

the facts connected with the supplanting of the McClellans, Baells, and other representatives of a civilized and manly warfare, by the Barnsides, Butlers, Hunters, and a hundred other representatives of a barbarous and cowardly warfare, still the moral sentiment of the world, independent of partisan feeling, has been grossly outraged. I spare you and myself the painful recital of the atrocities of your Butlers, Turchins, McNeills, and their large class; of cruel outrage upon helpless non-combatants, even old men, ministers of religion, women and children; of Shenandoah devastations; of Georgia deportations of women and children by the thousand, in cattle trains, to be thrown out hundreds of miles from home, breadless and shelterless, to perish of disease and want under an August sun; of universal robbery of private dwellings, and ruthless plunder of every thing beautiful, tasteful, or sacred in Southern homes; of Northern Christians fed at their gatherings on the Sabbath, with sermons stolen from stolen libraries, and at their fashionable gatherings, dancing in finery stolen from their Southern sisters, amid stolen parlor ornaments, upon stolen carpets, to the music of stolen pianos. Am I to blame Mr. President, because I remonstrated and struggled against any complicity, in the public judgment, of the church, representing a religion of love and justice, with an adulteration of such repute in the world?

In conclusion, I may refer you also to the fact, that so large a part of the people regard your administration as signalized, beyond all constitutional governments of modern times, for its tyrannical contempt for personal liberty, freedom of speech and of the press, liberty of conscience and freedom of religion. They stand appalled as visions rise before them of your battles, crowded with their mystified, terrified, dejected, wasted thousands; of your detectives crawling as vermin through society without, numerous and hideous as the vermin within your filthy prisons; of whole communities whispering in subjugated tone and watching with stealthy, uneasy glance as they whisper; of midnight seizures by your minions and the agony of terrified wives and children, sisters and mothers; of victims of a lacerated conscience, lost self-respect and wretched manhood under the burden of your half-divided oaths; of ministers of Jesus Christ, meek and helpless, under the brutal insolence and godless irreverence of the cowardly bullies to whom you give over weak and helpless communities; of your provost-marshals, with blasphemous effrontery, presuming to constitute courts of Jesus Christ by enforced military oaths, or as blasphemously bullying a worshipping congregation and its ministers into fleeing solemn mockery to God in the sacrifice of prayer; of myriads of men torn from their families by your ruthless conscriptions, driven into a conflict which as citizens they revolt at, and slaughtered in a warfare whose success can bring no glory and defeat

overlasting disgrace. Now, whether these visions of so large a portion of the public are real or only imaginary, I have earnestly contended that the church of Christ should not be associated with them in the popular mind.

But I weary you; and thereby, perhaps, endanger the effect of these suggestions upon you and the public. It would have been desirable, otherwise, to expound to you that one other feature of my testimony as an editor—my antagonism to the anti-slavery dogmas of Church and State—which has been wholly on religious grounds, believing all forms of that dogma to be directly subversive of the inspiration of the scripture and fatal to its tendency. I say not that no abolitionist can be a Christian, yet I feel obliged to say, "how hardly shall they that have"—contemned God's word and vilified the church of God in inspired and uninspired ages alike—"Enter into the kingdom of heaven." But all this would carry me beyond the bounds of public patience.

Such, Mr. President, are the general grounds for which I vindicate my course as an editor, and denounce the act of your government—suppressing my ecclesiastical journal, as an outrage on the freedom of the press and of religion. Having now discharged my duty in thus protesting against the insult to the laws, in my person, I am content to wait patiently the developments of God's Providence as to my future in His service. I rejoice to learn that others less objectionable to your majesty, perhaps, and after than I, will provide for taking up my testimony. Whether I should labor hereafter in secular or in religious work, or in both, I leave to the Lord. I confess the conviction grows upon me that it is God's purpose to deal with the present apostasy of the church through mischief instrumentalities than such spots as mine in the ecclesiastical sphere. It has been the method of His Providence often to drive his apostate church back to the truth through secular men as His instruments. So He used the heathen Cyrus. He used preeminently the statesman Jefferson, reputed a sceptic, and yet author of the Bill for religious freedom. So He probably will use a great political party by obliging it in self-defence to adopt into its platform Jefferson's principles concerning the separation of the spiritual and the secular power; and, through the propaganda of the political canvass, they will arouse the people to indignation against the politico-evangelical impostors who assume to force upon them, under the sanction of religion, the political dogmas of one party as against another. It will cause perhaps much seceding at religion, but open secess are far less dangerous to the truth than the cant of its treacherous friends.

Asking your kind and thoughtful attention to this plain but honest statement, I remain,

Yours truly,

STUART ROBINSON.