

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

T. W. WHITE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

VOL. IV.

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SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

VOL. IV.

RICHMOND, DECEMBER, 1838.

No. XII.

T. W. WHITE, *Editor and Proprietor.*

FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY.

BY A SOUTHRON.

Addressed to the Hon. Hugh S. Legaré of South Carolina.

"Truth is the supreme good, the first aliment of the soul. To search after truth, is the only employment correspondent with the high destinies of man. But like the Egyptian Isis, truth is a mystic divinity covered with a veil, which the wise and the virtuous of all ages have labored to raise, but which no one can entirely remove." To attain truth, is to see and to know God, for God alone is truth. In the merciful dispensations of Providence, the mind of man is made inquisitive, and its powers elastic and expansive; and while to the faithful and persevering worshipper the light of truth is slowly revealed from the depths of the sanctuary, it can never burst upon him in the fulness of its glory, for none can look upon it and live. It is only when this corruption shall have put on incorruption, when this mortal shall have been clothed with immortality, that truth can be fully revealed. Such is the divine excellence of truth, and such is the inquisitive character of the human mind, that although truth be unattainable in this life, the soul of man, in its progress towards this hidden divinity, is so refreshed and illumined by every emanation, that he is irresistibly attracted, and his thirst for further knowledge increases with every ray of light. This occupation, then, is the proudest and most beneficial exercise of the energies of man. To the contemplative mind there is a striking similitude between the institution of the natural, and the correction and enlargement of the moral and intellectual world. It was the exertion of the loftiest attribute of the Ancient of Time that imposed order on element, and gave to early confusion and commixture the impress of character, and the form and figure of action. To power thus exercised, and to benevolence so directed, there can be no homage so meet as that which proceeds from the family reflecting his image; and there can be no tribute more correspondent or acceptable than the cultivation and refinement of that intellect, which, emanating from himself, lifts the creature man from the degradation of the dust, and places him in the scale of creation near to the ministering angel. The intellect of man is the germ of truth. It is a spark struck from the eternal rock of ages, and its proper destination is the bosom of the parent. Let us remember that we have been endowed with talents to be useful, and that the end of wisdom is truth. In all the vicissitudes of our earthly pilgrimage let us reflect, that, although the fulness of truth is unattainable here, there is a realm beyond the skies, where the chaste and virtuous mind will exult in a fulness of vision, to which space will object no limit, and to which time can oppose no barrier. It is this reflection, which should incite us to untiring exertion in this lofty and legitimate pursuit of the understanding. In accordance with these principles, truth is the sole object

of our travail in the discussion of the perplexing question, which we have placed at the head of this article.

Sternly fixed in our conviction that the best interests and the ultimate destiny of this people are inseparably connected with the maintenance of the bond of union; with no prejudices or prepossessions for or against any sectional division of the confederacy; looking neither to the North, nor the South, to the East, nor to the West, but filled with a holy love for our common country; thoroughly assured that the perpetuity of our institutions mainly depends upon a calm and dispassionate consideration of the exciting question of slavery; we have boldly resolved to unfold those views which have been the result of much reading and reflection.

We maintain the following propositions:

1. That slavery is coeval with society, necessary for its formation and growth, and was in the primitive ages a natural condition of a large portion of the human family.

2. That it is *universal*, and has existed in all ages.

3. That it is neither prohibited by the *MORAL* nor the *DIVINE* law.

4. That christianity alone, by its exalting influence, and by its peaceful and gradual operation, can abolish it.

5. That its sudden abolition by any people, either by a fanatical perversion of the mild principles of christianity, or by any intemperate agency, must be necessarily attended with frightful social, and political revolutions, destructive alike to the bond and free.

In the discussion of this interesting question, we do not design to treat each of these propositions separately, or in the precise order in which they are announced; for, many of the evidences and illustrations, which multiply around us as the stars of the firmament, will throw their rays over the whole field we traverse. Before we proceed to show that slavery derives its origin from the very nature and condition of primitive man, it will be proper to form a correct idea of slavery itself. In treating of the origin of slavery, we must carefully avoid the common error of forming our opinions upon the present state of things, or of permitting them to be influenced by the existing state of servitude; but we must ascend at once to the primitive ages, and calmly observe the condition of the early settlers of the world.

Of all the theories of the origin of slavery proposed by modern writers—especially by those who immediately preceded or followed the French revolution, when the attributes of the Deity himself were made to bow before the insolent assertion of the "Rights of Man"—there are few which more feebly oppose the austere rules of sound reason than those of M. de Montesquieu. "Slavery," says this far-famed writer, "slavery, properly so called, is the establishment of a right, which gives to one man such a power over another, as renders him absolute master of his life and fortune." And assuming this position, he declares that "the state of slavery is in its own nature bad; that it is neither useful to the master nor to the slave; not to the slave, because he can do nothing through a motive of virtue, nor to the

CINCINNATI ADDRESS,

By Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College; delivered in the chapel of the College on commencement day, June 28th, 1838—published by "request of the Students and auditory."

FELLOW CITIZENS: It is known to you all, I presume, that the Cincinnati Society of Virginia long since resolved to bestow their funds on this college, for the establishment of a school in which certain branches of military science should be taught. If any one should inquire for the motive of this donation, he needs only to be told that the military associates of Washington would readily follow his example, and locate their patronage and their name where the illustrious President of their society had located his; so that the same literary institution might serve as a monument of all the revolutionary patriots of Virginia, who had "fought and bled in freedom's cause."

They annexed to their donation the request, that in due time an oration should be delivered here, for the purpose of explaining the character and views of their association, and of vindicating their memory from certain charges that were made against them shortly after the institution of their society. Thus when they conferred upon the college an honor and a benefit, which entitle them to our everlasting gratitude, they asked in return that we should stand up in defence of their reputation, when they who had so valiantly defended their country, should have laid their venerable heads in the dust, and have left nothing but their glorious names for calumny to fix her envious tooth upon. Most cheerfully do the authorities of the college undertake the office with which the society has honored them—and that not for once only; but, if our successors follow our example, (as I trust they will,) to all generations. One declared object of the Cincinnati Society, was "to preserve the memory of the American Revolution," and "to maintain the rights of man," for which they had toiled and suffered so much. With this view they desired to make their society, a permanent one by transmitting it to their posterity. Having been compelled by popular clamor to give up this part of their plan, they have left it to our college to fulfil, in some degree, their patriotic intention. They are nearly all gone; and soon the last of our revolutionary heroes will have vanished from the scene of their achievements; but the College of Washington and the Cincinnati will remain charged with the noble duty of preserving, in their name, the memory of the American Revolution, and of promoting the inestimable rights of man, which this flourishing republic enjoys through their instrumentality.

It is therefore our purpose to make "The Cincinnati Oration" one of the standing exercises at the college commencements, and the delivery of it one of the honorary distinctions of our best scholars. The orator will not deem it necessary, on every occasion, to detail the history of the society in whose honor he shall speak; but he will be instructed to choose some patriotic theme, adapted to inspire the youth of our country with the love of civil liberty, and to draw his illustrations from the American Revolution, and from the examples of the departed members of the Cincinnati Society, who bought the liberty of these United States, at the expense of seven years' toil and bloodshed.

The time has at length arrived, when the Cincinnati fund is in a state to become, in part, available to the college. We are, therefore, now called upon to fulfil all that is practicable of the conditions upon which the donation was made.

The faculty thought it expedient that the first address, on a subject so new and important, should be delivered by some gentleman of experience in such exercises, and whose attention had heretofore been turned to the history of the society, and the circumstances and design of their valuable donation to the college. When we failed to procure the services of a distinguished alumnus of the institution,* who is now a member of the corporation, I was induced by the solicitation of my colleagues to undertake a duty, in itself, quite agreeable to my feelings, but perhaps better done, had it been done by another.

I shall not attempt to exhaust the noble theme. The present address is designed to be merely an introduction to the future series of Cincinnati orations. A brief historical statement, respecting the origin and constitution of the society, with some vindictory comments on the charges formerly made against them, will suffice for the present occasion.

At the close of the revolutionary war, when the army was to be disbanded, the officers found their approaching separation more bitter, than had been even the toils and dangers of their long warfare. Their sorrow at the idea of parting was natural. During seven long years, they had been joined together in the service of their country, contending with united zeal and patriotism for the rights of man. Devoted to a cause so sacred, for which they daily risked their lives, with one wish, one hope, one determination of soul in the enterprise, all their motives, and all their sympathies, would operate towards a warm and brotherly affection for one another. Many circumstances tended to strengthen their mutual attachment. Long separated from old friends and relations in the walks of civil life, they associated almost exclusively together. They were together during the weary march; they stood side by side amidst the uproar and the havoc of battle—all struck at the same foe—the triumph of success, and the mortification of defeat came alike to all. When rest and refreshment checkered the scene of their warfare, they were still boon companions at the festive board, and on the couch of repose. This customary familiarity and intimate companionship, for so long a time, and under such circumstances, would grow into a habitual and confirmed attachment, and even into the warm feeling of inseparable brotherhood.

Thus it is, that every army long engaged in the same service and the same field, becomes united by discipline, and by sympathy, into a compact and almost indivisible body, animated by one spirit, and moving by one impulse. The army of the revolution had, in the cause for which they contended, the protracted sufferings which they endured, and the glorious success which finally crowned their efforts, a peculiar bond of union. They fought not for conquest, nor even for glory, but for the salvation of their country. They had, in the fullest sense, "staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" upon the issue. When at last, by

* James McDowell, esquire, who had prior engagements that prevented him from undertaking it.

their joint exertions, they had won the prize of peace and independence for thirteen states; the sublime joy that swelled their bosoms, at a result so happily and so gloriously achieved, made them feel more united than ever. Together they had struggled in the by-gone days of adversity and gloom—together they had at length wrung the plume of victory from a mighty foe; and now together would their names be indelibly inscribed upon the roll of their country's benefactors, and at the head of the list, not only in time but in merit: for what could any future patriot do, more than preserve unimpaired the blessings of freedom, which their scarred breasts and toil-worn hands had won? Such thoughts coming on at the conclusion of peace, and kindling into a brighter glow a friendship already warmed by a seven years' fraternity in war, how naturally would the sad idea of their approaching separation, cast its dark shade over their patriotic joy!

But their country could no longer retain them in her service. They must needs part, and go each to his several abode, probably never more to partake in the companionship of the tented field, the excitement of the sounding march, and the tug of the thundering battle; they must retire to the almost forgotten scenes of peaceful obscurity, where the noise of glorious warfare might never reach them more, and they might never again even see one another's loved and long-familiar faces. How naturally, then, did they cast about for some means of alleviating the sorrows of separation, and of renewing, occasionally, the communion and fellowship, so delightful and so dear to their hearts! When General Knox proposed that they should form themselves into a society, as the best means of maintaining the feelings and the intercourse of friendship, all embraced the proposal; for it struck them as appropriate and unobjectionable, and as furnishing the simplest way and the surest guarantee, that they would, once in a while, have the pleasure of communing together and mingling reminiscences of the days, when they wrought their perilous way through stormy scenes of the revolution.

But the emotions which stirred within them demanded something more than the maintenance of their personal friendship. They felt that they and their compatriots had just achieved the most important political work of modern times. They had successfully vindicated the rights of man. They had established a system of free republican government over half a continent. They believed, and they had reason to believe, that they had founded a new era in the political history of mankind; and had set an example of resistance to oppression and of the exercise of popular government, which would sound through ages, and through nations, and would be felt by all the thrones, dominions, and principalities of the world. But to make this example effective in the promotion of human rights, it was necessary that the principles of the American Revolution should be sacredly maintained in the United States: and, that the experiment of free government, now to be made, should be carried to a successful issue.

With these views, they introduced some provisions into the constitution of their society, which would, they believed, make it stand as a perpetual memorial and bulwark of the principles for which they had fought and bled. They solemnly declared that their society

was instituted with the design of perpetuating their own friendship—of preserving the memory of the American Revolution—and of promoting those rights of man for which they had contended. To make their institution more effectual for these noble ends, they determined to make it perpetual, by transmitting it to their posterity; each member to be succeeded by his oldest son; or in failure of male offspring by any of his collateral kindred who might be deemed worthy. They might well presume that their descendants would imbibe their own principles, and long retain the spirit of the American Revolution; and the more especially, when they should inherit membership in an association, founded by their patriotic sires, for the express purpose of keeping fresh and vigorous the spirit and the principles of political freedom.

They provided also in their constitution for the admission of honorary members, whose personal merit and political principles might make them worthy associates in the cause of freedom and of patriotism. But lest this provision might change the original character of the society, by introducing large numbers who had no connexion with the officers of the revolutionary army, they limited the number of honorary members to one-fourth of their original number, and elected them for life without inheritance in their descendants.

As their first object was a fraternal association among themselves, they made it a condition that each officer should contribute a month's pay to constitute a fund for contingent expenses, and especially for the relief of any of their members who might fall into distress. The fund so raised, is that which, after it answered its original purpose, was bestowed upon our college.

Finally, in the selection of a name, they thought of a resemblance between their case and that of the ancient Roman patriot, Cincinnatus, who was called from the plough to deliver his country in a dangerous crisis; and who, after accomplishing the deliverance, threw off his military habiliments, and returned to the plough again. Therefore they called themselves the Society of Cincinnati.

No sooner was the society organized, and its constitution published, than it began to be regarded with jealousy, if not with envy, by some who professed to consider it as aristocratical in its tendency, if not in its design. A Mr. Burke of Charleston published a pamphlet to rouse the fears of his countrymen, and in a short time no little dissatisfaction and clamor were excited against the society from one end of the country to the other. That upon which the objectors laid the chief stress, was the hereditary membership; which was thought to be dangerous to political equality among our citizens, and to squint ominously at the introduction of an order of nobility. The provision to admit a small proportion of honorary members, added to the perpetuation of the society by hereditary succession, was thought to make the institution the more dangerous, inasmuch as it might draw into its connexion the most influential men of the country, and thus acquire by election a weight of talents and influence, which it might fail to maintain by the operation of the hereditary principle.

So great and so general became the popular dissatisfaction, that General Washington, president of the society, recommended that they should relinquish those

provisions of their constitution, which were most offensive to their countrymen; not because he thought them dangerous or objectionable in themselves, but because they excited so much dissatisfaction, and by making the society an object of popular jealousy, tended to frustrate the patriotic design of the founders. The provisions for hereditary succession and for the admission of honorary members, were therefore repealed, and the society was reduced to its first simple design of a friendly association for life among the officers of the revolutionary army.

Now when the society is extinguished by the decease of nearly all the venerable patriots who founded it, and it can no more excite the sensitive spirit of democratical jealousy; it is scarcely necessary to frame an elaborate vindication of the pure intentions of the founders and the harmless nature of the institution, even on the enlarged system of its original organization.

Can any one now suspect, that the officers of that army who "loved not their lives to the death" for liberty, would tarnish their laurels and belie all their acts of daring and of suffering, by a deliberate scheme to subvert the republican freedom, for which they had risked the loss of all things? If ever men gave invincible evidence of devotion to free institutions, it was the scarred and weather-beaten heroes of the revolution—the Washingtons, the Greeses, the Waynes, and the Morgans of the revolution.

I apprehend, however, that no one was so blinded by a malignant prejudice, as to suspect that the Cincinnati in general harbored any anti-republican design, or were themselves aware of any aristocratical tendency in their institution. The worst that was charged by any respectable accuser, was probably this; that a few politic individuals among them, having no faith in democratical government, embraced the scheme of the Cincinnati Society as a feasible method of introducing a distinction of ranks into the country, and of preparing the way for monarchical government, and that the society, as originally formed, was well adapted to this purpose.

Here we join issue, and maintain that the Cincinnati Society, even with its hereditary succession, was not qualified to produce any aristocratical distinction among the people of the United States.

Aristocracy, to be any thing more than an empty name, must be endowed with some transcendent powers and exclusive privileges. Its titles of distinction must be sustained, either by hereditary and unalienable wealth, or permanent military command, or legislative power; or by all of these combined. The aristocracy of England is sustained by its vast endowment of landed property, and its co-ordinate power in the legislature. Were it deprived of either of these props, it would fall into contempt, and be stripped even of its vain titles by the growing spirit of English democracy. So, in every country where the nobility maintain a substantial superiority over the commons, it is, and it must be, by virtue of their hereditary possessions, and by their pre-eminent share of military commands and civil dignities. By means of these, they first established themselves; and by the same means, they must support their claim to the homage, or even to the respect, of the commonalty—especially in these times, when

education and the press are stripping antiquated institutions of the gilded cloud, which so long dazzled the eyes of an ignorant multitude.

But what could have raised the Cincinnati above the common degree of American citizens? Not wealth; for, generally, they had inherited little from their ancestors; universally, they accumulated nothing in the form of pay and plunder in the public service; and poor and long-delayed was the reward which their country gave them for all their deeds and sufferings in her cause. Had they by any means acquired extraordinary wealth, they could not have transmitted it by entail to the heirs of their membership in the society. Law, usage, and public sentiment in this country, are alike opposed to the practice of entail, by which large estates descend undivided through a single line of posterity. On the contrary, the largest fortunes in this country are dissipated by division, and generally before they reach the third generation.

Nor could the members of the Cincinnati Society have acquired any exclusive privilege or official dignity, except by the free gift of their fellow-citizens. They had no wealth to buy political power, nor armies at command to wrest it from an unwilling people. Their military authority was laid aside, after having been exercised only for their country's liberty; they retained only the common station of citizens, and must like others win their way to office by popular suffrage. In the competition for votes, they could not be supposed to have any advantage over their fellow citizens, except from two sources: namely, the fame and merits of those who founded the society, and the combined support of the members themselves. But neither of these could avail much. The veteran officer who had fought for his country, would have a claim to popular favor, which many would acknowledge; but this claim would be weakened in the son, and dissipated in the grandson. This has been proved by experience. What advantage in political contests, have the sons and grandsons of the Cincinnati gained from the merit of their ancestors? How few of them have risen to eminent stations? Where are the kindred of Putnam, of Schuyler, of Greene, of Marion, or even of Washington? Their names are scarcely seen in the official lists of the age. A new generation has sprung up; and though the memory of our revolutionary patriots is embalmed in history, their families have generally fallen into obscurity. While the Cincinnati lived and kept their society in full operation, no political effect was produced by the association. Were their intended successors yet to meet and wear the social badge, their voices would still be unheard amidst the din of party politics; unless their social organization gave them a weight, which their relation to dead patriots has evidently failed to bestow.

Whilst we fully acknowledge that union is strength, and that a social organization is adapted to promote union; we may well deny that the Cincinnati could have acquired, by this means, any political ascendancy. Composing with their near connexions, not a hundredth part of the voters, they could have derived very inconsiderable weight from their numbers, even if they had acted in perfect union and concert. But perfect concert among themselves was not to be expected. Living, dispersed among their fellow citizens, and meeting in

society but once a year, their members would be more subjected to the opposing influences which create parties, than to the consolidating tendency of their social organization. If this was true of the original Cincinnati, the veteran brotherhood of the revolution; how much more would their successors, bound together by far weaker ties, have been rent by the contending elements of federalism and democracy? But had they been able to resist the intrusion of party spirit among themselves, they could not have prevailed against the resistance which their very union would have excited. You have heard how easily a few political pamphleteers of inferior degree, filled the public mind with suspicion and prejudice against their association; and that too, immediately after they had retired from the field of their glory, and almost before they had time to heal their wounds and to wipe the dust and the sweat of the revolution from their brows. How much more easily could popular leaders have heaped odium upon them in after times? To accomplish their supposed aristocratical designs, they must, in the division of parties, have embraced federalism, or high government principles; and then how utterly and irrecoverably must they have been overwhelmed by the surges of democracy, which swept down and dissolved the whole federal party! If they were compelled at the outset, when they had every advantage, to pacify the public mind by giving up some parts of their constitution; must they not have yielded all, if they had, as a body, engaged in political contests, when the wind and the waves of universal suffrage beat against their feeble tenement? of a universal suffrage swollen to turbulence, by the pauperism and mobocracy of Europe, disgorged upon our shores?

I hold, therefore, that the fancied scheme of the Cincinnati to make noblemen of themselves and their descendants was too unfeasible to be entertained by wise men, such as Alexander Hamilton and General Knox; and that if it were admissible that such a scheme was conceived in the organization of the society, the result has proved how little ground there was for the popular apprehension. No, fellow-citizens; aristocracy, if it ever invade our system of political equality, will not come in that way; but through the anarchy of a lawless and violent democracy, disunion and civil war among the states, and their inevitable consequence, a resort to military despotism, as the only remaining refuge for a harassed and ruined people.

Something may be conceded, however, without casting the slightest shade upon the fair fame of our revolutionary patriots. We may admit that at the close of the war, not a few of the wisest and best men, both civil and military, had painful misgivings about the issue of the great political experiment which was then to be tried in this country.

When they considered the vast extent of our territory, in which a diversity of local interests and prejudices would grow up; and the imperfect union of the states under the old confederacy; a union so loose and fragile as to be easily rent asunder; with a federal government dependant on the co-operation of all the state governments, and incapable of commanding respect either at home or abroad—they could not have full confidence in the success of the experiment. They had seen and felt the remissness of the states in fulfilling

their federal duties, under all the exigencies of the war for independence; how then would the same states fulfil them, when the pressure was removed, and the indolence and the selfishness of peace should have no counterpoise? There was evident danger, too, that the newly acquired liberty would degenerate into licentiousness; and that dissensions and collisions, among such ill-compacted states, would lead to intestine bloodshed and mutual desolation. Then their dearly bought independence would prove a curse instead of a blessing, for want of a controlling power.

These apprehensions were in part realised; and for several years a fearful progress was made towards the consummation of all that patriotism dreaded: when, after great difficulty and by the special mercy of heaven, the present federal constitution was adopted, and the country was saved at the very crisis of its fate.

If then some of the leading men of the revolution doubted whether fourteen democracies, spread over half a continent, and containing in themselves the elements of discord, could maintain good government within their respective limits, and move harmoniously together, these doubts were not unreasonable—and if they desired a strong concentrated government, to give their country peace at home and respect abroad, the desire argues nothing against their wisdom or their patriotism: for such a government, to some extent, was forced upon the states by a few years experience of the utter impotency and worthlessness of the mere league and covenant which they had first adopted. I wish, most devoutly, that even the present federal constitution may be able to carry us safely through the shock of the tempest, that is even now giving indications of its approach. The frequent out-breakings of lawless violence—the sympathy felt for all manner of land-pirates and adventurers who call themselves patriots—above all the fanatical spirit of abolition in the north, and the fiery threats of civil hostility and separation in the south—are fearful omens of a trial at hand; which if not met by the sound part of our citizens with wisdom and firmness, will yet extinguish all our patriotic hopes in sectional feuds and mutual destruction. We should then feel how much better it was to submit to a government, able to control the elements of discord, than to suffer the terrors of mobocratical violence, the horrors of civil war, and the furies of fanatical rage let loose.

We may admit also that the founders of the Cincinnati Society, in making provision for hereditary membership, desired to leave behind them an institution, which should stand as a living monument of their names and their public services.

"For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleased and anxious being e'er resigned;
And left the precincts of the cheerful clay,
Nor cast one longing lingering look behind."

Would they not naturally, and might they not innocently, seek to preserve their posthumous fame; while they sought to prolong, during life, the personal friendships formed in the field of their glory and their sufferings? Say not, that all anxiety about the honorable remembrance and unfading gratitude of their countrymen, was superfluous—that the people of the United States could not forget them; nor delay to reward

them and their children liberally for the deliverance of their country. Public gratitude and justice are not always infallible. Too often the popular idol of to-day, eclipses wholly to the public eye, the hero or the patriot, who retired yesterday into the shade of private life. Some partial remuneration was indeed promptly bestowed upon the officers of the revolution, in the form of land-titles and half-pay. But before this heavy debt of justice was fully acknowledged and provided for, about forty long years, and most of them years of unparalleled national prosperity, were suffered to pass away. At last, when the revolutionary pension-law was enacted, a majority of the war-worn veterans had travelled, many of them in poverty and despair, beyond the reach of human reward. It was only a feeble remnant who lingered on the scene of their campaigns, long enough to taste before they died, the tardy justice of their country.

Nor is this all. When the revolutionary Congress decreed monuments to the fallen, and honorary distinctions for the achievements of the living; how long were many of these decrees left unexecuted? And how few honors of the sort, have to this day been bestowed upon the dead or the living heroes of our independence! This flourishing and mighty republic, ought ere now to have adorned and glorified herself with a hundred magnificent structures, to commemorate the events of her revolutionary history, and the fame of her patriotic founders. Gratitude called for these tokens of respect; a wise policy demanded, that the patriotism of the living should be stimulated by visible monuments of the glorious dead. Saratoga, should have been marked to every visitor, by her pyramid of everlasting granite; York-Town should have lifted her tall column high over the plains of Virginia, a land-mark to fill the navigators of the Chesapeake with inspiring reminiscences.

Why is not Trenton distinguished by some visible memento of the 25th of December, 1776; when Washington led his shoeless band, darkling, through ice and snow; and turned that midnight of despair, into the dawn of glorious victory? And why has there not been long since, even a stone erected on the plain of Princeton, to direct the traveller's eye to the spot where Mercer fell—when Washington by a second stroke of consummate skill, brightened the dawn of returning victory into a day of reviving confidence in his country's cause?

But that which above all justifies the apprehension of the Cincinnati, respecting the grateful recognition of their merits, after they should have retired from the field, is the fact, that this nation has never yet erected a monument to Washington; or what would be better, a joint monument, at the seat of government, to Washington and his compatriots. Yes: this nation has been content, for almost forty years, to let the bones of her chief hero and patriot, whose name is revered over half the globe, lie obscurely under the weeping willow of Mount Vernon! While our thankful patriotism expends itself in yearly declamations, which cost nothing, and have become stale by repetition!

What public authority neglected to do, a private association lately attempted; and after calling upon the nation for voluntary contributions, they at last reported the paltry sum of thirty thousand dollars—to erect a monument to Washington! So much did this

populous and wealthy republic, whose citizens spend millions a year for trifling gratifications, agree to contribute, once for all, to raise a monument to Washington, the Father of their country.

Let this shameful neglect be repaired. Let the fifteen millions of these six and twenty states, flourishing in peace and abundance, give due honor to the heroes and patriots of the departed generation, of two millions; who built the foundation of this great republic with their treasures and their blood. Build now their monuments. Let our citizens look upon them, and remember the times that tried the very soul of patriotism. Rear in the city of Washington the great revolutionary monument. Lay deep its foundation of rock; let art and genius try their utmost skill to raise it high above the dome of the capitol; to adorn it with the choicest sculpture, and to inscribe on its walls the story of the revolution, in letters and emblems to be read by a hundred generations. There, let the chiselled forms of the revolutionary heroes and sages meet the national eye. There, let the bones of Washington be entombed. There, in fine, let the embodied spirit of the revolution stand displayed, in the presence of the national government; to admonish our representatives, and to frown into shame and silence, the paltry selfishness of the day, and the impious threats of disunion.

THE LAST TREE ARTICLE.

"Last scene of all, to close this history."
Shakespeare.

My last paper was sent to you from the beautiful shades of Oakwood,—and contained a promise of another, to be dated in my own New England. That promise it is now my intention to redeem.

What a transition it was from those fine old oaks in Virginia, to the crowded thorough-fares, through which I had to pass on my way hitherward! It was indeed a change, and one, from the consequences of which I have not yet, even now, recovered.

"There, at the foot of yonder nodding beech,
That wreathes its old fantastic roots so high,
His listless length, at noontide, would he stretch,
And pore upon the brook that bubbles by."

Every thing seemed and still seems new,—and its novelty is harsh. The din of the rail-ways, the bustle of the over-crowded streets, the rush and riot of the city's constant moving mass,—how unlike the scene, where, for weeks before,

"— at peep of dawn,
Brushing, with hasty steps, the dews away,
I've met the sun upon the upland lawn!"

Deserted and disconsolate Mab! She could not share these reverses with him who had made her the partner of almost all his rural pleasures! She thrust her nose over the palings, and whinnied forth a not unmusical farewell, and as I was whirled away towards the town, she gazed wistfully after me, whose departure cut off so many of her innocent enjoyments. How Mab did enjoy the peach season! She ate the delicious fruitage from the weighed-down boughs by bushels, each rare-ripe, cling-stone, and melicaton separately, however,—as a well-bred lady should do: daintily detaching, with her deli-