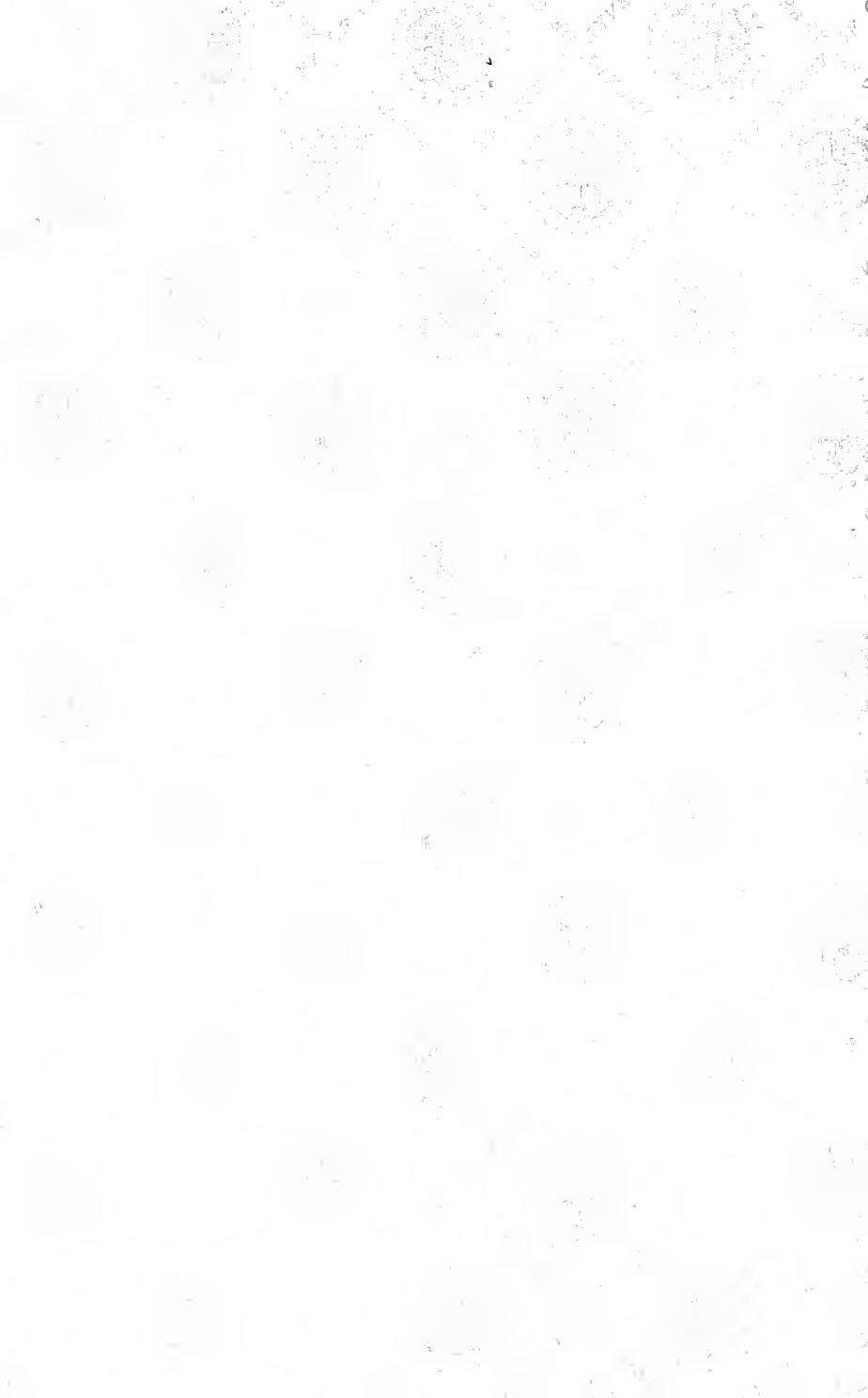


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The Nation's Gratitude and Hope.



By

Rev. Wm. Bayton, & c.



The Nation's Gratitude and Hope.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

PITTSBURGH, PA.

ON THANKSGIVING DAY, NOV. 27, 1862.

BY



Rev. WILLIAM M. PANTON, D. D.

Pastor.

PITTSBURGH:

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PITTSBURGH, November 28th, 1862.

REV. WM. M. PAXTON, D. D. :

Dear Sir:—As we heard with profit and pleasure your sermon delivered on Thursday, 27th inst. (Thanksgiving Day,) in the First Presbyterian Church of this city, we request you to furnish us a copy for publication; believing, as we do, that it will benefit all who will read it.

We think there is one other reason beside those mentioned in your discourse why we should now thank God, and that is, for sending us ministers who know and are not afraid to speak the truth from the pulpit.

We are most respectfully yours,

J. P. PEARS,	ROBT. DALZELL,
SAM'L BAILEY.	ROBT. BEER,
JACOB PAINTER,	ROBT. S. DAVIS,
F. G. BAILEY,	JNO. A. RENSHAW,
JOS. MCKNIGHT,	D. W. BELL,
WM. DILWORTH,	A. S. BELL,
JAS. O'HARA,	JAS. LAUGHLIN,
RICHARD HAYS,	JNO. D. McCORD,

And others.



S E R M O N .

EPH. 5: 20.—Giving thanks always, for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

GENESIS 32: 10.—I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant.

The first passage points out the things for which we should give thanks—“*all things*”—for adversity as well as for prosperity, for sorrow as well as for joy, for reverses as well as for victories.

The second passage indicates the particular point of observation from which all our blessings should be regarded—*from the low point of our utter unworthiness*—“I AM NOT WORTHY OF THE LEAST OF ALL THY MERCIES.”

Our estimation of blessings is enhanced, or diminished by the “*stand point*” from which we view them. As seen from the heights of our own fancied worth and deservings, they may seem few

and inconsiderable; whilst viewed from the depths of our unworthiness or self-conscious ill-desert, they will appear great, numberless, adorable.

Now, if the scriptures teach any thing, it is that we deserve nothing at the hand of God, except it be indignation and wrath. As a sinful race, under the ban of Apostacy, we can have no claim upon his favor, either as individuals, communities or nations. To this *low point* in the valley of humiliation we must descend if we would estimate our blessings aright. It was *here* Jacob stood when he said [in the text] "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant." It was *here* that Moses stood, in the deep low clefts of the rock, when God made all his goodness to pass before him; and here must we stand, to-day, if we would see his mercies, and utter the memory of his great goodness.

Assuming then, the low stand point of the text, and realizing that anything short of God's wrath is more than we deserve; as we look up out of this depth, we see our blessings like the stars of heaven, numberless, and all glittering in the light of infinite love. They stud the whole hemisphere of our vision. Around us in countless throngs are mercies and favors, strewing every

pathway. Blessings rise before our view, like the ladder which Jacob saw, one upon an other, round upon round, reaching from earth to heaven; where, losing sight of its towering summit, we know by faith that it is firmly fixed to the throne of God.

Passing by, (for the sake of brevity,) in our enumeration, but not I trust, in the grateful recognitions of our hearts:

OUR PERSONAL BLESSINGS, with which the wings of each moment are laden:

OUR DAILY BLESSINGS—little appreciated because so common; and yet, just as full of divine love, as surprising and extraordinary favors; for if we apply the microscope to an every day mercy, we shall discover in it, as in an atom or a water drop, the same demonstration of the presence of the Omnipotent, as in the surprising interposition that has marked some great crisis of life.

Passing also, our FAMILY BLESSINGS: the blessing of God upon the families of the righteous,—children “like olive plants around our tables;” the comforts and enjoyments of the domestic scene, the household hearth with all its fond familiar faces, the family board with its social joys, the merry voices that make glad music in all the dwelling, together with all those numberless in-

door delights, those visits of kindness, and advents of gladness that make up a happy home.

Passing all these, together with our *social* and *Religious* blessings, let us restrict our view, more especially, to those blessings which we should gratefully recognize as CITIZENS—as MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, and as CO-PARTNERS IN THIS GREAT NATIONAL UNION.

I.

AS THE INHABITANTS OF THESE FAVORED CITIES, we owe to HIM “who casts our lot,” and ordains our vicissitudes a song of liveliest praise. Added to all our advantages of location—in one of the most favored spots upon this wide continent; in a healthful climate, surrounded by a region of vast agricultural and mineral wealth: in the great “*gateway of the west*,” opening upon the valley of the Mississippi with its boundless resources; at a point where fuel* (cheaper per-

*NOTE.—In nothing, perhaps, is the superiority of the manufacturing advantages of this country so distinctly visible as in the article of Coal. In the report of the Patent Office for 1861, I find the following statement:

“There is within our limits at least four enormous coal fields.—The Allegheny Coal field, covering large areas of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama, is estimated at 60,000 square miles. Another coal field occupies the greater portion of Illinois and Indiana; the third covers the most of Missouri, and the fourth the greater part of Michigan. Another small field lies on the Pacific coast,

haps than any where in the world,) enlists and stimulates every species of industrial enterprise, where noble rivers float down to us the treasures of inland wealth, and bear away to an exhaustless market in the far West and distant South, the products of our mechanical skill; (added, I say to all these abiding reasons for gratitude) we have to recognize the special and distinguishing goodness of God in many particulars during the present year.

We have been preserved from pestilence and want, and, with a single exception, from distressing calamities. Whilst some cities have been wasted by the desolations of war, others convulsed with panic and excited with midnight alarms, and others, still, embarrassed by monetary derangements, crippled with Southern losses, and agitated with apprehensions of general bankruptcy;—we have been mercifully preserved from ruthless invasion, have kept the bounds of our habitation in peace, whilst the commercial embarrassments which have straight-

making the aggregate area of coal field in the country near 200,000 square miles. Great Britain has 11,860 square miles, Spain 3,408. France 1,719, and Belgium 518 square miles. Thus the United States have more than ten times as much coal as Britain, France, Spain and Belgium united. And while for the most part in Britain the coal is mined at great depths, abundant strata of our coal crop out along our railways and rivers, and, mined by horizontal shafts, the coal is carried by its own weight into boats and cars."

ened other cities, have only increased our prosperity—opening new avenues of enterprise, increasing the circulation of money, and so enlisting and rewarding labor that few years in our past history will compare with this in the sum total of its encouragements and rewards.

But above all this, we have been highly favored by Divine Providence in being enabled to furnish substantial and effective assistance in the sacred struggle for the defence of this home of freedom. Our mills have forged the iron armor for vessels of war,—our artizans have constructed resistless rams to splinter the vessels and sink the armaments of the enemy. Our mechanics are framing floating batteries to shell the shores and open the channel of the Mississippi, and our foundries have moulded the mortars, cast the iron hail that sweeps the ranks of our enemies, and manufactured the *thunder* that makes all rebeldom tremble.

For this privilege to do and skill to execute, let us give thanks.

II.

As the CITIZENS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA we are summoned by our Chief Magistrate, and I trust impelled also by the grate-

ful emotions of our own hearts, to give thanks to the SUPREME GOVERNOR OF ALL STATES, for the prosperity that has crowned the year—for the health of our people, for the abundant harvests that have rewarded the labor of the husbandman, for the success of our commerce, for the vigor of our industrial enterprises, for the kind Providence that rolled back from our borders the tide of war, for the mercy of God in the fact that not a drop of blood has been shed upon Pennsylvania soil, and for the hopeful omen that, with the exception of an insignificant raid by a few madcap troopers, not one foot of our territory (the only sacred soil, because honestly purchased and paid for,) has been polluted by the tread of a rebel invasion.

Thankful, too, as Pennsylvanians, are we to recognize the operation of our beneficent laws; and the beautiful harmony of the STATE and NATIONAL Government—working as every State organism should work, (according to the provisions of our admirable constitution,) “so as to hold the great national central government firm in its place, whilst the State Governments revolve around it in their respective orbits, without jostle, and controlled by the same mighty power.”

Grateful too, must be the feelings of every heart for the honorable position which the Sons of Pennsylvania occupy in the armies of the Republic. One of the first regiments that, to the joy of the President, and the relief of the nation, entered the City of Washington, in that memorable week of suspense and peril, was a regiment from Pennsylvania; and now her representation in the field would compose an army larger than England sent to the Crimea; larger than Napoleon marshalled in the field of Armaganta. As she was the Key stone in the Federal Arch, so she bears her banners among the foremost in the field. She has furnished Generals to lead the host; Field Marshals, Colonels, Captains, and privates who have covered themselves with glory; and on that monument which posterity will erect to the Heroes of Freedom, Pennsylvania, too, will inscribe her list of martyred heroes, who braved death rather than look upon their country's shame.

III.

Turning now in the third place to a broader survey, we shall find AS CITIZENS, AS CO-PARTNERS IN THIS GREAT NATIONAL UNION, good and substantial grounds, in the issues of the past year, for this public testimonial of gratitude to the great Governor among the nations.

IN THE FIRST PLACE :—WE SHOULD GIVE THANKS THAT NO GREATER CALAMITY THAN WAR HAS BEFALLEN THE NATION. When God, provoked by public transgressions, takes it in hands to punish a nation, he sends what he designates by the mouth of his Prophet, "*My four sore judgments, the sword, the famine, the noisome beast and the pestilence.*" All these are linked together, and according to the divine plan, go sometimes hand in hand, and sometimes follow in a train, one upon the heels of the other. Now, when, of these four sore judgments, God has only inflicted one, and, awaiting our repentance, has in mercy withheld the others, shall we not praise him?

But, apart from these withheld afflictions from the hand of God, he has also held back other impending calamities that would have been *worse than war*. History certainly demonstrates the fact, that there are national evils compared with which war is as nothing, and for which the only practical remedy has been, and in this present evil world, will continue to be, war. "Better, even, the horrors of the French Revolution, than the perpetual incubus of Royal debauchery and tyranny smothering the life of the people under its hideous weight. Better the fields of Austerlitz, of Jena, and of Marengo, than the Bastille and the In-

quisition." Better Rome in flames than the Roman people chained to the car of Nero.

So in our present position as a nation, war is not the worst of calamities.

National dishonor would have been worse.

The destruction of this Union would have been worse—a union upon whose foundation has been built all the prosperity, strength and glory of the Republic, all the sacred monuments which make our country's name immortal, and all the power to make our immense continent the garden of the world, and our glorious principles the heritage of man:—a union pregnant in all the past, only with blessings and triumphs, and full in future promise only of honor and renown:—a union which every child should be taught to love next after liberty, and every citizen to cherish and venerate next after the blessings it was formed to win and secure. The destruction of such a union, would be a calamity to us, to our posterity, to the world, before which war, bloody, desolating war sinks to nothingness.

Again:—An unworthy compromise, or base surrender of the great principles involved in this issue would be worse than war.

I am well aware that there are those who affect to regard this conflict as a war about

nothing—a war of prejudice rather than of principle, an “irrepressible conflict between Cotton Gins and Cotton Jennies,” between Boston and Charleston, or at most between office-seekers and office-holders. But all this, is either affected for the purpose of deluding the unwary, or is the result of a driveling stupidity that cannot perceive the laws of historic progress, or the outworking of great principles in the convulsions of society. This whole conflict bristles with principles—principles vital to the hopes of freedom, and the progress of humanity. Look at them. If the principle of secession on the ground of independent sovereignty be true, then it precipitates the whole system of Civil liberty and Democratic government into a chaotic disorganization. If we were to admit that marriage is not irrevocable, but a contract limited by the pleasure of the parties, you would not produce in domestic and social life, a greater confusion, than that which would follow in all our Republican institutions, by the admission of the principle that this Government is a mere Confederacy, limited in its duration by the pleasure of independent States,—and dissolvable, so far as each State is concerned, whenever it sees fit to secede

If this be true, then there is no bond of Union, the American Revolution was to no purpose, this attempt at self-government is an ignominious failure, our free institutions must perish, and Monarchs or Despots must govern the world. Thus the point at stake is the vital element of Civil Liberty, for which our Fathers bled and died.

Another principle involved in this contest, is *the right of property in human beings*,—a principle in diametrical opposition to the foundation principle of our Republic. When the venerated Patriots who achieved our liberties came to express, in the Declaration of Independence, the principles which they held to be self-evident, the first is:—That “all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” And yet, in defiance of this primary article of our creed, the Southern Confederacy is fighting for the right of property in human beings, and for slavery as the normal condition of human society. In this, they not only ignore this vital element of freedom, but the higher teaching of inspiration, that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon all the

face of the earth." If then, God has created all equal, where does the Southern nabob get his *boasted blood*—that "*better blood*" which exalts him as a lordling over the slave that crouches at his feet. Thus you see, that the tendency of the principle is not only anti-scriptural, but strongly aristocratic: and hence it is no marvel that men thus educated should set loosely by our Republican institutions, and curse the Stars and Stripes that wave in emblem of universal freedom.

The significant feature of this whole contest is, that it involves these and other vital issues: that great religious and moral questions have risen up into the sphere of politics, and that therefore the interests imperiled are such as embosom the life or the death of the nation, and the weal or woe of mankind. Can there then be a doubt, but that the timid compromise, or the base surrender of these principles would be *worse than war?*

Whilst then, we offer praise to God that no calamity worse than war has befallen us, we should give thanks

SECOND. THAT OUR NATIONAL EMBARRASSMENTS
IN THE EXISTING WAR ARE NO GREATER.

It is recorded, that at the close of the American Revolution, King George summoned the Bishop of London into his Council Chamber for the purpose of consulting him as to the propriety of proclaiming a day of Thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to his long disturbed kingdom.

“For what” (inquired the Bishop) “are we to give thanks?” “Is it because your Majesty has lost thirteen of the fairest *jewels* of your Crown?”

“No,” (replied the Monarch,) “not for that.”

“Well then,” (continued the Bishop,) “shall we give thanks because so many millions of treasure have been spent, and so many millions have been added to the public debt?”

“No, no,” (replied the King,) “not for that.”

“Shall we then give thanks that so many of England’s bravest sons have poured out their life blood, in this unhappy and unnatural struggle between those of the same race and the same religion?”

“No, no, no,” (exclaimed the King, the third time,) “not for that.”

“For what then,” (rejoined the Bishop, growing more earnest,) “for what are we to give thanks?”

“THANK GOD,” (cried the King with great energy,) “THANK GOD *that it is not any worse.*”

The reply was wise, intelligent, scriptural. The King understood his duty better than the Bishop.

In like manner, it is a matter of intelligent and devout thanksgiving to God, this day, that our circumstances as a nation are *no worse*. When we remember that this conspiracy to destroy our government was deliberately formed and has been carefully maturing under the direction of most sagacious and wily politicians for many years; that it extended secretly by means of oath bound associations till its toils had well nigh covered the land; that it controlled political conventions, and filled offices of public trust with the minions of its secret treachery; that it sprang upon us suddenly in its full grown giant proportions, at a time when we were all asleep to our danger—when imbecility filled the Presidential Chair, and treason lurked in the Cabinet, when our navy had been designedly scattered to the four corners of the earth, and our army detailed to frontier and wilderness duty, when our arms had been stolen to crowd the arsenals of the South, and our exchequer depleted by fraud;—when our military and naval commanders, secretly inoculated with the virus of treason, were ready, some to resign, and

others to surrender their posts and military stores into the hands of the enemy; when half-hearted loyalists filled our commercial emporiums, and hosts of spies thronged our national capitol;—when timidity and irresolution and party dissensions at home, paralyzed the executive arm, whilst sympathy with secession, from abroad, cheered on the rebellion;—when, I say, we remember all this, how thoroughly the treason was plotted and how utterly unprepared we were to meet it, it is certainly a matter of devout gratitude to God that our condition is *not far worse*.

Standing, as we did, like Samson shorn of his locks, when the cry was made, “the Philistines are upon thee,” it is a marvel that we are not all now bound hand and foot, and in the power of our enemies.

Here then, is our answer to those who are disposed to take up this thoughtless and unintelligent, but would-be satirical inquiry: “*What have we to give thanks for?*”—give thanks that, considering all the interests that were imperiled, *our condition is no worse*. True indeed we have much to lament. Eleven stars in our national constellation have “shot from their glorious spheres, and passed away, to darkle in the rayless void.” The national compact has been broken, brethren of our own blood have forced upon us an un-

natural war, which has wasted millions of our national treasure, slaughtered thousands of our bravest sons upon the field of battle, and filled the land with aching hearts and desolate homes.

And yet we may give thanks.

Allowing for all this, we may give thanks for rescue from impending dangers and imperiled interests, to which all this bears no comparison. Give thanks,—that this nation still exists, that this last experiment of self-government, embosoming the hope of human progress and the destiny of the world, has not expired in shameless failure. Thanks,—that the dark shadow of the slave power has not projected itself across this heritage of freedom. Thanks,—for your homes and altars, undesecrated by an invader's tread. Thanks,—that you have a National Capitol, around which the Sons of Freedom can rally. Thanks,—that the terms of a dishonorable peace have not been dictated to us on the banks of the Delaware. Thanks,—that the grave of Liberty has not been dug upon the soil of Pennsylvania. Thanks,—that the requiem of Liberty has not been sounded from the summits of the Alleghenies.

But we are not like the English Monarch, left to this mere negative thanksgiving,—“That

our condition is no worse,"—we have positive substantial blessings to call forth our song of praise.

Did time permit, I would mention as a ground of thanksgiving, *the deep spirit of Patriotism* which has been enkindled in the hearts of the people.

Also, the propriety of giving thanks *for our reverses*, for it is according to the plan of Him, "whose glory it is to conceal a matter," to send us blessings in disguise, and to make the "valley of Achor" the place of our humiliation, "the door of hope." Already we see the salutary results. Our reverses have taught us lessons of prudence and caution, they have chastened and humbled the national spirit, and are working a moral preparation for future success. It is doubtless our national weakness to be proud and boastful, and had we marched on in an unchecked course of sweeping, resistless victories, we should have been too proud and self-complacent to have retained God's favor, and too arrogant and imperious to have used our success profitably to ourselves or generously to our enemies. I verily believe that if we had been granted uninterrupted success, we should have become so conceited that there would have been

no such thing as living with us in the family of nations. But passing these for more important points, we should give thanks,

THIRD. FOR OUR SUCCESSES,—FOR THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE,—FOR THE REAL AND POSITIVE ADVANTAGES ALREADY SECURED. I am well aware that there is in the public mind a feeling of disappointment, and, with some, a spirit of querulous dissatisfaction, that the rebellion has not been crushed, and that the year has passed and we are no nearer to a final victory or an honorable peace than when it began. But all this is the result of overwrought expectations. Calm, judicious men who foresaw the difficulties and knew how utterly unprepared we were for such a contest, are not disappointed. “War,” said General Scott, “requires time, men and money.” To transfer a nation, such as ours, along such an indefinite line of territory, from a peace to a war footing, was in itself an immense undertaking. But all this done, the men and money secured, and the machinery of the Government adjusted to the new exigency, there still remained two things essential to military success, which time and patience could only accomplish. The one was, to tame the free spirit of men who were accustomed to do as they please, into submission

and obedience to orders; and the other was, to attain such discipline as would secure unity of movement. No marvel then, if it has taken time to convert free independent Americans into such machines as good soldiers must of necessity become. And yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, we have secured real, permanent advantages, attained positive substantial success.

In a little more than one year we have trained a whole nation, even to the boys in the street, to war. We have developed national powers and resources which are absolutely astonishing. We have discovered and proved that ours is the strongest government on the face of the earth. Its power of cohesion seems adequate to any shock. England would not stand such a convulsion for a month, and France would have been driven to wreck and ruin before a storm of half such violence.

But added to all this, our successes in the field have been real and hopeful. Look back for a year and remember the posture of affairs when we last assembled for thanksgiving. The Rebellion, then intrenched in power in Western Virginia, has now abandoned the field. In Missouri, the Rebel Army which had then well nigh overrun the State, and which soon after captured

Lexington and threatened even St. Louis, has now fled from the territory, disabled and demoralized.

Then, the Rebellion occupied Tennessee, and many of the strongholds of Kentucky. But we have defeated them at Mill Spring, forced them to evacuate Bowling Green, captured Fort Henry, stormed Fort Donelson, occupied Nashville, vanquished and pursued them at Pittsburg Landing, besieged and driven them from Corinth; and now, when they are on the eve of abandoning their last hope in Eastern Tennessee, the indomitable Rosecrans is pressing them at Murfreesboro and Chattanooga, whilst the victorious Grant is driving them in the far South.

But look again. One year ago the Rebellion occupied the whole length of the Mississippi with all its points of defence, from Cairo to New Orleans; but now, we have frightened them from Columbus, surprised them at New Madrid, shelled them at Island No. 10, shattered and sunk their boasted Armada, captured Memphis and opened the Mississippi to Vicksburg; whilst our Navy, entering the Mississippi by the Gulf, and engaging its boasted fortifications in a battle, that for heroic endurance amidst storms of shell and fire, has few parallels, passed onward in

triumph to the undisputed capture and occupancy of the City of New Orleans. Thus we are possessed of the principal strongholds and chief vantage grounds along the whole western and south-western border: and yet men say we have done nothing.

Look again. One year ago the flag of the Rebellion floated in the sight of our National Capitol; the Merrimac, from Norfolk, threatened Fortress Monroe, whilst from thence southward the whole territory was in the almost undisputed possession of the enemy; but now, Northern Virginia is almost abandoned; the Merrimac, the great Philistine of the Confederacy, has sunk to an inglorious grave; Norfolk is occupied by the National forces, whilst the waters of the Albemarle, the defences of North Carolina; Hilton Head and Beaufort, threatening the great nation of South Carolina; Fort Pulaski and the entrances to Savannah commanding the shores of Georgia, with numerous salient points on the coast of Florida, are all in the possession of the Federal arms.

Thus, the whole circumference of the Confederacy is actually invested; through the whole circuit we have driven them inward from their original defences; and at every point we are in present actual possession of the vantage ground.

But, we have, also, marks of progress of a different but higher kind. Listen to the echoes of that proclamation which is carrying the tidings of liberty to the slave: but striking terror to the heart of the rebellion. Ah yes, there is progress in the *Cabinet* as well as in the field. Instead of the cautious, timid, vacillating policy of one year ago, the President has risen like a "strong man armed," and seized the monster, and with that proclamation of liberty he is now throttling him in his den. If this year had done nothing more than induce this advance in the convictions of the people and in the policy and decisions of the Government, it would be a year long to be remembered. We hail it as an advancing step in the progress of the race, and in the triumphs of principle—a stride onward and upward, which fifty years in the common progress of civilization would have failed to achieve. Let us thank God that this one year counts fifty in the march of freedom.

FOURTH. WE SHOULD RENDER THANKS, THIS DAY, TO HIM IN WHOSE HANDS ARE THE HEARTS OF ALL MEN, FOR THE FIRM AND INVINCIBLE DETERMINATION WITH WHICH HE HAS IMBUED THE NATIONAL MIND, TO RESIST THE DISSOLUTION AND MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THIS UNION.

There are, indeed, a few timid minds who say, "*Why not let them go?*" "Let us recognize the Confederacy and *be done with this war.*" But this is a vain delusion. The establishment of the Confederacy instead of securing peace, would only inaugurate a bitter, bloody, border warfare that would last for years to come. Where two nations with rival interest have no natural boundary line, incessant collisions are inevitable. How could it be otherwise, with slaves upon one side, and abolitionists upon the other. All the causes of our dissensions being thus indefinitely multiplied, it would induce an unceasing strife, which would cripple commerce, paralyze enterprise, subject us to incessant alarms, and require a standing army (to protect 1,500 miles of boundary,) so large as to exhaust the nation with a perpetual taxation.

Again: If the Southern Confederacy is established, what is to prevent them from resuming their allegiance to Great Britain, or becoming a dependency of the French crown? This would establish a foreign power by our side, to espouse their cause, and in the end to reduce us to vassalage.

Again: Admit the principle of secession and what is to hold the Northern States together?

If South Carolina may secede, Wisconsin has the same right. There is, then, no bond of Union, and petty disagreements may at any time sever us into three or four parts, or into as many separate nationalities as there are States, with as many different forms of government as the caprice of each may dictate. This result is inevitable. The principle once admitted, the Republic must perish.

Still another reason why disunion must be resisted to the last, is the ruinous results which must follow from the change of our national boundary line. It is a well settled principle that no State can attain high or permanent prosperity whilst her boundaries are insecure. "What would England be but for her ocean girth? What would Switzerland be but for her mountain barriers? The Alps long sustained the dying grandeur of Rome."* This, also, is one element of our national strength. No nation ever had such boundaries as the United States. "Oceans separate us from the vigorous civilizations of Europe on the East, and from the decaying nations of Asia on the West. The Gulf and the Rio Grande divide us from Mexico on the South, whilst the Lakes and the St. Lawrence separate us from Canada

*Address of W. Collins, Esq., to the people of Maryland.

on the North." With these boundaries we grow and prosper, laying the nations of the earth under the necessity of a friendly alliance. But exchange these noble boundaries for an artificial line, run by a surveyor's compass, and leaving a vast stretch of thousands of miles open to hostile incursion, and you lay at once the foundation of weakness and decay.

But if this would be national injury, we argue, again, that it would be far worse to surrender to a rival and hostile power the occupancy of the mouth of the Mississippi. A single glance at the map shows the utter ruin which must be entailed upon the North by allowing a government to be established in the South which will control the commerce of a river fed by tributaries from Pittsburgh on the East, to the Rocky Mountains on the West, and the Lakes on the North, and therefore the natural outlet for the products of that vast territory. It is a point too vital to the life of the nation ever to be surrendered. When the mouth of the Mississippi was held by Spain, and afterwards by France, our statesmen entertained great fears for the future; and when at last its possession became possible, so important did they regard it, that they did not hesitate to violate the constitution to make the acqui-

tion. The history of this is interesting and admonitory. Napoleon's eagle eye saw the importance of the mouth of this great river; and with a view to acquiring this, together with the immense district then known as Louisiana, as a vast colonial dependence of France, he tempted Spain, whose statesmen did not seem to know its worth, to cede it to France as a compensation for the favor of creating a Kingdom of Etruria for a Bourbon Prince. But before Napoleon could complete his plans, he saw that England, with her vast naval power, could wrest this rich prize from his grasp before he could arrange for its secure possession. In this exigency, seeing that the United States was destined to rival England's maritime power, he resolved to strengthen us, and at the same time put the prize beyond England's grasp, by transferring the whole territory to the United States. Mr. Jefferson, then in the Presidential chair, eagerly seized the offer. Though it was, as he believed, in violation of the constitution, it was so essential to both the prosperity and the security of the country, that he sent Mr. Monroe to form and ratify the contract. Now, to surrender, to rebels and enemies, a point invested with such a history, a point so prized by our greatest statesman, so essential to every inter-

est, and so manifestly put into our hands as the gift of Divine Providence, is a thought from which every patriot should shrink with an indignant and defiant recoil.

FINALLY, LET US THANK GOD FOR THE HOPE OF TRIUMPH AND FIRMER NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT THAT OPENS UP TO US IN THE FUTURE.

I know well that there are many, who, with an anxiety bordering on despondency, are inquiring, "What is to be the end of all this?" "After all is it not a question whether we can succeed in crushing this rebellion?" WE SHALL SUCCEED; for two reasons:

1st. BECAUSE WE ARE RIGHT, and under the government of God *right is might*. The struggle, as we have shown, is a struggle of principles, and who that has read history has not learned that *ideas, principles*, are mightier than armies. Principles have achieved more victories, subdued more kingdoms, wrought greater revolutions and crushed more tyrants, than "horsemen or chariots." Ideas go booming through the world louder than cannon. If the Confederacy was a weak, oppressed remnant, crushed under wrongs and woes, and struggling up by the power of a high and holy principle, I would say that no military preparation could ever crush them. But instead

of this, they are a band of conspirators, maddened by the poison of wicked principles, fighting to overthrow the only free government on the face of the earth, and to establish another on the corner-stone of oppression and wrong. They fight not for liberty, but for slavery; not in self-defence, but as aggressors; not for rights, but by blood to justify the foulest treason. *They will fail* because they are *wrong*; *we will succeed* because we are *right*.

Our second reason for hope of success is *because we have the physical power to achieve it*. Not only is God on our side because we are right, but we have, also, as Napoleon said, "the heavy battalions." Between the ages of eighteen and forty-five we have four millions of men. They have one million three hundred thousand. The proportion is, therefore, more than three to one. In every other respect our superiority is still greater. We have more money, more resources, more elements of power, more munitions of war, our soldiers are better fed, better clothed, better protected, better nursed, and are better nerved, because conscious of right, and animated to persevere by the memory of the heroism that purchased our liberties.

Added to all this, we have Gunboats to penetrate their rivers, and a Navy to sweep their defenceless coast.

Now, with these preponderating advantages, with *might* and *right* upon our side, what is to hinder our success?

You answer, "*Foreign Intervention.*" But is such an intervention probable? Nay verily. England cannot interpose without a sacrifice of commercial interests that would be positively ruinous. I am informed, by one of our statesmen, that, exclusive of *Cotton*, one-half of the imports of Great Britain are from the United States. Think you that England would be so mad as to sacrifice one-half her commerce? But, added to this, the injury to her Canadian Colonies would be disastrous. There exists at present a reciprocity treaty, between the Canadas and the United States, by which a large portion of their products enter the United States free of duty. By the operation of this treaty the commerce of the Canadas has reached an increase of sixteen millions of dollars per annum. The advantages of this treaty are inconsiderable to us, but immense to them. It has opened to western Canada a boundless market,

has populated districts which were hitherto a wilderness, and is, now, the principal and almost only source of their prosperity. Now, as this treaty expires, by limitation, next year, any interference of England in our affairs will forfeit the advantages of a Colonial commerce worth sixteen millions of dollars. But beyond this, England is bound to a strict neutrality by a *stringent necessity*. That enlightened statesman, John Bright, has just demonstrated to the people of England their dependence upon the United States for *bread*. The summary of his argument is this: "they want Cotton, and, therefore, feel disposed to interpose; but they *need bread*, and, therefore, they *dare not*."

The same position is taken by Mr. Cobden in a recent speech at Manchester, England, in which he says:

"You get an article even more important than your cotton from America — your food. [Hear.] In the last session of Parliament an honorable member, himself an extensive miller and corn dealer, moved for a return of the quantity of grain and flour for human food, imported into this country from the 1st of September of last year, to the 1st of June in the present year. His object was to show what would

have been the effect on the supplies of food brought to this kingdom, if the talk of war in relation to the Trent affair had unhappily been realized. Well, his estimate was, that the food imported from America between September of last year and June of this year, was equal to the sustenance of between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of people for a whole twelvemonth, and his remark to me was—I quote his own words—that if food had not been brought from America, all the money in Lombard street could not have purchased it elsewhere, because elsewhere it did not exist.”

If then, as appears from these statements, the interference of England is precluded, both by interest and necessity, is there danger of intervention upon the part of FRANCE? We think not, for two reasons:

FIRST,—Because France is fully occupied with her Mexican troubles. Baffled and humiliated by her Mexican intervention, she will not be eager to learn any more bitter lessons from the same school.

BUT SECONDLY,—It is not the interest or policy of France, in any way, to cripple or weaken the power of the United States.—The same policy which induced Napoleon to

transfer to the United States the territory of Louisiana, would lead France, now, to uphold us in the maintenance of our national power.—The growing maritime strength of this nation is the only effective check to the supremacy of England on every sea. Hence, France, to curb the aggressive spirit of her great rival, must uphold the United States, as the only competitor of England for the dominion of the great waters.

As then, England *cannot* and France *will not* interpose; and as the feeling of Russia in return for American sympathy in her time of trial, is that of open and declared friendship, the apprehension of “Foreign intervention” may be dismissed as utterly without foundation. This being the case, we repeat the inquiry—“*What is to hinder our success?*”

With might and right upon our side, and the danger of Foreign intervention removed, the result of the whole struggle seems (under God,) to be entirely in our own hands. If we can put away all party dissensions and feel the common impulse of a deep and pure spirit of patriotism; and if, with a clear recognition of the hand of God in this trial, and an humble dependence upon His strength and guidance for

success, we can go forth hand in hand in this contest, there is no reason why the "Stars and Stripes" may not soon wave in triumph from the towers of Richmond and the battlements of Sumpter; no reason why, upon the 22d of next February, we may not unite the celebration of the birth-day of Washington, with that of final victory and restored peace,—the new birth of our Country's prosperity with the birth of our Country's Father.

May God fulfil the anticipation; and in this confidence let us utter our Song of Praise.





