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RELIGION AND LIBERTY.

1822
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DISCOURSE

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THE DAY APPOINTED FOR PUBLIC THANKSGIVING BY
THE GOVERNOR OF NEW-YORK.

BY THOMAS H. SKINNER.

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PREFACE.

IF the population of this country continues to increase in the same ratio in which it has hitherto done, it will amount a century hence, to three hundred millions. And if the happiness of the nation, and its influence on other nations, shall but proportionally increase, (and are there not grounds of hope for more than this ?) scenes surpassing fable will be realized in all the earth, by the grand-children of the present generation. On the other hand, should this asylum and fair heritage of Liberty become its grave, and Despotism with a rod of iron reign in its place, the last hope of the world would be interminably deferred.

The publication of this Discourse, springs chiefly

from a hope that possibly some one of its readers may be induced, by means of it, to seek more intelligently, more fervently, more devotedly, more prayerfully, than he otherwise would have done, the advance unto complete success, of that great experiment of national self-government, which is now in its eventful process in this land. The Discourse, as the reader will perceive, was not intended for the press, and has been given to it, with a few verbal changes and one or two additional paragraphs, in compliance with the solicitation of those who heard it.

The short appendices which have been subjoined, are designed to sharpen attention to the subjects to which they relate. The article in the Biblical Repository, entitled, *LAW SUITED TO MAN*, at its first appearance, excited my surprise by the boldness with which it assailed the foundations of our government, in favor of monarchy; and I have been surprised still further, that to a piece so radical in doctrine, so daring in purpose, so philosophical I do not say logical in its mode of reasoning, and so lively and often so beautiful in style, no reply, has been

published. It has been left to insinuate the old leaven of scorn at Democracy, into the fervid thoughts and speeches of American youth, without the check, so far as I know, of the least open indication of unwillingness on the part of any friend of the constitution. Let not this late reference to it be thought unwise, as if it were but molesting it in its tomb, and perhaps causing peril of a resurrection ; for if this production be so soon dead, its spirit lives, and works, and if signs are not unusually deceptive in this case, it may be distinctly recognised in several demonstrations of a nascent anti-republicanism, among a class of ardent, ingenious and aspiring minds, which, in their maturity, we should not desire to see enlisted in opposition to our country's honor. It will doubtless continue to exert itself, not the less effectually, because it enjoys the advantages of silence, until its delirious teachings are exposed and confuted by solid and unanswerable argument.

The confidence in our government, which has been generally renewed and confirmed by the calm and peaceful manner, so creditable to all parties, in which the popular ferment connected with the recent politi-

cal contest, passed away, should not for a moment induce a sense of indolent security, but should rather encourage us to deeper investigations of principles and first truths, our soundness or unsoundness as to which, is the rock or the quicksand on which our institutions are built. If law as suited to man must universally clothe itself in the form for which the essay in question boldly contends, in avowed contravention of the doctrine on this subject, assumed in our government, then did our fathers adopt a fundamental mistake which cannot be corrected too soon.

It is an omen of good to the country, that the pulpit has at the present season, in so many instances, sought to give a religious direction to the feelings and thoughts of men, in relation, specifically, to their civil interests and privileges. The separation of the Church from the State, does not deprive the sacred desk of its inalienable right to insist, with higher than any human authority, that all human affairs, whether of State or Church, be conducted in the spirit and according to the precepts of the Gospel; and as it is unquestionable, that the remote conservative power of the republic, is religion, and that what, above all

things, constitutes our national importance, is the bearing of this empire on the last one the world is to know, that of the world's Redeemer, so the due consideration of these facts, will be of more power to insure a right administration of our government, than all things else, next to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of our rulers.

DISCOURSE.

HAPPY IS THAT PEOPLE THAT IS IN SUCH A CASE.

Psalm cxliv. 15.

THERE has recently been a high civil excitement in our nation. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, men, women, and even children, were swayed by the intensest political feeling. The entire mass of the population was in commotion. All hearts were palpitating with the liveliest anxiety; all countenances were full of it; all tongues were telling of it; all hands and feet were employed in swift obedience to its impulses: It interfered with business, it disturbed

domestic tranquillity, the meek face of religion itself was discomposed by it ; fears began to spread as to whereunto it would grow, and some persons thought that the very foundations of the empire were tremulous.

The crisis came, and passed, unattended by the anticipated troubles. Almost instantaneously, the excitement subsided, the nation was at rest ; and, to-day, amidst as great and manifold blessings as ever have been given to a people, the citizens of the commonwealth, of all parties, are, with one accord and with no perceptible change in their kind feelings towards one another, meeting together in their several sanctuaries, at the call of their civil ruler, to render unto God their annual tribute of praise and thanksgiving.

Placing myself under the influences of the occasion, and especially of that signal

instance of the Divine goodness, whereby the tumultuous feeling of this great nation has been so soon tranquillized, without permitting the least violent eruption thereof, among any portion of the people, the causes for thanksgiving, which occur to me, as most properly claiming our thoughts to-day, are those which are embraced,—*In our civil institutions,—the existing relations between these and religion,—and the care which Providence hath extended to this country, both as to its temporal and spiritual well-being.*

Perhaps the introduction of the two former of these topics into discourse from the pulpit, will not please a certain portion of my hearers, whom as much as any others I am unwilling to displease ;—those I mean whose feelings are the most deeply spiritual ;—but when I consider, that the most spiritual religion, if genuine, is also the most Biblical and the most humble,

and that the Bible discourses much of civil government, and of the relations and duties, both of the State to the Church, and of the Church to the State; and when I also remember the character of the day and the occasion of our assemblage, I think I have an apology for touching upon these heads, which this part of the auditory will, on reflection, admit to be sufficient.

There is in all respects a close connection between the civil institutions of a people and their happiness. No government indeed can make a people happy, independently of themselves as individuals. Every man, be his social relations and privileges what they may, must attend to his own affairs, cultivate his own mind, heart and manners, provide for his own household, and place his dependence for success not on an arm of flesh, however powerful, but exclusively on the grace and

blessing of God. A happy people, who are individually indolent, self-indulgent, infidel, immoral, or irreligious, never has had, and never can have existence. The Zidonians, it is said, lived carelessly, at quiet and secure; and the Cretians, according to one of themselves, were always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. But these were degraded nations who without reformation could have derived little advantage from any form of government. Their own corruption rendered their very existence a curse, and brought it, of necessity, to a speedy termination. But though government can do nothing to give happiness to a community of impenitent idlers, or vagrants, or desperadoes, or infidels, it may do much to render a virtuous people unhappy and vicious. It may multiply upon them its unrighteous impositions and oppressions until they are crushed by their insupportable burdens. It may also, on the other hand, exert a

reclaiming influence on a degraded people : it may give such encouragements to industry, to enterprise, to education, to morals, and to religion, that by the divine blessing even such a people may rise under its fostering hand, to great virtue, intelligence, and strength. In the very bosom of corruption, it has been truly said, Lycurgus regenerated Sparta, and gave her a degree of strength and stability, by which for a series of years she was enabled to wield the sceptre of Greece. In these remarks, we do but propound the lesson of universal history.

What form of government is most favorable to national happiness has been the subject of the most earnest and profound inquiry which has ever been prosecuted among men. The actual preference of the nations has, on the whole, been in favor of monarchy : but for this preference reasons may have existed which by no means justified it.

Monarchy indulges national pride. A people with a king or emperor at their head, see themselves in *their* monarch and his court ; and are proud of his magnificence as if it were their own, though its price, perhaps, is their deep abasement and servitude. And this infatuation of the national heart is in another way confirmed. While monarchy, as is natural, seeks to greatness itself, it seeks, as a means to this end, to aggrandize the nation, in a certain sense ;—to aggrandize it, that is, as far forth as this can be done, by such means as rearing great national monuments, by creating mighty armies and navies, and by increasing to the uttermost, the national territory and the national revenue.

Now the love of pre-eminence, especially in grandeur of state and appearance, is an element of our natural depravity, and it is not surprising, however much to be la-

mented, that man should prefer what gives him the best advantages for indulging this propensity of his evil heart. If it be said that the pursuit of national greatness in the sense and manner here mentioned, is inconsistent with national happiness, I grant it ; and have only to reply, that this, though a perfect argument against the pursuit, does not hinder its actual and ardent prosecution ; and for this obvious reason, that it is another characteristic of depraved and sinful man, that the love of fame and distinction blinds him to his true welfare and honor.

This, in part, accounts for the predominance of despotic governments. The doctrine has been advanced, that monarchy is natural to man. It is, we suppose, natural to him, as a self-important and self-admiring creature, and if it be well to accommodate and indulge him in respect to this trait of his moral degeneracy, then is

monarchy, doubtless, the best form of government.

It may be further said, in explanation of the fact that mankind have generally preferred monarchy, that their *choice* in this matter has been almost co-incident with *necessity*. The ignorance and corruption of the nations over whom it has been established, have demanded that kind of civil rule *for them*, as the only kind, in their case, practicable. It cannot be denied that monarchy was most desirable for them, if they could not well subsist as civil communities under any other government. Where the people govern themselves, as they do in this country, they must be, in some measure, intelligent and virtuous, or they will hardly have commenced before they will have ended their political career. If knowledge and moral principle be wanting in the governing power, it must stand by main strength, if it stand at all. There

are no permanent foundations for republican governments to rest upon, but popular intelligence, and popular virtue. Monarchy leans upon power and pride, the only adequate pillars of government, where the mass of the people are degenerate and vicious.*

Some advocates of monarchy would fain rest their cause on the authority of God. They have endeavored to maintain what they call the Divine right of kings:—that is, an “inherent right to govern, independently of the powers which the municipal law of each state confides to them.”† But Christianity teaches its disciples to obey the powers that be, whether kings or prefects of whatever name or rank,—to submit themselves to every ordinance of man, whether proceeding from a throne, or a republican congress and cabinet like our own;‡ and let those who assume that

* Note A.

† Note B.

God has any special pleasure in kings, read in the first chapter of the eighth book of Samuel, what he directed the prophet to say to Israel, on giving them their request for a regal form of government.* “Hearken unto their voice; howbeit, yet protest solemnly unto them,—This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to sow his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots: And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive yards, even

* Note C.

the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep : and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king which ye shall have chosen you ; and the Lord will not hear you in that day."

It is not ours, to have a king over us, like most of the other nations. There are, we regret to say, a few even amongst ourselves, who think this a great calamity, and surmise concerning the illustrious worthies of the American revolution, that in adopting our form of government, they were influenced by hatred of the mother country, not by an enlightened and dispassionate

judgment that this form was preferable in itself.* There are none, it is hoped, who would cherish the spirit of insurrection, but there are those, and they seem to be multiplying with the increasing facilities of intercourse with foreign nations, who are so mortified at the comparison of our unripe youth and our republican plainness, with the venerable antiquity, the grandeur and pomp, the centralized and ostentatious power of European states, that they cannot suppress expressions of discontent at their own interesting country. We cannot in many respects bear a comparison with older empires, but we are far more than satisfied with our own political condition. The actual happiness of our people speaks nothing to the dispraise of our institutions. All do and must admit that the sun in his circuit round the globe, shines on no land so distin-

* Note D.

guished in the mass of its population, by virtue, by intelligence, by religion, and by the abundance of every temporal good—the legitimate fruits, under God's blessing, of the government which in his high and gracious Providence he has established over us.

It has been feared by some, by others hoped, that our government will not last; and these hopes and fears have been excited by reference to the fortunes of ancient republics, to our national sins, and to certain unpleasant indications among ourselves. But while there are causes of peril enough to keep us circumspect, there are also many encouragements to our confidence in the stability of our constitution. The intellectual, moral, and religious character of the nation; our separation by the ocean, three thousand miles wide, from the rank luxury and corruption, the gross superstitions, the christianized

heathenism, the legalized vices and crimes of the old world ; the nature of the events directly connected with the revolution ; the character of the Fathers and Founders of the republic ; the surprising success of our experiment of self-government thus far ; the advantage which our republic possesses, in the lateness of its period in the world's history, and the lessons which have been given to it, by the mistakes, and ill-fortunes of other governments, past and existing ; the rapid and irresistible advance of the spirit of our democracy, in the European states ; the great ends which Divine Providence seems to be pursuing in and through the instrumentality of this nation, in furtherance of its eternal, all-comprehending Design ; and the very signal interpositions of that Providence, for our protection, both against foreign and internal disturbances :—some of these considerations supply more, some less, of aliment to our hope, but taking them in

mass, they fill our hearts with joy and our lips with high and triumphant praise, that the lines have fallen to us in this, rather than in any other land. We seek the peace, we rejoice in the prosperity of all other countries, but we have no desire to expatriate ourselves: preferring greatly our young republic, with its disadvantages of inexperience and immaturity, to all the delights which can be enjoyed in the proud cities and courts where despotic power has performed and displayed its mightiest works.

We felicitate ourselves also and give thanks to God, on account of the Relation existing in this country, between the civil Government and Religion:

We are not of the opinion—more than those who look upon us as a nation of atheists because our civil constitution omits the name of God—that governments

have a right to be irreligious or unchristian. Christianity is the law of the universe. It should control alike rulers and ruled. Cabinets, legislatures, courts, all political measures and proceedings, as well as the affairs of each private citizen, should be regulated by the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. All human conduct is to be judged by this standard at last, and all kings, presidents, and nations, will be condemned by it if found guilty of either its violation or its neglect. So, it is written : *All kings shall fall down before him ; all nations shall serve him. The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish ; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.*

Nevertheless, we are not convinced that the governments of this world and the Church of Christ should be so allied to each other, as in other lands they have been since Constantine's day, and as they still are to a great though decreasing ex-

tent. Christianity certainly has not enjoined such an alliance. Christianity is a law to governments, and a law also to the Church, and if it hath commanded the connexion in question, it should universally take place ; and in offering our thanks for its non-existence in this country, we should be guilty of the highest insolence toward Heaven. But the religion of Christ began its course without issuing any such mandate, either to the Church or to the empire of Rome, and in a condition of perfect independence of the State, nay with the State in active opposition, it made its triumphant and glorious way through the civilized world. And when, after having acquired the ascendancy, the union of the Church with the State was consummated, proof that violence had been thereby offered to the spirit of the Gospel began forthwith to abound, in the prevalence of mongrel and monstrous evils ; and such proof has, with local and transient restraints, continued more and more to abound, from that day

to the present. And it is to us a palpable certainty, that the Christian religion will not become the religion of man, the *actual* law of all states and persons, until the complete divorce of the Church has been effected.

It is not at the option of the State to espouse the Church ; nor is the Church permitted to be married to the State. Christianity contradicts the bans. The people of Christ, in their distinctive character, are free of human legislation and human authority, and so are required to remain. *Be not ye the servants of men.* With this liberty Christ himself hath invested them, and they have no right to disfranchise themselves. As subjects or citizens they must obey the powers that be,* so far forth as these powers, in their laws and administrations, do not disobey Christ. As Christians, that is, in their spiritual and eternal relations and interests, there

* Note E.

is no king over them but Christ ; and he who makes himself their king usurps the throne of the Blessed and Only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords. And they virtually renounce allegiance to this Almighty Sovereign, when they yield themselves, whether of consent or constraint, to such usurpation.

Christians are bound by their religion to obey magistrates in the exercise of the authority intrusted to them by law. Rulers are ordained of Christ, the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, to their appropriate functions. They are his ministers, *revengers to execute wrath upon them that do evil*. But however exalted, they are under obedience to him who assigns them, in his sovereign providence, their stations and their spheres ; and it becomes them, not less than others, to beware that they go not beyond their prescribed and proper limits. They do it at a peril

great in proportion to their degrees of elevation and authority. They, as much as others, must serve CHRIST in their place, but they will incur aggravated guilt, if they interfere in the least measure with that spiritual liberty wherewith He hath made his redeemed people free, and wherein He hath commanded them to remain steadfast and immoveable.

If we are inquired of more particularly as to the nature of this liberty, our answer is as follows. The governments that have espoused the Church, have undertaken to decide how she is to understand the scriptures, what she is to hold as articles of faith, and after what forms she is to offer her worship, and what orders she must acknowledge in her ministry: and they have taken authority, also, from time to time, to add to or diminish in all respects; and to make changes at their pleasure; and, fearful to be told, they have enacted their decisions, in those

sacred matters, into laws ; and have employed their own penalties to enforce conformity in the professions and conduct of all Christians in all points. They have, to this end, compelled them against conscience, reason, and scripture, to pay heavy imposts ; they have confiscated their goods ; they have cast them into prison ; they have shed their blood like water ; they have burned their bodies to ashes. Is it said that they have done these things with the consent and concurrence of the Church herself ? This we know ; but we do not see that it alleviates in the least these terrible enormities. The Church, we have said, is herself recreant to Christ, in so far as relates to her entering into a connexion with the State, out of which these revolting iniquities spring. When the Roman empire decreed the establishment of Christianity on such principles as this relation implies, the Church should have felt as did

her true and only Head, when Satan tempted him with the kingdoms and glory of the world.

The appropriate liberty of a Christian, is that of which he is deprived by such measures of state legislation. It is liberty to read and understand the word of God for himself, to follow his conscience under guidance of that word, to control himself in all spiritual matters, according to his own convictions of right and duty, without interference from the magistrate, so long as he violates no strictly municipal law. No State, no Church, can take this immunity from him without doing him an injury for which all temporal advantages were a poor compensation. This birth-right have the citizens of our happy republic; to sell it for any thing which may be obtained from a union of Church and State would be worse than a repetition of his folly who, for a single indulgence of

appetite, relinquished the blessing of the first-born. The government under which we live, leaves us in absolute possession of it ; nay, it guarantees to us the perfect use of it, offering its broad shield for our protection against every disturbance, from whatever quarter. Ours is a land in which every man, in respect to religion, sitteth under his own vine and fig tree, while government instead of disturbing him, is a terror to every intruder, allowing none to molest him or make him afraid. Let us not undervalue our privilege. The old world has nothing to give us in exchange for it.

There are those, however, who are as strenuous as ourselves against *such* a union of Church and State, as we have deprecated, who still look on separation as among the greatest of evils. They are against an alliance which gives the State the precedence, and makes the Church subordinate

and subservient, but one which enthrones the Church over the State, and puts all the resources and powers of the nation at the disposal of religion, to be employed mainly for spiritual purposes—to the establishment and furtherance of His kingdom who is Lord of all—seems to them the supreme object of desire, the most fitting, the most righteous, the most holy, the most blessed of all possible consummations. Others, besides professed papists, look upon such an arrangement as inferior only to the very order of heaven. Now we of course admit that the supremacy of *Christianity* over mankind, in all respects, should be absolute ; and if *Christianity* and *the Church* were identical in import, we should have no difference with these persons, but would emulate their zeal. The Church of Christ, however, consists of all true Christians scattered among all nations, and divided into various sects, and not exclusively of any one denomination ; and this renders

the alliance in question an impossibility, and the hope of its accomplishment, the very extreme of fanatical utopianism. The only relation of the kind contemplated which can exist, is not one in which the Church, in the true sense of the word, shall have the precedence over the State, but one in which a branch of the Church shall be armed with the sword against other branches, and be as effectually empowered to abolish Christian liberty as the State would be, if, by the terms of the compact, the control of the secular power remained in its hands, and the Church were but its dependant and its servant. In other words, the amalgamation must be one involving all the essentials of popery ; the claim of exclusive churchship, the claim of infallibility, the claim of the prerogatives of the Almighty himself. We wish to live under no government, in no land, in no world, where a union of this sort has a vestige of favor in the eyes of

the majority. We should greatly prefer Chinese or Turkish despotism.

Consistently with what has now been said, we may deeply regret, my hearers, that our government, or rather the administration thereof, is not more decidedly religious, more thoroughly Christian. We may lament that our rulers are not deeply spiritual men, that our Congress is not composed of humble and exemplary disciples of our Lord, and that all our legislative, judicial and executive proceedings, are not governed by the spirit of the Gospel. Especially should we deplore that in some of our national acts and measures, the rights of others have been invaded, and justice, faith, honor, and humanity outraged. This, and all governments, should with a warm zeal, and by all proper means,* encourage and

* Note F.

foster, as well as protect, every interest of truth and righteousness. They are bound to do so, by their relation as servants to the Supreme Ruler of the world, and if they fail to do it, He will sooner or later reckon with them for the delinquency. But while we should grieve over the shortcomings and transgressions of our rulers, and be free as we have a right to be in our animadversions, and be faithful also in prayer, and in the use of all appropriate means of reformation in this respect, we should never cease to rejoice and give thanks to God, that it has been given to us, as Christians, to be exempt from such a connexion with the State, as would either give us any civil power over the latter, or give the latter power to lord it, in spiritual things, both over ourselves and our Saviour. If this exemption be an infelicity, we know not what earthly happiness should be deemed a privilege.

'The social condition, then, of the people of this country, embraces in its foundations the two elements of civil and religious freedom ; and it does this in a degree of perfection hitherto wholly unknown among the nations of the world. If it be possible for a people to build themselves up strongly, prosperously, and permanently, on such a social basis, their superiority in privilege will not be doubted ; they will naturally become a model-people to others. Other nations must soon perceive that they have a goodlier heritage than themselves, and will not be long contented in their inferior condition, unless from despair of improving it.

We believe that nations stand by the favor of that Divine Providence which sustains and superintends the universe. *The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he pleaseth.*

Promotion cometh neither from the east nor from the west, nor from the south ; but God is the judge, he putteth down one and setteth up another. By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. Monarchies are stronger, that is, less dependant on virtue and knowledge than republics, but they are not less dependant on God. In their utmost strength and greatness, they are as a potter's vessel in his hands, and if he will, they are dashed in pieces in a day. Republics, though in more immediate danger from the predominance of moral corruption, cannot be overthrown, if God be on their side.

This republic has stood for more than half a century, and its fortunes thus far, have been such as greatly to encourage the hope, that it will continue, a monument and pattern of liberty, in the eyes of all nations, until the world's enfranchisement has taken place. Its growth, in moral, intellectual and physical strength,

is, for rapidity and constancy, without a parallel in the annals of the race. In our temporal interests we have not wanted one form of prosperity. Famine is unknown amongst us. The pestilence is unknown, in any such dreadful shape as is familiar every year in some parts of the old world. The health of our population may have suffered more than that of some countries from intemperance* and other causes ; but as to the general salubrity of our climate, the astonishing increase of the nation, and their proverbial enterprise, energy, nerve, and power of endurance, are a sufficient attestation. Our land has always given us its increase, so abundantly, that though the consumers at home have been multiplying in a ratio which the fact alone makes credible, the looms, granaries, and warehouses of foreign and far distant countries are witnesses that we have had enough and

* Note G.

to spare. We are but novices at the arts, for compared to the hoary states of the other continent, we are as yet but children of a day old, and we have had too much to do in felling the trees, and turning up the strong and rank soil of our great wilderness, to be sufficiently at leisure to make much proficiency in what may be termed higher civilization; yet even in the arts, especially in such as are the most useful and important, we have made some attainments in which our pre-eminence over other nations is generously acknowledged by themselves. Our agriculture is far from perfect, in any part of our territory, but as our prolific soil and genial climate, and the fostering care of our government, have given the highest encouragement to progress, in this grand respect, so our improvement here, has been great and manifest, and, excepting England only, we are not far behind those, who are most in advance. With equal

pace, at least, our commerce has prospered, ploughing every sea with its freighted ships, and adorning every port on the globe, with Freedom's more than royal banner of the stars and the stripes, and while importing foreign treasure, diffusing abroad the spirit of our nation.

Neither has the mind of this nation, as developed in its Literature, discredited our institutions. The press of our motherland has not always done itself honor, by its censures and scorn of us, in this particular. It has forgotten our youth, it has overlooked our other disadvantages, it has imputed the peculiarities of a few writers as characteristic of the national literature. It has dealt with us, in short, as if it were moved rather with contempt, or envy if that were possible, than with the enlarged and liberal desire for the universal advance of truth, which belongs to the very genius of learning. A different treatment of us in

this respect, will soon be demanded by the general conviction that we deserve it, if violence to that feeling has not already been done. Our authors have found their way into European universities and schools, and our Franklins, our Edwardses, our Dwights, our Stuarts, our Robinsons, our Beechers, our Waylands, our Irvings, our Bancrofts, our Prescotts, our Marshalls, our Kents, our Storys, our Websters, our Channings, our Hitchcocks, our Hares, our Abbotts, our Wests, our Allstons, our Leslies, and hosts of others whose names cannot be given, are becoming so well known in Europe, that it is not probable the assertion in the last Edinburgh Review, of "the marked absence in America of original efforts in literature, philosophy and the fine arts," will be often repeated. Nor is it possible that by those who have heard of our sixty universities and colleges, of our forty professional schools, and of our plans and movements for popular education ; and

that we circulate among our people, eight hundred millions of newspapers in a year, and more than a hundred thousand copies of quarterly and monthly periodicals ; we should be looked upon as witnesses against the excellence of a republican form of government, by its having induced in us any apparent declension in respect of letters and the powers and productiveness of the intellect. The sober truth is,—let us remember it not with self-elation, but as cause for humble and adoring thankfulness to God—that this young republic is regarded as an object of admiration by the intelligent and candid of all countries, on account of its unparalleled prosperity in nearly all respects. The consequence is necessary and unavoidable, namely, that it is exerting an irresistible and a swiftly-spreading influence among the European states. The democracy, says De Tocqueville, very truly, which governs the Ameri-

can communities appears to be rapidly rising into favor in Europe.

The course of our prosperity has not been of a perfectly uniform tenor. It has been impeded by war, it has been slightly disturbed by domestic difficulties ;* in respect to commerce, especially, it has been held in check during the last four years, by means of casualties and of great financial restraints both at home and abroad. But these afflictions are but new and most animating incitements to hope, marking, as they do most decisively, the interposing hand of a merciful Providence to prevent our prosperity from becoming a snare.

The chief proof of the Divine favor to this land, is yet to be mentioned. As all our temporal interests have flourished beyond example under the friendly influence

* Note H.

of the government, without formal union with the Church, so have all our spiritual interests in like manner flourished, without the formal coalition or patronage of the government. We have had no evidence, thus far, that a Church-establishment is necessary to Church-extension, in the true sense of the latter term ; or that God is angry with our nation as if it professed itself to be a nation of atheists, because it has not confounded the distinction in its civil constitution, between Cæsar and Himself. In no land has religion, in equal purity and power, insinuated itself into the mass of society ;—the appropriate result of the congeniality of republicanism, with the simple and equalizing spirit of the Gospel. We cannot, indeed, tell the visiter to our shores of such magnificent temples, cathedrals, and other monuments of religious taste and pride ; such wealthy sees and benefices ; such opulent and titled clergymen ; such splendid and princely endowments ; as

the Church in other lands has received through her alliance with the State. But we are conscious of no spiritual detriment from the want of such advantages as these, if advantages they be: we have church edifices of convenient size: we have enlightened, devoted, and laborious pastors: we have solid and thorough theologians, whose works hold no inferior place in the theological literature of the age; we have theological schools taught by professors of sufficient erudition, and of a vital and primitive piety; we have Biblical scholars and expositors, to whom confessedly there are none superior, at least in the English language; but more than all, we have, in a measure, a frequency, a power, and a continuance, elsewhere unknown since the earliest times, the effusions of the Holy Spirit; and as the consequence, the Church in this country has been distinguished, more and more, by glorious revivals of God's work, and by the growth and spread

of a manly, energetic, and missionary piety, more like that of the Apostles and first Christians, than has been exemplified in any other nation.

There is, it is true, an intense moral strife in this land. The powers of evil are at their work here as well as those of truth and goodness; and we have strange demonstrations of almost every form of sin. But if sin with us has the rampancy of youth, it wants that license of law, and that consent and countenance of public sentiment, which its very old age in other countries is thought to demand:—while the advance of the Gospel is resistless and steady, and the American Church in its various branches, and by its various associations for benevolent purposes,—“societies of free consent,”—is not only spreading itself over the entire extent of our own wide domain, but is diffusing the streams of salvation into the savage forests beyond

our frontier, and into the farthest parts of the heathen world; and the praise of American missionaries is proclaimed in a manner creditable to christian candor and magnanimity, by the churches of every land.

The final destination of this country is among the secrets of the future. There is no ground of its absolute security, either in its civil constitution, or its religious freedom and advantages. But the consideration of it, in these respects, and also, of the rank which it has so speedily attained, of the influence which it is exerting among other nations, and especially, of the marked dispensations, both temporal and spiritual, of God's Providence towards it, inspires us with a high and very confident hope, that, undeserving as we are of the divine favor, and exposed as we are to peculiar dangers, our national existence and prosperity have but commenced, and that in

us the empires of the world are to be greatly blessed ; and more than convince us, that our devout praise and our adoring gratitude and love, are due to God for giving us our being at this period of time, and assigning this new and free land to us as our dwelling-place.

The spirit of the occasion would not be indulged, nor would the Divine name be fittingly hallowed, if we should terminate our remarks without adverting to causes for special gratitude and praise, which the past year has supplied.

The year has been unusually replete with mercies. The pressure on trade and commerce has been alleviated. Business has been reviving. The earth, as if in sympathy with the returning gladness of the people, and wishing to promote it, has yielded a most exuberant increase. The

elements have been peaceful and genial, the seasons bland and clement. Our cities have been almost strangers to epidemic disease ; nor has the pure country air been any where tainted with the breath of a spreading pestilence. Excepting the common tragedies of individual suicides and murders, violence has not been heard in our land ; wasting nor destruction within our borders. Reckless combinations, and disorderly assemblies and assaults, have been almost unknown. The majesty of Law has been acknowledged. Justice and order have been maintained. And our peace and friendly intercourse with foreign nations have been undisturbed.

One of the civil blessings of the year demands a very distinct and prominent place in this enumeration. We refer to the manner in which the late political commotion has passed : not to the change of administration in which it is to result, (on

that subject a syllable here would be improper,) but to the production of that change without popular violence, followed by the immediate restoration of the public tranquillity. This event will enlighten other nations, as to the true spirit of that advancing and exemplary republicanism, which, distant as they are, they regard, as well they may, with the deepest self-concern. It will cherish mutual confidence and respect among our own citizens. It will render the United States more united and immoveable in their preference of the established government. It has added another buttress to the magnificent edifice which freedom is building in this spacious, virgin land. May it never pass out of memory, and never be unassociated with a heart-felt conviction that it is a most distinguished instance of the Divine goodness to the country. For though it is a certain and bright index of the national character, and of the genius of the government, it is not

the less manifestly, on that account, the doing of Him *who stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of the waves, and the tumult of the people*. Whatever may be the measure of our public virtue, whatever the strength by which the heart of the nation is bound to its institutions, to suppose that a change like this, the attempt to produce which made the whole empire a tumultuous sea of party zeal, wherein the conflict of opinions and interests was as when tempest meets tempest, and billow bounds against billow on the great and wide ocean ; —to suppose that such a change should be effected in such a manner and with such a perfect exemption from ill consequences, without the gracious oversight and ordering of God, is to renounce not only the doctrine of providence, but the lessons of universal experience and the reason of man. For our own part, while we reflect on this, so far as we know unprecedented event, in its various aspects, relations, and tendencies,

we cannot forbear applying to our own country, the concluding words of the blessing wherewith Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death: *Happy art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! And thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places.*

We have not yet mentioned the chief mercy of the year under review. It has added some alleviation to that dark and dense cloud of sin and guilt, which is almost the total sum of the world's past history. It is among the brightest,—nay is first among them, in one respect,—of those years which have been signalized by the outpouring of the Spirit upon our churches *as years of the right hand of the Most High*. The unusual reverses which had occurred in the fortunes and circumstances of men,

the mutations and destruction of property, the obstacles and discouragements to business, and the most solemn examples which Divine providence had given, of the precariousness of human life, and the infinite uncertainty of all earthly happiness, made an uncommon impression on the community, which inclined them, most remarkably, to listen to the counsels of religion, and seek a better portion than earth can give. The teachers of religion improved the favorable occasion which these circumstances produced, by enforcing the reflections they prompted,—thus giving their ministrations peculiar facility of access to the heart, or making them, in the language of Scripture, *a word on the wheels*. Earnest, frequent, ceaseless prayer was made by the churches for the Divine blessing; the Holy Spirit descended; and earth and heaven rejoiced together at the repentance of thousands in different parts of the land.

But this is not the whole. In the annals of American missions, the last year stands so distinguished, that were it in the future, as an object of promise, we should almost unbelievably say, *Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven might this thing be!* ; and the *expectation* of what is now fact, would be thought the extreme of enthusiastic credulity. We need much grace to enable us to bear well the unparalleled goodness of God. Sometimes, when reflecting on what remains to be done to give the Gospel its destined triumph, we fall into most unworthy misgivings, in respect to the possibility of its ever having such a triumph ; when, on the contrary, the intelligence arrives that a single year has given to the young churches of the Sandwich Islands' mission, ten thousand members, some persons may be so blinded to the real state of the world, if the greatness of the joy does not render them unbelieving, as to think that

the days of labor and conflict, self-denial and prayer, are ended, and that henceforth little remains to the Church, besides victories and rejoicings. The just improvement of this wonderful success of Christianity, will lead us to higher exercises of faith and expectation, and at the same time to a great increase of prayer, liberality, and labor, especially in the cause of foreign missions.

We should not omit, my brethren, a distinct reference, in the thanksgivings of this day, to the blessings which we, as a particular church of Christ, have received during the year: It has been one of the best of the years in our happy course. The effusions of the Spirit have not been at any time intermitted. They have descended upon us, as the rain on meadows newly-mown; and when they have not been granted in this form, they have been imperceptibly

distilling on our hearts, as the dew on the tender herb. How refreshing have been our seasons of prayer ; how mighty, through God, the simple ministrations of the word and the sacraments. With what strange joy, what heavenly brightness and beauty of spirit, have the circles of our domestic and social relationships been filled by means of the conversion of our children and friends.

The peculiar love of God has been bestowed upon us in another form. We have received consolations under trials, more precious than all temporal blessings. God has made additions to his family in heaven, from our portion of his earthly household ; but when he removed them, he gave us such proofs that their departure was to themselves but passing to glory, that we could not but rejoice greatly in the midst of our tribulation, severe as it was. They left us, amid the brightest triumphs of faith,

with smiles on their features, with prayers exhortations and benedictions, on their lips, and with such absolute mastery over the terrors of death and the grave, that a translation itself were scarcely more desirable.

Nor should we fail to make mention of the fact, that we are still enjoying the sweet and gentle visitations of the blessed Spirit. This is not so manifest as it has been, in instances of conversion, but it is seen no less decisively, in the lively exercises of grace among believers, and in the unusual delight which they take in their frequent meetings for prayer, meditation, and praise.

We have, my dear friends, the highest causes for gratitude ; but you must permit me to remind you that christian gratitude consists of two elements ; a sense of the

Divine goodness, and a sense also of personal demerit. To give thanks without confessing our sins, is to act the pharisee's part, not that of the humble and grateful christian. We have unspeakable mercies, national and individual, temporal and spiritual; but we have also, in each of these kinds, innumerable sins and transgressions; and these, we should remember, rise in turpitude and guilt in proportion to the number and value of the former. If we look abroad through the land, and take the just estimate of the public morals; or if we look within, each one into himself, and take the just estimate of our own hearts, we shall find ourselves at a loss to decide, which is the greater wonder, that we and our country should be so disobedient to God, or that God should confer his mercies upon us, in all their various forms, and in such profusion and constancy.

We close the discourse with one word more. Praise is comely in the upright, and so is kindness to the poor, and it is in itself most good and beautiful, and Scripture recommends, if it does not demand, that these two should be united in the observance of such a day as the present.* Shall they upon whom God hath emptied the full horn of his goodness, refuse to *send portions to those for whom nothing is prepared?* No; let us not present our thank-offerings to Heaven, without giving this evidence of their sincerity, lest we receive in return, this just rebuke: *whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?*

* Nehemiah viii. 10, 12.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

THE *principle* of Democracy, it has been said, is fatal to its preferableness as a form of government for any people. "Under the Democratical form, *public virtue*, pervading the hearts and conduct of the whole body of the people, is the animating and sustaining principle. Every selfish and exclusive purpose must be relinquished by the individual; and his country, its glory, and its happiness, must take entire possession of his breast." The author of this remark, (Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Art. GOVERNMENT,) intending by it to express the reprobation of Democracy, as perfectly utopian, adds the contemptuous exclamation, "Proud distinction for popular government, if the principle were a sure consequence of the form!" But if there be any argument in the remark,—that is, if a government should be deemed ideal and visionary, unless the principle which sustains and animates it, has a *perfect* development,—

mankind should abandon themselves to anarchy, for such a development never has been and doubtless never will be realized. Why did not this writer think to bestow a portion of his scorn on monarchy, the preserving principle of which, "honor," is, according to his own showing, abundantly vain and illusory, and amounts, in its actual operation, to the sway of a jealousy, among nobles and people, for their respective and exclusive interests and consequence? All *perfection* in government, whether in principle or administration, is ideal merely; a republic demands *more of virtue* in the people, I say not *public* virtue in the sense of this writer, than a monarchy; but while it demands more to subsist upon, it may be more favorable to its growth, and if so the desire of all nations surely should be to live under this form of government.

NOTE B.

There are still champions for the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. The divines of Oxford are contending for these doctrines, as well as for certain other cognate ones relating to Church principles and practices. See Dr. Pusey's Sermon, on the 5th

of November, 1837. I subjoin an extract from an admirable notice of that Sermon in the Edinburgh Review for January, 1838. "They were in favor, it should seem,"—the doctrines in question—"under Nebuchnadezzar and Darius the Mede. In England, 'they skulked in old homilies,' to use a phrase of Bolingbroke, before King James; but were talked, written, and preached into vogue in that inglorious reign. In 1622 the University of Oxford solemnly sanctioned them; and, by a noble stretch of her principles of discipline, enacted that all persons promoted to degrees, were to subscribe articles to that effect; and to take an oath, that they not only at present detested the opposite opinion, but that they *would at no future time entertain it!* In 1683 the same University again proclaimed them by 'a solemn judgment and decree,' which, in 1709, the House of Lords was ill advised enough to condemn unanimously to the flames. But, by an unusual circumstance in human affairs, the burning of the decree by no means promoted its popularity; and the doctrines in question went so quickly to sleep, that he who now arouses them from their century of oblivion, (Dr. Pusey) may fairly be termed an innovator. As such, we recommend him to the grave rebuke of that learned body whose repose he and his confederates disturb by their new fangled conceits. Our concern

is with the truth of his doctrines only ; the doctrines of one of the ablest, certainly the most learned of the writers of his party, on a subject not of mere historical interest, but applicable to every time, and perhaps in an especial manner to our own. We must therefore buckle on once more the armour of our old Revolution principles to meet this fresh antagonist, armour which has stood the buffets of an hundred and fifty years too well to be now laid aside at the first blast of a hostile challenge, even though wafted from the cloisters of Oxford."

It is an interesting fact, that while in Great Britain, men of such strength as this reviewer of Dr. Pusey, are resisting these doctrines with such determination, there are those in this country, who agree with the reverend divine in politics, as well as in religion. An article in Vol. V. of the Biblical Repository, not only aims a blow at the root of our republican government, but seeks to support a government of the opposite kind, consisting of "hereditary orders having their birth and power, not from us but from Law." The article is entitled, *Law as suited to Man*. Its arguments are philosophical, not Biblical ; but they go as far as there is any force in them to establish the doctrine of hereditary orders, on the highest conceivable foundation, that of the Divine Will as re-

vealed in the nature and propriety of things. And though "the hereditary orders," for which it contends in so bold a style, are not expressly made to embrace orders sacred as well as secular, its arguments comprehend these in their boundless scope; and thus would this writer give us, as from God himself, a monarchy with its nobles to rule the State and a hierarchy for the Church.

NOTE C.

What form of government existed among the Jews, previous to the establishment of monarchy? The true answer to this question inflicts a death-blow, on the argument that Scripture is against Democracy. We give the answer in the following words of Dr. Pusey's powerful reviewer. "How can it be said that Scripture knows only of patriarchal and monarchical governments, and recognises no state of things 'wherein the people had the power?' For three hundred and thirty years, from the death of Joshua to the anointing of Saul, there was no semblance of patriarchal or regal power exercised among the Jews. 'In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which seemed good in his own

eyes.' Jephthah, 'articled with the people,' to use the language of Locke. He agreed with the elders of Gilead, and 'the people made him head and captain over them : ' God ratified their choice, and he judged Israel six years. From this narrative, and that concerning Abimeleck, (Judges, chap. ix.,) it seems probable that those personages, who are in Scripture termed judges, were leaders chosen by the Jewish people in time of need to rule over them ; and that the general organization of the twelve tribes at that period was neither more nor less than republican—unscriptural as the phrase may appear. Nor does it seem that they were less visited with the temporal blessings of their dispensation, whenever they rendered themselves worthy of them by their obedience in this period of their history, than after kings had been set over them as a punishment for their obstinacy."—*Review of Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the 5th of November.*

NOTE D.

That our Fathers were determined in their choice of republicanism, by hatred of the Mother Country, is supposed to be probable by the author of "Law as

Suited to Man.” “Had the Constitution of England,” he says, “at the time of our Revolution, been a Democracy—had her mandates come from the multitudinous assemblies of the people, and not from the single voiced throne; had her troops been the people’s and not the king’s; might not the feeling of resentment at a rabble’s insult and wrong have gathered us round a newly founded throne? Might not the hard, coarse oppression of the throng have refined us into a feeling of revolting against such an exhibition of power? And might we not have seen a glory around a single head, and decorum and grace and fair proportions in rank above rank? Might not a popular form have been offensive to our taste, and the thought of a ruling crowd have stirred in us a fastidious scorn and pride.” *Bib. Repos. Vol. V. p. 2.* One is inclined to ask, is it possible that the author of these remarks is acquainted with the history of the proceedings connected with the adoption of the Constitution of the United States?

NOTE E.

What is our duty to the State, during the pendency of a revolutionary contest?

The submission to *authority* required by Christianity, is not submission to men who undertake to govern without a right to do so. When one dynasty is overturned and another established, and in undisputed authority, the Gospel demands non-resistance to the latter. "Whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." But what power are we required to obey, when there are two powers in a State in opposition to each other, one that has authority to rule, and one that has not? If the power now unauthorized, acquire the ascendancy and becomes *established*, it thereby acquires an authority which must on no pretext be resisted. But while the contest for supremacy lasts, the power which exercises itself *according to authority*, and the Christian on his responsibility to God must decide for himself, which of the rival powers does this, is that which Christianity declares for. In respect to the course required by the Gospel, when a power in authority does not exercise itself according to the

commission it has received, we cannot forbear giving place to the following lucid extract from the review of Dr. Pusey's Sermon. "Now we, in common with all supporters of the Revolution, contend, that no rational difference can be shown to exist between opposition to force offered by one exercising it, without any authority, and by one exercising it beyond the authority with which the laws intrust him. It cannot be answered that it is the duty of the Christian to obey without examining the validity of the pretended authority. It is no doubt true, that it will not become him to make captious objections—eagerly to seek for and avail himself of flaws in title, or defects in form. But, in the last resort, he must needs judge whether the orders of a magistrate which he is called on to obey are within the range of that magistrate's jurisdiction. A parish constable is, so far as his office extends, a 'power ordained of God,' as truly as the executive head of the State; and it is just as plainly a sin to oppose him. Suppose, in the exercise of his functions, he were to offer unprovoked violence to life, person, or property, grossly exceeding the limits of that power which the State allots him, would Dr. Pusey offer him resistance or no? If he would not, upon what principle does he justify resistance to a robber or a murderer?"

NOTE F.

The question, as to what means government consistently with Christian liberty may employ to promote the religious improvement of the people, deserves the best attention of American statesmen. To maintain that this is a matter with which the State is in no way concerned, is to be no less opposed in government to the good of the people, than to adopt the opposite doctrine that the State for its own safety should keep the business of religious instruction and all church affairs, under its own control. The latter principle is distinctively disowned by our constitution, as essential despotism, assuming, as it manifestly does, that the State is its own end, and the people but a means which it may use for itself, at its sovereign pleasure. Our doctrine is, that the end of government is the good of the governed, and hence, that when a State sacrifices the people's good to its own aggrandizement, it violates the fundamental principle of its existence. The great plea of the advocates of Church-establishments, *the safety of the State*, is admissible with us, no farther, than is consistent with the true interests and inalienable rights of the people. Now that one of

these and one which comprehends nearly every other, is Christian liberty, and that this is virtually destroyed at once, when the State takes the business affairs of religion into its own hand, are the highest of certainties, and it has been given to this country to know and understand them. It is not doubted, that the safety of the State depends on religion in the community, but if religion itself is overthrown or endangered, by the interference of the government, the argument in question, is not an argument for but against the principle in support of which it is advanced. It proves unanswerably, that the State must for its own safety, decline the control of religion.

But must government therefore be wholly unconcerned as to the religious well-being of the nation? No, it would thereby convict itself before heaven and earth of having an irreligious spirit, and by examples of ungodliness in high places, it would take the most effectual way, to spread corruption through the land, and thus, if its safety lie in religion, sap its own foundations. No business in the universe, should be carried on, more strictly according to the principle of doing every thing in the name of Christ and to the glory of God, than that of making and administering law.

What now can the State do to promote religion among the people, without invading their sacred rights and privileges? Much, in many ways. Between legislative interference and absolute unconcern, there lies a wide field of favorable and most genial influences, where governors, legislators, and counselors, may do a higher service to Christianity, next to its own appropriate ministry, than any other class of mankind. By standing before the eyes of the nation, examples, in their own persons, of the christian virtues and graces; by expressing openly and fully the Spirit of Christianity in their public acts, upon all proper occasions, as some of the governors have done this year, in their thanksgiving proclamations; by giving all possible countenance to every interest of a purely catholic piety; and by providing ample means for popular education in sound science and morality;—in these ways, State-encouragement might be given to the cause of our Redeemer, which would almost make amends for the evils which have resulted from Church-establishments.

NOTE G.

Whether the ravages of intemperance with us have been greater than in some other countries or not, they became so appalling, that the puritan spirit of our piety was roused by them into the most philanthropic zeal ; and in conformity with the peculiar genius of our people, it formed a voluntary combination against its existence ; and it has pursued its aim with a surprising degree of ardor and resolution, from which the happiest and most unlooked for consequences have arisen. The history of this measure affords a strong rebuke to the pride and self-complacency of this world's wisdom. When the project of a National Temperance Society, fifteen years since, was first announced, some persons regarded it with contempt, some with ridicule, and not a few even of those whose goodness kept them from discouraging the novel reform, could not but smile with incredulity, and almost wonder at themselves while they gave it their countenance. How great the change which a few years have accomplished ! Now, not only religion in every denomination, but patriotism, political economy, physiology, literature,

and almost every enterprise of art and industry, are forward to speak the praises of this cause, and to rank those who first embarked in it, among the greatest of benefactors. Its triumphs have been astonishing. It is advancing in Sweden, in Norway, in Denmark, in Germany, in France, in Great Britain, and more especially in Ireland, under the best auspices, and with the most animating success. May God give it every where, that effectual blessing of His Spirit, which has made it so prosperous in the land of its birth.

NOTE H.

The author of "Law as Suited to Man," is not perhaps as near to despair now, as he was in January, 1835, when he came forth before the face of his country, with utterances of patriotism such as these: "Need I speak of those reckless combinations of men, called mobs, which are breaking out over every part of the land? They are but the momentary eruption of those fires, which are burning at the very centre of our system itself. The *principle* may be found running through all classes of our society, from

the lowest up to the highest!" And what more? My pen will not transcribe the rest of this rash and disdainful invective against America, from one of her own sons. According to him, the characteristics of our nation, characteristics proceeding, he says, from the Form of Law which is peculiar to us, are "a tyranny of opinion which leaves to no man the freedom of his own thoughts; a prying spirit which *mouses him out* in his most secret retirements; and a meddling disposition which puts shackles upon the freedom of all his acts." We have more of grief than anger, at this indignity to our country, and hope that its author will yet see cause to retract it. When he wrote his article, he had reason to complain "of reckless combinations, &c.," but with the knowledge which he must have had of the prevalence of similar evils in England and elsewhere, at the same period, it did not become a man of his character, to give them as evidence of the peculiar genius of our form of government.