

The Huntingdon Journal.

"LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

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WILLIAM BREWSTER,
SAM. G. WHITTAKER, } EDITORS.

Select Poetry.

From *Colley's Lady's Book*, 1841.
WOMAN.

BY REV. O. O. MCLEAN.

The heart of woman, like the diamond, has
Light treasure'd in it. There, a ray serene
Of heaven's own sunshine evermore hath been,
And thro' each star of hope and joy may pass
Away in darkness, from life's stormy sky.
If man but rightly keep that heart he'll find
Sweet gleams of consolation there enshrined,
That will again illumine his spirit's eye,
And thro' all time, and trial, and distress,
Beam on him with a constant blessedness.

Oh! did he always love her as he should,
She never would forget him. Did he strew
Nothing but thornless flowers of kindness thro'
His household ways? her happy spirit would
Gather from them love's honey, like the bee,
And live in the cell of Memory.

In after years to be his manna food,
When worn and faint in sorrow's solitude.

OUR COUNTRY'S TROUBLES.

A SERMON

Preached in the Church of the Epiphany,
SUNDAY EVENING JUNE 29, 1856.

BY
REV. DUDLEY A. TYNG.

*Whether one member suffer, all the members
suffer with it; or one member be honored, all
the members rejoice with it.*—1 Cor. xii, 26.

It is a mooted question how far a Christian
pulpit may and ought to be enlisted in
the consideration of current events, and
the discussion of questions of public inter-
est. It is undoubtedly a great evil when
the teachers of religion forsake their ap-
propriate themes to mingle in all the heat-
ed controversies of the day. Nothing can
be more calculated to break down the influ-
ence of the ministry, and to rear up insur-
mountable barriers of angry prejudice against
the message of mercy which it is its chief
business to declare. But may there not
also be an opposite extreme? May there
not be silence when great principles are at
stake? May not great wrongs go unchal-
langed of the pulpit till there be supposed
nothing in them inconsistent with religion?
May not the dread of offence be carried so
far as to put the pulpit in bondage? And
may not the refusal to take sides in great
questions of public opinion, result in the
gospel's being supposed to have nothing to
do with the affairs of society, and in con-
tempt on all hands for the ministry for its
fear of speaking out? Ministers have the
same interest in society and its institutions
as other citizens; perhaps more so; for
their happiness is peculiarly bound up in
the right influence of religious and moral
principles upon the community. Society
can suffer in no member without a true-
hearted Christian ministry's suffering with
it.

Religion itself, moreover, is often vitally
affected by events transpiring in social and
political life. Evil principles may be at
work in the social system, whose ultimate
tendency is to destroy the practical influ-
ence of Christianity over the conduct of
men, and to undermine the foundations of
their faith. Is the pulpit to keep silence
until the adversaries of the faith, having
completely invested it with intrenchments
in public custom and opinion, are boldly
demanding its surrender? Human nature
is an unit. Its many interests are but one
body. And the sufferings of any one of
its members are felt in the vital organs.—
Questions of social and political economy
as well as of moral principle, may be the
media of deadly wounds to the religious
life. In fact, Christianity enters into every
interest of man. And as Christians and
Christian ministers we are interested in
everything that concerns humanity. We
cannot disconnect our religion from the de-
tails of our common life. It affects or is
affected by them all. "They are many
members, yet but one body." And the eye
cannot say unto the hand, I have no need
of thee, nor again, the hand to the feet, I
have no need of you." "And whether one
member suffer, all the members suffer with
it; or one member be honored, all the
members rejoice with it." Owing to the
close interchange of sympathy and influ-
ence, the events of the day may assume
a deep religious significance. The same
events which in one aspect agitate com-
mercial interests, and in another convulse
the political circle, may in yet another be
fraught with stirring interest for the reli-
gious community. And while they awaken
great contention on the plane of social or
political life, they may also, from the high-
er standpoint of the Christian patriot, be
seen to affect the dearest rights and inter-
ests of men, and to endanger great princi-
ples to the support of which the pulpit is
bound. At such times the Christian min-
istry may be criminal if it does not speak
out boldly in behalf of right, carefully avoid-
ing, indeed, the arousing of those pas-
sions which belong to the lower aspect of

events, but fearlessly and dispassionately
directing public sentiment by the higher
principles of divine revelation.

It seems to me that we have now reach-
ed such a time. Events are transpiring
which bear most momentously on all our
rights as men and duties as Christians. All
that is most dear and valuable to us as citi-
zens is put in jeopardy. The principles
and influence of Christianity, which first
founded our institutions can alone preserve
them to us in their integrity in the present
crisis. And I claim the right as a Chris-
tian minister to declare what I believe to
be important truth, and to do my part small
as it may be, towards the settlement of the
difficulties which encompass us.

I claim a patient hearing, and a candid
comparison with the principles of the Bi-
ble. If I am wrong, I am open to convic-
tion; if I am right, the declaration of the
truth will bring the responsibility of walk-
ing by its light. With this prefatory state-
ment let me call your attention—

I. **TO THE EVILS TO BE DEPLORED.**

For the first time in the history of this
country, it is the scene of civil war. Arm-
ed men, in battle array, are marching on
its soil, and carrying with them all the hor-
rors of hostile invasion. Towns are sack-
ed, houses pillaged, property plundered
and destroyed, women and children driven
in terror from their homes, and men shot
down by their own doors! Society is in
confusion, public security at an end, peace-
ful industry interrupted, and a thriving ter-
ritory reduced to a state of nature, where
the only protection is that of force, and the
household cannot lie down at night with-
out fear of the assassin. Families are driv-
en out from lands which they have tilled,
and houses which they have built, and
warned to leave the country or be hung.—
Fields lie unown, and crops are left un-
ploughed, because armed marauders have
stolen the farmer's horses and killed his ox-
en, and obliged him to skulk in secret for
fear of his life, or join bodies of his neigh-
bors who have armed in defence of their
homes and families. All the horrors which
existed when invading armies marched
with blood and desolation on our soil; all
the suffering which drenched our frontiers
when the war-whoop of the savage aroused
the sleeping household for the tomahawk
and the faggot, are now reeveed in unhap-
py Kansas. Hardly a day passes without
bringing telegraphic news of some new
outrage, so dreadful that we can scarce
realize its possibility, or arouse ourselves to
feel as the occasion demands. And who
are the authors of all these outrages on
American citizens? Not the savage Indian
nor the foreign invader, but their own
countrymen, citizens of our own free and
happy land, invading their hands in broth-
ers' blood! And what is the crime for
which their brethren are thus subjected to
invasion and violence? Merely difference
of opinion. Merely assertion of their
right to think, speak, write, and act accord-
ing to their own conscience and interests
in forming the institutions of a Territory
into which the capital and population of the
country were invited by a solemn act of
the Federal Government. On the 30th of
May, 1854, the territory of Kansas was
thrown open to settlers by act of Congress,
and the privilege of determining the char-
acter of its institutions accorded to those
who should become residents of its soil.—

Attracted by this opening for industry and
enterprise, large numbers of persons from
all sections of the country emigrated to the
Territory, and soon made its prairies smile
with cultivation and dotted its surface with
towns and villages. Never country opened
with brighter prospects. But how soon
was this bright morn overcast. On the
29th of November, 1854, the infant Terri-
tory was to elect a delegate to appear and
speak in its behalf in the National Con-
gress. On that day more than one thousand
armed men from an adjoining State in-
vaded the Territory, drove judges and legal
voters from the polls, and by fraudulent
ballots elected a man of their own. On the
30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants
of Kansas were to have elected their Terri-
torial Legislature. More than four thousand
armed men from the same State again
invaded the Territory, took possession of
the polls and elected their own candidates
a some of them residents of their own State.
The recent investigations of the Congres-
sional Committee have proved that of five
thousand five hundred votes cast on that
day less than one thousand were of actual
residents of the Territory. Surely it was
bad enough to see a Legislature imposed
on them by force and fraud. But what
sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask
yourselves whether we live in the 19th
century, and in a free and Christian rep-
ublic. They re-enacted in a mass all the
slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that
wherever the word 'State' occurs in them

it shall be construed to mean "Territory."
They made the non-admission of the right
to hold slaves in the Territory a disquali-
fication for sitting as Juror. They enacted
that to say that persons have not a right
to hold slaves in that Territory should be
punished with two years imprisonment at
hard labor. That writing, printing or cir-
culating anything against slavery should be
punished with five years imprisonment at
hard labor. That the harboring of fugi-
tive slaves should be punished with five
years imprisonment at hard labor. That
assisting slaves to escape should be pun-
ished with death. That assisting slaves to
escape from any Territory, and take refuge
in that Territory, should be punished with
death. That the printing or circulating of
publications calculated to incite slaves to
insurrection, should be punished with
death. To secure these laws perpetuity,
they enacted that all who do not swear to
support the Fugitive Slave Law should be
disqualified as voters, but that any one
might vote who will pay \$1.00 and swear
to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law and the
Nebraska bill. And, still further to guard
against all contingencies, they appointed
non-residents to town and county offices
for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud
and force, the great question of social rights
whose settlement had been pledged to the
citizens themselves, were decided by an in-
vading army, whose agents established slav-
ery against the wishes of the people, dis-
franchise all who oppose it, open the polls
to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut
up all who speak, write, print or circulate
anything against it with long imprisonment
at hard labor. What has become of the
rights of American citizens? Talk of ob-
edience to law! Would you, would any
American, obey such laws so imposed?—
Where were the spirit of our Revolution-
ary fathers if such oppression could be sub-
mitted to? Where is our republican gov-
ernment if such right can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There
was no armed resistance, no common
assumed authority. The people of Kansas
simply denied the legality of the enact-
ments and the obligation of obedience, and
the falling back on inherent rights, went
through the preliminaries of a State or-
ganization, and applied to Congress for re-
lief. That relief has not been yet afforded.
And what has since transpired? A third
fourth, and fifth armed invasion has taken
place, each with increased aggravation of
outrage. Pillage and plunder and murder
have increased from day to day. Large
bodies of armed men from distant and ad-
joining States are in the Territory, with no
attempt at becoming settlers, without means
of honest support, living by the pillage of
those who differ from themselves in senti-
ment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown
even in war. Government troops have
been used to overawe all attempts at resistance,
and moved about so as to expose un-
protected towns to violence. A fourfold
process of oppression has been used to ru-
in and drive out those whose only crime is
the claiming of rights guaranteed them by
the very law which invited them to Kan-
sas. First, innumerable indictments for
imaginary crimes are made out by a cor-
rupt judiciary against all free State men of
influence, while the worst of crimes by men
of opposite politics have gone unnoticed.
Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under
pretence of maintaining "law and order,"
patrol the country, committing all the out-
rages which have been described. Thirdly,
the U. S. dragoons are made use of by
the local authorities to suppress any ris-
ings for self-defence, and kept out of the
way when attacks are to be made. And
lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appoint-
ed to drive off, with threats of Lynch law,
all those who by the other methods have
not been subdued. All this has been go-
ing on for months. And recent accounts
announce that the sufferers themselves are
driven by desperation to armed defence and
the hostile bands are now watching each
other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civ-
il war is begun. And where is it to end,
unless it can be suppressed at once in the
place of its birth? Let it not be said that
we have no interest in this matter. Dis-
tant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a
member of our body politic. The same
life-blood which nourishes our own commu-
nity flows through her. And the wounds
and anguish which she endures are felt to
the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties
of friendship and of blood unite her suf-
fering children to all sections of our coun-
try. And were these wanting, a common
nationality binds them in one body to us
and the great heart of humanity enfolds
them in its sympathies. "Whether one
member suffer, all the members suffer with
it; or one member be honored, all the
members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have
been transpiring, another scene has been
enacted which has inflicted a still deeper
wound on the honor and peace of our coun-
try. A member of the Senate of the U-
nited States, a man honored equally for his
virtues and his attainments has been strick-
en down and beaten by a member of Con-
gress till his blood stained the floor of the
Senate, for words spoken in debate. It
matters not what were the words which
gave offence, though it may well be sup-
posed that language unchallenged at the
time, by a body whose majority were in
opposition to the speaker, did not trans-
gress the ordinary limits of parliamentary
debate. It matters not what were the
words, nor who the speaker, nor who the
assailant. It was a principle which was
stricken down. And the principle is one
of the pillars of our free institutions.—
Without the right of freedom of speech,
neither our liberties nor our religion are
secure. If the bludgeon is to be the rul-
ing power in our country, where will be
our boasted freedom and national Christi-
anity? If the flag of our country and the
symbols of her liberty cannot protect the
members of her government within the
walls of her Capitol, in the discharge of
their official duty, what is to become of
the republic? With the freedom of the press
overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of
the Senate assailed in Washington, how
long before the freedom of the pulpit shall
be also at the mercy of a popular majority
or a reckless and excitable bully? There
is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergy-
man in the country, whose right to ad-
vocate what he conscientiously believes, nor
a citizen whose right to representation of
his sentiments, has not been assailed in the
blows which laid the eloquent Sumner
senseless on the Senate chamber. But the
act itself is not so ominous of evil as its
endorsement. To hear it defended and
eulogized throughout the whole section
represented by the assassin, by public as-
semblies giving votes of thanks for his in-
iquity, by the press almost unanimously
holding it up as worthy of imitation, and
by fellow representatives who screen the
offender from punishment, may well make
one feel sadly apprehensive for our country.
It indicates that we are becoming unwor-
thy of our heritage, and that the sentiment
of justice and right has rotted away in the
foundation of government. Alas for our
country, when the makers of her laws
dare not speak in defence of what they
deem human right, or must go armed with
deadly weapons for protection in the dis-
charge of their duty! God forbid that the
ministers of religion should refuse to speak
in reprobation of the evil.

II. But let us look, secondly, at the im-
pelling principle of these outrages. They
have all one impulse, the aggressive spir-
it of slavery. Let it be noted and remem-
bered that all these wrongs grow out of a
determination to extend the area of hu-
man bondage. Why are armed hordes
now traversing Kansas with pillage and
murder? Simply that they may extend
over the blight of slavery. Why are men
illegally arrested, robbed driven from
home, hunted like beasts, or shot down in
the fields? Simply because they desire to
save their home and family from the blight
of slavery. Why are they denied the pro-
tection of a government whose pride it is
to protect its citizens to the farthest verge
of the habitable globe? Merely because
they will not submit to force and fraud to
be cursed with slavery. Why was Sumner
assailed and beaten in the Senate? Merely
because he spoke too pointedly and plain-
ly for their deliverance from the attempted
course of slavery. The sole impulse of all
these outrages is the desire to extend slav-
ery. The sole crime of the sufferers is the
inextinguishable desire to be free. The blood
of a Senator has stained the floor of the Sen-
ate chamber, the blood of her citizens has
been poured out like water on the virgin
soil of Kansas, merely that it may be made
a land of bondage. The whole South is
aroused and pours forth invading armies,
and the whole influence and power of the
Federal Government are employed to aid
them, merely because the actual residents
of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights
guaranteed them by the law which opened
the territory to settlers, are largely deter-
mined that it shall be free. Ignoble con-
test! Where slavery is let it remain. Let
it be apologized for and mitigated as it can.
I am not one of those who would attack the
South for the inheritance of perpetuity and
shame which Northern cupidity has origi-
nally a joint agent in introducing. Let
them mourn over the embarrassments and
evils of their lot, and strive to discharge
their duty as Christian masters to the peo-
ple they have found dependent and in serv-
itude. Thus out of their birthright of mis-

fortune they may work out blessings to the
subject race, and admission of mercy for
themselves. To apologize for an involun-
tary evil is one thing. To strive to extend
and perpetuate it is another. We may re-
gard the former with the truest charity.—
But as freemen and Christians what must
we say of the latter?

But why are Southern men so madly re-
solved that Kansas shall be thrown open
to slavery? Is it because they desire
themselves to be residents of the country?
Very few of them have such an idea. But
it will give them, first, an increase of polit-
ical power. It will wheel another State
into the phalanx, and give them two more
Senatorial votes for that control of the Gov-
ernment which the far swifter progress
of the free States has taken from them in
the House of Representatives. Few among
us have reflected on the political power giv-
en by slavery to the few. Three fifths
of all the slaves are counted in with the
whites as the basis of representation, larg-
ely increasing the political importance of
the white person at the South over the
white person at the North. Of the whites,
large numbers are either disfranchised by
a property qualification, or are completely
under the control of their wealthier neigh-
bors. Political honors and influence are
confined to a few. In the whole sixteen
slave holding States there are less than
100,000 persons owning more than ten
slaves each. How many of these are de-
sires of deserting their plantations and
emigrating to Kansas? But these are the
persons who control the policy of the six-
teen States, and by their influence at home
and at the North have controlled the pol-
icy and monopolized the honors of the Gen-
eral Government. Is it to be wondered
that they should make such desperate ef-
forts to extend so disproportionate an im-
portance? And as it grows so it will
grow until this whole land of liberty shall
be made tributary to the perpetuation of
human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas
will give them, secondly, a new market for
slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery
arises not from the productiveness of slave
labor. It costs much and produces little
wastes largely and wears out the soil it
cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes,
in the long run, both land and owner, and
would gradually work out its own extermi-
nation. But slave-breeding compensates
for the expensiveness of slave-labor. To
breed human being for sale, to rear immor-
tal souls that they may be driven to market
and sold to the highest bidder, is a profita-
ble business. Families and estates are
maintained by such breeding and sale, of-
ten of blood relations. To keep up the
price the market must be extended. New
States and Territories must have their vir-
gin soil thrown open to slavery, and as their
lands become impoverished, join the slave-
holding States in the ceaseless cry of the
horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is
now invaded and outraged merely that it
may be made a land of bondage, and
that for the increase of a political power in-
imical to our free institutions, and a stimulus
to the breeding of human being for sale.

And what is the pretence under which
these evil deeds are covered up, and the
acquiescence of the country in them is
sought? It is the equal right of men of all
sections of the country to go with their
property into the national territory. It is
said that to deny the right of slave-holders
to carry their property there is to destroy
the equality of our citizens. As this the grand
plea, which is designed to, and to some ex-
tent does, impose on the public mind for ex-
cuse of all these enormities, it is essential
that they should be examined. Let it be
observed then, in the first place, that the
claimed right of carrying one's identical
property with him in removal, is an absurd-
ity. How much property is there in nature
that cannot be removed. Who could
remove his farm, or his fishery, or his wa-
ter-power? Yet who ever thought of de-
claring against the injustice of Nature
and Providence, because he could not take
them to Kansas? The proceeds of the sale
he can take. And has anybody ever denied
to the slave-holder the right to take to
Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slave
as well as the proceeds of the sale of his
plantation? Secondly, the right of prop-
erty in human beings is not a natural
but merely the result of local laws. Out-
side the jurisdiction of those laws, the right
does not exist. There are States where
lotteries are allowed by law. A lottery
interest is the property of its holder.—
Because lotteries are proscribed in Kan-
sas, or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder
cause to complain of the overthrow of
his constitutional rights?

Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched
in blood because its inhabitants will not

pass the local laws which in other States
have made lotteries property? With as
much reason as because they will not estab-
lish property in human flesh and blood.
The property which results from local laws
can be sold where those local laws have
made it valuable, and its proceeds taken
wherever the owner may please. And is
the Union to be convulsed, a peaceful Ter-
ritory made the scene of war, and indus-
trious citizens robbed and murdered. Be-
cause some hot-headed individual has
resolved that instead of taking his thou-
sand dollars to Kansas in gold or silver,
he will take it in the shape of a lottery
office or a brother man? Let the flimsy
pretext be understood. If the right of
holding human beings as property re-
sults merely from local law, it is limited
by the law which created it. If it
be a natural right, it is as indefeasible
in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And
this will be the final issue.

But thirdly, it seems to be entirely for-
gotten that there are rights on the other
side. It is a fundamental principle in law
that one man must not, by his property,
injure that of his neighbors. The welfare
of the one must give way to the welfare
of the many. Now if one man has property
in a fellow, there are thousands who have
more undoubted property in the selves, if
one claims the right of making the bodily
labor of his fellow subservient to his own
comfort and advantage, there are thousands
of others who claim a divine and indefeas-
ible right to make their own good arms
available to their own support and advance-
ment. And these two rights conflict.—
For slave-labor and free-labor are opposed
to each other. Slavery degrades bodily
labor. It makes a man's bodily strength
and manual skill less availing for his own
profit and elevation. It thus diminishes
and takes away his inherent property in
himself. It lessens his pecuniary reward,
and shuts up the door of promotion. The
question is, therefore, between the right of
one man to the muscles of his neighbor
and the right of thousands to the full ben-
efit of their own muscles. It is whether
one man is to leave his slave behind him,
or whether a thousand white citizens are
to be enslaved if they go. The rights of
all our laboring classes, ten thousand to
one slave-holder, are invaded in the at-
tempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas.
Moreover, there are many methods of re-
munerative labor of more intellectual char-
acter that are available only in a free com-
munity. In fact, there is scarcely a de-
partment of ingenuity or power, which the
history and present state of our country
do not show to be circumscribed and de-
precatized by the presence of slavery.—
The intellectual, literary and inventive, as
well as the bodily powers of man become
less available for individual and special
prosperity. Every man, therefore, who is
not himself a slave-holder, is interested
for himself his children, his relatives and
friends in the exclusion of slavery. His
property and their property in their own
minds and bodies is depreciated by the in-
troduction of slave-labor. The inalien-
able rights which God himself has given to
him and them are arrayed against the
merely local and transferrable, not to say
disputable, right of the slave-holder. The
suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sum-
ner, is not in resistance of human right,
but it is martyrdom in defence of the rights
of the many against the aggression of a
few. And the question is not whether
there shall be maintained the rights of a
few thousand slave-holders, but whether
shall be maintained the rights of millions
of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight
of the divine agency in all the troubles
which have come upon us. We are
taught in Holy Scripture that the provid-
ence of God overrules the actions of men
no less than the operations of nature.—
Every human agent is to the Lord only as
the saw in the hand of him that shaketh
it. No man can have any power at all
against the object of his hatred or oppres-
sion, except it be given him from above.
"Man proposes, but God disposes." And
therefore when there is evil in a city or a
country, we are to look above the human
instrumentalities, and humble ourselves
under the hand of God, and inquire why
He hath dealt so grievously with us. Es-
pecially is this the case in public calamities.
For as bodies politic have no exist-
ence in the world to come, their judgment
and recompense, unlike that of individ-
uals, can take place only in this world.—
The question which we ought to ask our-
selves, therefore, is, "Wherefore hath the
Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many
are our national offences. But there is
ever a correspondence between the of-
fence and its punishment. And we are to
search out the sins and errors for which
this special visitation has been sent.

Kindred and consequential to these has
been another sin—the entire divorce of the
whole system of politics from the fear of

Doubtless, one sin for which we are suf-
fering is the base spirit of trucking and
pandering to sectional interests and prej-
udices, which has for so many years char-
acterized the prime movers of our politi-
cal machinery. Politics indeed have been
a mere trade, conducted without honesty
or principle for selfish aggrandizement.—
Vainly do we look for patriotism in the
wire-working of our political parties. The
whole government is administered upon
the principle of the division of the spoils.
There has been no prejudice so opposed
to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional
interest so degrading, that political lead-
ers, low and high, were not willing to sell
themselves to it for votes. There has
been no combination of parties too incon-
sistent, unprincipled and corrupt to be
entered into for the sake of office and the
public money. In particular, the leading
political parties have for years been con-
ducted in rivalry of subservience to the in-
terests of slavery. The interests of the na-
tion have been disregarded and sacrificed
in disgraceful underbidding for the slave-
holding vote. There was no deep so low
for one party to descend into, that some
"lower deep still opening wide" was not
discovered by the other. For more than
a generation has this system of self-abasement
been going on. No wonder that those
who have been the objects of this solici-
tation should have been educated into the
idea that the whole government of the
country should be conducted for the bene-
fit of slavery. If our unhappy country is
now suffering from Southern violence,
it has been brought on us by that long and
increasing self-abasement of Northern poli-
ticians. Especially is this the case with
our present agitations. A new scene of
commotion had been settled by new con-
cessions, to which for the sake of peace
all parties had assented. The whole land
was at rest and quiet. Slavery was de-
manding nothing more, and its opponents
had made up their minds to acquiesce in
the settlement, when, for pure party pur-
pose and personal aggrandizement, the
time-honored barrier of freedom was over-
thrown as a new bid in the auction which
has sacrificed the domain of the nation for
the slave-holding vote. Let the authors
of the iniquity be nameless here, as they
deserve to be in the annals of the Repub-
lic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is
the source of all the agitation and tur-
moil and bloodshed which has been rend-
ing the land asunder. The whole people
have witnessed so tamely the successive
betrayals of their interests, and voted so
decisively on the issues they presented, that
hope had been conceived of their unlimited
submission. The sectional jealousies
which it has stirred up anew, and the at-
tempt to secure, by violence, what slavery
understood to be offered it by the measure,
is its natural consequence, and the provid-
ential punishment of the nation for the
iniquity which it sanctioned and encour-
aged.

Another political sin for which the na-
tion is thus suffering, is the neglect of po-
litical duty by respectable citizens. We
have boasted much of our political rights;
but we have been sadly unmindful of our
political duties. How large a proportion
of the most respectable and influential of
our citizens have wholly abstained from
the nomination and election of our rulers.
The whole business of nominations has
been given up to caucuses, chiefly com-
posed of the ambitious and vile. Assemblies
in which no respectable person could ap-
pear have brought out candidates of their
own for inferior offices, and conventions of
interested men have long wrangled out
the nomination to higher posts of those
to whose election they could pin their
hopes of office to be acquired or retained.
All honesty and all patriotism have quite
disappeared from our political system.—
Politics have become a trade so low that
few respectable men dare touch it. Not
an election can be carried without money,
and bargaining and rum. And in conse-
quence not a bill can be carried thro' our
national legislature without bribes. Yet
orderly and respectable citizens see these
iniquities without troubling themselves for
their correction. Absorbed in their own
business and comfort, they care not to
whom. And yet they boast of their politi-
cal rights. But God has given no right
without obligation of use. The right of
self-government involves the duty of self-
government, the duty of selecting and elec-
ting the rulers of our people. This sacred
duty, due to ourselves, mankind and God,
has been woefully neglected, and, there-
fore, God has turned our neglect in our
punishment, and chastised us with misrule
and civil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has
been another sin—the entire divorce of the
whole system of politics from the fear of