American Presbyterian.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1865.

Readers will bear with the numerous advertisements. The pressure will diminish from this week.

MANY ARTICLES are laid over until next week, including an account of a revival in Elmira, New York, in connection with Mr. Hammond's labors.

NEW ARRANGEMENTS.

The very great and continuous pressure upon our own and all literary enterprises, by high prices, taxation, etc., point to a rise in charges, or to a reduction in the size of large papers. Many single sheet papers charge the same subscription price that we do, for our large and elaborately composed sheet.

We, however, propose neither an increase in our regular price, nor a diminution in size, but sundry economical measures, will be introduced to take effect from January first, 1866. They are as follows:

1 Delinquent subscribers must expect to be struck from our list. As many as *seven or eight hundred* have failed to make any payment during the last twelve months. The paper alone consumed in sending to those subscribers cost over *one thousand dollars*. Some have not paid for a much longer time. Prompt payment will be necessary to secure a continuence of the paper.

2 We shall indicate, by a difference in the colors of the wrappers, the state of subscriber's accounts. *Red* or *reddish Brown* will signify *unpaid*; *the usual light color* will signify *paid*.

3 Home Missionaries will hereafter be charged $2 in advance; *all others will pay regular rates*. Clubs of ten or more, strictly in advance, and in *one payment*, $2 50 each.

4 The services of collectors are valuable and must be paid. In some instances it costs twenty *per cent* to collect bills. Hereafter, no bills will be put into the hands of paid collectors, until subscribers have had a chance to make payment directly to our office, or to such pastors and others as act gratituously for us. After three months, the bills, with the usual additional charge of 50 cents, will be handed over to collectors.

5 A cash commission of seventy-five cents, will be allowed on all new subscribers, paying full rates in advance. When four or more are sent at once, $1 25 will be allowed for each. Very liberal offers, in books are made, up to January 1st. Old subscribers to the paper, (but not to the magazines,) on sending Two Dollars additional with the subscription, will receive for one year, a copy of Hours at Home, or *Guthrie's Sunday Magazine*. Or, on sending the name of a new subscriber to the paper and $3 50 (in the city $4) they will receive for one year either of the magazines.

THE NEW CHURCH PERIODICAL.

Our Permanent Committees have made another demonstration of the thriftiness of our denomination by the issue, from the Presbyterian House, 1334 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Presbyterian Rooms, 150 Nassau Street, New York, of the first number of the *Presbyterian Monthly*. The design of this periodical is to keep the pastors, sessions, and individual members of our Church, well informed of the condition of our great church enterprises—Home and Foreign missions, the circulation of Denominational and other evangelical Literature, Education for the Ministry, and the Relief of needy Ministers. The executive officers of these several departments will use the *Monthly* as a medium of communication with the churches, and they have always a sufficiency of material on hand to make it a rich treasure of the current history of our Church work. Each number will contain twenty-four pages, enclosed in a beautifully designed emblematic cover. The mechanical execution of the first number, from the press of Mr. Alfred Martien, of this city, with its excellent quality of paper, and clear type, is tasteful and about faultless—a feature which has become characteristic of the issues of the Publication Committee. It is to be furnished to subscribers at one dollar per year.

THE REVIVAL IN BINGHAMPTON.—The *Republican*, a local paper, assures us that the religious interest in Binghampton has by no means abated in consequence of the close of Mr. Hammond's labors there. It says:—

"On Sabbath days the churches are now very full where vacant room was heretofore found. The meetings in the several churches of the villages during the week are well attended, and the interest manifested is still great. The morning prayer-meeting at 8½ o'clock, is still maintained in the Presbyterian room, and the gatherings are marked with the like feeling which they exhibited weeks ago. The meetings during the week are held in the evening, at the several churches. On Saturday afternoons children's meetings are held in some of the churches. During the present week, meetings are to be held on the evening of nearly every, if not every day of the week, at Carmansville, and awakening of religious interest is mentioned at Hancock, on the Choconut, and at Bigler's Mills. In another place we have mentioned how the interest manifested for the prisoners in the jail is continued. On Sabbath afternoon one of the largest Young Men's Prayer-meetings the village has witnessed, was held in Congregational chapel, on the west side of the river; the interest in the gatherings seeming rather to grow than diminish."

PEACE AND HONOR:

A THANKSGIVING SERMON

Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 1865.

BY REV. ALBERT BARNES.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

PHILADELPHIA, December, 9th, 1865.

REV. ALBERT BARNES: DEAR SIR:—The undersigned, having listened with deep interest to your discourse on the day of our National Thanksgiving, and believing that it presents views of the existing state of our public affairs calculated to inspire the highest sentiments of Christian patriotism, respectfully but earnestly request a copy for publication.

AMBROSE WHITE, ALEXANDER FULLERTON,
SAMUEL H. PERKINS, JAMES S. EARLE,
JAMES CROWELL, WILLIAM G. CROWELL,
CHAS. D. CLEVELAND, JOHN C. CLARK,
WILLIAM PURVES, SAMUEL C. PERKINS,
HENRY H. MEARS.

PHILADELPHIA, December 15th, 1865.

MESSRS. AMBROSE WHITE, SAMUEL H. PERKINS, AND OTHERS,

Gentlemen:—It is very gratifying to me that the sentiments of the discourse delivered on the day of our National Thanksgiving meet with your approbation. I yield the discourse to you for publication with great pleasure, hoping that it may do something to "inspire high sentiments of Christian patriotism."

I am, with very great respect,
Very truly yours,
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 burdened 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 strewed 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 skilful 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 today render humble and hearty thanks.

And now that the war is over, and the four years' struggle ended, we cannot 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 cannot recall to life the brave men who have fallen in the service of their country. It cannot restore to their homes the sons and brothers who have pined in hospitals, or who have died on the field of battle. It cannot unpeople the cemeteries at Gettysburg and Andersonville, or call forth again the warriors that sleep "their last sleep." It cannot 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 a 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 comly 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 execution 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 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 in 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 it 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 more 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 marvellous 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, embraced 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 cannot 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 isurrection; 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 cannot 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 cannot 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, she 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 cannot be accomplised *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 people? Can we forget how long after the wars of the "Roses," and after the civil war 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* bosom?

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 more, 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

* *Message and Documents*, 1861-62, Part I, pp. 193, 199.