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THE LOVE OF COUNTRY.

C. Sherman & Son,

Printers, Philada.

The Love of Country.

A SERMON

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

PHILADELPHIA.

April 28, 1861.

BY ALBERT BARNES.

PHILADELPHIA:

C. SHERMAN & SON, PRINTERS.

1861.

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MONDAY,
APRIL 29, 1861.

REV. ALBERT BARNES.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: The undersigned believe that they express the unanimous wish of all who heard the admirable sermon on "LOVE OF COUNTRY," delivered by you yesterday, in requesting for publication a copy of a discourse so well calculated for the instruction of the Christian patriot in these times, when the very foundations of government are threatened.

Very truly and respectfully,

SAMUEL H. PERKINS,
W. PURVES,
JAMES S. EARLE,
W. G. CROWELL,
ALEXANDER FULLERTON,
J. S. KNEEDLER,
HENRY LAPSLEY,
BEATON SMITH,
THOMAS RONEY,
JOHN NEILL, M.D.,
JOHN McALLISTER,
SAMUEL C. PERKINS,
JAMES BAYARD,
HENRY PERKINS,
JOHN C. CLARK,
JOHN SPARHAWK,
ALEXANDER RAMSAY,
WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

PHILADELPHIA,

MAY 8, 1861.

MESSRS. SAML. H. PERKINS, W. PURVES, AND OTHERS:—

GENTLEMEN: Your request of April 29, in the manner in which it is made, and in the names appended to it, leaves me no option. The sermon was unwritten, but I have since written it out, as nearly as could be recollected, in the words in which it was delivered. It could not be expected that the precise language could be recalled; but no sentiments which were expressed have been intentionally changed. It is a matter of great gratification to me that, on a subject so important and so difficult, I have been able to express myself in such a manner as to meet the approval of those whose judgment it is my duty and my pleasure to respect.

I am, very sincerely and truly, yours,

ALBERT BARNES.

THE LOVE OF COUNTRY.

PSALM CXXXVII. 5, 6, 7. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.

THE love of country is an original principle or law of our nature, which can be explained only on the supposition that there is a God, and that He designs to accomplish important purposes by it. It resembles, in this respect, the natural love of a parent for his offspring, a principle or law, also, which can be explained only on the supposition that there is a Great Governor who presides over human affairs, and who intends to secure important ends by such affections, which could be secured in no other way. In the latter case, the design is apparent. It is to lead us to provide for our children; to secure for them friends before they have manifested any qualities to make us love them; and as they come into the world helpless and unprotected, to make it certain that thus helpless and unprotected, there will be those who will love them, who will labor for them, who will deny themselves for their welfare, who will run to their defence if they are in danger,

who will nourish them with sleepless care if they are sick, who will sympathize with them when they enter on the great struggle of life, and who will send them out into the world under the best advantages for virtue, success, and happiness. It is to make it certain that, even if they are tempted, and are led astray from the paths of virtue, there are those whose hearts will still love them; those who will yearn over them in their wanderings, and who will throw their arms around them, and welcome them to their bosoms, if they come penitent again to the paths of virtue. There was no higher moral problem pertaining to man than the question, how the weak, the feeble, and the helpless, as they come into the world, should be made sure of a friend; there was no way in which it could have been solved so effectual in itself, and at the same time so adapted to call forth the best affections of the heart, as that which has been adopted.

In like manner, in the great law or principle by which we are so constituted as to love our country, there are important objects to be accomplished which could be secured in no other way. What those are, I will advert to more at length in a subsequent part of this discourse. In general, it may be remarked, that one obvious design of this is, to make us contented with our lot; to save us from envy at the more favored portions of the world; to keep us from restlessness and uneasiness and the desire of change; to secure the cultivation of the earth—all parts of it—even the most forbidding and barren portions of it; and to

prompt us to defend our country in peril, as we fly to the protection of our children when in danger. In this case, also, it was a great problem *how* men, in the discomforts and troubles of life, could be kept from restlessness and uneasiness and the incessant desire of change; how the cold and dreary and rocky and barren portions of the earth could be filled with inhabitants, and brought under cultivation; how that stability could be secured which would be best adapted to promote the best interests of families, to maintain social order, and to develop the resources of a land; how the institutions of liberty and law could be kept up from age to age; and how the strength of a people could be rapidly concentrated and combined in case of national danger: and this problem, as in the former case, has been solved in the way best adapted to secure these objects, and, at the same time, in a way which can be accounted for only on the supposition that there is a Moral Governor who presides over human affairs—by the great law or principle which prompts us to love our country.

In order to the existence of this love, it is not necessary to suppose that our children or our country are *superior* to others. In reference to either, we may be conscious that there is a great inferiority to others. In respect to our children, it is not beauty, or strength, or talent, or amiableness, or even perfection of form, that prompts us to love them. We were prepared to love them before they had manifested anything in these respects to win our affections; we love them

when we know that in many of these respects they are far inferior to others. It does not diminish our love for them, though we know that in beauty of form, in strength of mind, in genius, or in attractiveness of manners, they are greatly surpassed by others. Nay, our love for them is not diminished though they may be deformed in person, or weak in mind; though they may be pale, puny, and sickly; and though they may have many faults. On account of some of these things we love them all the more. There may be united to our strong natural affection for them the correlative feeling of pity and compassion; and a slight or a neglect shown to a weak or sickly child strikes deeper into the heart than if our child were distinguished for health of body, and for manliness of intellect and of form, and was able to defend himself. So, too, it is in regard to our country. It is not because it is the most extensive, or the most fertile, or the most beautiful, that we love it: it is because it is our native land. It may be rough, rocky, barren, bleak, but we love it still. Switzerland, wild, cold, mountainous, where only a scanty living can be secured by incessant care and toil; Scotland, so large a part of it bleak, barren, and covered with heather; New England, with a hard and stony soil, with a rigid and unattractive climate, are the very abodes of patriotism,—where there is as true and genuine love of country as there is in the fields of the sunny South; in lands where nature produces without toil all that is necessary for man, or where the air is

always fragrant with the flowers of the orange or the pomegranate. Nay, as with our children, we do not cease to love our country because it has its faults; because it has defects in its government; because there are things which we would desire should be changed; because there are things in its history over which we mourn.*

As already intimated, this implanted love for our children and for our native land can be explained only on the supposition that there is a God, and that He designs to accomplish great and important results by these native virtues of the soul. There are numberless virtues which have their origin in these principles, and which could be made to exist in no other way. There is a promptness of action secured by the existence of these virtues which could never be secured by the suggestions of interest, by the slow convictions of duty, or by the cold balancings and calculations of philosophy. To this as a germ, in the one case, are to be traced the sympathies and the kindnesses of the family circle; to this as a germ, in the other case, is to be traced all that is great and self-sacrificing in patriotism. When we see a child enveloped in flames or struggling in a stream, we do not pause to reason about it. We do not stop to ask what are the rules in the treatises of moral philosophy on the subject. We do not pause to inquire what his services may be *worth*. We rush to his rescue, and, at the peril of our own life, we snatch him from

* "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still."—COWPER.

death. So when our country is invaded, when its rights are assailed, when its flag is insulted, when the hand of violence would tear away all that is great and noble, we do not bring to the solution of the question of duty the cool and calm spirit of calculation with which we examine our day-book and our ledger. We rush at once to the rescue, or if too old ourselves, we lay our hands on the heads of our sons, and give them our blessing, and follow them with our prayers as they go forth to defend their country with their lives.

The Jews had a country to be loved. It was, indeed, narrow, small, rocky. It was not great, like Egypt, Persia, Assyria, India, Arabia. It had no great and broad rivers like the Nile or the Euphrates, or like the rivers of our land. It had no great seaports, and it had little or nothing to invite and secure the commerce of the world, but there was much in the land itself to make them love it; there was much in its institutions; there was much in its history.

It was, indeed, not vast, and not by nature remarkable for its fertility, but it was capable of being so cultivated as to be designated as a land "flowing with milk and honey." It was situated in the most favored part of the world; in the line between the East and the West, between Asia and Europe, and near the natural radiating point of civilization in the world. The Jews had an ancestry, too, of which they had no reason to be ashamed. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob

were not, indeed, perfect men, but they were men whose memory would have been cherished in the ancestry of any people, and they will compare most favorably with the founders of any nation on the earth. There had been produced, too, in their nation, men on whose character and deeds they could not but look with conscious national gratification:—Moses, as a lawgiver, incomparably superior in his personal character, and in the institutions which he ordained, to Lycurgus, Solon, or Numa; Joseph, as a man and a ruler, an example to all princes and rulers; Samuel, as a judge, yet a model of uprightness and impartiality to all magistrates; Joshua, as a warrior and a conqueror; conspicuous among warriors and the founders of nations; David, warrior, prince, poet—“sweet psalmist of Israel”—a man whose name will go down to all times, and whose poetic strains will be on more lips than the language of any other poet on earth; Solomon, learned in all the knowledge of his time, wise above all other men, and magnificent beyond all other Oriental kings; Isaiah, sublime above the writers of all countries and ages. They had a government, a constitution, which, in its wisdom, surpassed all the ancient governments of the world. It was, indeed, unique as a theocracy, and in that respect cannot be perpetuated or established in other lands, but it had great elements of liberty; it secured eminently the rights of the people; it contained principles of government which have gone into all the liberal governments of the world, and which more

than anything which we have derived from Greece or Rome, have been laid at the foundation of our institutions. They had the knowledge of the true God—sole depositories among the ancient people of our world of the great truth that there is one Supreme Being presiding over the affairs of mankind, and they had, garnered up in their sacred books, as in a precious casket, all the promises and prophecies which led men to look forward with any certain ground of hope to future times.

We are not to blame them if they loved a country where all was not perfect—for there were things in their history which they could not but lament ; but in what early history of any people has there been no dark page which those who love their country would be glad to have stricken out ? And in what nation of the world has there been recorded and preserved by their own historians a more faithful and impartial account of the errors of their ancestors ?

Nor are we to blame them harshly if, in their exile ; in their love for their country ; and in the remembrance of the wrongs which they had endured, they sometimes used language which cold philosophy would not have suggested, or which we find it difficult now to reconcile with the mild and forgiving precepts of religion. It is not philosophy ; it is not cool and calm reflection that speaks in the Psalm from which my text is taken. It is love of country ; it is burning patriotism ; it is remembered wrong ; it is the recollection of their plundered homes, and their violated sanc-

tuary, and their desolated fields, and their wasted vineyards and olive yards, and their countrymen, their fathers and brothers, weltering in their blood. We are to remember that the speakers in the text were not philosophers sitting calmly in their closets and disciplining their minds by cold and abstract rules of morals. They were poor exiles in a foreign land; they were among those who were strangers to their language and their religion; they were among those who taunted and provoked them by asking them to "sing a song of Zion." They could not forget that their temple had been fired; that their country had been laid waste, and was in the hands of strangers; and let us not harshly blame them in our philosophy or our religion, when, with the spirit of apparent revenge, they say, "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom, in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, rase it, to the foundation thereof." Let that cold and heartless man whose soul cannot be touched and fired at the wrongs done to his country—who has never felt what it is to love the land of his birth—let *him* blame them, and let him *say* that such feelings are revengeful, and unforgiving, and wrong; but let not him who *has* a heart, and who *can* love his country, and who *can* feel for the wrongs done to his native land, blame those poor exiles when, in language which cool philosophy perhaps could not approve, they pour out their hearts in the remembrance of the embittered feelings of those who fired the temple, and who rushed with fury to rase to its very foundations the capital of their nation.

We have a country to be loved.

Our country is to be loved *for itself*. It is so vast, so fertile, so beautiful, so varied in its climate and in the productions of its soil; it is so glorious in its broad rivers and streams, its lakes and its harbors; it is so grand in its forests and its prairies, its mountain elevations and its plains; it is so abundant in its mineral productions; it is so favorably situated for commerce, lying between the other great continents of the world, and with magnificent harbors on each of our seabords; it is so adapted to be a place for the development of society in the ultimate stages of civilization and liberty, that it would be wrong not to love it, for it seems to have been reserved as the last best earthly gift of Heaven to man; a place where man may make a new and fresh experiment to be happy, and great, and free.

Our country is to be loved in the remembrance of its early settlement; in the general character of the men who came here from the Old World; in the object for which they came; in the manner in which they became possessed of the soil and established the institutions of freedom here. They were not common men. They were not needy adventurers. They did not come for conquest or for gold. They were themselves among the best representatives of religion and liberty that the world could then have produced: not perfect and spotless men indeed, and not men who had seen the full bearing of the principles which they themselves held; not men free from the imperfections of our

common humanity, or of the age in which they lived, but they were men *abreast* with all to which the world had then advanced in intelligence and in just views of liberty, and *ahead* of most of the men of their time; men who came just at the period when the Old World had made its highest progress in just notions of liberty; men who came to lay those great principles at the foundation of empire in the New World. They came to this land not to make conquests, but to enjoy the rights which they had learned that God had conferred on man: the rights of conscience; the right to worship their Maker; the right to make their voices heard in framing and in administering the laws. They came as peaceful men, and they pursued their mission as one of peace, and not of war. They took possession of no part of this land by conquest. It is capable of the clearest demonstration that throughout New England, as in Pennsylvania, and it is believed in all the other States of this nation, not a rood of land was seized upon by conquest, or was obtained but by a fair equivalent: not a fancied but a *real* equivalent, a full and equal "consideration" to the natives; that which was *worth* to them as much as their land was, and in every instance not as the result of war but of treaty. It is not claimed that they were perfect men, but there are no citizens of any country that can look back to the early settlement of their nation with so little of shame or regret as the American citizen can look on the early settlement of his native land.

Our country is to be loved in the remembrance of its *history*. It is not a history stained by crime. It is not a history of the mere exercise of power,—power over right. It is not a history of oppression, cruelty, and blood. There is no nation on the earth the pages of whose early history have been darkened by so few crimes, or where there is so little that he who loves his country would desire to obliterate. What other nation has there been, or is there now, that could point to its early history with so little that it would desire should be forgotten, and so much that furnished examples of self-denial and self-sacrifice; of valor and of patriotism; of generous deeds and noble aspirings? Who would bring into comparison with this the early history of Sparta, Athens, Macedon, Persia, Lydia, Rome, Carthage? Who is ashamed to place the early history of our country by the side of that of Russia, France, Spain, Scotland, Ireland, England?

Our country is to be loved in the memory of the institutions which our fathers sought to establish here. The institutions of our land are eminently those of peace, of philanthropy, of religion; not those of conquest and war. Heretofore, a stranger coming among us from the Old World has always been struck with the absence of that which meets his eyes everywhere abroad, arrangements for defence and preparations for war; military guards; the movements of armed men, and frowning forts and bulwarks. He saw everywhere, instead of these, arrangements for peace, and

for the calm pursuits of life; for the education of the people, for the development of a nation's resources in agriculture, commerce, and the arts, and for the worship of God. He saw scattered all over the land, peaceful dwellings; schoolhouses; colleges; churches; institutions of charity; hospitals; asylums for the blind, the deaf, the insane. In no nation on the globe was there such an absence of preparations for war; in none were there so many arrangements for peace and charity. When from a visit to other lands the American citizen returned to his own, the contrast with what he saw there made him love his own country more. And at home or abroad we were not slow to remind the citizen of other countries, that these things in our apprehension made our country glorious, and laid in our hearts the foundation, if not for national pride, yet for gratitude and love.

Our country is to be loved in the *names* that have come down to us of the men of other times. Of those names we are not ashamed, nor have we been ashamed to compare the names of the founder of our Republic with the names of those who have been distinguished in the early history of any nation on the earth. For intelligence, for stern integrity, for patriotism, for self-sacrifice, for valor, for a spirit of enterprise, for large and comprehensive views, for eminence in military skill and for wisdom in the arts of peace, for eloquence when men were to be roused to assert their rights, and for wisdom in council in laying the foundations of institutions designed to endure

for ages and to bless future generations, we have not been unwilling that the men whose names have gone into our history should be compared with those most celebrated in other times and in other lands. We are not ashamed of those men; we are not ashamed to be told that we belong to the land that has produced a Hancock, a Henry, a Franklin, a Marshall, a Washington.

We have a *government* that is worthy of our confidence and our affection.

We believe that in theory it is the best *form* of government that the world has seen, that it is best adapted to secure the great ends of government. Those ends are twofold: 1. They are to secure a government; that is, that there *should be* a government, or that there should be authority and law; and 2. To recognize and preserve the liberty of the people. Into all just and equal governments these objects must enter. There must be a government, there must be authority, there must be power to execute the laws; there must be *something* to calm down disorder, to prevent riots, to punish crime, to subdue rebellion, to suppress combinations for resisting the laws, and to quell insurrections. At the same time, there must be a sacred regard for the principles of just liberty and the rights of man. There must be the exercise of no power against the rights of conscience; there must be every security that no authority shall be exercised beyond the just limits and prescription of law. In no

other government, as we have supposed, are these objects better blended and secured than in our own.

Our form of government, our Constitution, is the result of the accumulated wisdom of all past ages; of all the just notions of liberty that prevailed up to the time when it was formed; of all the studies of the past, and of all the struggles and conflicts for liberty in the world. The men who formed our Constitution were well acquainted with the history of the world, and they had the results and lessons of that history before them. The experience of the world had been tending towards just notions of liberty. Point after point had been secured in favor of liberty, and had been seized and retained as among the best lessons of past experience. The results of former struggles in favor of freedom had become the inheritance of mankind, and those principles were not to die. Most of those principles had been incorporated into the British Constitution, and our institutions *began* when the principles of liberty were best understood there. Time, patience, forbearance, kindness, wisdom, combined counsels, all contributed to the formation of the Constitution of our country, and whatever there was in the Bible that had gone into the notions of just government and civil liberty in the Old World; whatever had been wrought out by the valor, or matured by the wisdom of the republics of Greece and Rome in their best days; whatever had been developed in Europe as the nations were emerging from the darkness of the middle ages; whatever there was in the mother country, though there

under a monarchical form of government, that was favorable to liberty; and whatever our ancestors had learned to avoid as developed under that form of government that had been *unfavorable* to liberty: all these went into the formation of the Constitution of our country, and though it might not be perfect, yet it embodied, as understood then, all the lessons that the history of the world had taught on the great subjects of law and freedom.

Our government is the result of the struggle for independence. Our country was *united* to secure that. The common object at which they aimed was to secure the blessings of a good government for all the land. It was for no one portion of the land that our fathers fought and bled, but it was that the protection of a common Constitution might be thrown over the entire nation, and that all parts of the Republic might enjoy security in their equal rights. Whatever there was of principle, or valor, or sacrifice in the war of independence has gone into the Constitution of our country; and that with its diffused blessings is all that remains to us of the results of the bloody struggle of so many years, and involving the sacrifice of so much treasure and blood.

That government is all that remains to us of Washington; of his wisdom, his valor, his patriotism, his sacrifices. For the liberty secured under that Constitution he led our armies forth to battle; to embody and perpetuate that he gave his counsels in that illustrious body, over which he presided, that

framed the Constitution; to secure and perpetuate that he devoted himself as the first President under the Constitution. This Constitution, and the protected liberty and rights which we have enjoyed under it, are all that remain to us of his life and toils. His tomb is, indeed, in the honored place where he spent the evening of his days; but who is to own that tomb—in whom the fee-simple to the sacred soil of Mount Vernon is to rest—in these United States, whose liberties he secured, or in a separate State, claiming, because it is within the limits of its territory, the sarcophagus which holds his remains, no one can tell. But the real Washington—the hero, the patriot, the sage, the statesman, is in that immortal instrument to which he appended his name as presiding over the convention which formed it, and which was sent forth to his countrymen sanctioned and commended by all that was great in his character, and by all the claims which he had to the gratitude and confidence of mankind.

That Constitution is a sacred *trust* committed to us for future times. It is not ours to be broken and destroyed; it is ours to enjoy the liberty and the rights which it secures while we live, and then to be transmitted, unimpaired in its great principles, to future ages—the most precious trust committed to mankind. And to us of this generation it should have all the sacredness of a *trust*, an inheritance which we have received not as exclusively our own, but the inheritance of liberty, to be preserved entire, and sent forward to

bless the millions that are to dwell in our native land. Of all the civil and political trusts ever committed to any generation of men, that Constitution is the most precious, for it guards higher interests and secures richer blessings to this world than any other.

It may be admitted that the Constitution is not perfect. It may be admitted that there are defects in it which were seen by many of our countrymen at the time of its formation; that there are things in which it has shown that it is not well adapted to circumstances and events which have occurred, and which no human sagacity could have anticipated. What is there of human origin that *is* perfect?

Many of those who lived at the time when the Constitution was formed, as many now do, regarded it as defective, because it contained no recognition of God as the source of national blessings; as having the right to control the nation by His laws, and as a Being on whose favor a nation must be dependent. It was not that they asked for the establishment of a national religion, or that they would have submitted to a union of the Church and State, but that they did and do desire that, in a nation so signally favored by Him, and dependent wholly on Him, that His providence should be gratefully acknowledged, and that this dependence should have been recognized.

Recent events have shown also, that there may have been a defect in the Constitution in not providing for the manner in which the general government should meet a revolted and rebel *State*,—a State which should

separate itself from the great confederacy. The jurisdiction of the government over an *individual* offender is perfect; but what under that Constitution is the nature of the jurisdiction over a revolted and rebel *State*? How shall the act of such a State be punished? How shall it be retained in the confederacy? What would be its relation to the government if it should be subdued by arms?

To very many of our countrymen at the time that the Constitution was formed, and to increasing numbers since, it has been regarded as a defect in the Constitution that it lent its sanction in any form to that great evil which exists in our land, or that it even seemed to throw over that evil the protection of the national government,—that evil so gigantic in itself, and which in the manner in which it has been treated at the South and the North, lies at the foundation of the calamities which have now come upon our country.

Yet while these defects in the Constitution are to be conceded, there are a few things which may be said in explanation of, if not in extenuation of its defects.

One is, that the Constitution itself contains the most ample provision for its own amendment,—for any modification that would be necessary to remove the evils which may have been originally inherent in it, or which may have sprung from the progress of events. There is not a change in that instrument which it would be desirable should be made, either from an

original defect, or from unforeseen occurrences, which may not be made; not a new provision which it may be desirable to introduce, which may not properly be introduced. The precise manner in which such a change may be made has been specified, and the Constitution itself secures the right of making such a change with no necessary peril, and with the most ample security that the change may be peaceably introduced.

Another thing to be said is, that the people of the land have never, as yet, refused to make any such change. Repeatedly the Constitution has been modified to secure rights which it was supposed had not been sufficiently protected, or to avert evils and dangers to liberty which it was feared might spring up under the working of the Constitution, or to adapt it to a state of things which could not have been anticipated. No occasion has yet arisen for throwing away the Constitution, or for any portion of the Republic to separate from the rest, on the ground that a change that would be for the good of the whole, could not, or would not be made.

In regard to that great evil which existed in the land at the time when the Constitution was formed, and which in its growth has led on to the present calamities, it is to be remarked that it was believed and hoped by the framers of the Constitution that, under the operation of causes which were then existing, and of arrangements introduced into the Constitution itself, the evil *would* come to an end, and *would* cease in all the States of the Republic. They admitted it to be an evil.

They lamented its existence. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence it was alleged as one of the wrongs inflicted on this country by the king of Great Britain, that he had brought this evil upon us. The framers of the Constitution expressed always and unanimously the desire, the hope, that this evil would come to an end. They uttered no word in defence of the system, they made no apology for it, they never spoke of it as a desirable institution, they never expressed a wish that it should be perpetuated. All agreed in this, and no one expressed this belief and this hope with more constancy and firmness than Washington. Often did he give utterance to his wish as one of the most cherished and earnest of his life, that the period might arrive when the whole land would be free. So careful, moreover, were the framers of the Constitution on this point; so anxious that their views should never be misinterpreted, that they nowhere used the word *slave* in that instrument, nowhere did they in express language, or by any fair construction of language, imply that there could be the right of "*property*" in man. They legislated with respect to "slaves," for they were then held as slaves, not *as* "slaves"—not *as* "property," but as "*persons* held to service;" as "*persons*" for whom there might be a representation in the Congress of the nation. The framers of the Constitution evidently hoped and believed that that Constitution would go down to future times and ages—to a period when slavery would cease in the land and in the world; and they were evi-

dently *unwilling* by the insertion of the word *slave* in the Constitution, to make it possible for posterity to infer either that they approved of the system, or that they anticipated that it would be perpetual. To crown all, they adopted a measure which they evidently hoped would be decisive on the subject. They made provision by which the introduction of slaves from abroad might be absolutely prohibited at a given period,* believing that if the foreign trade should cease, the institution would soon come to an end. Justice should be done to those men. They did not do all that we can now see would have been desirable to have been done. But they were to a man opposed to the system, and desired that it might come to an end. They did not anticipate—no human sagacity could have anticipated—the changes which have since come over the minds of the people where slavery prevails, and which have made them resolved to perpetuate and extend the institution as a good, as lying at the foundation of the best form of society; and for not anticipating this they were not and could not be held to be responsible. Had their views and hopes been accomplished, the evil would long since have come to an end in this land; the *thing itself* would not now be known, as they were careful that the *name* should not appear in the Constitution. We may lament what they did as an imperfection in the Constitution, but let us not harshly blame its framers. Had no change of sentiment come over the minds of the

* The year 1808.

people where slavery prevailed; had the views and anticipations of the framers of the Constitution been realized, the nation would not now have been agitated with the evils which have come upon us.

The government of this country under that Constitution has been in the main administered with eminent wisdom, ability, and impartiality. No rights of any one portion of the country have been deliberately and intentionally sacrificed to the interests of any other portion, nor has any portion of the land such just ground of complaint against the government, as to justify revolution, rebellion, or an appeal to arms. It may be asserted without any fear of contradiction, that no government on the face of the earth has ever been administered with as much wisdom, ability, and impartiality, or has furnished as little ground of just complaint, for the same period of time, as the government of the United States, since the inauguration of the first President, in 1789, or with so constant a regard to the rights of all the citizens.

This is true of the government in general; it is true, thus far, of the present administration.

It is true of the government in general.

The administration of that government has never been against the rights of the South, or against its institutions. For a large part of the time, not less than three-fourths of the whole, the South has controlled the national administration. This has been secured partly by the fact that the people of that portion of our country devote

themselves more to political affairs than those of the North; partly by the fact, arising from the nature of their institutions, that they have more leisure to attend to such pursuits than the people of the North; partly by the fact that they are united in prosecuting the interests, and extending the area and the influence of that one institution that characterizes that portion of the land, while the many separate and somewhat independent interests of the North have broken up the North into different parties, and prevented the creation of any such identity of purpose and of feeling. During all that time, of course, the South could have no cause of complaint against the measures of an administration, which was mainly, if not wholly, in their own hands; and if, under the administration of the general government, there has been a *leaning* towards their institutions, and the rights which were asserted as growing out of them, it is to be traced to their own energy, their unity, their zeal in their own cause, their political sagacity. But when, as has been the case, for a portion of the entire period of our national history, the administration of the government has been in the hands of the North, no injustice has been done to the people of the South by the general government. None of their rights have been disregarded. None of their complaints have been unheard. No measure of justice which they have asked has been denied them. No case which they have ever brought before the Supreme Court has been disregarded, or has been so decided as to furnish even a shadow of just complaint that there

was in that august tribunal any disposition to do them injustice, or to show partiality to the North. No law of Congress has been interpreted by that tribunal so as to militate against the rights of the South, and no law passed by Congress that *seemed* to favor the South, has been declared by that tribunal to be unconstitutional on that account. At the same time, every act of Congress designed to protect the asserted rights of the South, has been most faithfully executed. In respect to that particular law which has been deemed of so much consequence to the South, the law respecting the rendition of fugitives "from service," nothing could be more faithful than the general government. In not a single instance,—no, not one,—has the general government refused to exert all its power to execute that law; in not one instance,—no, not one,—has it been or can it be pretended that the general government, or any of its marshals or judges, has favored the escape of such a fugitive. At any time, and under any form of the administration, the whole power of the government would have been exerted to secure the execution of that law.

The administration of that government has never been against the rights of the North, or its institutions. In the long period of our history no act of this nature can be referred to. The interests of the North have been protected. In every case where an individual had, or supposed he had, a just cause against a citizen of another State, so as to make it proper to bring it before the Supreme Court; in every case where one State had

a ground of complaint against another State ; in every case of a corporation or a trust which could be properly brought before that court ; in every case pertaining to a patent right, though a decision if carried into execution would be immeasurably in favor of a citizen of the North, and against the interests of the South, every such case has been patiently heard and impartially adjudicated. No individual has been wronged ; no corporation ; no State.* The interests of commerce and manufactures in the North ; the seaports, the trade, the tariff, the postal arrangements, the claims of justice, have all been alike regarded in the acts of the general government, and the rights springing out of those interests have been defended. In any one case where a decision of the Supreme Court had been in favor of a Northern citizen, the whole power of the general government would have been exerted to execute if it were possible that decree. Whatever sup-

* The case of Eli Whitney, the inventor of the Cotton Gin, is an instance which will illustrate this remark. That invention gave its value in commerce to cotton, and has made the South what it is. To the South it has been worth hundreds of millions of dollars ; but it was an invention of little or no value to Whitney or his family. So necessary was it for the South to possess the means of rendering their cotton valuable, and such was the spirit of general injustice towards the inventor, that the patent laws, in fact, rendered no protection to the rights of the inventor, and made it impossible so to prosecute his claims as to secure the avails of the invention. And yet, in every instance in which the case was brought before the courts of the United States, the decision was in favor of the New England inventor. The courts in their decision were right ; but the case was one where, from the nature of the invention and the spirit of the people, the mandates of the court could not be executed.

posed ground of complaint there may have been that there was a leaning in the course of the administration towards the South, not a single instance can be referred to of a clearly ascertained *right* in which the whole power of the government would not have been exerted to defend it.

What has been true in regard to the general course of the administration in this nation, has been thus far eminently true of the present administration. The present chief magistrate was elected in the most exact manner, in conformity with the mode prescribed in the Constitution. There has been no evidence of bribery or corruption. There was no force employed to prevent the free expression of the will of the people. The election throughout the land occurred on the very day, and in the very manner, prescribed by the law; the votes were conveyed to the seat of government in the very manner prescribed by the law, and were counted in that manner; and the result was announced in the very way contemplated by the Constitution. The world has witnessed few sublimer scenes. A nation was excited; but in the capitol, a rival candidate for that high office, whose duty from his official station it was to announce the result, gave utterance to the expressed wishes of the people with as much calmness as though he had had no relation to the canvass. Nor since the present chief magistrate has entered on his duties, has there been just cause of opposition to the administration. If the deepfelt and honest expression of his dependence on God in the very difficult circumstances in

which he was placed; if the tender and touching appeal to his neighbors and friends as he left his home, that they would remember him in their prayers; if his uttered feelings of kindness to all the inhabitants of the land, as one great brotherhood; if his declared determination simply to maintain the authority of the laws, and to invade the rights of none; and if his eminent patience and forbearance, the calm and reflective manner in which he has entered on his administration, so free from all appearance of passion, furnish any evidence of a spirit of impartiality, and are any index of what this administration is to be, then it is thus far another most signal illustration of the truth to which I am adverting, that the administration of the general government of this nation is wise and just and impartial; that it is not against the rights of the South or the rights of the North.

No words can describe the evils which must result from the overthrow of such a government: evils in the act itself at home; evils to our country in its relation to other nations; evils in respect to the great cause of liberty in the world.

This government cannot be overthrown without involving all the evils of civil war, and such a war as has been witnessed in no country on the globe. The government reared on the Constitution of our country is not a pasteboard fabric, to be scattered by a gentle breeze; it can be swept away only by furious storms and tempests of war. It is not to be accomplished by resolutions of "secession" from the Union. It can be

demolished only by meeting and overcoming all that there is of patriotism ; all that there is of the cherished memory of the past ; all that there is of bright anticipations of the future ; all that there is of the remembered blessings which have been enjoyed under the Constitution, in the bosoms of twenty millions at the North, and as the result of a victory over them all. No words can describe the evils of civil war, and especially of civil war in such a land as this. All the woes of the civil wars in Rome ; all that grew out of the " Wars of the Roses " in England, would be trifles compared with the sorrows and woes which *must* result from an attempt by arms to destroy this government, and to break up this Union. No words, therefore, can describe the dreadful responsibility of those who make war on the flag of this nation, and who attempt by violence to destroy a government so deeply entrenched in the hearts of these millions of freemen.

No language can describe the evils which must result to our country from such a war, in respect to other nations. We are made what we are among the nations of the earth by our Union. It is the name *United States*, and not the influence of separate States, which has given us our power abroad. It is this which has secured our commercial credit all over the world ; it is this which has made our flag respected ; it is this which has made our navy feared ; it is this which has given weight to our sentiments among the nations ; it is this which has protected our commerce

scattered over every sea ; it is this which has made the great powers of the world desirous of our friendship ; it is this which has secured us from aggression and wrong. That power is growing with our united growth, and is to be secured only by the maintenance of the government organized under the Constitution.

And no words can describe the evils which must result from the overthrow of our government in respect to the great cause of liberty in the world. The eyes of the friends of freedom everywhere are turned to our land,—to the great experiment which we have been making on the subject of government. The oppressed of all other lands have been looking to ours, as showing the effect of free institutions on national happiness and prosperity, and as furnishing an encouragement to them in their struggle for independence. It seemed to have been designed,—we must believe that it *was* designed by the Great Ruler of nations,—that there should be furnished here just such an example as the nations of the earth needed of the benefit of free institutions ; of the capability of man for self-government ; of the blessings which must result when the rights of man are recognized and enjoyed ; of the influence of liberty in developing all that is great and good on earth.

Who can characterize with fit words the men who would break up such a government, and spread these evils over the land and over the world ? Who can describe the woes which must follow if such a government is compelled to exert its power to suppress by

arms an organized resistance to its power? And who can measure the responsibility of those who make it necessary that brother should imbrue his hand in the blood of a brother, and if the evils of civil war should spread through the land?

It is the duty of a good citizen to sustain such a government as ours, and to defend it when assailed.

Government, as such, is of inestimable value. What is government? It is an administration of law, with suitable sanctions, and with the means of enforcing obedience.

There are three forms of administration:

First. The will of a single despot, or of an absolute sovereign, holding his office by hereditary title or by usurpation. His will is law. His caprice is law. His passion is law. Of course, in such a case there can be no permanency in any plans for public improvement. There can be no vested rights. No corporate rights can be permanent. No man has any security of his life or of his property. No individual, no public body has any security that any plan for the public good can be consummated. The will of the despot may change in a moment, or the whole affairs of the State may be changed in an instant by the accession to the throne of a tyrant of different yet equally capricious character. The only basis of calculation in such a case in regard to any plan of improvement, or any rights of person or property, must be the life of the individual despot, or what may be known of his personal character.

Second. The will of a mob, or of an irresponsible and unauthorized body, who take the administration of what they regard as justice into their own hands. This differs from the former only in the fact that there are *many* despots instead of one ; all equally capricious and self-willed. There are many capricious minds instead of one capricious mind. There are many under the influence of passion instead of one. There is the evil of a want of stability in a multitude instead of an individual. An individual, however lost to virtue he may be, feels some sense of responsibility to public opinion, or has some desire to transmit his name to posterity as not unworthy to be remembered. A mob has none. An individual, however capricious he may be, usually has *some* stability of character, or something in his character which may be the basis of calculation as to what he will do. A mob has none. However perverted and wicked may be the principles of such men as Nero, Danton, or Robespierre, it is possible to learn with some probability how they will act in given circumstances ; but who can determine on what will be the future movement of a mob ? On all accounts a single despotism is preferable to this, and in such a despotism such a misrule commonly ends, for God ordains that no community shall long remain without some established form of government or law.

Third. Government by law or under a constitution. The essential idea is, that there is a *Constitution*, and that under that Constitution rights are invested, and

laws are made and respected. In such a government the laws are known. They are formed deliberately, and are promulgated. They are settled by what is regarded as competent authority, and they are not changed suddenly or by caprice.

The universe is under such a government as that just specified; a government practically under a *Constitution*. That government is, indeed, the sovereignty of a single Being, but the Constitution is *eternal right and justice*, and the assurance, as furnished by His character, that that Sovereign will do nothing by mere will or caprice, or in violation of the great principles of eternal and unchangeable right. The principles of that administration can never change, and the interests of the universe are permanently secured.

England is under such a government. There is a Constitution, not written indeed with pen and ink, but written in immemorial customs and in the hearts of the people. To that government the hearts of all true Englishmen are loyal, and under that government the great interests of the nation are secure. Though a monarchy, yet nothing is determined by will or caprice, and the rights of individuals, of corporations, and of the nation become a sacred trust, to be transmitted from age to age. Under that Constitution immense treasures pertaining to the state, to charitable endowments, to educational purposes, are protected from generation to generation, and to the defence of every such trust all the constitutional power of the realm is pledged and committed.

Our own country is under such a government. Every right is defined; all power that is intrusted to rulers and magistrates is limited by law, and all arrangements are made that could be made, that none of those rights shall be affected by a change of administration; for though the rulers are changed the government does not change. Immense interests in our country are made to depend on the fact that there *is* a Constitution, and that it is contemplated that the great principles of the government under the Constitution shall be perpetuated from age to age, and that all the power of the government may be and should be exerted to defend each and all the interests of liberty, of law, of charity, of commerce, of trade, of education, of invention, and of art, that are intrusted to it.

Government is to be regarded as of Divine appointment, and as deriving its authority from God. He intends that there shall be a government and that it shall be respected and honored: *a government supreme in its department; subordinate only to His own.*

The true principles on this point can be stated in few words. Government is instituted by God. It has not its origin in man, and is not to be regarded merely as a human arrangement. It is the appointment of the Ruler of the nations. It is limited by His will. The necessity of government has not grown out of any conventional arrangements in society, nor may it be dispensed with by any such conventional arrangements. God intends that there shall be govern-

ment, and He claims the right of being regarded as having Himself instituted civil authority.

This view of the origin of civil government is abundantly sustained by the Scriptures. Thus it is said: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation [condemnation]. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same, for he is the minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore we must needs be subject, not only for wrath but for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor." (Rom. 13: 1-7.) "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free, and not using your

liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king." (1 Pet. 2:13-17.) "By Me kings reign and princes decree justice. By Me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." (Prov. 8:15.) "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." (Tit. 3:1.) "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour." (1 Tim. 2:1-3.)

It is the duty of a good citizen to defend such a government when it is assailed.

No one, indeed, can overestimate the evils of war; no one can pray too fervently for the prevalence of the blessings of peace; no one can look forward with too glad anticipations to the time when "the sword shall be turned into a ploughshare, and the spear into a pruning-hook, and when the nations shall learn war no more." But there are greater evils than war; and the wrong, the crimes, the guilt of war rest not on those who defend their rights, but on those who invade them; not on those who protect a government, but on those who, without cause, seek to overthrow it. I said that there are worse evils than war. The principle which makes it proper to arrest by force, and to punish the murderer, the highwayman, the pirate,

makes it proper to do this on a larger scale, when violation of law is the result of a combination, and not the act of an individual. It is better that a murderer should be arrested and punished, than that he should be allowed to go at large; it is better that a mob should be put down by arms, than that a community should be given up to its lawless control; it is better that a piratical vessel should be captured, and that its crew should be put to death, than that the commerce of the world, and the lives of multitudes of men, should be exposed to piracy; it is better that rebellion should be suppressed by war, than that a just government should be overthrown; it is better that law should be restored by force of arms, than that anarchy should reign. The greatest evil in the universe would be the overthrow of authority, and the reign of anarchy in all worlds. He, therefore, who goes forth to defend his country in a time of rebellion may feel, and should feel, that he is discharging a duty which God requires at his hands, and whatever may be the evils consequent on war in suppressing a rebellion, they are evils for which he is not responsible.

The present great military movement in this nation is merely to sustain the government of the land, and to defend the Constitution. It is to be regarded as having that object only; it is to be limited to that; it is to receive our sanction only as that object is kept in view.

Never in the history of the world has a nation been aroused as this is now; never has a single deed so

reached the hearts of millions of men, as the act which occurred only a week since, when the national flag was fired upon by armed men in rebellion. In a moment, as by a flash of lightning, the fact was known in the remotest parts of the nation, and awakened but one feeling. A nation could not have been so aroused but for the magnetic telegraph; these millions of free-men would not have been so aroused if they had not been loyal to that flag. Scarce a week has elapsed, and already there are two hundred thousand men enrolled to defend the Constitution; and the flag, that seems to have sprung up everywhere as if by magic, waves all over the land. Heretofore armies have been assembled by a slow process, by the calculations and toils of years. Xerxes spent years in gathering together the hosts with which he invaded Greece, as Darius had done before him. So did Alexander, Cæsar, Charles V, Philip II; so did even Napoleon. Here a week has done it. What has caused it? It was the announcement that the national flag had been insulted; that a little band of brave men had been compelled to lower that flag, and to abandon a fortress that belonged to the common country.

And for what is this mighty uprising? It is to maintain the government. That expresses all that there is in it; that limits it; that alone makes it possible to defend it.

The moment that it should go beyond this, if it ever should, either in the designs of the administration, or under the influence of excited passions, or by a purpose

of revenge, or by a love of conquest, it would lose all claims to our sympathy and support, and should be resisted.

It is not a war in defence of a political party. Party lines in this great movement have been obliterated, and should be. Multitudes have rushed to the defence of the government who voted against the present chief magistrate, and who would do it again if the election were to occur to-morrow. And it should be so. The very moment that an appeal is made to arms for the support of any political party as such, be it Republican or Democratic—be it *for* any party purposes, or *against* any party purposes, that moment it would become the duty of every good citizen to resist such an appeal; that moment every good citizen should lift his voice, and make that voice heard, if possible, to the farthest limits of the Republic, to denounce and oppose such an appeal. For one, voting as I have done with the administration, I would lift my voice with whatever influence I might have, or God would give me, to put such a purpose down.

It is not a war of invasion, or a war on our Southern brethren. It has no such object, and could not, and ought not to be defended with any such view. The very moment that the war should become a war of invasion on the territory of any of the States of this Union, except so far as may be necessary to defend the capital, or to repossess and hold the public forts and property of the nation, that moment it would lose all claim to the support of every good citizen, and

should be resisted. If the war should at any time assume the aspect of revenge, or ambition, or the mere lust of power; if it should seek to conquer for the sake of conquering, and not for the purpose of upholding the government and the Constitution, that moment the voice of every good citizen should be raised against it; that moment it would forfeit all claim to the support of those who love their country. For they against whom the conflict is waged are our brethren. They speak our language. They are descended from the same ancestors. Their fathers fought side by side with ours. The bones of their ancestors and ours are mingled together in the same graves. They profess the same religion as ourselves; and there are thousands there who are heirs of the same immortality. They worship the same God; they trust in the same Saviour. Much as their leaders, in the Church and the State, have erred; fearful as is the responsibility of attempting the overthrow of this government; wicked as is the design of the leaders in the organization against the government, and guilty as all are who partake of the purposes of those leaders, yet we are never to forget that our purpose is not to make war on the people of the South, and that, if they choose to have it so, they have the same right as we have to an inheritance in all that there is of glory in the memory of the past, and to all the securities which the Constitution throws around all the citizens of the common country. They have shared in all that pertains to the nation's glory, its history, laws, courts, army, navy, schools, colleges, re-

ligion, and in the tomb of Washington. The war is to sustain the government in its own proper sphere; not to depart from that sphere in accomplishing any other object whatever.

Nor is it a war for liberating by force the four millions of men which are held in bondage at the South, or any part of them. Whatever may be the effect of the war on this great evil, and whatever may be the purposes of God in regard to the bearing of this conflict on the emancipation of these millions, yet their emancipation by force is no part of the object of the war. Much as the North has been opposed to slavery, and to its aggressions, and justly, too, and much as the North desires that there should be universal liberty, and justly, too, this is *not* the object of the war; and should it in any way become the object of the war to secure this result by force of arms, that moment the war would be diverted from its proper purpose, and would lose its claim to the confidence and support of every good citizen. Whatever may or may not be the rights of the people of the South, moral or otherwise, to the services of those who are held in bondage, it is not *our* right to make war on their institutions, or to overturn by arms the structure of society, as they may prefer it, or as their laws countenance it; and the very moment, if it should ever occur, that the excited movements of the North should assume a form by which they would become identical with the *raid* at Harper's Ferry, that moment it would be the

duty of every good citizen to resist it as a crime against the Constitution and the nation.

What then is the object, the purpose of this mighty movement, this sudden uprising of the millions of the North, this rushing to arms of the hosts of war *It is simply and nobly an expression of loyalty to the government*,—an expression, in its suddenness, its sincerity, its sublimity, such as the world has never before seen in any nation or in any age. It shows how deeply the love of the government and of the Constitution is imbedded in the hearts of these millions. It shows how much the country is loved, how much our liberties are prized, how much the sons cherish the memory of the deeds of their fathers. It shows what is to be done before this government can be overthrown. All that there is of loyalty in the hearts of these millions is to be crushed out before this government can be overthrown; all that there is of valor, power, patriotism, in these hosts that are rushing to arms, is to be overcome and broken, before the purposes of rebellion and revolution can be accomplished. For there is no compulsion in this war. There has been no conscription. There have been no intimidations to induce these men to leave their homes. There have been no threats of imprisonment or fine, if they did not come to their country's help. It is a voluntary movement such as the world has never before seen; a rush of hundreds of thousands to arms, because the nation's flag has been insulted, and because there has been a purpose to overthrow the government of the nation. For

this burst of loyalty and patriotism we should unfeignedly thank God; in this, under God, we have the best assurance that all will be well.

When men's minds are full of this subject, and when they can think or speak of nothing else, I could not help preaching on it. It is not in accordance with my tastes to dwell much on themes like this; but I could not help it. It may be a poor service which a minister of religion renders to his country when he merely preaches, and when others go forth to fight its battles; but his duty is plain, and in his own sphere he should show his devotion to his country, as steadily and as heartily as others do in scenes more laborious and more perilous. There are great duties for all men who love their country to perform in times like these; and it is not a time for ministers of religion to use any ambiguous words, or to leave it for a moment as a matter of doubt where they stand, whether for the government or for its enemies, or to leave it as a matter of doubt where they desire that their people and their own children should be found.

In accordance with this duty, I have endeavored to show you this morning, I. That it is a great law of our nature that we should love our country. II. That God's own ancient people had a country to be loved, and that the records of their attachment to their country furnish an example to us. III. That we have a country that deserves to be loved. IV. That we have a government, a Constitution, worthy of our

confidence. V. That that government has been in the main administered with eminent wisdom and impartiality, giving no just grounds for rebellion. VI. That no one can describe the guilt and the evils of its overthrow. VII. That it is our duty to defend it. And VIII. That the present war has this as its object, and is to be limited to this.

Let us then do our duty. Let us pray for those who go forth to the defence of the government. Let us go ourselves, or lay our hands on the heads of our sons, and give them up for their country. If, by age or other causes, we cannot go ourselves, let us send them forth with the assurance that they go with the blessing of fathers, mothers, sisters; with the blessing of the ministers of religion; with the blessing of God. That life will be well laid down which is offered in defence of the Constitution and liberties of our dear native land.

With all, and above all, let our minds be calm in God. We, who live in a land where His mercy has been so signally displayed in times past, should trust Him. He was the God of our fathers, and He will be ours. With humble confidence in Him, in all our arrangements for war, and above all our arrangements for war, let us leave this great cause in His hands, and calmly commit the interests of the nation to His holy keeping.



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