government must be in its interests and subservient to its will; every vote must be cast to sustain and extend it. No law, human or Divine, can be enacted or maintained, which does not conserve its purpose; there can be no freedom of speech or opinion except to justify and promote it. The very word of God must be bound, put under a ban and prohibited, or garbled and perverted, and the lips of God's own ministers sealed and gagged, lest, peradventure, Jesus himself or the Holy Ghost should suggest some doubt to the mind of the slave, or of any other man in the State, of the perfect righteousness and the Divine mission and sanction of the system. Its arguments of last resort are the pistol, the bludgeon, the bowie knife, the tar-pot, the halter and the stake. So amazing is its presumption that it essays to dictate laws to all surrounding States, and to prostrate the whole government of the nation under its feet; and if the mass of the people dare even to dispute its right thus to act, it plants itself upon the platform "rule or ruin," flies into open rebellion, unfurls the flag of treason, lets slip the dogs of civil war, and openly proclaims its gain, its end, or to destroy the government. It is nothing that the slaveholders are only thousands, while the opponents of the system are millions. What are the people to the tyrant, what was Rome to Nero, when he wished that all its citizens had but one neck that he might sever it at a blow? Two words of portentious meaning sum up the ferial condition of any nation where slavery exists. These are barbarism and despotism, and the page of history does not record a grander truth or one more perfectly demonstrated than this, that any nation can cherish this institution, though it be the greatest, wisest, best and freest on which the sun of heaven ever shone, without sinking step by step, and from degradation to degradation, into both of those conditions. As sure as God's decrees are written in heaven, there is no alternative for this nation but to abolish slavery or to suffer the extinction of all her liberties, her civilization, her power and her religion. Just here is our grand and crowning sin, in the fact that this people as a whole, without distinction of North or South and until very lately without difference of party, both in the world and in the church, have cherished and defended and even sanctioned this mystery of abomination. Let me not be misunderstood: I do not say there, have been no varying degrees in this conduct, or guilt, or responsibility; but I do say that the North have sustained the system as truly as the South; one party as really as another; the church as truly as the world. Slavery has never had more ardent and unscrupulous supporters or defenders than among the politicians, the merchants, the doughfaces, the church members and even the ministry of the North, but with this difference, that the men of the South, born and trained up in the system, and with every influence about them tending to justify it, ought to draw largely on our charity; while their co-laborers at the North, in the midst of light and knowledge, and without those tremendous biases, are utterly without excuse. Let us never forget that, whatever the democratic party have done, a whig administration gave us California and the Fugitive Slave law—that Henry Clay was their advocate, Daniel Webster their endorser, and Millard Fillmore their executor. Let us never forget that the votes of Northern men repealed the Missouri compromise and passed the Lecompton swindle; that Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, ratified the one, and that James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, as one of the very least of the services which, more than any other man alive or dead, he has rendered to the slave power, ratified the other. But why dwell on what everybody knows to be true? Even A. Barnes charges a vast measure of the responsibility for the continuance of slavery on the Christian church; and if any other argument be needed than the daily observation of every man on this point, let it be afforded in the avowed position of the Old School Presbyterian, the Reformed Dutch and the Protestant Episcopal, as well as other denominations, in the attitude of the American Tract Society and the examples of an Adams, a Lord and an H. J. Vandyke. To what depths of baseness may not others fall when the annointed ministers of the very Jesus, who was heralded in prophecy as the mighty Breaker and who published himself as having come to break every yoke, prostitute themselves and blaspheme the Gospel and the name of Christ to advocate and defend a system of which even an infidel could say "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with its abettors and defenders." Is it not calmness and moderation to say, in view of these facts, that this whole nation stands convicted of a degree of wickedness so stupendous that no human eye can depict it, and no human mind can fully comprehend it, until the revelation of the judgment day shall set it in all its horrible deformity before the gaze of the assembled universe? And this is not the quiet merely of a portion of the community. We are one nation, and every man has his influence and responsibility. There can be no doubt that in our different relationships as citizens, as voters, as members of society and as Christians, we have each contributed much to this general result of iniquity and crime. And no matter how great have been our zeal and efforts, we have, after all, fallen far short of our duty, or of what we might have done. This is a time for honesty and sincerity with ourselves; and no man can be honest who does not feel the burden of this guilt and responsibility resting heavily on his soul. Again, we are like Israel in that we are now enduring the severe judgments of God on account of these our grievous offences. Like them we have clung to our great national sins in spite of warnings, providences and threatenings, until the Divine patience wearied, and He has begun to pour out His wrath upon us. The signs of this coming storm have been growing more and more plain and fearful for years, until at last it has burst upon us. The wheels of commerce have been stopped entirely, or are dragging slowly and heavily. A panic has seized the minds of multitudes of our population; thousands of men are out of employment and have no visible means of earning their daily bread; famine is prevalent in large sections of the South and West; the slave power and all its millions in several large States of this Union are enraged at the North and the opponents of that system, and are threatening to break up the government and dissolve the Union. One State has already declared herself separate and independent; civil war is threatened; masses of men are in open rebellion; treason is in the Capitol, perhaps even in the Executive mansion itself, and no man knows what a day may bring forth. Sad, indeed, must be the blindness or the wickedness of the man who does not see in these things the heavy judgments of an offended God, and who does not regard them as the sure forerunners of still more dreadful penalties, if we do not hasten to repent of our sins and turn to Him. It is in this emergency that we are called on by proclamation of the President to observe this as a day of solemn fasting, humiliation and prayer; and whatever may have been his views and motives in so doing, there can be no question about the eminent propriety and the duty of such an observance. The question of all others for us to consider is this:—How can this fast be kept acceptably to the Lord? Shall we come together as the house of Jacob did—to afflict our souls, to bewail our sad condition, to bow down our heads like bulrushes, and to exercise ourselves with all the outward acts of humiliation and repentance, and that we make it the burden of our petitions that God will give us a respite from all our difficulties and troubles, and perhaps lament that the question of the wrongfulness of slaveholding has ever been agitated, or that we have not been more complaisant to the South and more obedient to the behests of the slave power? Should we make it the great and sole aim of our fasting to secure our own selfish ease and interests, without regard to the sacrifice of principles and the injury to the cause of humanity and the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom, what may be necessarily involved in such a result? Should we pray that stocks may rise, manufactures be revived and the demand for dry goods increased, that South Carolina may take back her ordinance of secession, and that the South may be appeased, no matter on what terms such a settlement should be procured, though to gain it we must acknowledge the right of property in man, and to take that property into every State and Territory of the Union, and though we must find ourselves to protect it there by a slave code and federal guns? Aye, we may if we would hear the voice of God, saying—Is it such a fast as I have chosen? Behold on the day of your fast ye find pleasure and exact all your labors. Behold ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness, wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? We shall not fast as ye do this day to make your voice to be heard on high. Aye, we may if we wish our fast to become like that of the Jews, the most abominable of all our acts of wickedness, and to augment yet the fierce anger of the Lord. If we wish to have our calamities multiplied, our judgments increased and made more terrible, and at last, like them, to be utterly broken in pieces, to be rejected of God, to sink down in barbarism and despotism, or to be dissolved in chaos, anarchy and bloodshed, and to become a hissing, a by-word and a reproach among all the nations of the earth. Aye, we may if we are prepared to see the cause of humanity and freedom, the principles of truth and justice and religion, fall never to rise again while this nation has a being. Aye, we may if we are full ready, like Judas, to betray our Master and our Master's cause for thirty pieces of silver, and afterward are prepared to receive Judas' fate and to go unto our own place. But if not, never was duty made plainer in the word of God than ours is to-day in these words:—Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break ever yoke. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward. We have need to humble ourselves before God in sackcloth and ashes and in deepest sorrow. We have need to mourn and lament over our own sins and the sins of the whole nation, in thus cherishing and upholding this colossal system of wickedness and oppression. It is no wonder God's judgments are upon us; the only wonder is that they did not long ago come down upon us like the besom of destruction. We have need to experience the deepest and sincerest repentance for these transgressions, and to solemnly vow in God's sight, and with his help, that we will redouble all our energies, and labor and pray with all our might and hearts for the entire removal and abolition of this grand cause of God's wrath and all our troubles. We have need to set our faces as a flint against all and every form of complicity with it or with its apologists and defenders, and in spite of opposition, reproach, calumny, proscription, social ostracism, or even persecution, to reconsecrate ourselves to this great work, to let the oppressed go free and to break every yoke. Nor is it our whole duty thus to repent of this sin, but to remember and do likewise respecting every other sin of the land and nation, and even our own personal offences and shortcoming. Nor can we keep the fast perfectly except as we remember all the rest of this nation, and pray that God will lead them to see their position and their duty in its true light, and make them willing to do all that he requires of them. Especially let us remember the oppressor, the slaveholders and the traitors in the nation, and pray that God will give them light and a better mind, and that our country may be preserved complete and undivided, and that the curse of slavery may speedily be abolished from the North to the South and from the East to the West. Let us pray for the slave, that he may kept from deeds of violence and blood; that he may receive the precious light and blessings of the Gospel, and may have grace to show the beauty and power of religion even in bondage and to glorify God even in the fires. Especially let us remember that we are all guilty together, the North as well as the South, and the church as well as the world, and let us strive to avoid a centorious and Pharisaical spirit, but let us make this one of the most heart searching and faithful seasons of our whole lives. Let us be profoundly in earnest and set ourselves with all our hearts to do our duty and our whole duty, and to so humble ourselves and turn from our sins that God can consistently cause his face to shine upon us and His saving health on all the nation.

At the close of the sermon,

Dr. Fairbank, from among the congregation, arose and said that he fully endorsed every word that had fallen from the pastor. He thought that the sermon should be heard by thousands, and he therefore moved that a collection be taken up to defray the expenses of printing the discourse in pamphlet form.

The collection was accordingly taken up.

The pastor then offered a prayer for the whole nation, for the President, for Congress, and for the incoming administration. He prayed that the great influence of the press would be used for the good of the nation and for the prosperity and welfare of the whole human race. He concluded his fervent appeal by calling on the All Powerful to sustain Major Anderson and his brave little garrison in the hour of their peril, and to give them faith and strength to maintain their duty firmly and as become Christian men.

The Rev. Mr. Davis was then introduced to the audience, and read a memorial, which was drawn up for the signature of such of the members of the church as saw fit to unite in its views, and, when fully signed, to be presented to the Hon. William H. Seward. The purport of the document was a strong approval of the Senator's course, and calling upon him, by all that is holy and sacred, not to give his support nor sanction to any concessions whatever that have been or may be proposed, and assuring him that the people of New York will sustain him.

Mr. Seth B. Hunt approved of the document, but hoped the distinction would be drawn between the church and the action of its individual members.

The document was then handed round for signatures.

THE REV. DR. TYNG.

St. George's Church (Episcopalian), Rutherford Place.

At St. George's church there was the usual service, varied only by special Psalms, collect, and the reading of an address from the Right Rev. Bishop Potter.

Rev. Dr. Tyng commenced his discourse by remarking that upon an occasion like this, which brings us so unwontedly into the sanctuary, curiosity and excitement is everywhere evinced to see what the minister has to say. Never was there a land or people in which the "itching ear" was more characteristic than in our day. It was a sorrowful thing to say that even when conscience and justice led public teachers to an utterance of their distinct convictions, it not merely gave affront to individuals, but was almost certain to make violent separations of Christian comity and affection between the pastor and some of his hearers. It was for this reason that, in the Episcopal church, the discussion of political questions was never brought into the pulpit, as a rule; and he appealed to sixteen year's ministration among this congregation to testify that never, on a single occasion of public worship, Sabbath or week day, had he brought mere temporal and political questions into the sacred desk. Whenever subjects of civil interest had been touched upon, it was in connection with the great principles of Christian duty and the circumstances that the providence of God had brought out. On the day of national Thanksgiving he had discussed the single principle that there never could be peace for man, personal, domestic, social or national, that did not follow from righteousness; and that, therefore, to obtain the dominion of peace in this land or community it was indispensible, first of all to dig down and ascertain what were the principles of abiding and everlasting righteousness upon which that peace should be built; and yet, even in discussing a subject so entirely acknowledged beyond the reach of question, he found himself unable to express, in the simplest and most friendly manner, the sentiments which, as a Christian pastor, he was bound to inculcate without, on the one side or the other, starting up irritable and irrascible men, and bringing out a state of relations least of all adapted to the blessed mission of Christian duty. He had, therefore, to-day, nothing to say upon that subject. Whoever was wrong or whoever was right, a state of things existed which demanded a personal, a collective, a social duty, and it would answer no good purpose to inquire upon whom the greatest amount of guilt devolved.

Dr. T. took his text from the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter and the first verse of the third chapter of Ezekiel:—

And when I looked, behold an hand was sent unto me, and lo, a roll of a book was therein; and he spread it before me, and it was written within and without, and there was written therein lamentations and mourning and woe.
Moreover he said unto me, son of man, eat that thou findest. * * * Then did I eat it, and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness.

It was perfectly apparent that the subject of this passage was the Christian use and Divine appointment of trial.

The first lesson to be learned was, that human trials of every kind were of Divine appointment. An outstretched hand from the heavens was brought before the prophetic mind. No one should go aside a moment from acknowledging it to be the hand of the living God, the manifest revelation of that Divine power which ruled the world. Whatever might be the instrument used, whatever the circumstances ordained by which to accomplish the design, the great fundamental truth for the servant of God was to look beyond all to the hand of God. If a day of trial in the family, it was the hand of God that brought it; if a day of trial to the individual heart, it was the hand of God which directed it; if a day of peculiar trial and danger to the nation, we should look through the whole up to the gracious, divine, infallible Hand that held, controlled and directed all. In our present trials we could not make a mistake in looking to that Hand. It was of no consequence to vent our spleen in reviling the authorities of the land—of no use to throw the blame upon this or that individual. No calamity or suffering can come upon a land without the national sin provoking the judgment; and to a people who love righteousness, the solemn promise of the commandment that mercy should be shown to them for a thousand generations, was certain.

The second manifest fact brought out in the vision of Ezekiel was that these judgments were also a Divine record. The hand was not sent to inflict judgment, but to show a "roll of a book." The familiar illustration of an ancient book, written on parchment and rolled up, was brought perfectly before the eye. Whatever were the elements or detail of this Divine government, illustrated by the hand, they were all parts of a Divine purpose and plan. It was not merely in general principles of Divine Providence that we were to seek this purpose. We were but too ready to say, in an unbelieving age:—Where is the Lord God of Elijah, that answereth the cry of faithful and earnest prayer? It was a blessed thought that all the details of human trial, whether individual or social, are parts of a Divine plan—that the very hairs of our head were all numbered. Impossible to perceive an applicaton of God's providence in details too minute or far-reaching for the fact; nay, everything that may minister to the welfare or happiness, or promote the grace of those vessels of mercy, prepared for glory, is from eternity—a part of the wondrous plan which guides them and receives them to heaven. And did any ask why? Because the world lived for them.

He loved to look at this truth in its extreme degree of application; to think that we lived in a world in which not the least pin of the machinery was by any appointment less than that of the great Architect who made the whole. Every sorrow and every care was a matter of His own pre-arrangement, for the good of those He loved. Were not our tears in His bottle, and our groans recorded in His book. Therefore, when the hand appeared, it held out a roll, in which, though lamentations and mourning were written, yet the succeeding prophesies that came out of it closed with wonderful triumph and most magnificent displays of Divine wisdom and honor.

Again, a third point in this remarkable passage—not merely was it a heavenly hand which extended the roll, showing that infinite wisdom directed our trials, but these trials were also part of the Divine warning, as well as of Divine appointment and record. Ezekiel says, "And He spread it before me, and it was written within and without, and there was written therein lamentations and mourning and woe." From this we might learn that nothing would be concealed; the sinner's way would be made perfectly clear; the men who ruled by the law of iniquity would see themselves judged truly; those who sowed the wind would reap the whirlwind; the men who sacrificed principle to expediency, would see all his plans fall to ruins in a night. No human being could afford to make the God of justice and of truth an enemy of his success—no living man could afford to detach himself loose from the wonderful scheme of God's government. Whence came the folly of men in power—the madness of men who possessed an earthly reputation for wisdom and strength? We might answer, from the blotting out of that which, in the derision of the day, is called the "higher law," as if the Word of God, which is to endure forever, were not to be exalted supreme. Woe to the man who discards it! Woe to the nation that casts it out! Woe to the people that will detach themselves from it, and rule by any inferior standard of authority than the Word of the living God! Sorrow is the daughter of sin, and human suffering is ever growing out of domestic sin and guilt; and the Word of God hesitated not to say that this was the fact with nations as with individuals. The sin of the drunkard and of the gambler was to be seen in its effects upon the children of the second and third generation; the innocent daughter carried about with her disease inherited from a father's debauchery or licentiousness. While, then, the Saviour taught us that we were not to make the application to individual suffering, and say that they were "sinners above other men," yet the truth held good that pain and sorrow never did come but as the immediate fruit of man's iniquity. Accordingly, whoever might be the agent of producing the difficulty, the duty and privilege of the Christian was to do what they were doing this day—to humble themselves, and fall down before the Lord of Hosts.

The fourth point of instruction to be derived was the pudy of the servant of God under tribulation. "Moreover He said unto one, son of man, eat that thou findest." What was this eating but an absolute acceptance—opening the mouth, that God might thrust in his roll, written within and without. We should not only acquiesce in God's appointment, but cheerfully accept the Divine command. Whatever were the trials recorded upon the roll, the simple principle was that they could work nothing but benefit to the servant of the living God. Ah, how delightful to dwell upon the great truth that "Who is he that shall harm us if we be followers of that which is good?" That was the principle laid down here. This roll, written with lamentations, and mourning and woe, could it be nourishment to the servant of God? Surely, the trials that one bears are the very best food of his soul; nothing so strengthens the heart in duty; nothing so encouraged the spirit; nothing so turned man adrift from the creature that he might anchor on the Creator. Where was the loving, laborious, Christian man who had not drank from the cup of gall and wormwood? Where was the sympathizing, tender hearted, forbearing, impartial man, that had not broken his teeth with gravel stones as he sat by the side of the grave, and mingled his food with weeping, day by day, in personal experience of the Divine visitation? Christian men open the mouth wide, and welcome these trials—believing that the hand of Divine wisdom will never afflict or grieve but for a merciful purpose—believing that the eating of this roll in entire submission is the most complete strengthening of the soul. In a nation, where were the people that were vigorous, earnest and determined, but those who had been nursed by the cottage fireside, and compelled to eat in youth the bread of poverty and toil? In what region of the earth did the highest principles always flourish, but in Alpine inaccessible retreats rather than in orange blossomed plains? There could be no greater blessing to a boy than to start him from childhood in an earnest struggle with difficulty and care, and send him out in youth full grown from the nouri hment which trials and sorrow give. And so it is with nations. What enervated them, made the people sacrifice great national principles to expediency, and compelled them to bow down to the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, in the plains of Jura, but long continued prosperity and freedom from external and social difficulties? "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked," and what is to bring Jeshurun again to take up the yoke? Nothing but the goading of necessity and Divine training—the day of trial and rebuke. Then to consider the last point. As trials here are of Divine appointment, a record and warning to Christians, and our duty is to receive them in perfect submission—so the effect of that entire submission is perfect happiness and delight. "Then did I eat it, and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness." How beautiful the thought! Unpromising as dry parchment would seem; bitter as it appeared, written inside and outside with lamentations and w e, yet, taken from a father's hand, accepted with filial, humble gratitude, it was converted into honey, to perfect sweetness and delight. And had they not all found this so in their experience here? Nothing is so dear to the heart as a full submission to God. Nothing so strengthens the mind as an entire conformity of itself to the will of God; nothing so unravels mysteries and settles difficulties and interprets doubts as the simple panting of the spirit to say, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth."

However we might strive to avert a coming trial, or under the Divine guidance, to seek a safe deliverance from an existing one, yet from the beginning to the end, as a trial from the hand of God, his pastoral advice was that they should, with Ezekiel, open the mouth and eat it—eat it in simple prayer—eat it in affectionate praise—eat it in gratitude—eat it in unshaken confidence, trust and faith. This was the lesson of the learned. There was a strong temptation to say, "it is Elijah" or "it is Ahab" who hath troubled Israel, but it was wisest to come back, and, in the language of the bishop's excellent address, to give up crimination and recrimination; to cherish their own judgments boldly and faithfully as men, to utter them with respect, with kindness and affection towards each other—to permit their pastor to utter faithfully his own judgment when great questions come up, and censure him not—to feel that there was care enough in the ministry at all times without the care of contending with individual difficulties. Let them love one another—love all for Christ's sake, and see if they could not illustrate this:—Many minds and one heart; many judgments, one united line of action; many views of common topics, one determined union of principle and conduct in carrying out the great points and purposes of truth and duty, to which these views shall lead us.

THE REV. DR. TAYLOR.

Grace Church (Episcopalian), Broadway.

The services at this church yesterday morning were very solemn throughout, and a large congregation were present. The rector (Rev. Dr. Taylor) preached the sermon, amid profound attention from the audience, from the following text:—

Isaiah xxi., 11—Watchman, what of the night?

He said—In the Scriptures the term watchman is constantly applied to the prophets and ministers of God. They are regarded as being set apart to watch over the safety of his people, to guard them from threatening dangers and to lift up the voice of warning against their peculiar sources of temptation or causes of calamity. In keeping up the figure of speech in which the prophet is called a watchman, "the night" is used to denote the particular period of time in which he is exercising his office. And the people of Zion are represented as anxiously inquiring of the prophet what news he had for them from God?—what meaning he could read for them in the portentious signs of the times?

My brethren, assembled, as we are, at the invitation of the powers that be, to humble ourselves with prayer and fasting before the God of nations, on account of the threatening aspect of the times—on account of passing events, which unfold themselves so ominously to the unity, peace and happiness of our country—I can well fancy that I hear you appealing to me, as I stand, a servant of the Most High God, in his consecrated temple and before his holy altar, for the words of warning, of comfort, of instruction I may have to deliver to you. I can well fancy that I hear you exclaiming, in tones of anxiety, "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

It is impossible to suppose that such an assemblage of Christian people as are now before me can be indifferent to the extraordinary condition of things amid which we are called to act, and no thoughtful mind can fail to perceive that at no period within the history of our race has the condition of the whole world been so extraordinary, so solemn, so ominous. At such a time it is impossible for any of us to separate ourselves from the feelings which are proper for the Christian, the patriot and the man.

It is always a wrong for the minister of Christ to mix himself up with the bitter strife of political parties. It is wrong in him to fan the flames of discord—to stir up strife and inflame the minds of his hearers with rancorous feelings—to array his fellow countrymen against each other in bloody war, and thus to become an instrument for bringing desolation and misery over ten thousand homes. Ah! it would be better for such men had [illegible] to love us country, to sympathize most deeply in its fortunes, to watch with sleepless vigilance over its avenues of prosperity and its causes of war, and to strive to animate your hearts with lofty patriotism, and to fill them with something of His own spirit of love, unity and peace, can never be inconsistent with either his position or his duties as a religious teacher.

My brethren, we are here upon a solemn fast day, in the house of prayer, to acknowledge our sins before God, and to implore his mercy for our country. Every mind is excited, every heart is alarmed, and gloomy forebodings of calamity fill every eye with the tears of agitation. And for why is all this? Our country was never more blessed with all the abounding elements of prosperity—our seasons were never more healthful—our lands were never more fruitful—our agricultural, commercial and financial interests were never before more admirably balanced and every way calculated to prove exuberant fountains of happiness. But suddenly a black cloud has arisen in the South, and the muttering thunder that comes from it speaks to us of political discontents—so deep and serious as to lead to all the horrors of disunion. My brethren, I have already said from this place that if there be any causes of complaint, well founded and reasonable, then I am perfectly sure that every right minded and kindly disposed person, of every shade of party, will be ready and willing to correct the evil in the way most acceptable to our complaining countrymen. But, at the same time, I must say that it is but fair and right that our dissatisfied friends should tell us clearly and explicitly what they would have us to do? What new guarantees do they require? What laws can be passed, and what laws can be repealed, to afford them the most unyielding satisfaction and security for all time to come? But unless they will do this, unless they will meet our efforts to serve them in a reciprocal spirit of conciliation and kindness, then I cannot see but our best feelings and our best efforts will be utterly useless. If our Southern friends, goaded and irritated as they have been, shall rush from us in the frenzy of madness, and, listening to no voice of friendship, shall proceed recklessly in their work of disunion and ruin, then it becomes us to arrest them in their progress by the calm and dignified, and firm and gentle remonstrance, that too many and too mighty interests are involved in such a proceding to allow it to go on without such opposing checks as the rest of us may be able to throw in. I find it difficult to conceive how any intelligent and thoughtful man, when he takes into view all the mighty interests of this vast country, complicated as they are, and interwoven with each other as they necessarily must be, can for one moment suppose that these overwhelming millions of people are to sit with folded arms and listless meekness, while all their high interests are sacrificed; financial confidence, which is the lifeblood of trade, all destroyed; the hum of industry, on the mart and in the workshop, suspended; private bankruptcies carrying crushing wretchedness into numberless homes; the public credit seriously impaired, and the power of the government lying paralyzed and worthless, while its property is seized, its prerogative usurped, and the flag of our pride is trampled in the dust, and all this is so because one of our sister States chooses to play fantastic tricks before high Heaven in a mimicry of self-government. My brethren, these things ought not so to be. These things ought never so to have been. These things cannot be suffered to continue. I say it calmly and solemnly, and after the most anxious and painful deliberation, and I believe that I speak the sentiments of every patriot that hears me, when I say that this state of things cannot be suffered to continue. I would do nothing in harshness; I would do nothing in unkindness; I would extend forbearance and brotherly love to their utmost limits; but these things cannot be suffered to continue.

My brethren, I speak as an American citizen, and I speak as a native of South Carolina; I speak as one who understands well her condition and her wrongs, and who has therefore a right to speak, and when I speak words of censure they are spoken far more in sorrow than in anger. I say that South Carolina has wrongs to complain of—she has injuries to be redressed. Demagogues have assailed her with the ribaldry of the hustings in the sanctity of the Senate—she has been irritated and goaded to madness by the libels that have been poured forth for years upon the most sacred and most delicate of her domestic institutions, by the mountebanks of the pulpit, who, in their pestiferous career, are animated by the most ignoble of all the forms in which worldly ambition can display itself—the ambition for securing notoriety by an association with the demons in pandering to the false prejudices and malignant passions of vulgar minds. And is it to be wondered at if the sons of South Carolina have sometimes forgotten what was due to themselves, and the true dignity of their State, and descended to private retaliation and brutal violence. The mistakes, and follies and crimes of individual men, are now to be charged upon the countries to which they belong. We are now to deal with South Carolina as a State, and as one of these United States; and it is as such that I repeat she has cause of complaint not only against individual men in the States of the North, but against many of those States in their executive, legislative and judicial capacities. But then the grievances of South Carolina are precisely the same grievances as are complained of by her sister-States of the South. Nothing more; nothing less. Why, then, we have a right to ask, has she assumed this sad pre-eminence in rash precipitancy? Why has she rushed, without conference and without support, into all the dangers and mischiefs of revolution, unprepared for, and which can never terminate in good to anybody? Who does not feel that this most unwise haste has alienated the sympathy and weakened the hands of every friend of the South who clings to our Union as the only ark of strength and of safety for them and for us? Within the Union all evils may be remedied and grievances redressed; but without the pale of our common fold of safety—without the reach of the chaste and cheering radiance that falls from our clustering stars of glory, there is no room for help—there is no deliverance to be found. There is no injury, nor insult, nor vexatious meddling, with her most private and precious interests, under which she now writhes and frets, that will not be continued with the most absolute impunity, and with increased and most virulent bitterness. And in addition to all that, every imagination will at once conjure up the uncounted horrors of every other kind which the strong and the wicked of the earth are ever ready to bring upon the unprotected and the weak.

I have just said that this extraordinary revolution, which, as it seems to us, has been so inconsiderately entered upon by our sister State, can bring no good to any one. But I must beg to amend that saying, by throwing out the suggestion that perhaps the contemplation of the false position in which they are obliged to see that South Carolina has placed herself, with all of its attendant train of embarrassments, may prove sufficient to deter other and more thoughtful States from hurrying blindly on to the same fatal extremity of folly and ruin.

My brethren, I do not believe that there is going to be any dismemberment of this powerful, this glorious country of ours—glorious in all the memories of the past—and thrice glorious in our entrancing prospects for the future.

The very thought of it seems to diffuse an odor of treason around us. Not that I would lend the least sanction to any teaching that would go to revive the effete doctrine of "passive obedience" to government as an institution of God—not that I would agree to any wholesale denunciation of that immortal philosopher, John Locke, from whose writings, as from a treasure house of wisdom, the founders of our republic drew all their maxims of government. But because I believe that, linked and bound together as we are, the thing is an impropriety. As well might we hope to tear asunder the several parts that go to make up that marvellous machine the human body, and then expect that each part, or any one of all the parts, should continue to work on in usefulness and comfort. It is not only impossible, but it is entirely unnecessary, even if it were possible—I say that it is unnecessary and undesirable, because there are no evils experienced which cannot be far better corrected within the Union than out of it. There are no burdens of government that would not be increased an hundred fold by separation; and there are unnumbered blessings which it secures to us, quiet and unseen, perhaps, but yet for the loss of which nothing on this earth could compensate us. And as soon as time shall operate with its soothing influences, and our Southern friends shall recover a little from the frenzy of excitement, into which scheming politicians have thrown them, they are too intelligent by far not to perceive and understand all this.

The present excited condition of the public mind at the South is to be attributed to two causes. The first is the mistake of supposing that the insane ravings of certain fanatical preachers of abolitionism, in which the gibberish of falsehood is dressed up in the language of Holy Writ—the smart sayings of others, bordering always upon blasphemy—in which libels and denunciations are clothed, and mixed with coarse anecdotes and vulgar ribaldry, are fair expositions of the feelings of Northern people for their countrymen of the South. I need not say to you how entirely unfounded is any supposition like that. I surely need not prove to you how slight, how very slight, is the measure of influence exerted by such teachers as those beyond the narrow sphere of their own immediate followers. But yet the press, in giving publicity to these jumbles of mendacity and malignity, have produced the most widespreading mischiefs to our country. And so, too, the unscrupulous leaders of political parties have too often given utterance to the cant of abolitionism, in order to secure their temporary and selfish ends; and thus the whole body of voters, who for far different purposes have been associated with these demagogues, are set down as all of them together having abolition aims and objects. Nothing can be more false than that, and yet nothing has contributed more to alienate one section of our country from the other, and to break asunder the ties of love and mutual interest which ought to bind us inseparably together. No, no, my friends, I will never allow it to be said that the great body of the intelligent voters of the North have any sort of hostility or hatred for the South, or the least wish to interfere with their peculiar institutions, and I protest, in the name of truth and justice, against their being associated and confounded with the few noisy and wayward disturbers of the public tranquility, who we know to be of a contrary mind.

But the second cause of restless easiness to our countrymen of the South is to be seen in the fruit of that false and pestilent teaching which would lead them to believe the Union of the States is the reason why South Carolina has not advanced in prosperity and power as rapidly as New York. The logic as I found it, in a paper recently submitted for my reading, amounts to this:—"When the constitution of the United States was adopted the commerce and shipping of Charleston was greater than that of New York. Consequently, if that constitution had never been adopted, Charleston would have grown and flourished as much as New York. Break up our union with the North, let Charleston resume her natural commerce, importing directly from the whole world such commodities as they produce and we need, and what a mighty change would come over the prospects of Charleston. Our colonial and tributary commerce with the North would cease, and a mighty free commerce with the whole world would rise in its stead. Capital would flow into a place where it could be used with such advantage, the Rothschilds and the Barings would soon be there, and thus Charleston become the envy of all the earth." I find it difficult to persuade myself that any man capable of writing the English language can, by any possibility, believe his own teaching. I find it still more difficult to conceive how such a farrago of bald nonsense could ever have found a lodging place amongst so intelligent a people as our friends of South Carolina. And yet it is perfectly certain that a persuasion of the truth of this teaching, and the brilliant hopes which have thus been awakened, are at the bottom of all the turbulent and suicidal proceedings in that gallant but misguided State. Can any man tell me how and at what time the influence of the general government has been exerted in favor of New York, and to the injury of Charleston? Can any man tell me how a tariff of duties could, by any possibility, be framed which would operate against Charleston, and would not, at the same time, operate against New York? Can any man deny that the tariff, as we now have it, was framed by South Carolina herself, and voted for unanimously by her representatives in Congress? Can it by any possibility be true that the most simple of all truths should be hidden from the people of South Carolina, and be plain and written in capitals for the reading of every man in the world besides, that the only reason why Charleston does not advance in commerce and population in proportion to New York, is because she has no market for her imported goods? Let us only refer to a map of the United States, and when you trace the almost incredible range of country spreading out in every direction with its dense and ever increasing population—its rich manufactories and countless products of every kind—all of which is poured into New York, and affords a market in return for the goods that are sent to New York to be sold. When you trace the marvellous network of international improvements, and that long chain of internal seas, almost as wide an expanse of water as the Atlantic itself, and all of them affording the most wonderful facilities for an interchange of commodities, can any citizen of South Carolina fail to see that Charleston has not, and in the nature of things never can have, anything to compare with it? And, consequently, by no possibility can she ever become the great commercial emporium that New York now is, and must continue to be, with perpetually increasing accessions of prosperity and wealth. My friends, it is a sad and painful subject of thought that the understanding of mankind should be so trifled with, and that, under a hallucination so gross and palpable to all eyes but their own, they should rush to ruin, and suppose that they are only led by the purest fires of patriotism. But I must be done. Let me only repeat that as New Yorkers we have nothing to fear for ourselves. We can afford to be magnanimous and forbearing to the last degree. The check which the industry of our people has received will be temporary. There has been no sufficient cause for it in anything done by us or operating directly upon ourselves, and it is to be accounted for entirely by a reference to that extreme and morbid sensitiveness which financial confidence ever evinced to political disturbances. Upon the first whisper of alarm, from threatened troubles in government, confidence hides himself in timid dismay, and when most wanted can nowhere be found. I will conclude by entreating you to cherish the all important truth with which I have already sought to impress you, that if not wanting to ourselves and to our God, nothing from without can by any means hurt us very long. Come what will or come what may to other States, this city of New York must of necessity continue to be the centre of capital and commerce to this Western Continent. Blessed as we are with a most unrivalled geographical position, commerce has here worn her broad and deep channels, and capital has flowed in upon the waves of commerce, and it is as impossible to change them as the attempt would be to check or change the downward flow of the water in the father of rivers. Our sister cities of the South may become prosperous and powerful; but just in proportion as they advance in power just in the same proportion will they contribute to swell the influx of exchanges towards this great centre of our commerce, this vast reservoir of wealth. They are as sure to flow this way as the Gulf Stream flows this way. These things, my friends, can never be controlled by any sectional legislation, because they are governed by laws which are as certain and as fixed as those which secure the harmony of the spheres.

THE REV. J. C. SMITH.

Church of the Ascension (Protestant Episcopal), corner of Fifth avenue and Tenth street.

Religious services in observance of the day of national fast and humiliation were held yesterday at the Church of the Ascension (Protestant Episcopal), corner of Fifth avenue and Tenth street. After the introductory prayers and lessons a sermon on the subject—"The Moral Hindrances to our Destiny as a Republic"—was preached by the pastor, Rev. J. C. Smith, who took for his text Matthew xxi., 43, "Therefore I say unto you the kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

This terrible declaration of our Saviour, he said, so fearfully fulfilled in the case of the Jews, might ordinarily pass almost unheeded by us; but the circumstances under which we assemble together give it an impressive significance, and it sounds in our ears a solemn warning which it is impossible to disregard. I trust that all who are here to-day have come with a deep sense of the magnitude of those dangers which threaten us, and at the same time with calmness and a cheerful trust in God. Our political and financial troubles are to be recognized first of all as a visitation of Providence, for manifold sins of which as a people we have been guilty. They come, however, in the form of a judgment threatened rather than already inflicted. We are suffering rather from the apprehension than from the infliction of evil, and there is, therefore, abundant opportunity for the exercise of hope and for every effort which looks towards an honorable and righteous settlement of the great issues at stake. It is eminently fitting at such a time, when dark clouds are lowering over the horizon and a storm of terrific fury seems just ready to burst; when the spectral hand is stretched forth, as if about to write upon our walls "*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*"—that we should humble ourselves before God, and find out what we are to do that the work of the destroyer may be stayed ere the fabric of our national prosperity and peace is overwhelmed with ruin. I am full of hope as to the final result, because I cannot believe that this nation will disown the high destiny set before it by God; but I believe that we have come to a crisis which is to determine our future career, and that the test is about to be applied to us which our Saviour gives in the words which I have read, and that if we will not now assume more decidedly the character of a Christian nation—loving peace and truth and righteousness—the kingdom of God, with the rational freedom and high civilization which are its effects, will be taken from us and given unto a "nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." We have enough of those sins which are common to humanity, God knows, to repent of this day, and I trust that no one will go from this place, where we have used such solemn language of penitence and confession, without feeling the burden of sin and the preciousness of forgiveness. But at this time, when our fate as a great and united people may be trembling in the balance, I wish you to consider with a deep sense, each one of you, of your individual responsibility, some of the moral hindrances to our destiny as a Christian nation. There is very prevalent in this country a false and unchristian view of the very origin, nature and object of civil government itself. The administration of government in any country must depend upon the idea which is entertained of its nature, and the objects it is designed to subserve. All the views which are held on this subject resolve themselves finally into one or the other of two theories of the origin of civil government. One of these theories maintains the human, and the other the Divine origin of government and society. All political science and practice must be modified according as one or the other of these theories is held. The theory of the human origin of society and government, maintained as it has been by Greek atheists, French encyclopædists and English materialists, is more familiarly known, perhaps, as the theory of the "social compact." It is briefly this, that men were originally dissociated from each other, and society did not exist; that the inconveniences of such a state becoming apparent, they came together, invented language, and formed themselves into bodies politic. Government, therefore, has no powers except those which result from the giving up of certain rights of which each one is naturally possessed. Its objects are, of course, confined, as Washington says, to the "conservation of the bodies and the goods of men." The theory of the Divine origin of society and civil government is simply this:—The germ of the State is to be found in the family, which is of Divine institution. By means of language, which was originally a gift from God to man, there is not only the association of individuals in one family, but the association of families in one society. The family passes by a necessary law of developement into the patriarchate, the patriarchate into the tribe, and the tribe into the nation. The whole developement, therefore, is as much of Divine origin as the primary institution. The State and the family alike are the creature of God. The object, therefore, which the State has to accomplish is not merely to protect the persons and the property of men, but to subserve also some high moral purpose. Its great object, unquestionably, is to train men in habits of obedience to law, and to exercise them in a system of probation, in which principles of truth and justice must be recognized and practiced, or else the terrible consequences of violating them be suffered. This is universally the method of God's government. He calls men to the performance of duty by experience of the evils to which duty unperformed will lead; and it is impossible that there should be any Christian view of society and government in which this idea of the State, as a great moral institution, is not prominent. The difficulties in the way of the theory of a social compact are manifold, and, in my view, utterly insuperable. In the first place it has no historical foundation. There are no traces of a primeval barbarism, in which men were dissociated from each other. The indications are all the other way, and point to a high state of civilization as characterizing the earliest ages of the world. But not only are there no traces of such a primeval barbarism, but there are no traces whatever for such a remarkable convention of barbarians as this theory supposes, who, under a deep sense of the inconveniences of dissociation, met together, invented language and established civil society. In opposition to all this, the unmistakable teaching of history is that there has never been a time since the first family existed when language and society have not existed also. If any faith is to be reposed in philosophy and history, men have not invented civil society, but have found themselves, by the operation of natural laws, already in it. But the difficulties multiply when we come to consider the practical operation of the theory. And this consideration will show that this theory of the social compact, or the human origin of society and government, lies at the foundation of the troubles which we at present suffer. For if this theory is true, there are no obligations, except those of interest and convenience, which bind men to remain even in civil society, much less in any particular form of it, or under any particular government. The obligations to remain in civil society can be no greater than the original obligations to enter in, and no higher obligations than convenience and interest are recognized at all in connection with society and government. On the supposition that social and civil institutions have their origin merely in a compact, government has no rightful power to perpetuate its own existence if the compact ceases to subserve the fancied convenience or interest of any who are a party in it. And those who are living under government might justly assert that they have never been parties to any such compact, and may rightfully refuse to recognise its obligations. This idea of the mere human origin of civil government in a social compact is sure to work itself out to such results. It is remarkable that the only argument by which the right of secession on the part of one of the States of this Union is maintained, is founded upon the idea that the government of this country is based upon a compact between the several States of which it is composed, and can therefore be dissolved by a dissolution of the compact. The plain answer to which is, that in that case we are not living under a general government at all, but under a mere voluntary association; whereas the truth in the matter is, that the old articles of confederation were abandoned, and the constitution adopted for the very purpose of giving up a voluntary association and forming a general government, with the inherent and inalienable character of government having the power to perpetuate its own existence. The theory of the Divine institution of civil government, which is the only one which is philosophically and historically true, places the matter in a clear and satisfactory light. God has instituted civil government—not and particular form of it, but the thing itself, and has given to it rights and powers which are not therefore delegated to it by the governed. It has the right of capital punishment, which could not be derived from any delegation of rights. It has the right to declare and make war, which is not an individual right, and which it could not, therefore, have derived from individuals. And in the same way it has a right to perpetuate its own existence and compel obedience if necessary to that end, which it could not rightly do if it had no powers except those derived from mutual agreement or compact. Men find themselves, by the exercise of a power higher than theirs, in society and under government. They may, by common consent, establish that form of government which they prefer, but when once established, it enters upon the possession of rights and powers which the government have not conferred upon it, but which it derives from the Most High. The remedy for any abuse of these rights and powers on the part of government is to be sought, first, in constitutional methods of redress; if these fail, and the grievances are such as radically to undermine the prosperity and happiness of the governed, there may be, by common consent, a dissolution of the existing relations. If this is impracticable, and the government has ceased utterly to subserve the great objects for which it was established, then the right of revolution remains. If the doctrine of the human origin of government is true, there can scarcely be such a thing as rebellion. Anybody and everybody has a right to disown allegiance to government. But if government is of Divine origin, and has rights and powers not delegated to it by the governed, then there is such a thing as rebellion, and it is a crime of the darkest dye against man and God, unless every constitutional method of redress has been utterly exhausted, and the government has become actually and hopelessly hostile to the prosperity and happiness of those who, under this stern necessity, are driven irresistibly to rebel. It is enough to stamp the theory of the social compact as dangerous and false that it tends directly to the disintegration of government and society, while the theory of their Divine origin cannot well be otherwise than true, since it is so grandly conservative of the great and permanent interests of both. This view I hold to be the foundation of true patriotism and of that feeling almost of reverence which we should have for law, however corrupt may be its administration. The institutions of civil government assume a very different aspect when we view them in this light. They become, as it were, agents and messengers of God, unconsciously educating us in a wonderful system of moral discipline. There is everywhere the silent and invisible presence of law. It protects our persons and property; it maintains peace and order; it secures material comfort and prosperity; it harmonizes conflicting interests and speaks for truth and justice among men. Thus this idea of the merely human origin of civil government, in what is called the social compact, is a moral hindrance in the way of our destiny as a nation, and is made use of to justify the secession of States, and thus the disintegration of government. If this government is to be perpetuated, and subserve great moral ends, a far higher view than this must be taken. We must recognise the nation as an organism—its various parts not joined mechanically together, but permeated with a national life. We must feel the incalculable importance to all our interests that its authority should be maintained. We must cherish a patriotism which is indulgent to its faults, honestly proud of its excellencies, and ready to die for its defence. We must feel it to be God's instrument for the highest and holiest purposes, and use it and co-operate with it as such. We are to resist to the last any attempt at its disruption, in violation of the principles of order and law, and then we may trust in God that this kingdom of peace and righteousness will not be taken from us and given to another. The next moral hindrance to our destiny as a nation which I shall notice is to be found in the false ideas which prevail in reference to social reforms. In considering this portion of our subject also we shall find that it has a direct bearing upon the difficulties in which we are at present involved. Going, then, at once to the root of the whole matter, we shall find that there are false views very prevalent as to the origin of, and consequently as to the remedy for social evils. Social evils are supposed to result from defective legislation, or from a want of a harmonious adjustment of the relations of society. Very seldom does the statesman stop to reflect that they all have their origin in sin and in the depravity of the human heart. And as a necessary consequence he misses the true remedy, which is to be found only in that which saves man from sin and purifies the heart. I do not mean, of course, that laws may not be defective, and that great good may not be done by their amendment. I do not propose that statesmen should become preachers of the gospel in order to remedy social evils. The true mission of the statesman is to form the best system of laws he can in the existing state of intelligence and virtue among the people. But what I do say is, that the reason why we have social evils at all is because the heart of man is depraved, and the reason why we do not have less of them is because, instead of recognizing this fact, we rely too much upon what are called social reforms, and too little upon the renovating power of the Gospel. The idea of social reform is a very popular one at the present day, and there is no end to the schemes for this purpose which are suggested. Some proceed upon the idea of the innate rectitude of human nature, and that we have only to allow it free developement, and the result will be a perfect state of society. The holy name of liberty is invoked to break off the shackles of restraint, and leave man in every respect perfectly untrammelled and free. Our feelings and sympathies are at first likely to be stirred by such principles as those. We have an innate love of freedom, which gives plausibility to such reasonings, until we find by bitter experience that they proceed upon a false idea of the rectitude of the principles of our nature, and that too often man, when most free, is least to be trusted. Men talk sometimes without qualification of the universal reign of freedom, and wish to shape all institutions so as to subserve that result. But manifestly freedom to do wrong and to injure society is not desirable, and yet this is the use which vast numbers would make of the absence of restraint. The problem of the wise statesman is not to remove restraints, but to find out just that amount of freedom from restraint with which the community may be trusted. For freedom is not in itself, without qualification, a thing either safe or desirable. It is safe and desirable just as it is adapted in its degree to the intelligence and virtue of the people. And see the truth of what I say when I ask you what would become of domestic ties and the interests of property if such ideas were fully carried out, and all the restraints on these points removed to-day? Is it not true, then, that freedom is safe for us only so far as we know what is right and have the disposition to practice it? And what, I ask you attentively to consider is this, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ furnishes the only method by which, through the sactification of the heart, we can attain to a full knowledge of our duty and a practical desire to perform it? We may dismiss at once all schemes of social reform as false and delusive which are not based, either directly or by implication, upon the great fundamental facts of the depravity of man and his redemption through Christ. Raise the tone of Christian character, and you may be sure that the votes of men will be right and their various duties as citizens be faithfully and wisely discharged. With a deeper sense of Christian obligation will come a higher standard of the duties which devolve upon us as citizens; Christians will feel that in a government like ours they cannot be absolved from the most serious responsibilities and obligations. It is because religion has been too much divorced from social reform, thus leaving it upon a merely human basis, that we have suffered so much from the corruption and maladministration of government. One of the first duties of a Christian is to his country, and if he fails to discharge that by his acts and his influence as a citizen, he need not wonder if schemes of reform which have no religious basis become the order of the day, and work themselves out to their results. A practical, large-hearted Christian patriotism is emphatically what is needed now in the settlement of existing difficulties But social reforms must not only rest upon a Christian basis, but they must be prosecuted in a Christian spirit. Such a spirit has been conspicuously deficient in our method of treating the questions of the day, and particularly that great question upon which we are as a nation divided. I do not speak of this as a justification of the course pursued by a portion of the South. It furnishes no such justification. I only speak of it to draw attention to the fact that even a great principle will, as a general thing, be unsuccessfully maintained, if it is maintained in an unchristian spirit. Let me not be understood as saying, however, that the principle of hostility to slavery has been maintained universally at the North in an unchristian spirit. The exceptions are most numerous of those who are conscientiously opposed to slavery and desire that it should cease whenever and wherever it can safely be brought to an end, who nevertheless gratefully recognise the Christian character of the South; and, while firmly holding and expressing their own views as occasion may require, do it without bitterness and in a spirit of humility and love. But certainly the most prominent aspect of the controversy has been that of bitterness and hatred, and its fruits are such as might reasonably be expected. In considering this portion of my subject it may be well, perhaps, to say something in reference to the position of the pulpit in regard to questions of social reform. I consider no subject which relates to the moral welfare of man as inappropriate in the pulpit, and the preacher of the Gospel cannot be indifferent to the progress of great measures of reform. God will finally establish on earth a kingdom in which justice and holiness shall prevail, and there are indications that this nation, if she is true to herself, may be permitted to aid powerfully in accomplishing this result. But there is no such thing, we may be sure, in this respect, as manifest and irresistible destiny. God will make use of us only as we subserve his purposes. He can delay the fulfilment of designs which, but for our wickedness, he might speedily have performed. There is an old Greek proverb, full of truth:—"The mills of the gods grind slowly," and St. Augustine beautifully expresses a similar idea when he says:—"God is patient, because He is eternal." God is ready to give us a glorious destiny in carrying out a noble system of Christian progress and reform; but if we strive to accomplish it by methods of our own, and in ways of our own devising, He will take it from us and leave us to reap the inevitable effects of our folly and guilt. Yea, though He tenderly loved and guided our fathers and blessed the work of their hand, "He will bruise us with a rod of iron, He will dash us in pieces like a potter's vessel." We have thus considered certain moral hindrances to the fulfilment of our destiny as a nation, and have seen how they have contributed to involve us in difficulties and dangers by which we are now beset. It is too late to change anything, on either side, which has been done in the past. We may summon ourselves to the performance of duties in the future. It is that we may be led to do God's will, as a nation, hereafter, that we have been called together to-day. We come to confess our sins, to wonder at our ingratitude when we remember the unexampled blessings which God has conferred upon us, and to implore him to avert the judgments which seem about to burst over our heads. This is a time when it will be well for us seriously to examine our hearts and find out whether the motives by which we are influenced in this respect, are such as will be pleasing to God, and dispose him to listen favorably to our supplications. Why is it that we wish this Union to be preserved? Is it that our national pride may be gratified? Is it because it furnishes us with conveniences for amassing wealth? Is it because we fear that, in the hurricane and earthquake of civil war, our possessions will be wrecked? If we have no higher motives than these, or if these are most prominent in our hearts, our prayers this day have prevailed little with God. He wishes to see us filled with solicitude for the interests of truth and holiness—fearing lest wickedness should mightily prevail—and striving with the whole energy of our being for the building up of Christ's kingdom of peace and righteousness in this ruined world. It is in that spirit alone that we can acceptably pray that our beloved Union may be preserved. If such is our spirit, it will not be difficult for us to define the position which we, as Christians, should be willing to take in the settlement of these difficulties. For this is no subject with which we have nothing to do. Every citizen should endeavor to have an enlightened view of it, and thus help to make up that public opinion by which the whole question must finally be decided. If we have a disposition to think fairly and decide justly in this matter, we are bound to endeavor, as far as possible with our Northern prepossessions, to understand and appreciate the view which, in the South, is taken of this subject. Such an endeavor would lead, perhaps, to more kindly and charitable feelings on our part, and aid a favorable solution of the difficulty. I see no reason to change the ground taken here on Thanksgiving Day—that the exigency demands the fulfilment, on our part, of all our constitutional obligations, as interpreted by the constitutional tribunal, and in a frank and generous spirit towards the South. I say the exigency demands—I mean, rather, that independently of any exigency, honor and justice demand it. This we are bound to do—no less, no more. Other concessions, if they are to be made, are to be made, not because they are due as a right, but are to be granted as a favor. The South has a claim to the fulfilment of constitutional obligations, and to a kind and fraternal treatment. She has no other claim than this. The South should be ashamed to ask any unmanly concessions, any sacrifice of principle on the part of the North, any giving up of the inalienable rights of free speech and a free press, and the North should be ashamed to yield any such concessions if they are required. No pride of consistency should prevent the North from doing what is just and right, even should it force her to retrace her steps. The South should not hesitate to acknowledge that in the heat of passion she had acted indiscreetly, and so return gladly to her duty and allegiance. There is one favorable feature in this case, which faciliates the settlement of this difficulty, and that is, that the questions to be settled relate to the construction to be put upon our constitutional obligations. This may relieve the case very much in the view of that large class of persons at the North embracing, as it does, many men of the highest intelligence and piety, who regard slavery in and of itself as a sin. The North is free of all responsibility in reference to slavery wherever it is permitted by the constitution; and when that is once settled, the South has no reason to complain, and the conscience of the North remains undisturbed. But one thing should be distinctly understood by those who wish to involve the entire South in the attitude of rebellion, and that is, that it will not do to presume too far upon the peaceful temper and forbearance of the other portions of the republic. We should pray this day that we may be ready to do everything that God would approve to avert the miseries of civil war. But there is a point beyond which God, we reverently believe, would not let us go. The cause of peace itself will not permit us to consent to the forcible disruption of this Union. We lose all our power and influence for good when we permit that. There is a clear understanding here of the unspeakable horrors of civil war. We dread it and shrink from it more than it is possible to express. No act which can in honor and justice be done to prevent it shall be left undone. But we know no fear, and if the issue is forced upon us by an imperative duty which we cannot resist, we shall meet it in bitter tears for our distracted country, but with a calm and solemn sternness, as of those who unsheath the sword for the defence of their firesides and for the cause of God. But oh no; it cannot, cannot be. It is too unnatural to be contemplated for a moment. Are we not one people, inhabiting one vast and glorious territory, the most magnificent heritage of any nation on earth? Does not nature herself, in a thousand tones, counsel us to peace? Do not the sweet birds wing their way each year from north to south, and from south to north, and warble in the quiet morning their peaceful notes? Do not our majestic rivers kiss peacefully each sister State as they flow gently by on their calm progress to the sea? Do not the same vast ranges of mountains stand as

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