

THE
NATIONAL PREACHER
AND
VILLAGE PULPIT.

Original—Monthly.

FROM LIVING MINISTERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOL. IX.

NEW SERIES—ENLARGED.

CONDUCTED BY REV. W. H. BIDWELL.

New York:

CONDUCTED AND PUBLISHED BY W. H. BIDWELL, 5 BEEKMAN ST.

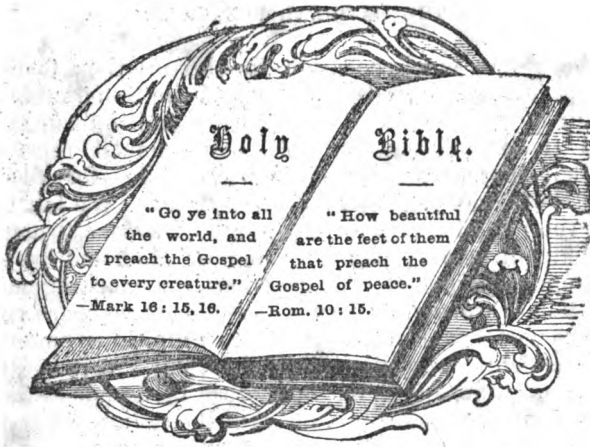
LONDON: BACON & Co., 48 Paternoster Row. LIVERPOOL: E. HOWELL, No. 6 Church Street.

EDINBURGH: OGILVIE & MURRAY, 49 South Bridge Street. GLASGOW:

OGILVIE & SON, 1 Royal Exchange.

1866

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THE
NATIONAL PREACHER.

Vol. XL, No. 1.]

JANUARY, 1866.

[Whole No. 982.

SERMON I.

PEACE AND HONOR.

A Thanksgiving Sermon,

DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA,
DECEMBER, 7th, 1865.

BY REV. ALBERT BARNES.

“Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto him, and bless his name.”—PSALM c. 4.

THERE has never, in the history of our world, been such an occasion for thanksgiving as this:—an occasion when there has been so marked an interposition of Providence; when great calamities have been so suddenly arrested; when so momentous consequences would result from the return of peace; when the causes of war have been so entirely removed; when the establishment of peace has been so definite and decided, leaving so few difficulties to be adjusted, and so few questions undetermined; when there has been no yielding the point involved in the controversy; and when there have been no dishonorable concessions by compromise, laying the foundation for future difficulties.

For four successive years we have come together at our annual thanksgivings with sad and burthened hearts. Even in the midst of the fiercest civil war that has ever been waged, and

when there was much occasion for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, we have exhibited to the world the remarkable spectacle of a people who have on no occasion omitted our custom of National thanksgiving. We felt, even amidst these bloody scenes, that there were reasons for gratitude—for all was not lost, and there was yet hope for our country. We felt that the heart of the nation would be encouraged, its arms strengthened, and its patriotism nerved, by waiting on God, and by seeking, amidst the desolations of war, occasions for encouragement and praise. There were great issues at stake; there were reverses; there were vast armies organized against the Government; there were battle-fields strewn with the slain, and hospitals filled with wounded and suffering men; there were thousands of families in the land clothed in mourning, but still the nation never despaired of success, nor was the hope of the permanence of the Government, and the preservation of the Union, ever for one moment abandoned. We found occasion for thanksgiving in the abundance of the harvests; in the freedom of the land from pestilence; in peace preserved with foreign powers; in the fact that other nations had not the power, and were kept from carrying out the disposition, to injure us; in the determined spirit of fidelity to the Government in the land; in the readiness of our brothers and sons to go to the defence of the nation; and in the large benevolence which prompted all classes of our people—mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, as well as men, to contribute their time and their money to promote the comfort of those engaged in the war, to advance their spiritual good, and to minister to the sick and the dying. We drew also sources of thankfulness from the future in the strong faith that the integrity of the nation *would be* preserved, and that the day would come, at no distant period, when the rebellion would be suppressed, and when peace and union would again bless our land.

Thus we cheered our hearts in those gloomy days. For when we came together we saw the bright day which has now dawned upon us only through shadows and darkness. We anticipated great battles still, even such as had not as yet occurred; possible reverses—for we had been schooled to expect such things; the flowing of blood; the shedding of tears; the opening of graves, and the multiplication of widows and orphans.

But the bright day longed for, prayed for, believed in, has come; and has come so that no one can mistake in the time and the manner of its coming that it is the act of God, and that, therefore, it is proper to praise him; and we come with unburdened hearts this day to perform that service. As there has been no such occasion for thanksgiving before, so none of us will live to see such an occasion again. What a contrast with the state of things four years ago, three, two, one! Where are those great

armies that were in the field one year ago? They have suddenly disappeared. The men of war, North and South, have laid down their weapons, and have returned to their homes. Never, in the history of the world, has there been such a disbanding of armies—so sudden, so entire, with so cheerful a return to the peaceful pursuits of life:—the farmer to his farm, the mechanic to his workshop, the professional man to his office. The soldier becomes a citizen again—a neighbor, a cultivator of the earth, a quiet participant of the liberty which he has aided to secure on the battle-field.

The nation is now once more at peace; peace in our own borders; peace with all the world—an honorable peace secured by battle at home; an honorable peace preserved by skillful diplomacy with the nations abroad. It is not a peace preserved at home by dishonorable compromise, leaving an opportunity again for war; it is not a peace secured abroad by dishonorable compliances, leaving questions unsettled for the future that may lead to war. It is peace, in the one case, secured by a more complete suppression of a rebellion than has ever occurred before in the history of the world; in the other case, by justice done to all on our part, and by demanding, in tones that commanded respect, that justice should be done to us by all. It is peace at home with our institutions intact; with our Union preserved; with a country not dismembered; with no part of our vast territory divided off; and with all the arrangements of government and law, of religion and learning, of restored agriculture, and the arts—courts, and railroads, and postal arrangements,—steadily making their way in the portions of our country where the insurrection had its origin, and which have been most desolated by war. For all this we should to-day render humble and hearty thanks.

And now that the war is over, and the four years' struggle ended, we can not but inquire whether in that fearful conflict any thing has been *gained* for which we should also give thanks; whether any good has come out of the struggle which will go into our future history, and which will make us a greater and a better people; whether the results are *worth* the sacrifices made, and are such as to show that the struggle was right and wise, or whether it would have been better to have yielded to the insurgents, to have suffered the Union to be destroyed, and to have divided ourselves into two or more nations. No such advantage can, indeed, repair all the evils of the war. It can not recall to life the brave men who have fallen in the service of their country. It can not restore to their homes the sons and brothers who have pined in hospitals, or who have died on the field of battle. It can not unpeople the cemeteries at Gettysburg and Andersonville, or call forth again the warriors that sleep "their last sleep."

It can not restore the limbs of those maimed in battle. The one class sleep in their graves—honored graves; the other will be remembered in their wants by a grateful country, nor will the services of either be forgotten.

What is there then, as the result of the war, for which the nation should be grateful?

I. We have, first, a *Government*. It is now a settled question that we *have* a "government," properly so called; that the idea of a government is not identical with that of a monarchy, or despotism, but may be found connected with a Republic: that, in fact, "no government is so strong as a republic, controlled, under the Divine guidance, by an educated, a moral, and a religious people."

The *idea* of a government is, that it has a right to make laws; that it has power to enforce its own laws; that it can maintain itself against the aggressions of other powers, and against insurrection and rebellion at home; that its laws have sanctions and penalties, and that those sanctions and penalties can be enforced and inflicted if it is disobeyed; that it can put down revolt within its own limits, as well as defend itself from aggressive force abroad. It is not an advisory power; it is a power to command, and to be obeyed.

Whether there was to be a *government* in this country, properly so called, was the great question before the minds of our fathers, second in importance in their view only to the question whether there was to be independence of foreign nations. The Revolutionary Congress was not a *government*. The Confederation which succeeded it was not a *government*. Both were advisory bodies only; and the question whether their laws were to be obeyed was a question which they could not determine, but was to be left to the voluntary action of the several States. No State was obliged to obey. No State could be compelled to raise men or money to defend the country; and if any State refused to comply with the requisition of the Congress, there was no power to enforce obedience. The evil of this was felt, even with the existence of extraordinary patriotism, through all the war of the Revolution; the evil became more apparent under the Confederation, and threatened to produce universal anarchy, bankruptcy, and disorder.

To meet these evils; to form a government, properly so called, the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. Every feature in that Constitution is properly that of a government, and not that of an advisory body. In every article of the Constitution, law, and not advice, is contemplated; with every Constitutional enactment of the Government, and every proper act of the departments of the Government, executive, judicial, and legislative, there is express authority to secure the execu-

tion of the laws, for the Congress of the nation has power to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." (Art. I, Sec. 8.) It was designed to place the administration of affairs in this country on the same footing, though in a different form, with the other nations of the earth—where a government had the power to maintain itself, and to secure the execution of its own laws. In other countries such powers of government were then, and are now, administered almost exclusively in the form of a monarchy; in our country the great question was to be tested whether these powers could be connected with the idea, and with the power, of a republic.

For eighty years, mostly in peaceful times, and never in the form of a rebellion, that idea had been carried out in our country. We had a government. The laws were peacefully obeyed. There had been, except in small localities, and with slight exceptions, no organized resistance. Every law of Congress; every decision of the Supreme Court, however important were the interests involved, pertaining to customs, to commerce, to the tariff, to the intercourse of the States with each other, or with foreign nations, had been as faithfully obeyed as any law emanating from the legislatures, the judicial powers, or the thrones of the Old World.

Still, the world doubted whether a government under the form of a republic could maintain and perpetuate itself; and the nations of the Old World, even amidst their own revolutions, were reluctant to adopt our mode of government, and after a temporary experiment, returned, with no exception, to the old idea that government can be connected only with a monarchical form of administration. Some great trial was necessary to convince the world that the government of a republic might be as firm in times of convulsion as in times of peace; that it has power to maintain itself under the most formidable domestic insurrection, as well as in conflict with nations abroad.

That question has now been put to the test; and has been determined forever. No government in similar circumstances has ever been more firm; none could have done more than has been done in this land to suppress so formidable a rebellion. Not for one day or hour have the regular operations of the Government in the three great departments been suspended; not for one moment has it been a matter of doubt in our land, or in other countries, whether there *was* still such a "government" as that of the United States. Especially is this fact important in respect to foreign nations. With nearly all those nations it has been a favorite idea that a republic lacked the essential thing involved in the idea of a government; that it must soon show

its weakness and insufficiency; and that it would evince so much weakness, and tend so much to anarchy, that it would be necessary ultimately to adopt the stronger forms of government that exist under the idea of a monarchy. After eighty years' experience in times of peace and of war with foreign powers; and now after the suppression of the most formidable rebellion ever known on earth, it can be, with no nation, a question whether the object contemplated by our fathers in the formation of the Constitution has been accomplished.

These two points have been shown, and they will now go into our history as points that have been settled forever:—first, that our Republican Government is capable of the exertion of all the power which the most absolute despotism could exert in the maintainance of its own authority, and in the suppression of a rebellion; and, second, that it emerges from such a strife a Republic still—with no power in the Constitution impaired; with every right of freedom maintained; with no tendency to military despotism; and with no necessity even of modifying the Government with reference to a future similar emergency.

We are, then, in view of this fact, prepared to reflect on what *would*, have been the condition of the country if this had not been the result of the conflict. Instead of peace and unity now, there would have been wide-spread anarchy. The right of "secession" would have been established; and this henceforward would have become a fundamental idea in relation to all questions of confederation or union:—a right that would soon have been exercised in every direction—more amply still in the States of the South; and not improbably in the North, and the East, and the West. The hopes of foreigners in regard to our country would have been realized, and instead of being one nation occupying an honorable position among the nations of the earth, we should have been broken in a large number of feeble and contending States, each struggling for its own existence against the rest. It was well said in the beginning of the contest, by the Secretary of State in a letter to the Minister to France.* "If it be true, as the consent of mankind authorizes us to assume, that the establishment of this Government was the most auspicious political event that has happened in the whole progress of history, its fall must be deemed not only a national calamity, but a misfortune to the human race. The success of this revolution would not only be a practical overthrow of the entire system of government, but the first stage by such confederacy in the road to anarchy, such as so widely prevails in South America. The contest then," he adds, "involves nothing

* Message and Documents, 1861-62, Part I. pp. 198, 199.

less than a failure of the hope to devise a stable system of government upon the principle of the consent of the people, and working through the peaceful expression of their will without depending on military authority."

We should not, perhaps, be justified in saying that if this struggle had been disastrous to the Government and the Union, the *last* hope of the successful establishment of free institutions would have died out in the world, but we *may* say that long periods must have elapsed before such a government would be formed again under auspices so favorable, and that the hope of the establishment of free institutions must have been pushed indefinitely into the future:

That, with the return of peace, therefore, we have a Government still; that the results of the fearful conflict have shown that the hope and aim of our fathers in founding a Government in the place of the advisory Congress of the Revolution, and the very limited power of government under the Confederation, is the first ground for our thanksgiving to-day. Had there been nothing more than this, the appointment of such a day would have been eminently appropriate.

II. We have, secondly, as a ground of thanksgiving, an assurance, as clear as anything in the future can be to mortal view, that this Government can never be overthrown by internal civil war.

We have hitherto felt ourselves safe in regard to the unity and the duration of the Republic from any effort which foreign powers might make to destroy us. Once, since the Revolution, we have engaged in a fearful conflict of war with a nation then the most formidable of any in the world on the sea and on the land. Whether the result of that conflict was to obtain the object of the war or not, it settled one point forever, that the Government of the United States could maintain its rights on the seas, and was safe from any invasion by land. Our great distance from the Old World, if nothing else, would save us from the danger of invasion from abroad, or from being involved in any of those revolutions which may, as in former times, convulse the European powers. From danger from Austria, or Prussia, or Russia, or France, or England, still more from India, and Persia, and China—we were safe.

But there was another question not less important, which there was no means of determining from anything pertaining to our position, or anything in our history. It was, whether the Republic might not be overthrown by civil war; by an organized rebellion within its own borders. That was an open question; and that, so far as foreign nations cherished any desire that our Government might be overthrown, and the plan of self-government fail, was to them the only ground of hope. There was

nothing in our history, or the history of any other nation, to which we could appeal to determine that. All history had shown that there could not be under any form of government, immunity from civil war. Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Rome, in ancient times—Italy, France, England, in modern times—had all been the theatres of armed and organized insurrection. Some of those nations had emerged from the conflict unscathed; not a few of them had changed their form of government under the power of such insurrections; in no one perhaps had the result been such as to discourage all hope that an insurrection better planned might not be successful. In our own country there had been two instances of insurrection—the “whisky” insurrection in our own State, and “Shay’s Rebellion in Massachusetts,” both on a small scale; both easily suppressed; and neither determined the question whether an armed insurrection, on a large scale, and better planned, might not be successful in overthrowing the Government, and dismembering the Union.

That question may now be regarded as settled forever; and it is worth much, though it has cost much, to have a question so vital determined, and so determined that the mind may be calm on that point in regard to all the future; that in reference to that danger, as in reference to the danger of destruction by any foreign power, our Union is safe.

Never was a purpose of this kind better planned; better matured; carried out with a more determined spirit; or prosecuted with a greater amount of skill, self-sacrifice and talent, than this rebellion has been; and it is not possible to conceive that in all the future an insurrection on so large a scale can be so well planned and developed again, or that the nation will be found slumbering again on the eve of such a rebellion; that plans could be formed so that the strong places of defence—the forts and arsenals could be so suddenly seized; that armies so formidable in numbers, and so well officered, could be called suddenly, as if by magic, into the field; that foreign powers would be so hasty to recognize an insurrection as entitled by sea and land to the rights of belligerents, or be so anxious to recognize in such an insurrection the rights of an established Government; that they would be so ready to furnish arms and money, or to fit out ships of war to break through an established blockade, or to arm and to man piratical ships to prey upon the commerce of a nation with whom they were professedly at peace.

For the purpose was formed more than thirty years ago at the instigation and under the influence of one of the most eminent men in the Southern States, or in our whole country—John C. Calhoun. The doctrine that was really at the foundation of the late rebellion—the doctrine of State Rights held in such a

form as to justify nullification of the acts of Congress—the substantial doctrine of secession and rebellion, was then advanced, and was defended by all his great powers; and that doctrine would *then* have been practically carried out if it had not been for the firmness, the patriotism, and the talent—the unconquerable will of one man—Andrew Jackson.

The purpose of the separation and independency of the Southern States has been practically pursued for more than thirty years; the doctrines which tended to it have been propagated with untiring zeal, and have never been for a moment abandoned; the opportunity has been waited for to carry on this purpose, and to give a practical form to the doctrines. Yet there was a great preparatory work to be done. It was not easy to teach even the South to forget the war of the Revolution, the struggle for Independence, and the efforts of her own statesmen in forming the Union, and in establishing the Constitution. It was not easy so to present imaginary wrongs as to arouse great States to efforts to establish a separate government, and to make war on the Union. It was needful to change the current sentiment of the South, and to obliterate the recollection of other days. Especially was it necessary to change the public view respecting slavery; to awaken a zeal for perpetuating and propagating it; to connect it with all the industrial, social, political and religious interests and opinions of the South; to exalt it into a national question; to put the public mind into such a state that any refusal to extend the institution into new territories and States, and to spread it all over the Union—any attempt to check it—to restrain it—or to remove it, even by the most peaceful means—would be regarded as hostility to the South, and would justify rebellion and separation. It was a slow work, but it was done. The long process of educating the mind of the South to this point was commenced. The politicians advanced the doctrine—Mr. Calhoun leading the way—that slavery is right; that it violates none of the principles of just morality; that it is in accordance with the spirit of both the Old and the New Testament; that the best thing that can be done for the inferior African race is that they should be placed under the wholesome restraints and the elevating influences of slavery. Forthwith this idea was embraced by the leading ministers of religion, and the work was undertaken of educating the whole religious mind of the South to that view, and of changing all the sentiments on the subject which they had derived from the teachings of Patrick Henry, of Madison, of Jefferson, of Washington. With marvelous facility, evincing a change of sentiment on a great moral subject such as the world never saw before, the new doctrines were embraced, and with entire unanimity as bodies, and almost as individuals, the Churches, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, em-

braced the new revelation, and made the doctrine, that slavery is in accordance with the Bible, a practical doctrine of their creed. On this ground they drew off from their Northern brethren, and the division of the country began where, perhaps, the politicians most desired it, in the Church of God. At the commencement of the rebellion the whole Southern mind had been united in this belief.

Then arrangements were quietly made for carrying out the idea. Connected with the national administration there was, as there usually has been, a majority in numbers, and a vast preponderance in talent, from the South, or that sympathized with the South. The doctrine was distinctly stated in the highest place of the nation, that the Constitution of the United States gave no power to coerce a State or States by arms. Munitions of war were quietly removed from the armories of the North to forts and arsenals of the South. The few ships of war that constituted the navy of the United States had been sent to distant seas, and could not soon be recalled to suppress a rebellion. A large portion of the little army of the United States readily engaged in the service of the South; and the most numerous portion, and the ablest, of the military men that had been educated at the public expense for the protection of its Union, became leaders of the Southern army. The North—the Government, had neither army nor navy, and was itself divided. It was the work almost of a moment to seize the arsenals, the forts, and the public property in the South, and they passed into the hands of the insurgents without a blow. There was indeed one fort that dared to make resistance. A little band of brave men, under the command of one of the noblest men in the army, dared to resist the power of the South. But the little garrison could not be reinforced or fed; the flag of Fort Sumter came honorably down, and the war began.

But this is the end of all such dangers. We are certain that such a state of things can never occur again, and that our country will be henceforward safe from such an organized insurrection. On the basis of slavery, the grand cause of all the trouble—such a rebellion can never be organized again, and as to-day we have occasion for thanksgiving that we have a *Government*, so we have had a demonstration that that Government can not be overthrown by rebellion.

We are prepared, then, to consider what would have been our condition, if this insurrection had been successful, or if there had been any other termination of the war than that which has actually occurred. One of two things would have followed. One, if the success of the rebellion had been complete, and there had been two rival and contending nations here, with long lines of conterminous territory; with great rivers running through both;

with the usual causes of dispute between contiguous nations ; with separate interests ; and with new divisions and conflicts, for no one can suppose that if the insurrection had been successful the number of independent sovereignties on what now constitutes the territory of the United States could have been long limited to *two*. The other supposition would be, that the rebellion had been for a time suppressed, but still leaving to the subdued and vanquished part all the original causes of irritation and alienation, with the hope that better arrangements could be made for a successful insurrection ; that the public mind could be more fully trained for it ; that larger armies could be brought into the field, and a more powerful navy created ; that by more successful negotiations a recognition could be secured by foreign powers ; that, by delay, a state of things more favorable to success would exist in the general Government, and a more decided influence in their favor might exist in the North. In what a condition would our country be now, and ever onward, if there were held over it the idea—the *possibility*—of such a war again ; if it should be necessary to call forth hundreds of thousands of men to the scenes of bloody strife ; if at any time the horrors of battle—the desolate homes—the wasted fields and ruined cities and towns—the conversion of so large a part of our territory into the grave-yards of the slain might occur again. From *this* apprehension we are now free, for the great problem has been solved, that under the most favorable circumstances, and with the most careful training, there can be no such insurrection organized again, and no hope that the Government of the United States can be overturned by an armed rebellion. Let us thank God for this.

III. We may find a third reason for thanksgiving, growing out of this conflict, in the moral certainty that a better feeling will exist between the North and the South ; that there will be more mutual respect : *that there will be a closer Union than there ever has been.*

The attachment to the Union, by our fathers, as formed under the Constitution, was sincere and genuine. There was great nobleness of conduct ; there was a large spirit of patriotism ; there were great and generous sacrifices of local interests, in forming that Union. But there were still seeds of disaffection which soon germinated, and rapidly matured. It was a Union, in a great measure, based on *compromise*—an arrangement which implies that some great evil is for a time only laid to sleep, that may be revived again. For, we can not thus finally dispose of evils and wrongs in a human government, any more than it could be done in the government of God. In His government it is never attempted.

It can not be denied now that there were causes of alienation

laid far back in history, which, in their growth and development, could not be removed by any ordinary and peaceful course of things; which time tended only to strengthen and confirm; and which, whether they *could* have been removed in any other way or not, we may hope have been removed by this conflict forever. Perhaps in no nation united under one government—even in Austria, made of dissimilar nations altogether, and held together by one will, have there been such causes of irritation and alienation as have grown up in the different portions of our own country though originally of the same race, speaking the same language, and professing the same religion.

It is not necessary now to recall, or dwell on, those causes of irritation and alienation. They sprang partly from rival interests, and from differences in the laws and arrangements necessary for the protection of those interests. The questions connected with manufactures, commerce, agricultural pursuits, made a difference in the laws respecting the tariff, commerce, and the protection of domestic industry necessary, tending to constant alienation. But it was mainly the question of slavery that produced the irritation, and that tended to divide the South and the North. The demands on the one side, and the concessions on the other; the compromises asked and secured for its defence; the effort on the one hand to extend it, and on the other to check it; the influence which it had on the Government, and the attempts to abate that influence; the claims on the part of Northern philanthropists to diffuse what they regarded as just views on this and all subjects all over the world, and therefore the right to diffuse these views where slavery prevails, and the claim, on the other hand, that slavery was strictly a domestic institution with which the North had nothing to do; the Fugitive Slave Law; the Missouri Compromise; the war with Mexico; the annexation of Texas; the admission of Kansas to the Union; the loss of California to the South as a slave State; the "Dred Scott" decision in the Supreme Court—all these tended to keep up the irritation, and perpetuate the alienation. The feelings of the North towards the South were becoming well defined. The people of the North regarded those of the South, as aggressive, arrogant, boastful, overbearing, savage; as inferior in thrift, and the comforts of life, in arts, in literature, in refinement to themselves; as coarse and brutal, and regardless of law in their manners; as having an undue influence in the administration of the General Government; as guilty in sustaining a barbarous system, and as being themselves corrupted through the influence of that system. On the other hand, the prevailing feeling of the South toward the North was rapidly forming itself into *contempt*. The name by which the people of the North were commonly designated was, with them, synonymous with all that

is implied in contempt. It could not be denied, indeed, that they were characterized by industry, but labor in their view was degrading; they were successful in business, but it was by trick and cunning; they made advances in commerce, but it was by an unjust discrimination in the laws in their favor; they made advances in arts and in manufactures, but it was by an unequal tariff. They intermeddled with that which did not pertain to them; they sought to change institutions which in no way were subject to their control; they disregarded the compromises of the Constitution, and the laws made for the protection of property in man; they enticed slaves to leave their masters; they sought to produce disaffection in the families of the South, and to encourage insurrection among their servants. They refused to admit the holders of slaves to preach in their pulpits, or to membership in their churches; they held them up to the reproach and scorn of the world, as sustaining a barbarous institution in a land of freedom, while all the rest of mankind were seeking to put an end to slavery. In the meantime, each party—North and South—undervalued the power, the energy, the resources, the military ability, the determined purpose of the other; and each, at the beginning of the strife, supposed that the whole matter of dispute would be soon settled—the South supposing that the North would not “fight,” and the North believing that the rebellion was in fact so feeble, that the insurrection could be soon suppressed. Neither party dreamed of a fierce controversy in which hundreds of thousands of men would fall on the field of battle, and extending through four terrible years; neither party dreamed of the power, the energy, the determination, the resources of the other.

The views of each have been changed; the causes of irritation and alienation, have been in a great measure removed; and, as among different nations mutual respect is kept up in a great measure by the power displayed, so the North and the South have learned to respect each other.

(a) The grand source of irritation and alienation has been removed. The celebrated “Mason and Dixon’s line” is obliterated, and no longer designates any division of the nation. The Missouri Compromise would be useless if not repealed; the “Wilmot Proviso” unnecessary; the law of the Northwest Territory of 1787 has become the law of all the Territories; the annexation of Texas can furnish no further occasion for irritation; the Dred Scott decision has ceased to have any significance or any bearing on our interests; and the Fugitive Slave Law has disappeared as a source of irritation forever.

(b) There is mutual respect for the power, the ability, the resources, the military skill of each other. I do not believe that military glory, as such, is that of which a nation should be proud,

nor do I attempt a comparison, in a field where I am competent to say nothing, of the relative military power and skill evinced by the North and the South, but it is not improper to say that, as in the war of Independence, equal military ability was evinced by the troops of South Carolina and Massachusetts, so now, with the single exception of the last campaign, it might be difficult to determine in which, in that which the world calls "glory," the praise of eminence belongs. The world, too, has learned to respect powers so vast on either side when contending with each other, and that would be so overwhelming if combined.

(c) Once more—the conduct of the two great parties that were engaged in the strife, on the cessation of the war, has been, and is such as to secure in the future a degree of respect and confidence hitherto unknown since the Revolution.

This is true, on the whole, in regard to the South. There may be—there are—undoubtedly individual exceptions, perhaps exceptions embracing *States*. There may be galled and irritated feelings. There may be lingering enmity of the North. There may be a spirit of insubmission and insubordination. There may be a want of "loyalty," and a desire still of an Independent Confederacy. There may be an abuse of clemency. There may be a secret wish to restore the old order of things, and to reduce the emancipated millions again to bondage. There may be a purpose, if that can not be accomplished *in form*, to accomplish it *in fact*, and under another name. There may be cases of individual insincerity in taking the oath of allegiance, and in submitting to the acts of the General Government. There may be with some, a love of power and office that has not died, and a purpose, in connection with a party in the North, if possible, to regain it. There may be a desire of revenge.

But, admitting all this, and more than this—for all this and more, as human nature is, was natural—I hesitate not to say that, on the whole, the conduct of the South in the feelings evinced on the termination of the conflict, has been such as to demand the confidence of the North, and to secure the admiration of mankind. The surrender of the armed forces was so complete and entire; the cessation of hostilities was so immediate and universal; the acknowledgment that they had been overcome was so prompt, frank, and manly; the readiness to return to the Union has been so general, and apparently so sincere; the recognition of the fact that slavery is extinct forever has been so widely admitted as a fact—vast as are the consequences involved, and as is the change in their habits; the readiness to come under the arrangements for collecting the revenue has been so prompt; the disposition to resume commercial intercourse with the great cities of the North has been so marked; and the willingness to come into the great arrangements of the nation for perpetuating

freedom has been so general, that we see in this, I think, the return of the feelings of the best days of the Republic. There are exceptions—principally where we should least have expected them—in the heart of woman, and in the ministers of religion—but there has never been a civil war closed where there was less lingering animosity, or more willingness to unite again under the same government. Can we forget when we think of what is in the Southern bosom still, that long-cherished opinions, feelings, and customs do not soon change among a people? Can we forget how long after the wars of the “Roses,” and after the civil wars that resulted in the establishment of the “Commonwealth” in England, on the cessation of the forms of war, the feelings which had been engendered lingered in the bosom of Englishmen? Can we forget how long after the Revolution, the banishment of James, and the accession of William and Mary, love for the “Pretender” lingered in the hearts of a portion of that nation; how firm was the conviction that he was the rightful heir of the crown; how strong the hope that he would yet come to the throne? Shall we blame our Southern brethren if some similar feelings linger in *their* bosoms?

Equally worthy of the admiration of the world; equally fitted to inspire returning confidence, has been the conduct of the North. In the annals of all suppressed rebellions there has never been a more magnanimous spirit shown, or a spirit which, if anything might, should make a nation proud; which would so much command the admiration of the world; or which has been so well fitted to obliterate the memory of the past, and to secure the confidence and regard of those who, though rebels, have been constrained to submit to the triumphant arms of the Republic. With entire success on the part of the North—if we must still for a while use that term—or on the part of the Government; with manifest superiority in numbers, in financial resources, and in military and naval power; with the entire breaking up of all armed forces in the South; with the object accomplished so long desired by the North, and the source of all the irritation in the nation—the removal of slavery; with victory after victory on the side of the Government, there has been, nevertheless, no exultation; there has been no boasting; there have been no triumphal processions; there have been no public thanksgivings, nor will there be to-day, for victory as such, or that the authors of the rebellion have been *conquered*, but only that the Union has been preserved, and the country saved. Rome proclaimed ovations to returning victors, with a parade of the spoils of war; with princes led as captives; with the banners of distant nations subdued, displayed in the procession; with music and shouts of triumph:—we have proclaimed none. The men made immortal as the result of victory have returned to their peaceful homes, with

not even the thanks of the nation presented to them in a public manner. Not one of the rebel leaders has been led forth an object of curiosity to be exhibited, as at Rome, to the gaze and taunts of assembled thousands. Not one has yet been executed; not one has yet been put on trial for treason. Nay, more, a proclamation of amnesty, wide as the heart of benevolence could desire, and as the safety of the nation would bear, has been proclaimed to the rebellious, and the kindest provisions have been proposed for the re-admission of the rebel States again to honorable relations to the Government. In no nation before has such a proclamation of amnesty been made; in no nation would it have been regarded as safe to do it. Whether it is wise or not, is not the question before us. Whether punishment should not be inflicted on the leaders of such a rebellion, is not the point on which I am now remarking. Whether the very leader of the armies of the rebellion; the man who more than once aimed a direct blow at the capital of the nation; who led forth great armies of rebels to invade the peaceful States of the Union, and who conducted great battles in which thousands and tens of thousands of the sons of the North were slain, and who submitted at last, only because superior military genius, and stronger military power compelled him to submit—whether *such* a man should escape the punishment due to treason, and should be placed at the head of a literary institution to be the example, the instructor, and the guide of the patriot youths of the nation is a point on which men will form their own opinions, but is not the point on which I am remarking. Yet what would the world have said if Aaron Burr or Benedict Arnold had been made President of Nassau Hall, or if the Duke of Monmouth had been made Chancellor of the University of Oxford? I am speaking only of the facts now adverted to as fitted to command the admiration or the *wonder* of the world, and as adapted to show to the erring and the guilty South that there is no malevolence or desire of revenge, in the bosoms of their conquerors.

As an illustration of the changes which have occurred in the world in little less than two hundred years; as marking the characteristics of these times as contrasted with times past; as descriptive of the state of things in our nation, and of what may safely occur under a republic as contrasted with what is deemed necessary under a monarchy in a rebellion; and as being especially edifying and suggestive to our British brethren in the views which they are disposed to take of us and of our affairs, it may not be improper to recall to the mind of the student of history the strong contrast which has occurred in relation to this rebellion and the rebellion in England under James the Second, by the Duke of Monmouth. That was, compared with this, a small affair. A few thousand—not more than six in all—composed of

those who landed on the Western Coast of England, and of those that were gathered together, armed mostly with scythes and old swords and axes, with a few pieces of artillery, made war on the English Government. At Sedge Moor they were easily overthrown and scattered. But the occasion was regarded as one on which the services of the bloodiest, the most tyrannical, the most savage, the most unfeeling and cruel man that ever sat on a bench of justice were deemed especially appropriate to carry out the purposes of a not less relenting and implacable master. I can not better show the contrast between those times and these; between a monarchy and a republic; between, shall I say, England and our own country, than by copying a few sentences selected from the interesting narrative in Macauley's History of England. After an extended statement of the trials and executions elsewhere, he says, "Somersetshire, the chief seat of the rebellion, had been reserved for the last and most fearful revenge. In this county two hundred and thirty-three prisoners were in a few days hanged, drawn, and quartered. At every spot where two roads met, on every market-place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air and made the traveler sick with horror. In many parishes the peasantry could not assemble in the house of God without seeing the ghastly face of a neighbor grinning at them over the porch."* Such in England. How different in the United States.

Surely, whatever demands may be properly made for severer justice than has yet been executed, we may find occasion this day for thanksgiving in the contrast between the conduct of England and our own Government, and of those times and ours; and eminently in the fact that our Government—our institutions—our Republic—will *admit* of a clemency that would have been fatal in other times and lands, and that order and confidence can be restored without the disgusting exhibition on the cross-roads, and in the market-towns, of men hung in chains!

IV. A fourth reason for thanksgiving may be derived from the fact that in this conflict we have secured the respect of the world, and shall henceforth occupy a higher place among the nations of the earth.

For eighty years, indeed, we have been making advances in this in our growth; in our resources; in our commerce; in our schools and systems of education; in the working of our civil institutions; in the effects of the voluntary system of religion; in our rapid improvements; in our general peace and order; in our

* History of England, Vol. I. pp. 596, 597.

freedom from pauperism and crime ; and in our character for justice in our intercourse with foreign powers. There was no country to which the masses of men in other lands looked with so much hope as a land of liberty, and as an asylum from hard labor, oppressive laws, and heavy taxations ; and there was no land to which the tide of emigration was flowing in so broad and rapid a stream. We needed not any demonstration of our military and naval power to secure the respect and the confidence of the *masses* of people in foreign lands.

But the remark which I am now making has respect, not so much to the people as to the rulers and to the governments of the Old World. The results of this war will be to inspire them, even against the wishes of many of them, with a degree of respect which they never cherished, and which they secretly hoped there would be no occasion to cherish, for our country.

(a) This is true in respect to our mode of government ; to republican institutions. For reasons that are obvious, and that have been alluded to already, the governments of the Old World had desired *not* to cherish respect for this form of government, and had hoped that the result of the war would be such as to show that their anticipations in regard to it were well founded. The idea there has been that stability, energy, and permanence are connected with monarchy, and with hereditary sovereignty ; that a republic must be weak as a government, and must be of short duration. In support of this, as already remarked, they referred to the past history of republics, and inferred that the great principle had been settled by them forever, that a republic could not be stable and enduring.

Hence it was that our mother country was so much disposed to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and that it was anticipated that that readiness would be participated in by all the nations of Europe. The day had come when the experiment of republican government had resulted as they had predicted and desired it would. The Republic had baffled their hopes, and falsified their prophecies for eighty years ; but now, to their view, its weakness, its instability, its want of permanent cohesion in the parts, was to be demonstrated. The most formidable insurrection ever known, had been organized, and it had been proclaimed in the highest seat of authority that there was no *power* in the General Government, as provided for in the Constitution, "to coerce revolted States." What could have been more gratifying to the friends of despotism ; to the enemies of republican institutions ; to the rivals and the secret enemies of our country ? A bright day dawned on the old despotisms of Europe when the great Republic of the West was in fact rent in twain, and when, also, it was only a question of time whether that division would be permanent, and the Southern Confederacy

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could be properly recognized—whatever might become of the North.

That hope has vanished. The government of this nation, resting on the faith and patriotism of the people, has displayed an energy, a power, an ability, in the Cabinet, on the ocean, and in the field, such as has never been shown under a monarchical system of government in any land or at any time. Four years—four years that seem now to have passed like a dream—ended the conflict here. How long was it in the “wars of the Roses” before the conflict ceased, and the government settled down on its former basis? How long was it from the meeting of the “Long Parliament” till the restoration of Charles II? What power, compared with this, did France under Louis XVI., evince to suppress the insurrection in that land? Even with large standing armies; with the prestige of old authority; with the accumulated power of ages, *what* government, I repeat, in such times has ever evinced an energy, a power, a degree of stability like the Government of this Republic in the late insurrection? Not for one day, or hour, or moment have the functions of the Government been stayed. The Congress has met; the courts have held their sessions; the revenue has been collected; the interests of justice have been administered; the operations of agriculture, of manufactures, of commerce, of the churches, the schools, the colleges—have moved on as calmly and as quietly as in the most peaceful days of the Republic. The Government never was firmer; never had a more certain prospect of endurance; and such a government, even against all the cherished hopes of foreign powers, *will* secure the respect of the world.

(b) It is equally true that we have commanded the respect of foreign nations in regard to our military and naval position before the world. There were mistakes and reverses in the conduct of the war, as in what war have there not been mistakes and reverses? There were dark times—times that filled all our hearts with gloomy forebodings, and that called us with burdened souls to our places of worship for prayer and humiliation. There have been incompetent men entrusted with the command of our armies—men of little or no military experience; men who had had no military training; men who supposed in regard to themselves that civilians could be transformed at will to Marlboroughs and Wellingtons, or that men called from the plough would be necessarily like Cincinnatus or Cromwell; men who had little zeal for the country; men whose hearts were divided between the North and the South, if not men whose hearts and hopes were wholly with the South; men who were intemperate, and men who were cowards—but in what great wars have not things of this kind occurred? And there were raw and inexperienced troops who fled in wild dismay before the enemy—but in what wars has not this also happened?

But if this has been so ; and if events connected with these facts have exposed us to the derision or the contempt of the world, there have been men also who have placed their names beside those of the great captains of the world, and who in military genius have shown that they have equalled the most illustrious of those men. There have been armies—great armies—who in drill, and discipline, and order, and firmness, and courage, have equalled the most disciplined veterans of the old world, and who have accomplished what would have given honor to the best armies of France or England—to the heroes of Marengo or Wagram—to Blenheim or Waterloo.

We were not a military people. We had one military school, and a skeleton of an army. But assuredly the nations of the earth, if they did not do it before, have learned to respect a people that could in a brief period bring into the field, and equip and discipline an army of men that could suppress an insurrection that had itself summoned into the field more than half a million of men, and that, when it was supposed they had nothing—no armories, or arsenals, or forges for the manufacture of arms, but who yet furnished themselves with all the materials of war with almost the rapidity with which Milton's fallen angels forged cannon, and compounded gunpowder, and that seemed *like* those angels to have extracted it all from the earth. The North had at the close of the war under arms more than a million of men organized to make war on almost an equal number, and which, with a rapidity and a completeness, when the arrangements were made, to the amazement of our own people and of the world, brought the rebellion to a close.

We were in history more of a naval people ; and in the war of 1812 had shown that, on the ocean, we could maintain our cause against the nation that boasted that its empire was on the seas. But forty years had passed away. We had but one naval school, and some of the ablest graduates of the school were among the rebels. We had almost no ships of war ; and what we had were dispersed in distant seas. But suddenly, as if by magic, a new navy arose sufficient to guard a longer maritime coast than had ever before been placed under blockade ; a navy that was new in its character to the world, and that seemed to change at once the whole character of naval warfare—rendering all the wooden vessels of war that all Europe could send to our waters, by sail or by steam, useless.

(c) But, after all, it is chiefly, I apprehend, in regard to diplomacy that we have secured the respect of the world. The history of this war is yet to be written, when the passions of men are calmer than they are now, and when the real causes which have most contributed to the result shall be better understood. Then, I apprehend, it will be found that the most remarkable

things of the war have not been those which have occurred on the battle-field or on the ocean; that the highest talent which has been evinced has not been by those in the army or the navy, and amidst the thunder of battle; but in the quiet scenes of deliberation in the Capitol; in the peaceful room where despatches to foreign powers have been thought out and prepared. There is at least one name that will go into history, not, as many supposed by the side of Metternich and Talleyrand, but by the side of Burke and Canning; one life aimed at by the rebellion, but preserved by the marvelous providence of God, of value to the nation only less than that which was successfully stricken down. He lives; and his despatches will live as long as men shall choose to preserve the records of far-seeing sagacity; of firmness in maintaining great principles; of honorable concessions when they could be made with truth; and of successful efforts to maintain peace with foreign powers—to make them *afraid* to go to war when they were ready to rush into the conflict; to head off, and to check all efforts made to secure a recognition of the insurgent confederacy by the feeblest or the greatest of the foreign powers, when all the arts of Southern men, the ablest that they had, were employed to secure it; when all the interests of an enlarged and profitable commerce seemed to prompt to it; when all the desire of our division and ruin would have been gratified by it; and when, *unless* checked and restrained, foreign powers would at once have recognized the organized rebellion as in fact a government among the other governments of the earth.

For the great question was how to prevent the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by those powers, and how, at the same time that this was done, peace could be preserved with those powers; how to adjust the difficult points that *must* come up, in the circumstances, with foreign powers disposed to make such a recognition, and disposed to favor the insurgents so as to prevent war with those powers. It was done. Forthwith, on the breaking out of the rebellion, its emissaries were sent abroad to secure a recognition of their government and the co-operation of foreign powers; and abroad they found, as they hoped, a disposition to recognize them, and when that was not yet done, to aid them by their sympathy, and to furnish them materials for the prosecution of the purposes of the rebellion, despite all friendly assurances to the United States, and in violation of all the principles of professed neutrality, and in such a manner as would, in other circumstances, have led to a war with the United States. But before those emissaries could reach the seats of foreign governments, every such government had been apprised of the manner in which such a recognition would be regarded by the United States, and every foreign minister from our country had been

instructed to lay the case before such governments. The causes of the insurrection; the influence of slavery in producing it; the spirit which animated it; the policy of the North; the hopelessness of the rebellion; the evils of disunion to other nations as well as to our own; the certain consequences of such recognition, with all the appeals that could be made as drawn from the past intercourse of the United States with those powers, and their friendly relations, had been fairly laid before such governments, and not without effect. Wherever the emissaries of the so-called "Confederacy" should go, to Prussia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Rome, Turkey, yea, to the government of the Hawaiian Islands, they would find, and did find, that such representations had preceded them.* I venture to say that the history of diplomacy does not furnish an instance of greater ability than is to be found in the instructions sent forth to the ambassadors to foreign powers within two months after the organization of the Southern Confederacy, and in future times the instructions of the Secretary of State, for wisdom, for sagacity, for earnest and powerful argumentations, and for successful appeal, will be regarded as among the ablest State papers that the world has produced. And in every difficult question—and they were many—that occurred with foreign powers in the progress of the war; in collisions of opinion that threatened war; in the highly excited feelings of our own countrymen and the people abroad; in matters which it seemed impossible to adjust without a conflict; when preparations by England were actually made for war, and troops were embarked, and ships of war were fitted out, the same keen sagacity; the same sober judgment; the same power of argumentation; the same foresight of what was likely to occur; the same readiness to yield when we were manifestly in the wrong, and the same firm determination not to yield when we were in the right; the same wise statesmanship—saved us from collision; maintained the honor of the nation; forestalled and prevented all attempts at the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and preserved peace, through those years of fearful civil struggle, with all the nations of the earth. As the result of this statesmanship, we are at peace with all nations now, and have now no question with any which may not be adjusted without a resort to arms. At any period of the struggle it would have been easy to plunge the nation into a war with England—and there were excited feelings enough there and at home to have sustained both governments in such a war; at numerous important junctures in the progress of our own conflicts, a different

* Message and Documents, 1861-2. Part I., pp. 32-416.

course on the part of the Government would have made such a war inevitable.

For such acts of statesmanship, and such results, not less than for the bravery of the men in battle, and the skill of those who commanded our armies, we should this day render thanks, and while the military skill which led to the ultimate surrender of the rebel armies should never be forgotten, the ability which kept us in peace with foreign nations—leaving nothing for our victorious army and navy to do after the rebellion was quelled in settling foreign difficulties—should be held in as lasting remembrance.

V. As a fifth reason for thanksgiving as the result of this fearful conflict, we have secured ultimate complete liberty to the nation, and are to be in every proper sense a free people. We have gained, or shall have gained, the object for which our fathers struggled, and which they saw partially in what they had secured in the war of Independence. Ultimately it may be seen, if it is not now, that there was no other mode by which that complete liberty could be secured than by such a "baptism of blood;" ultimately it may be seen that it is worth all which it has cost.

The liberty thus secured is of two kinds:—liberty for those who before regarded themselves as free, but who were under a rigid bondage; liberty for enslaved millions.

(a) We have secured liberty for those who regarded themselves as free, but who were, in fact subjected to an inexorable bondage:—liberty at last, of travel; liberty of speech; liberty of conscience; liberty in the post-office arrangements; liberty of debate; liberty in legislation; liberty in the administration of justice; liberty in religion.

We indeed boasted that we were free, and we proclaimed it to distant lands. But there were the shackles of an ignoble servitude upon us, in all the great interests of justice, humanity, travel, speech, religion.

Slavery ruled the land—alike controlling the bond and the free. It prevented freedom of travel and of speech; it muzzled the press, secular and religious; it brow-beat men who were disposed to utter the sentiments of justice and humanity; it controlled the commerce of the country; it formed the opinions of manufacturers and merchants; it struck dumb the ministers of religion; it dictated to ministers what they should preach and how they should pray; to professors in seminaries of learning and religion what they should teach, and to judges on the bench, and to jurymen in the box, what verdict should be rendered; it controlled General Assemblies, and ecclesiastical councils, and conventions in the Church—alike the Presbyterian, the Episcopal, the Methodist, the Baptist, and partially the Congregational; it

drove away men seeking an honest livelihood in teaching, or engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce; it controlled the post-office, dictating what might, and what might not be sent in the mails; it formed or modified the judgments of the Supreme Court of the land; it suppressed by the terror of the pistol, the bowie-knife, or the club, freedom of debate in the halls of legislation; it framed laws for the Congress of the nation to enact, and for the President of the United States to sign; it prostrated with a murderous weapon the man who in the Senate Chamber dared to utter the sentiments of liberty. Was this a land of freedom?

The land was not free. But now it is free. The dividing line of the States—separating free and slave territory, has been obliterated. We may travel where we please; we may form our plans of business, of commerce, of manufactures, without reference to the question how they are to effect the interests of slavery; we may utter our sentiments without fear; we may form our opinions, preach our sermons, pronounce our verdicts, frame our laws, conduct our debates in our ecclesiastical bodies, publish our books, and transmit our letters through the mails, as freemen should. The language of freedom may at last be uttered in the Senate Chamber, and on the bench of highest justice, and they who utter it are safe. The most terrible despotism after all is not that which binds the limbs of men; it is that which controls their speech, their thoughts, their instruction of the young, their judgments in reference to liberty, to property, to life, to religion. The highest liberty is that which permits men to go where they please; to think what they choose; to utter what they regard as true; to form their plans without dictation; to pronounce judgments in courts that shall be in accordance with the law and with fact; to frame such laws as the best interests of the nation demand; to utter the truth of God in the pulpit, without being cowed or awed, and to use before God in prayer the utterances of humanity, equality, and justice. Such liberty we shall henceforth enjoy, and for this let us unfeignedly thank God.

(b) In connection with the war, and as the result of the war, liberty has been secured to those who were held in bondage, and henceforward we are to take our place as a free nation among the other free nations of the earth, and to carry out, in the fullness of their meaning, the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence.

(1) This is the result of the war; and, so far as we can see, it was only by such a war that the emancipation of the four millions of the enslaved could be effected. For provisions had been introduced into the very Constitution for protecting slavery; it was held to be a matter pertaining to the States alone, with

which the General Government could not interfere; it was fortified by the laws; it was sustained by the Church; it was defended as a divine institution; it had secured enactments in its favor odious to humanity and to the spirit of liberty; it controlled the Government; it was spreading into vast States and Territories; it had secured, at last, from the Supreme Court, all that it demanded, in the most revolting declaration that ever fell from the lips of one exalted to high judicial authority, in the utterance of the late Chief Justice of the United States; that negroes "are not included, and were never intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can, therefore, claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to the citizens of the United States," and "that they had, for more than a century before, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, *that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit."*

The war was not commenced with any purpose of emancipation, or of interfering with slavery. It was by the purpose of God, and not by the purpose of man that emancipation was contemplated. Mr. Lincoln expressly avowed, at the beginning of his administration, that it was no part of the purpose of the Government to interfere with slavery. He then proposed a scheme of colonization—on which the nation looked coldly.† He then proposed to Congress an amendment to the Constitution, for compensated emancipation to be made voluntarily by the States before the year 1899,‡ to which the Congress paid no attention. He then declared that the Union must be preserved *with* slavery if it could be; *without* slavery if that became necessary. He then, as a military necessity, as demanded, in his apprehension, for the preservation of the Union, issued the proclamation of emancipation. The armies carried freedom with them. Freedom, in fact, became a necessity. The territories were free. The District of Columbia was made free. The fugitive slave law, enacted to support slavery, became useless, and the odious law was removed from the statute books. The Congress proposed to the States an amendment to the Constitution, forbidding slavery in any of the States or Territories, and it is now ratified, and the very last recognition of slavery left in the Constitution will then soon be removed; and as a nation we shall be free.

* Quoted from the Westminster Review for July, 1865, pp. 28, 29.

† Annual Message, 1861. Message and Documents, 1861-2. Part I, pp. 14, 15.

‡ Annual Message, 1862. Message and Documents 1862-3. Part I, pp. 15-23.

(2) The whole work is not yet accomplished, but it will be. It is not the work of a day, or a year, or perhaps a generation, to emancipate in reality four millions of slaves; to change the habits of a people which had been forming for generations under the influence of slavery; to elevate the slaves so that he shall take his proper place among freemen; to "emancipate" the master so that he shall himself be freed from the shackles which slavery had thrown around him; to lead him to do justice to him whom he had oppressed; to labor himself; to honor labor; and to engage in those enterprises which belong to freedom, and which have made the North what it is. We should not be impatient if the enslaved man is not suddenly elevated; if the old master cherishes still many of his former views; if there is a disposition still to withhold the rights due to all men; if there are agitations, excitements, and even insurrections in the States where slavery has prevailed; if there should be a longing look to the times when a man could control the labors of hundreds of others—could himself be idle, supported by their toil—could pride himself on their being his property—could sell them—and could walk over thousands of acres cultivated by others, and feel that those acres, and those men, and all that the one produced and the other earned, was his own. Customs and habits long formed; social views long established; modes of doing things long practiced; and theoretical convictions in domestic economy, in politics, and in religion, are not soon changed, even by the stern and dreadful *instructions of war*—and the nation should not be impatient, nor should foreign nations chide us, if time is taken to settle these difficult questions; to determine in our own minds even what *are* proper ideas of liberty; and to adjust the condition of the former slave to society, to the Constitution, and to the Church.

(3) Yet though the work is not yet accomplished, and time may be necessary to secure it, it will be done, and the nation will come up, in reference to slaves and to all men, to just ideas of liberty—slowly it may be, must be, but certainly, to the doctrine of EQUAL RIGHTS; to the doctrine (a) that each and every person has a right to pursue his own chosen calling as he pleases; (b) that each one has a right to go where he pleases, and to dwell where he pleases; (c) that each one has a right to express his own opinion on all subjects, subject only to the just restraints respecting the character and conduct of others; (d) that each one is to enjoy liberty of conscience, and to worship God as he pleases, with only the restraint that he shall not disturb the peace of society; (e) that each one shall enjoy the avails of his own labor, his own talent, ingenuity, professional skill, in all the work of his hands, in all inventions in art, in all discoveries in science, and in all literary productions, subject only to the claim

which the Government shall have for its support, and the community for its advancement in science, literature, civilization, and the arts ; (*f*) that each one shall be placed before the law on an equality in inventive endowments, and in literature, with no favoritism to any from rank, from color, or from blood ; (*g*) that each one shall be allowed to make the most of himself, by honest effort, if he has genius, talent, eloquence ; that he shall be allowed to place himself in as high a social position as he can, by the accumulation of wealth, by personal worth, by grace of manners, and by a cultivated mind and heart, with no barrier derived from his ancestry or the hue of his skin ; and (*h*) that each one shall be put on the same level as each other one, in his relation to the government of his country, with no disqualification in regard to votes or office which does not equally apply to all others ; with no distinction unfavorable to himself as derived from his religion, his origin, his employment, his color, rank, or complexion. This is liberty ; and to this view all things tend.

(4) When this is reached it will be a gain alike to the North and the South that we have gone through this fearful struggle. Our whole country will be the richer and the happier ; will occupy a higher position in the eye of the world, and in the eye of God. For, no nation ever yet was impoverished by the abolition of slavery, no matter how, or from what motives, or by what causes, it was done. The Roman empire, Germany, England, all have risen in wealth, in civilization, in happiness, as slavery has been abolished, as Russia will from this time onward. It is no loss to the South that the slaves are emancipated, and no one can have any sympathy with the States as a whole, in the removal of slavery, whatever we may have for individuals in the immediate distress and poverty that have come upon them. They estimate their losses in the emancipation of their slaves as more than four thousand million of dollars, a sum equal to the whole national debt created by the war. *There has been no such loss ; there has been no loss.* Ultimately the *gain* to them from these acts of emancipation will be many times more in the real wealth of their own country than all this alleged loss. The South in this rebellion intended no such thing. They carried on the war with no expectations that the relations of slavery would be disturbed. They hoped—they expected—to establish a government founded on slavery as the corner-stone. But if it had been a stroke of deep policy ; if they had been actuated by the mere views of a Neckar ; if they had asked in what way they could best promote the wealth of their portion of the United States—could place themselves on a level with the North ; could in their comforts, and the value of their farms, raise themselves to a higher level in regard to civilization and religion ; could increase their schools, enlarge their commerce, and place them-

selves abreast of the rest of mankind, they could not have done a better thing than to bring on this war:—for though the results of the war will not blot out the crime of treason, or raise the slaughtered dead from their graves, or dry up the tears that have been shed, yet this will be worth to them more than all the estimated value of their slaves. For they were a burden to them, and the "institution" was a curse, an incumbrance, a dead weight that sunk them down and crushed them. It is liberty; liberty to all, that makes a nation prosperous and great.

And a new career, when they shall have recovered from the shocks and the calamities of the war, will be before the South. With a climate and soil far superior to the North; with ample mineral resources; with rivers and streams and bays and harbors adapted to commerce; with easy access to all the nations of the earth; with the necessary outlet of the great West in their hands; with a capability in regard to the productions of the soil far beyond the productions of the North, nothing henceforward will prevent that glorious career for them and for us, for which they and we, *in Union*, not in separate confederacies, or under jarring governments, were destined by the arrangements of Providence—that we might be one United Republic—an example to all the world of the value of free institutions, and of the ability of man, under the Divine blessing, and by obedience to the laws of God, for self-government. And now, for all these things, let us this day unfeignedly thank God.

SERMON II.

BY REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D. D.

PASTOR OF LAFAYETTE AVENUE CHURCH, BROOKLYN.

THE GIANT AND THE SHEPHERD'S SLING.*

"Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts." 1 SAMUEL, xvii: 45.

THAT was a remarkable encounter which once took place in the little valley of Elah. With its thrilling story you are all as familiar as you are with the grapple of American yeomanry on

* Delivered before the Foreign Missionary Society of New York and Brooklyn, on Sabbath evenings, December 3d, and December 10th, 1865.