scorn, than they feel for their slaves on their plantations. The blow of the traitors who made this war, fell first and heaviest on our constituencies, when they seized the navigation of the Mississippi, closed and confiscated, property, and destroyed trade more than sixty years enjoyed, and for restoration of the right to which our people have been vigorously fighting for nearly three years. I do this, Mr. Chairman, the more readily, because the doctrines he announces, are the very same which brought on the war, and if not condemned by the people, would make the southern rebels our masters forever.

My colleague began his speech by reminding us in glowing terms of the happy and prosperous state of the country "about eight years since," when he left these halls. He left two years before Mr. Buchanan became President. What was its condition when Mr. Buchanan handed the Government to Mr. Lincoln? Why is my colleague silent as to the pregnant fact, that when Mr. Buchanan retired, the gloom of that awful period was such that its mere remembrance comes like an evil shadow over the heart of every patriot?

It has been suggested he has been in a deep sleep during the eight years he was absent from political life. His speech further informs strong evidence of it. Let me then inform him what he should know, and what many of his constituents do know, that not merely are we now, "in the midst of a revolution," but the country was in the midst of a revolution when Mr. Buchanan retired, and has been on the brink of a revolution at different times, for thirty years.

Jackson suppressed treason in 1832. Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators made some signs of beginning a revolution, under old Zach. Taylor in 1850, when California was admitted as a free State; but the hero of Buena Vista squelched it by announcing that he would hang the first rebel who dared to lift a hand against the Union, and Jeff. Davis well knew he would do it. They prepared for it, while Pierce lived in the White House, and Davis governed the country. They persevered while Buchanan was President, and Floyd controlled the army, until, between the 4th of November, 1860, the day Lincoln was elected, and the 4th of March, 1861, the day he was inaugurated, every southern fort except Pickens and Sumter, every armory and arsenal, all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition, all the custom-houses, post offices, and mints, in a word all the property of the Federal Government in every seceded State were seized by slaveholding traitors, without a blow being struck or a shot being fired in their defense, and 30 days before Buchanan's term expired, eight slaveholding States had openly rebelled against the Government, cast off allegiance to it and excluded its authority, hauled down its flag, captured its troops, arms, forts, ships, munitions of war, assembled a congress at Montgomery, Ala., adopted a constitution, elected a President, prepared to raise armies, and organized a confederacy as a foreign and hostile government, all under that Democratic rule which my colleague is so anxious to restore, and all done by Democratic leaders! What did Mr. Buchanan do to prevent these great crimes? Nothing! What did they propose to do? Nothing! On the other hand, they resisted everything that looked like protecting the public property, and preserving the nation's honor.

Sir, so widespread was treason, so faithless the President, that all hope was exhausted except the single one that his term would expire before all was lost.—Thank God! Abraham Lincoln became President before the cause of the Union was totally ruined, and then the work of rescue began.

My colleague, in a speech of twenty-nine pages, says not a word in denunciation of these rebel insults and outrages, nor does he show any sympathy with those of his neighbors whose blood has enriched every battle-field in defense of their country, and whose bones are before Richmond and Charleston, at Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and whose heroic valor has protected his home and mine from threatened invasion by his late political friends. Nor has he any charges to make against anybody except of "madness and folly" against the people, and railing against the Government, the Quakers and Abolitionists. The rebellion is tenderly mentioned as an "ill judged rebellion"—no crime in it—no blood on the rebels' hands; only a mistake in judgment, a bad guess as to time and result! Sir, I do not think my colleague has allowed his good feelings to find expression in his speech; but it was made to aid in restoring the Democratic rule, its errors and fallacies should be pointed out.

My colleague sees no prospect of the end. He says "nearly three years of civil war have now discharged their relentless fury upon our unhappy country, and we are yet apparently as far from any satisfactory adjustment of our differences as when we first flew to arms." Sir, I broadly deny this extraordinary statement. It is the policy of the rebels, and those who sympathize with them to undervalue the results already accomplished, and to discourage the public feeling of the North. Jeff. Davis says the South cannot be conquered, and my colleague deliberately shuts his eyes to the astonishing results already attained. The rebellion is in its last agonies; immense regions have been reclaimed, several States are returning to their allegiance, and on every hand there is but one indication, and that of the increasing power of the Union and the increasing weakness of the rebellion. My colleague should see this; but there is none so blind as he who will not see. His doctrine as to the true character of the government is a specimen brick of the genuine Calhoun mould. He "finds no difficulty in a divided allegiance," and he "holds that allegiance to bind the citizen in equal degree to the government of the State and to that of the nation, both proceeding from the same source—the people of the several States." This doctrine has deluded multitudes into treason, has undermined the Federal Government, brought on this war, and sacrificed the lives of thousands of our people. General Jackson in his day denounced it, and warned the country against it; and even Mr. Buchanan, in his last annual message, declared it "to be inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution." It means that we have no national Government; that under the Constitution there is no Union; but only a knot of States that may be tied or untied at pleasure; that there is no such thing as a citizen of the United States, and no national flag to shelter him.

But Mr. Chairman, the most cruel feature of my colleague's speech is that which, openly proclaiming his approval of Mr. Buchanan's course, implicitly censures that of the great old patriot whom he and I, once and again, but vainly, labored to make President of the United States—General Lewis Cass; whose patriotism and statesmanship revolted at the tuckling policy of Mr. Buchanan, and who, when his proposition to garrison the southern forts and maintain possession of the public property was refused, promptly tendered his resignation and withdrew from the Cabinet. If Mr. Buchanan's policy was wise, General Cass's was unwise; if Mr. Buchanan was faithful in his high position, General Cass was mistaken in judgment; if Mr. Buchanan properly met the great duties of the hour then Gen. Cass utterly failed to appreciate the difficulties. But not so. I can never subscribe to such a sentence of condemnation against an old friend whom I have long admired; whom I now revere as among the worthiest statesmen the country has ever had, and whose claim to the love and gratitude of posterity rest, in my judgment, more firmly upon his unshaken fidelity when treason was so general, than even upon his brilliant records of both civil and military service. About the time he retired from the Cabinet he was filled with gloom and anguish at the threatening aspect of public affairs, as he fully comprehended the great and growing dangers which threatened the ship of state. His impressive exclamation at the time, in my presence, was: "We are lost, we are destroyed; our great and glorious country will be ruined. It might be saved—it might be saved. I have tried to save it, but can do no more." Glorious words! betokening the great heart of a brave, clear, patriotic statesman, who would have saved the country, the public property, and subdued the rebellion had he been President in place of Mr. Buchanan. As he was not, and the President would do nothing, he left the Cabinet. Yet my colleague indorses Mr. Buchanan and his policy, thus implicitly casting censures and blame upon General Cass. I resent the imputation, and appeal with confidence from his words to the judgment of a free people, who will be saved, despite the open treachery of Buchanan, or the covert treachery of his allies and friends.

I have alluded to the fact that the rebellion is not a new thing in American history; all remember how promptly Jackson put down one, and Taylor nipped another in the bud. Lincoln has aroused the loyalty and patriotism of the country to subdue the last and worst; and we who are thus this day engaged, are but following the teachings of those departed patriots around whom a united country threw its protecting arms, and upon whose memories it continues to lavish its praise. "The Union, it must and shall be preserved," was the motto of Jackson; it is the heart-work of Lincoln. The rebellion of 1852 was invoked against existing legislation, this, much less justifiable, and more wicked, was inaugurated in the absence of offensive legislation in fact at the moment when all legislation was not only harmless, but harmonious on the late disputed territorial question, when by the confession of the ablest of their leaders, the slaveholders of the South had no cause to justify secession, and when by the truth of history, there was no actual grievance whatever. This is most vigorously and clearly presented by the following extract from a speech of Alexander H. Stevens, delivered in the secession convention of Georgia, January, 1861:

"This step (of secession) once taken can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth, when our green fields of waving harvest shall be broken down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land, our temples of justice laid in ashes, all the horrors and desolation of war upon us, who but this convention will be held responsible for it? and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, shall be held to strict account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and probably be cursed and execrated by posterity for all time to come. For the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate. Pause, I entreat you. * * * What right has the North asserted? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied, and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, done deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. * * *

"We have always had the control of the General Government, and can yet if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to thirty-four, thus controlling the Executive Department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard against our interests in the legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding presidents (pro tem.) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a greater extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. * * *

"Attorney Generals, we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers, we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. * * *

"We have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the high officers of both army and navy; while a large proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, comptrollers, filling the executive Departments. The records show for the last fifty years that of three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have had but one-third of the white population of the Republic. * * *

"A fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the Government has uniformly been raised from the North. Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully, and candidly these important items. * * *

"For you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquility accompanied with unbounded prosperity, and rights unassailed, is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote. * * *

"The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly, that I do not think they ought. In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any state to secede from the Union. It ought to stand by, and aid still in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that, too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves—withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts; but let not the South—let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held.—We were to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.—Speech of Alexander H. Stevens, before the Legislature of Georgia, delivered November 14, 1850.

"Sir, this rebellion was a cold-blooded, premeditated, infamous attempt of ambitious, desperate and wicked conspirators to destroy the Union, overthrow free Government, establish a sectional one over the southern portion of it, and thus prepare the way by European intrigues for an aristocratic or monarchic form on this land of freedom. The man who, in the loyal States tolerates, sympathizes with, or fails to check this movement, would, in revolutionary times, have been denominated a traitor. The man who halts in his fidelity, who quibbles about this technicality or that, who aids the rebels by decrying the power of the Government to suppress the rebellion, and by decrying its finances, should be ranked and despised as an Arnold who would sell his country.

But it is said by these sympathizers with treason, that it is the fault of this Administration and its friends that this war exists; that it is an unholy war, and should be stopped, and that Mr. Buchanan's policy was one of peace and conciliation, whilst that of Mr. Lincoln's has been one of usurpation and tyranny.

Whilst the answer of these allegations, full and ample as it is, may be important to the future historian, I will not stop to make it here as the war is upon us, and our present duties are to suppress it and its cause. It is waged for the purpose of dissolving this Government. It is enforced by vast armies, which are kept in the field by a military despotism of the most relentless character. The great question of the day is not by what process this condition of things has been reached, but how to suppress the rebellion, how to beat back our rebel foes, how to save our people from spoil and slaughter, our country from division, our Government from overthrow—dates in whose reserence every other political duty "hides its diminished head." I have, Mr. Chairman, uniformly observed that the men who waste their energies in discussing the past are the least willing to meet the responsibilities of the present, and rise to the stature which it demands of all loyal citizens.

Still, sir, I am not willing to let so much of that part of the charge remain unanswered, as it fixed upon the loyal North the responsibility of this war. The imputation is wholly false. The slaveholders were the aggressors. They were stimulated to the heinous crime by hatred of the progress of free communities, by jealousies of their rising power, by envy of their great superiority in every art and pursuit of life, and of the higher civilization which paid, intelligent and free in-

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