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ARTICLE I.

THE CHARACTER AND CONDITIONS OF LIBERTY.

Justice and equality the only stable foundation of all natural and moral rule, and of all rights under the government of God; and as such will be maintained and defended by God, who is the hearer and helper of the oppressed.

The Scriptures everywhere authorize us to plead with God, to whom reverence belongs, for His defence of a cause which is **RIGHT**, whether that cause be personal and private, or public and national. Whether we look to Abraham, or to Jacob, or to Job, or to Moses, or to Joshua, or to the Judges, or to the kings of Judah and Israel, or to Samuel and David, or to the prophets, or to the Maccabees during the lunar night which intervened between the setting and the rising again of the sun of inspiration, we hear one and the same appeal to God; the same humble acknowledgment of personal, national, and ancestral unrighteousness

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and ill-desert before him; but at the same time, boldness and confidence in professing their righteousness before men, in protesting against the wickedness and cruelty of their enemies, and the same earnest pleading for their destruction by the interposition of the righteous Governor of heaven and earth. Thus, to quote a most appropriate and encouraging model prayer, Daniel tells us—

“And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes: and I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments; we have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and from thy judgments: neither have we hearkened unto thy servants, the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land. O Lord, *righteousness belongeth unto thee*, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against thee. O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee. To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him.”

And that we may quote a specimen of the common language of David and the Psalms, which were prepared and are preserved as, in their spirit and letter, our authorized forms of prayer, we are taught to say—

“Hear the right, O Lord, attend unto my cry, give ear unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips. Let my sentence come forth from thy presence; let thine eyes behold the things that are equal. Judge me, O Lord; for I have walked in mine integrity: I have trusted also in the Lord; therefore I shall not slide.

“Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me: fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler,

and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt. Let them be as chaff before the wind: and let the angel of the Lord chase them. Let their way be dark and slippery: and let the angel of the Lord persecute them. For without cause have they hid for me their net in a pit, which without cause they have digged for my soul. Let destruction come upon him at unawares; and let his net that he hath hid catch himself: into that very destruction let him fall. And my soul shall be joyful in the Lord: it shall rejoice in his salvation. All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that spoileth him? Lord, how long wilt thou look on? rescue my soul from their destructions, my darling from the lions. I will give thee thanks in the great congregation: I will praise thee among much people. Let not them that are mine enemies wrongfully rejoice over me: neither let them wink with the eye that hate me without a cause. For they speak not peace: but they devise deceitful matters against them that are quiet in the land. This thou hast seen, O Lord: keep not silence: O Lord, be not far from me. Stir up thyself, and awake to my judgment, even unto my cause, my God and my Lord. And my tongue shall speak aloud thy righteousness and of thy salvation, all the day long."*

We may appeal, at another time, to this great cloud of witnesses, to whom we are referred as our exemplars in suffering, affliction, and patience, and as, in part, the foundation of our faith, in illustration of the much misconceived relation in which we stand to *public*, as compared with *personal* and *private* enemies, and the entirely different character of our authorized purposes and prayers concerning them; † but at present we confine our attention to that

* See all Ps. 35, 7, 9, &c.

† From the want of this distinction many Christians and ministers apply Christ's rules given for personal guidance in personal relations and difficulties, to citizens in their relations to their government and country, and to the wicked enemies of their country. They thus make Christ in the Gos-

confiding faith in God, "who executeth justice and judgment for all that are oppressed," which emboldened them while contending even unto blood and the loss of all things, for their homes and heritage, to pray for, and to expect the interposition of God's avenging and omnipotent providence.

If then, as we have seen,* the cause for which the South is now waging war, is unquestionably just and righteous, and our course dictated by a righteous and peace-loving

pel contradict Christ in the apostolical writings. (See Romans xiii, 1-8, and 1 Peter ii, 13-15.) They make it a duty to condemn such enemies as wicked, and to oppose, fight against, defeat, and destroy them, and yet we must not pray for success in doing this, and that God may do it for us, and teach us how to fight, and to fight for us. As they are seeking to destroy our country, it is the duty of every citizen to pray for, and to endeavor to secure the infliction of full retributive justice upon them, and to pray, as do the souls of our slaughtered martyrs in heaven: "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."—Rev. vi, 10. (See Rev. xi, 18; Deut. xxxii, 41, 43, &c.)

Our President has changed the character of this war, and brought upon us, we fear, God's anger, and incalculable miseries, by acting according to the personal views and feelings of Mr. Davis, the humane Christian, and not as he is solemnly bound to do, as the President and Ruler of a Government which is the ordinance of God, by whom he has been appointed **THE MINISTER OF GOD, A REVENGER**, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Has he not, by his unjust clemency and forbearance, provoked the execution upon us of the "curse against those who do the work of the Lord deceitfully, by keeping back their hand from blood?" And yet this distinction is solemnly declared by President Davis, in his proclamation outlawing Butler and his officers:

"Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and acting by their authority, appealing to the Divine Judge in attestation that their conduct is not guided by the passion of revenge, but that they reluctantly yield to the solemn duty of repressing, by necessary severity, crimes of which their citizens are the victims, do issue this my proclamation, and by virtue of my authority as Commander-in-chief of the Armies of the Confederate States, do order:

"1st. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals, deserving death; and that they, and each of them, be, whenever captured, reserved for execution."

* *Vindication of the War, So. Pres. Review, Vol. XV, No. 4.*

spirit, we may, while acknowledging our guilt and the righteousness of God's judgments; boldly approach God's throne of justice and judgment, and appealing to His name, His character, His word and promises, and His acts as "made known to Moses" and in ancient times, confidently entreat and anticipate His intervention on our behalf, and that He will be gloriously "known by the judgment He will execute" upon our enemies.

Underlying, as an eternal and immutable basis, all government, human and divine, there is *RIGHT*, and a righteous equality in its application and enforcement upon all under such dominion, according to their several spheres, capacities, and responsibilities. That is *right*, and a natural, inalienable right, which is according to the rule or standard of duty imposed by the Creator upon the creature, who is made capable of, and subject to moral government; and as rights and responsibilities are determined by the natural capacity, opportunity, and position, allotted by Him who giveth to every man severally as He will, assigning to individuals the bounds of their habitation and their various conditions, as high or low, rich or poor, bond or free—so there is *equality* and liberty to enjoy rights, when the scales of justice are held in an equal hand, and things just and equal are administered to, and required from every man, according to his relative claims. This righteous equality must find its ultimate authority and determination in God's nature and providence, and in that revelation of His will which is made in the nature and necessities of man; in his sense of justice, truth, and honor; in his moral judgment of others; in the universality of laws and penalties, enforced by the combined power of associated communities, for the security of life, liberty, and property, and the preservation of peace, order, and happiness; and in the fuller revelation made of man's natural, social, and spiritual relations and responsibilities in God's inspired word.

Upon these immutable and essential principles, God has established society and made the welfare and happiness of man to depend. As justice and judgment are the foundation of God's throne and government, so are they of all right government among men. For it is no more true that, in order to live at all, men *must* live in associated communities, than that to be happy, prosperous, and exalted, God's providential diversity of natural and relative condition must be recognised and respected, and that every such society must embody as fundamental principles of union, truth, justice, honesty, honor, and mutual confidence, and the assurance that the power of all will be employed in securing faithful and impartial protection in the enjoyment of all recognised relations and rights.

This, as we have formerly seen, is the teaching of the apostle Paul, in his full inspired delineation of civil government, and of the mutual rights, responsibilities, and duties of rulers and people, considered in their *divine* aspect. (See Rom. 13.) We are here infallibly taught, what the history of the world has invariably confirmed, that civil government is the ordinance of God, and is no more voluntary or fortuitous than that of the family, nor any less dependent upon the power of righteousness for its peace and prosperity. The one no more than the other is the creation of man's wisdom or philosophy. They are both alike from and of God, and as necessary to man's comfortable residence upon the earth as is the earth to his subsistence, and requiring for propitious results as diligent moral husbandry as the latter does physical. Both are natural, social, and moral institutions, adapted to man as a fallen, sinful, selfish, and sensual being, under the dominion of Christ as a Saviour, and the dispensation of grace, and yet entirely distinct in their nature, principles, and final end, and intended to bring men into subjection, order and civilization, so as to prepare the way of the Lord, and open

channels along which the waters of salvation may flow freely, and find most ready access to every perishing sinner.

The constitution of society with diversities in rank and condition, including bond and free; and with limitation of rights, so as to secure the most perfect liberty possible to man as sinful and selfish; distinctly pointed out and provided for in God's word—a slaveocracy, God's chosen model and illustration.

Civil government is, therefore, the ordinance of God, as *the moral governor of the world*, founded upon natural principles of equity and benevolence, and having for its end the “good,” the general and equal benefit, of all its various ranks and orders, in all their diversified labors, occupations, and interests. Rulers are “God’s ministers” to the people (“*every soul,*”) for the single purpose of securing to them this “good,” by the faithful and impartial administration of the constitution and laws under which they exist, and by which they are restrained and limited as “a law unto themselves.” Their power is to be exercised so as to secure the happiness and approval of those who “do good,” by acting in conformity with the constitution and laws as they may exist, primarily in sovereign states, and derivatively in a common compact; and to execute wrath upon all those who “do evil,” by acting in an unconstitutional and illegal manner. Such is civil government as ordained by God, who, as the common Father of all, would by it secure to every man, with equal impartiality, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the unrestricted enjoyment of all rights pertaining to them in their several spheres and relations, as these are established by His providence, and recognised and regulated by the constitution and laws of their country. This is the final end and purpose for which civil government is ordained by God. It is, therefore, to be adapted to this end by the wise expediency of pure and disinterested patriotism, as the changing character and condition of the people may require, so as to perpetuate the

largest liberty; that is, the most secure and untrammelled enjoyment of all personal and relative rights created by God's providence, and guaranteed by the constitution and laws of the country. Government is not an *end*, but a *means to an end*. Government was made for man, and not man for government. Government was made for the "good" of man; that is, for the greatest *possible* good which is practicable, for all who are associated under it, whether high or low, rich or poor, bond or free, master or slave, laborer or ruler, male or female, young or old, unlearned, ignorant, or learned, strong or weak, in a majority or a minority. Men of every natural character and capacity, class, and condition, are thus bound to each other by the law of love, and the law of equity, written on the heart, and revealed by the common legislation and mutual judgment of mankind, under the authority of God as moral governor of the world, and the dispenser of rewards and punishments to nations and individuals.* And this is liberty, whatever may be the form, or however various the elements, of society. Whether it be a slaveocratic or a freesoil republic, or an aristocracy, or an autocracy, or a mixed monarchy, the predominating influence of these two laws, like the two great powers of nature, attraction and gravitation, will secure order, harmony, and the most unrestrained exercise of every right, in the discharge of every duty to ourselves, to each other, and to God—and THIS IS PERFECT LIBERTY. And this is God's end in the ordinance of civil government. It provides and protects liberty to enjoy and to exercise all the rights of men—of moral and ac-

* Under this natural law of God's moral government must be included the law of the Sabbath; for the Sabbath was made for man—as human—in the beginning, in adaptation to his physical, intellectual, and moral nature. As such it has been, in some form, common to men; and it is as thus naturally divine and necessary, and not as adopted and enforced by Christianity, our governments may be properly urged to acknowledge and reverence and protect it, and can consistently do so.

countable subjects of the divine government—in whatever rank or condition God has providentially placed them, and from which no ordinance of man can displace them, without overthrowing liberty and introducing anarchy, or tyranny, or the utter destruction of any existing society.

This is the highest liberty of which man is capable. It implies the highest exercise of his noblest powers and prerogatives. It presupposes an enlightened capacity to discern what are rights, personal and relative, and a conscience to exercise them, void of offence towards God and man. Rights apart from responsibilities; privileges unaccompanied by obligations to service; personal security, provision and enjoyment, independent of their diffusion in equal and impartial measure, through the entire community; is the wild dream of visionary speculation. It is to put the power of right into the hands of a madman, who will only use it in scattering around him firebrands, arrows, and death. It would be to turn every man into an Ishmaelite, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him. Liberty is coordinate with law. They co-exist and characterize each other. They are inseparable. Though twain, they are one, and indispensable to a perfect condition of society; just as humanity, while divided into distinct sexes, is only complete by their re-union in the mystic bond of matrimony; and both are alike the ordinance of God, for securing to man the greatest amount of liberty and happiness. Liberty and loyalty to law, God has constituted the balance wheels by which a well-regulated government is carried on, secure from friction; or the two poles around which its complicated machinery moves in quiet harmony. Loyalty to law, and to all rights under the law; and liberty to all to act in accordance with them; this is that righteous equality which exalteth a nation, and departure from which will bring reproach upon any people. Such is man's nature in relation to society, and such is society as adapted by God to that nature. To render His

purposes unmistakably clear, God has not only given us the history of man's experiments in all the possible forms of human government, including His own theocratic republic, and the explicit instructions of the apostle Paul on the nature of civil government, *considered in its relation to God*; He has imparted an equally full 'inspired delineation of what civil government should be, *considered in its relation to human agency*, by the apostle Peter, (see 1 Pet., ch. 2,) in his general epistle to Christians in various countries; and in all ages, He assumes that every where society is made up of various classes of freemen, all of whom are to be treated with the "honor" due to their intrinsic worth and relative position, and also a class of laboring population who are slaves, and do not participate in the government. Free born citizens are considered as possessing the rights of freedom, and liberty to exercise them, which it is made their duty to do, so that they may, by influence and example, promote the public welfare, and preserve society from coming under the control of unprincipled demagogues. The liberty to exercise their rights as freemen they are to use by a conscientious conformity to every ordinance or constitution, created or framed by those entitled to do so, and in a constitutional manner.* Slaves, on the contrary, are to submit

* See Poole and Doddridge in loco. We apply, however, the terms *free* and *liberty* to civil rights, which are to be exercised under the influence of Christian motives. For just as such motives are to actuate slaves in submitting to the deprivation of *such* rights, and in *obeying even unjust and unmerciful* masters, so are they to influence those who as freemen enjoy them. The example is in the right use of liberty, as freemen having political rights, and in acting as such, and not, like slaves, by an involuntary submission to whatever government they might live under.

The iniquitous course of certain heretical and deluded men, condemned by the apostle, was similar to that of the modern Anabaptists and Covenanters; and consisted in denouncing all civil government as anti-Christian, unless it is a government of saints, and based on the principles of the Christian religion, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of Christ's dominion, and authority of the Bible. The sophistry of the argument by which some would now revive this doctrine and urge it upon our Church,

with equal conscientiousness to every constitutional law binding upon them, and both classes are to be made happy in enjoying their respective rights and privileges, and in performing their respective duties by Christian motives, and by a supreme regard to the example and conduct of Christ; and while thus delineating the human aspect of civil government, the apostle Peter re-affirms the doctrine of Paul respecting its divine origin and authority. Whatever may be the particular form of government, (*every*), if it is constitutionally organized upon principles of equity, and has for its end the common *good* of all, by securing the utmost possible liberty in the exercise of the largest possible rights and privileges, equally and impartially, to all entitled to them, then it is "*sent*" by God.

Let it be borne in mind that, in both of these divine expositions of civil government and social rights and liberty to enjoy the benefits of all, we have, as their selected exemplar, a slaveocratic kingdom—a slaveocracy—in which the laboring class are slaves, and that this is declared to be a divine ordinance, and *sent by God* for the greatest good, both of the slave and the free; and that it is declared to consist with liberty to enjoy and to exercise all the rights proper to man in a state of society. Let it be remembered that this was also the character of God's own ancient republic. Let it be emphatically taught that the greatest and most prosperous and most permanent ancient nations, embodied a large slave population; that this has been the character of every kingdom under the whole heavens from the beginning hitherto, until atheistic infidelity revived the impious doc-

lies in confounding God's recognition and authority, and law, *as moral governor in the kingdom of nature and providence*, with that of God as He is revealed in Scripture, as God in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.

It may be proper to say, that this argument was substantially written before similar views on this point were published in the last number of this Review.

trine of man's natural independence and absolute equality—a doctrine which hurled Satan and his host from heaven, drove our first parents out of Paradise, and filled the world with that deluge of misery and wickedness in which it is still irretrievably plunged, groaning and travailing in pain together until now. Let every one who has ears to hear, consider the overwhelming moral demonstration that a slaveocratic government may be God's ordinance, and consistent with all the rights, and liberty to enjoy them, which are now proper to man as corrupt and degraded, according to his capacity and condition, which is derived from the fact that, during the eighteen centuries of the Christian era, as it had been through all the thousands of preceding dispensations, the Church of God has always, every where, and by every sect and denomination, until the recent re-introduction from primitive antichristianism of the *higher law* doctrine of abolitionist infidelity,* sustained and defended it.

Universal testimony and experience confirm the teachings of God's word, as to man's character and incapacity in the mass for self-government and sovereign rights and unrestricted liberty, and as to the limitations necessary to that order and security which are the only foundation of equal rights, permanent liberty, and prosperous government.

God's word, like a heavenly luminary, shines amid the darkling obscurity of human reason, to guide tempest-tossed vessels in the only safe and prosperous course over the dangerous sea of national life. Experience, as developed in the fateful course of empires, like the stern-light of a ship, has confirmed the truth of Scripture, by disclosing in its wake the wrecks of nations, the floating timbers of scattered constitutions, and the bloated corpses of vain and

* This was one of the first infidel heresies against which the apostles pronounced condemnation and excommunication. (See 1 Tim., 6.)

ambitious rulers, who, wise in their own conceit, have substituted philosophy, falsely so called, for the wisdom of God, to whom alone is fully known all that is in man and how to control and to combine the hidden mysteries of his wonderful nature, so as, out of its discordant and naturally repellent elements, to constitute a prosperously united and harmonious society. What is man? Surely this is the first question in political science; for with what has that science to do but with man? with man, not as he *might* be, or as he *ought* to be, or as by philosophy, falsely so called, he is theoretically portrayed; not with man as he has been romantically associated by Platonic affections, or Utopian dreams, or the heartless abstractions of a Hobbes, or a Helvetius; not with man as he came forth from the atheistic and ferocious laboratory of the French revolutionists; but with man as he is, and as he ever, and every where, has been; as he is now, amid all the civilization, education, and refinement of the nineteenth century, and as he ever shall be, except so far as he is transformed by the renewing of his individual mind, by the transforming power of the glorious gospel of the blessed God. What does political philosophy propose to do with man? Its object is to associate men *just as they are by nature*, and to organize them into communities, states, and kingdoms; to bind them together by laws adapted to provide for every man the most perfect security in the pursuit of his own happiness and interests, that is compatible with the peace, order, and prosperity of the whole. Political science is, therefore, eminently practical. It has to do with all that comes home most directly to man's business and bosom. It has to do with man's every day wants, employments, and enjoyments. It has to take into account man's good and bad qualities; his weaknesses and wants; his desires and demands; his pride, passion, and discontent; his envy, jealousy, and ambition; his indolence, selfishness, self-indulgence, and sensuality; his licentiousness, lawlessness, and duplicity; his ignorance,

prejudice, and indifference to the rights of others; his mercenary and venal spirit; his malignant party rage and malevolent dissatisfaction with the unavoidable inequalities of rank and condition. All these characteristics are not found in every man. They are variously developed or restrained or counteracted. But that they are prevalent and predominant elements of human nature, we demonstrate by the character of all legislation; the checks and balances, restraints and punishments, and the sleepless vigilance of an all-permeating and every where present police; which have constituted the actual machinery of every society of whose existence any knowledge is preserved. Another line of demonstration is found in the recorded history, decline, and fall of all former empires, and the character and condition of those now pursuing their destiny through the transformations which have already marked their eventful career. Nor is it a less significant proof of the real character of man, that political writers of every school, from absolute despotism to the fiercest democracy, have taught that, in order to enjoy any security in society, man's natural, that is, his individual rights—if, as is denied by absolutists, he has any—are altogether, or as far as may be found necessary, given up, to be restored by his government, so far as *the general good* will allow, or its character will permit.

Even Locke restrains the theoretically assumed natural liberty of man "within the bounds of the law of nature," that is, as we have stated, the law written in his heart as a subject of the moral government of God. Liberty thus restrained is, says Blackstone, "a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation." And yet such is man's present character that, in order to organize society, this natural liberty must be limited and abridged, because "legal obedience and conformity is infinitely more valuable than the wild and savage liberty which is sacrificed to obtain it." That which diminishes the natural liberty of mankind is, says Blackstone, "the law which restrains a

man from doing mischief to his fellow citizens." Society, therefore, is obliged to restrain, as has been said, "not the natural *liberty*, but the natural *tyranny* of man." Well does Burke teach that, in order to secure *some* liberty, "we make a surrender in trust of *the whole of it.*" "Why," asks Locke, "will a man part with *this perfect freedom?*" "Because," he answers, "though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain and constantly exposed to the invasion of others, for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part not strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state (?) *is very unsafe, very insecure.* This makes him willing to quit a condition which, *however free,* (?) *is full of fears and continual dangers,* and join with those who unite for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates." (On Gov. ch. ix.)

Jefferson believed that men should hold on to these supposed natural rights, even in society; but that such was human nature, that a bloody revolution, like the French, was necessary every few years, in order that the oppressed minority might regain their lost possession of rights and liberty.

Mr. Calhoun, in his profound work on Government, very emphatically confirms the above testimonies. Man, as he teaches, is impelled to ordain government by his social and his selfish feelings; the former seeking gratification in association with others, and the latter in securing his own interests at whatever sacrifice of those of others, and leading, with all the inevitable necessity of the law of gravitation, to disorder and conflict between individuals. "And hence the tendency to a universal state of conflict between individual and individual, accompanied by the connected passions of suspicion, jealousy, anger, and revenge, followed by insolence, fraud, and cruelty; and if not prevented by some controlling power, ending in a state of universal discord and confusion destructive to the social state."

(Works, Vol. 1, p. 4.) Government is, therefore, as necessary to preserve society, as is society to preserve life. But, as this character actuates man under government, and leads to disorder, corruption, and abuse of power, "as all experience and almost every page of history testify," "to repress violence, preserve order, and prevent government from being converted into an instrument to oppress the rest," a constitution becomes necessary to define, distribute, limit, and protect government. But as the same "nature of man, constituted as he is," will misinterpret any constitution, and pervert and convert it into an instrument of tyranny; and as it will employ for this purpose the power of party association, sectional interests and prejudices, lust of power and of the "spoils" and patronage of power, and the all-controlling influences of universal sovereignty and suffrage, public opinion, (*so called,*) the press, the convention, the caucus, the bribe, and "log-rolling lobbyism;" *a constitution, however perfect, can only be preserved, and practically and honestly perpetuated, by adequate provisions for the distribution and regulation of power, for the limitation of the rights of citizenship, sovereignty, suffrage, for the equal representation of all sections and interests, and for the restraint of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government, by mutual checks and vetoes, and by the power of amending, altering, or abrogating the government, and forming another in a constitutional manner. (See p. 12, and the rest of Vol. 1, in which is traced with fearfully prophetic foresight and warning the whole course of the corruption, decline, and fall of the United States.)*

To these authorities we will only add the concurrent views of that "profound thinker and real statesman," and freethinker in religion, Montesquieu. Though admitting, like the others, the assumed existence of natural equality and freedom, and his preference for a democratic form of government, he feels compelled to conclude that experimentally such an equality is impracticable, by reason

of the selfish injustice and rapacity of man. Inequalities must exist, in order that real equality, according to capacity, knowledge, and virtue, may rightfully direct and govern. "For example," says he, "it may be apprehended that *people who are obliged to live by labor*, (all the laboring, mechanical, and working classes of society,) would be too much impoverished by public employment, or neglect the duties of attending to it; that *artisans would grow insolent*; and that too great a number of freedmen would (as they did in the Roman empire,) overpower the ancient citizens. *In this case the equality in a democracy may be suppressed, for the good of the State.*"

Similar conclusions have been arrived at, even by the most thoughtful and profound of Northern fanatical abolitionists. Dr. Channing, amid all his rhetorical declamation about inherent and inalienable rights, was compelled by conviction of the truth, to admit that "like every citizen, he (the slave) is subject to the community, and *the community has a right, AND IS BOUND, to continue all such restraints as its own safety and the well-being of the slave demands*;" that is, the right of the community to secure the general welfare is paramount to any supposititious inherent and inalienable right of those who are slaves. "If he," (the slave,) adds Dr. Channing, "cannot be induced to work by rational and natural motives, *he should be obliged to labor*, on the same principle on which the vagrant in other (that is, Free-soil) communities is confined and compelled to earn his own bread. The gift of liberty would be a mere name, and worse than nominal, were he (the slave) to be let loose on society under circumstances driving him to commit crime, and for which he would be condemned to severer bondage than he had escaped;" "and," continues Dr. Channing, "*it would be cruelty, not kindness, to give him (and, of course, any white freeman) that which he is unprepared to understand or enjoy. It would be cruelty to strike the fetters from a man whose first steps would infallibly lead him to a precipice.*"

And now let us hear "The author of the Moral and Political Science," as Dr. Wayland authoritatively styles himself. What, according to this profound teacher, is the best form of government, and the one which may best claim to be "the ordinance of God?" "The best form of government," answers Dr. W., "for ANY people (*white or black, bond or free,*) is the best that its *moral condition* renders practicable. A people, (*or a majority of them,*) may be so entirely surrendered to the influence of passion, and so feebly influenced by moral restraints, that a government which relied on moral restraint would not exist for a single day. In this case, a subordinate and inferior principle remains—the principle of fear—and the only resort is to a government of force; and such do we see to be the fact." The *moral condition* of men is, therefore, the determiner of the best form of government for any people, and the measure by which political rights, the elective franchise, and qualification for office, are to be limited or extended, and the experience of the world is the proof. "While the moral restraints are too feeble for self-government, a *hereditary* government * * * may be as good as the people can sustain. As they advance in intellectual and moral cultivation, it may advantageously (whatever may be said about all men being born alike free and equal,) become more and more *elective*; and in a suitable moral condition, (of the whole people,) it may be wholly so; and yet, as it is better that a man should do right than wrong, *even though he be forced to do it*, it is well he should pray others (if free, or have others, if slave) to force him, if there be no other way of *insuring* his good conduct. GOD HAS RENDERED THE BLESSING OF FREEDOM INSEPARABLE FROM MORAL RESTRAINT TO THE INDIVIDUAL, AND HENCE IT IS VAIN FOR A PEOPLE (OR A MAJORITY OF THEM) TO EXPECT TO BE FREE, UNLESS THEY ARE FIRST WILLING TO BE VIRTUOUS." And so unalterable is this rule of God's moral government of men, individually and nationally, that, as Dr. Wayland proceeds to show, "the

form of government will always adjust itself to the moral condition of a people."

In regard specially to the slave portion of a people, Dr. Wayland teaches that "the DUTY of slaves is explicitly made known in the Bible. They are *bound to obedience*, fidelity, submission, and respect to their masters; not only to the good and kind, but also to the unkind and froward; not, however, (as is equally, and all the more powerfully, true of wives and children,) on the ground of duty to man merely, BUT ON THE GROUND OF DUTY TO GOD.* The relation, responsibilities, and duties of slaves toward "their MASTERS," is, therefore, ordained and regulated, and made authoritative by God, and to be fulfilled as in his sight, and under his immediate command. Such, according to Dr. Wayland, is the teaching of God in the New Testament, whose language he quotes; and "that the Hebrews held slaves from the time of the conquest of Canaan, and that Abraham and the patriarchs held them many centuries before, this, also," says Dr. Wayland, "I grant." "I grant, also, that Moses enacted laws with *special* reference to that relation." "I wonder," he very significantly adds, by way of rebuke to his less candid Abolition friends, "that any should have had the hardihood to deny so plain a matter. I should almost as soon deny the *delivery* of the ten commandments to Moses."

We have thus established the position, that the law which constitutes the natural and necessary basis of all social and civil government among men is the moral law, summarily comprehended in the ten commandments; written in the beginning in man's heart; manifested in all man's mutual judgments, enactments, and *summary* as well as *legal* executions of justice upon his fellow men; embodied in every form of civil government; every where and at all times;

* Sometimes the manner and motive of obedience are reversed. Thus in Ps. 123, 2: "As the eyes of a maiden look unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord," &c.

constituting that justice and judgment which are the foundation of God's throne, as the moral governor of the world, the ordainer of society, and the dispenser of natural rewards and punishments to individuals and to nations; and the rule and standard of that *righteousness* and equality which are the *price*, and the only price, at which prosperity—that is, peace, freedom, liberty, successful, happy industry, and the enjoyment of all personal, family, and social rights, privileges, and blessings—can be procured, preserved, and perpetuated. If ever any moral, or politically moral truth connected with man's conduct and history was demonstrated, this, we think, has been by every variety and form of proof; from the universal experience and testimony of men; from the rise, continuance, decline, and fall of empires; from the deductions of the wisest and most sagacious philosophers of all ages, schools, and parties; from the clear and unmistakable instructions of God's revealed word; and from the self-condemning attestations of fanatical modern Abolitionists. Even these have been compelled to come into court, and to give evidence against themselves, and against the hypocrisy, sophistry, incredulity, and infidelity of their followers and abettors.

A recognition of truth, justice, and of the rightful claims of others; obedient reverence for authority and law; a solemn conviction of the guilt and necessary punishment of crimes; a love of country stronger than death, superior to danger, and making it sweet even to die on her behalf; and all this based on a controlling sense of religious responsibility to a divine lawgiver, judge, and avenger; this will be found to have been the life, the power, the cohesive bond, the invigorating principle, and the loss of it, the decay and death, of all nations hitherto. "God and the right" is the battle cry of all modern civilization; and a government which ignores or practically denies their claims, is monstrously unnatural and doomed to inevitable perdition.

The only liberty now possible to man is the liberty of law. The only rights now inherent and inalienable to man, are those which are recognised, restricted, and regulated by the law of his nature; which is the law of his Creator, Governor, and Judge; the law which assigns to him his birth, his condition, his capacities, his relation to the family, to society, and to the state; the law which imposes corresponding responsibilities and requires correlative duties; the law which binds him in love and equity to seek and to secure the rights of all other men as they, too, are variously distributed by the common Father of all; and the law which, as surely as the laws of matter, shapes the destiny of individuals and communities, and dispenses happiness or misery, prosperity or adversity, contentment and cheerfulness, or pining misanthropy and sullen discontent, long life and the good will of others, or retaliation, hatred, and revenge.

These principles substantially recognised by our fathers in framing the Constitution—but ultimately subverted by the infidel maxims of the Declaration of Independence, and their demoralizing influence on the increasing mass of ignorant foreign citizens: the result—liberty lost, the Union broken up, and war, subjugation, and lawless tyranny. God's prophetic warning fulfilled. Exodus 34, 7, explained.

Our fathers recognised these principles, and their relation and responsibility to God.* They embodied them in their

* On occasion of recommending a fast—June 12, 1775—Congress declared that “the great Governor of the world, by His supreme and universal providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of His providential government; that it is, at all times, our indispensable duty, devoutly to acknowledge His superintending providence, and to reverence and adore His immutable justice.” They say (March 16, 1776,) they are “desirous to have people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence, and of their duty devoutly to rely, in all their lawful enterprises, on His aid and direction.” They declare the end of setting apart the day

separate governments, as free, sovereign, and independent States; and they carried them, with all their experience during their colonial, revolutionary, and confederate history, into the confederate system of government, under one common, qualified, and restricted union, entered into to provide for their common defence, promote their general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, so long enjoyed under their separate governments, against all encroachments from other States and from other nations. By solemn compact between the several States entering into it, as it seemed to them good, certain powers only were specifically delegated, in trust, to the government of the United States; and *all others*, including, as their constitutions declare, freedom, sovereignty, and independence, with a veto power and a right to amend the constitutional compact, were reserved to the governments of the respective States as coordinate governments. In their nature and principles they

to be, "that we may with united hearts confess and bewail our manifold sins and transgressions, and by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease His righteous displeasure, and, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain His pardon and forgiveness." March 7, 1778, they recommend a similar day, "that, at one time and with one voice, the inhabitants may acknowledge the righteous dispensations of Divine Providence, confess their iniquities and transgressions, and implore the mercy and forgiveness of God, and beseech Him that vice, profaneness, extortion, and every evil may be done away, and that we may be a reformed and happy people." Another proclamation of March 11, 1780, recommends, "that we may, with one heart and one voice, implore the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth to remember mercy in His judgment, to make us sincerely penitent for our transgressions, to banish vice and irreligion from among us, and establish virtue and piety by His divine grace." March 20, 1781, "That we may with united hearts confess and bewail our manifold sins and transgressions, and by sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease His righteous displeasure, and, through the merits of our blessed Saviour, obtain pardon and forgiveness; that it may please Him to inspire our rulers with incorruptible integrity, and to direct and prosper their councils; that it may please Him to bless all schools and seminaries of learning, and to grant that truth, justice, and benevolence, and pure and undefiled religion, may universally prevail."

were all alike, the government of the States being adapted to a community of sovereign citizens, and that of the United States to a community of sovereign States; all were alike constitutional republics, based upon the assumed virtue and intelligence of all their constituent members. To secure this, they limited and exalted the rights of citizenship and the sovereign prerogative of the elective franchise; separated the right and power of making constitutions, framing laws, and governing under the constitution and laws when made; distributed the powers of government into three coördinate, and yet independent branches; guarded the purity of elections, and restrained their too frequent and popular character; provided for free, responsible, and yet independent *representatives* of all classes and interests among the people, unrestricted and uninstructed, in contradistinction to mere instructed deputies; divided the legislative body into two houses, the one elected for two years, and the other, the Senate, removed still further from the influence of popular excitement by length of service, power of restraint on the popular Assembly, and participation in the governing or executive power of the State and country; placed supreme executive power, with the sovereign right of veto upon the combined action of both houses of the legislature, in the hands of a chief magistrate, assisted by the advice of coördinate heads of departments of the government; erected a judiciary system whose members were made entirely independent of popular or personal control, by the source and tenure of their appointment, the fixed amount of their salaries, and by their power to decide upon the constitutionality of all laws and acts of assumed extra-constitutional power; by protecting legislators and judges against all interference with their independent official rights of opinion and of action; by securing to minorities full and unrestricted power of employing every constitutional means of favorably presenting their views; by guaranteeing to every citizen the great fundamental rights of *habeas corpus* and

trial by jury; and in short, by a system of checks and balances which have made their system of government the wonder and admiration and envy of the world. It was imbued with the spirit of practical wisdom, sagacity, and knowledge of human nature, and it ignored the infidel and atheistical maxims of the absolute freedom and equality of all men, found in the Declaration of Independence—Jefferson, the promulgator of these anarchical principles of wild and savage fanaticism, being absent in Paris, and not a party to the framing of the constitution. Mr. Calhoun expresses the opinion that to plan, or construct, or reduce to practice, such a government, exceeds the power of human sagacity, has ever done so, and he thinks ever will. “For the structure, therefore, of such a system as that of the constitution and government of the United States—a political system as remarkable for its grandeur as for its novelty and refinement of organization—so wise, just, and beneficent—we are indebted *far more* to a superintending providence, that so disposed events as to lead, as if by an invisible hand, to its formation, than to those who erected it. Intelligent, experienced, patriotic, as they were, they were but the builders under its superintending direction.”* But while our constitution was “the proudest political monument of the combined and progressive wisdom of man, and a choice and peerless model, uniting all the beauties of proportion with all the solidity of strength,” experience has shown that it was fatally defective. It failed to make a due recognition of its dependence for all practical efficiency, upon the moral government and law of God. It failed to recognise the Sabbath as an institute of God’s natural and moral government, and adapted alike to man’s physical, intellectual, and moral nature. It failed to provide sufficiently against the established character of man, as a sinful and selfish being, whose nature, constituted as

* *Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 8, 78, 164, 199.

it now is, will, as unquestionably as the law of gravitation, abuse power as an instrument to aggrandize self and to injure and oppress others. It possessed no self-preserving power. Founded upon the assumption of intelligence and virtue as the only rightful basis of its sovereign rights of citizenship, it nevertheless opened the way for the too easy admission to their enjoyment, of hundreds of thousands, mostly without either intelligence or virtue, who annually poured themselves as a flood tide upon our shores from all parts of the world. It left the way open, by construction, for concentrating in the Supreme Court a power which has subordinated the courts, and through them the government of the States, to that of the United States, by a negative on all their acts; for extending the powers of Congress beyond constitutional limits, so as to allow sectional legislation; and for concentrating in the hands of the President a discretionary power, which placed at his disposal "*the spoils*," so that, according to his will and pleasure, uncontrolled and unregulated by Congress, he distributed all the honors and emoluments of government, and all offices held under it, throughout the length and breadth of the land; and in this way most effectually controlled elections, intensified political animosities, and fostered sectional jealousy and ambition, and perpetuated in the hands of a party the combined legislative, judicial, and executive functions of the government. From these causes the Constitution of the United States was rendered inefficual in resisting the irrepressible conflict of Northern and Southern interests and views, or to provide against the possibility of a sectional majority of States and people wielding the power of the electoral body, and against an overwhelming majority of the voting citizens of the country giving up a government, intended to represent the interests of *all* sections, to a factious, usurping, and tyrannical party. It did not adequately protect the sovereign character and rights of States against the sectional and antagonistic legislation of

other States, and the executive in combination with them, nor provide a remedy against their unconstitutional disregard of the authority of the Supreme Court and the sacred guarantees of the Constitution, and its fundamental State rights of veto, nullification, amendment, and secession.*

But more than all other causes of failure, and the source of all others, the constitution and government of the United States failed because the spirit of moderation, forbearance, mutual respect, concession, and compromise, which at first secured their adoption, were abandoned when the pressure of impending dangers gave place to unparalleled prosperity, and the North found itself fattening upon the slave labor it had introduced, and the various bounties, navigation laws, and protective tariffs by which it was aggrandized and the South impoverished, until lifted up with pride and bloated with pampered indulgence and intoxicating vice, its vaulting ambition overleaped itself, and fell on the other side.

It was at best, as Washington described it, "an experiment, and as near an approach to perfection as was thought

* This opinion was held by Hamilton, Madison, and many others. How traitorously and perfidiously it influenced the merely selfish and sectional New England politicians is illustrated in reference to President Adams, in Jefferson's works, vol. 4, pages 516 and 517. He (Jefferson) thus remarks:

"December 18, 1808.—The Reverend Mr. Coffin, of New England, who is now here soliciting donations for a College in Greene county, Tennessee, tells me that when he first determined to engage in this enterprise, he wrote a paper recommendatory, which he meant to get signed by clergymen, and a similar one for persons in a civil character, at the head of which he wished Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, to put his name only, and not for a donation. Mr. Adams, after reading the paper and considering, said: 'He saw no possibility of continuing the union of the States; that their dissolution must necessarily take place; that he, therefore, saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote a literary institution in the South; that it was, in fact, giving strength to those who were to be their enemies, and, therefore, he would have nothing to do with it.' Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Charlottesville, 1829."

This was the first egg hatched for a dissolution of the Union in 1808, by a New England President whilst in office.

attainable by human wisdom." The future was regarded by him and the fathers of the republic with anxious trepidation. The dangers to which it was exposed were to a great extent foreseen; and Washington's farewell address, in unison with the writings of his illustrious compeers, warned the future citizens and rulers of the country of those very rocks and quicksands upon which the noble ship of state, which they had with so much blood, suffering, and treasure, equipped and put to sea, has been so soon and so fatally wrecked.

The ultimate source of so speedy and unanticipated destruction of the well founded hopes of our fathers, must be traced to those maxims already alluded to, which Jefferson had embodied in the Declaration of Independence, "into which," as has been said, "was poured the soul of the American continent," melted by the fires of revolution and the white heat of the French red republicanism then illuminating the world by the blaze of its anti-monarchical and anti-christian principles, on whose bloody altar were consumed every relic of constitutional and well regulated society. The temple of our liberty was, therefore, sacrilegiously polluted, while yet fresh from the hands of its architects. Under the administration and influence of Jefferson and his followers, God was set aside, and His moral government repudiated. Divine providence, infallible wisdom, and unalterable necessity, as exhibited in the diversities of human condition, capacity, rights, and responsibilities, were, in the progress of these principles, scornfully rejected. Human nature was enthroned. Reason was deified. The voice of the people became the voice of God. The will of the numerical majority constituted the supreme law, above and beyond which there was no authoritative tribunal or retributive justice. THE PRICE OF LIBERTY WAS NOT PAID. Her claim was set aside. The bond was cancelled. The constitution was handed over gradually to popular construction and sectional intrigue. Its guards

and checks were removed. The exalted privilege of citizenship, and the sovereign right of voting, were, by every possible fraudulent device, extended indiscriminately to foreigners, who, in proportion to their ignorance and venality, were purchased by party bribes, and thus, at once, relieved from all conscientious scruples, and taught that liberty was license to secure their own interest, regardless of the public good. Trading in politics and living upon the fruits of elections, became the exclusive occupation and life of increasing multitudes, who found in the accumulating mass of foreigners, who had neither intelligence nor virtue to discern the principles of party, nor any interest, property, or position at stake on the results, abundant material on which to work. The caucus and convention gave such professional politicians opportunity to combine their strength, to forestall public opinion, to accumulate resources, to multiply agencies, and so completely to control the masses as either to discomfit or discourage and disgust the virtuous and intelligent, and bring the government of the country under their own power. The electoral college became a mere automatic registry of the results of such conventions, in the election of their chosen leader and patron. In the States these causes have led—in all except South Carolina—to the entire transformation and transference of the government. Universal suffrage has passed daily more and more from “the ancient citizens” into the hands of comparative strangers, with little capacity or intelligence, and less of patriotic sincerity. All the securities and checks against the evil of popular misrule ceased to operate. All elections were given over to the hands of the people. Even judges are now appointed by popular vote; and that they may be more completely subsidized and corrupted, their tenure of office is made annual or biennial, and their salary changeable at pleasure, and insignificantly small. The result is, that the government of our States and country has been committed indiscriminately to the mere numerical mass of

the people—a mass by nature corrupt and ready to be corrupted still more; selfish, sectional, ignorant, and prejudiced; averse to restraint; vain and conceited; envious and jealous; whose liberty has always been “licentious, fierce, and wild;” and a majority of whom, according to the most favorable testimony of the most democratic and liberal writers, and the invariable experience of the ages, will always prey upon the rest, and render life, liberty, property, and every right dear to man, “*very insecure*,” and subordinate to their acquisition or retention of power and accumulation of profits.

The final result is now before us. Liberty is gone in the United States. The avalanche of corruption, long gathering, has fallen with sudden and overwhelming destruction. It has swept before it, and buried amid its ruins, the constitution and the union, the supreme court, *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, freedom of the press, freedom of opinion, freedom of action, and freedom of religion, and every obstacle to the unlimited exercise of arbitrary military despotism. The president has become a military dictator; his mansion a palace; his attendants armed troops; his presence among the people attested by the glittering pageantry of an imperial guard; his will the death-warrant of generals and subjects; and his most puerile and egotistical speeches must be heard in abject silence, or fawning, sycophantic adulation and applause.* He has not found it necessary to abrogate or alter the “forms” of government, state or national. He has found in them his greatest strength, and the easily adapted means of riveting the chains of servility upon a crushed and abject people. Universal suffrage, in the hands of a hireling mob, has become the right arm of arbitrary power; and, as in France it has been made by Napoleon to establish the firm foundation of an imperial dynasty on the ruins of a republic, so has it enabled Lincoln to con-

* He stopped short in a recent speech, and ordered a man to prison, who had uttered a word of common ejaculation.

solidate his power by the invincible union of the mass of a corrupt and venal people, and thus to create, as it did in the decline of Rome, the worst of despotisms—the combination of tyrant and mob.* Thus overruled by force, and cajoled by promises of coming recompense in the agrarian distribution of the spoils of all *disloyal* and discontented citizens, the virtuous, intelligent, and patriotic of all parties, see themselves in the hands of a heartless tyrant, hardened into callous ferocity by “scenes which,” as Lord Brougham says, “modern ages—nay, which Christian times (*eighteen centuries*) have seen nothing to equal—a spectacle at which the whole world stands aghast, almost to incredulity,”†—a

* *The Eighteen Christian Centuries*, pp. 32, 37.

† “Whatever may have been the proximate cause of the contest, its continuance is the result of a national vanity without example and without bounds. Individuals subject to this failing are despised, not hated; and it is an ordinary expression respecting him who is without this weakness, that he is too proud to be vain. But when a people are seized with it, they change the name, and call it love of glory. Of the individual, we often hear the remark that, despicable as the weakness is, it leads to no bad action. Nothing can be more false. It leads to many crimes, and to that disregard of truth, which is the root of all offences. Certainly it produces none of the worst crimes. The man who is a prey to vanity thirsts not for the blood of a neighbor. How fearfully otherwise is it, when a nation is its slave! Magnifying itself beyond measure, and despising the rest of mankind, blinded and intoxicated with self-satisfaction, persuaded that their very crimes are proofs of greatness, and believing that they are both admired and envied, the Americans have not only not been content with the destruction of half a million, but been vain of slaughter. Their object being to retain a great name among nations for their extent of territory, they exulted in the wholesale bloodshed by which it must be accomplished, because others were unable to make such a sacrifice. The struggle of above two years, which loosened all the bonds which held society together, and gave to millions the means of showing their capacity, has produced no genius, civil or military, while the submission to every caprice of tyranny had been universal and habitual, and never interrupted by a single act of resistance to the most flagrant infractions of personal freedom. The mischiefs of mob supremacy have been constantly felt; for the calamity of national and respectable men keeping aloof from the management of affairs, has resulted in the tyranny of the multitude. To this tyrant, the nominal rulers

tyrant who now wields absolute control of the sword and the purse, the press and the polls; and they find themselves also at the mercy of a people tyrannized and flattered, who are no less cruel than himself. "O liberty!" as Madam Roland, from bitter experience, exclaimed, "what fearful crimes are committed in thy name!"

Thus rapidly has liberty, perverted and prostituted, *leaped* from licentious freedom into the arms of abject tyranny, over all the ordinary stages of faction, war, anarchy, weakness, utter weariness of mobocratic government, into the arms of an abject submission to arbitrary power. The price of liberty was not paid, and the avenging arm of outraged and provoked Deity is exacting the penalty to the uttermost farthing, from perjury, corruption, hypocrisy, tyranny, and inhumanity. God requireth the past; and though He suffereth long, and is slow to anger, yet He will make it assuredly known by His judgments, that according to His fearful threatenings so is His wrath.

"But a few years since," says the *Examiner*, "the prediction that a President would venture to abolish, or the people submit to be deprived of so cherished and inestimable a safe-guard of liberty, would have been received as the ravings of a madman. Yet we have lived to see this, and a hundred other usurpations, tamely acquiesced in by a people who boasted of their jealous attachment to constitutional

have never withheld their submission; and the press, catering for the appetites of the populace, and pandering to their passions, has persisted in every misrepresentation which might most disguise the truth as to passing events, exaggerating each success, extenuating each defeat, often describing failure as victory; while the multitude, if the truth by chance reached them, were one day sunk in despair, another elated to ecstasy, almost at the pleasure of their rulers and their guides. Nor were the falsehoods thus propagated confined to the events of the war; they extended to all things—to the measures of the government and the acts of foreign nations. The public feeling must not be thwarted; the people desired to hear whatever gratified their vanity or raised their spirits; and in this delusion must they live as long as the war lasts, and the rule is in the hands of the mob. The truth, they will never hear, because they desire to hear what is pleasing, and not what is true."

government, who flaunted the banners of republicanism defiantly in the face of the world, and arrogantly proclaimed their mission of converting the earth to the democratic faith.

"This wonderful change has been not less unexampled for its rapidity than thorough in its nature. But three years have elapsed since that people, now so patient beneath the lash, rioted in the very drunkenness of license. The most unshackled liberty, the most expansive dreams of universal emancipation, and the wildest vagaries of speculation, were regarded as the rich fruit of American institutions. The sublime theories of antiquity's sages, the grandest conceptions of the practical modern statesman, and the fairest visions of the poet, were to be eclipsed by the unequalled combination of national greatness with individual liberty, of material prosperity and perfection in the arts and sciences with public spirit and pure patriotism, displayed in the triumphant career of the model republic.

"The ancients were accustomed, in the hour of their greatest prosperity, when fortune seemed to have showered all her gifts upon them, much to fear a sudden reverse. They sought by propitiating Nemesis to avert the penalty due to happiness beyond what is allotted to mortals. The Yankees, so far from making any such sacrifice or voluntary humiliation, waxed conceited and haughty. They were dictatorial and vain-glorious, confident in their wealth and power, and anxious to impose their own will on all mankind. They forced the South to resist their aggression and tyranny, and then, in the true spirit of vulgar despotism, resolved to revenge the insult which they deemed to have been offered to their sovereign will."

Never has God more signally vindicated His law, and glorified His great and awful name. It was in answer to the special entreaty of the chosen leader and legislator of His model republic, that God revealed himself in His character of "Governor of the nations." Though His anger had been provoked to destroy His chosen people, He ordered Moses to prepare two other tables of stone, upon which God wrote the words of the moral law which were on the first. "And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord: Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and trans-

gression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation."

These solemn words were first employed by God when He entered into national covenant with His people, and are repeated when, after apostasy, that national covenant is graciously renewed. They constitute a divine expression of God's providential method of punishing those nations among whom He has ordained a government and established His worship. They teach us that when such nations have rebelled against Him, though He will certainly, by His judgments, chasten and reform them, He will not utterly destroy. They are entirely distinct from, and even contrary to His dealings with individuals. (*See Ezek. 33, where this misapplication is elaborately argued and removed.*) And they have no reference to God's retributive justice for spiritual sins, in a future state. They are also very merciful, and very encouraging to a guilty and afflicted people—when God's judgments are abroad in their land—to learn righteousness, and to repent and return unto Him who alone can relieve and restore, by removing the evils He had visited upon them. They may be properly rendered in the following slight paraphrase: "The Lord, the Lord God; merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; who, while certainly punishing transgression and sin in those who are by no means guiltless, will not utterly destroy them and make them desolate; and delaying to visit with national judgments the iniquity of the fathers, until the times of their children, and their children's children, even to the third and fourth generation."*

* This rendering is in accordance with the original; and the context; and the prayer of Moses, in chapter 33; and with his remarkable prayer in VOL. XVI., NO. III.—80

Liberty still endangered among us by the same maxims, and their practical results and influences. Our danger two-fold—external and internal; the latter the greater and more imminent—the price of our liberty.

How faithfully has a merciful and righteous God brought upon this favored land, *after three generations of unrepented and accumulated iniquity*, and abuse of privileges and prosperity, unparalleled in the history of the world, the fulfilment of this prophecy, promise, and warning! He is an atheist who does not see the connexion between the sin and the cause; who does not know God by the judgments he is now executing upon us, and who does not perceive in them a renewed proclamation of the forgotten law of God's moral and providential government—*that liberty has its price, and that that price must be paid*—either in a righteous and intelligent conformity of government to the nature of sinful man, the lessons of universal experience, and to the teachings of the law of God, or in a tyrannous usurpation, anarchy, and blood.

Let us hope that our enemies may not be utterly destroyed as a nation, but that they may have grace given them to turn away ungodliness from them, and to seek the Lord, who can, by His wonder-working providence, revive and restore them. But our great business is with ourselves. Our liberty, as provided for under the constitution of the United States, is lost—for ever lost. In any possible event, there is—there can be—no liberty for the South under the constitution and flag of the Union. It may be regarded as the policy of our enemies, and as immutably fixed as if already announced by proclamation of their imperial dic-

Numb. 14 : 18, where *it alone* will give propriety to the use of the passage; and with facts in the history of God's national judgments being so administered, as in the case of Manasseh, Hezekiah, Solomon, and the Canaanites; with the interpretation of Maimonides; of Poole, after others; of Geddes and the Comprehensive Bible; of Haldane, who is so accurate and cautious, &c.

tator, that, if subdued, the South will be reduced to provincial vassalage, until her territory can be emptied of its present race of freemen, and then colonized and absorbed, in re-constructed divisions, into the United States. But, thank God, our independent liberty is not lost, however much endangered, and however terrible the price which, for its restoration and peaceful independence under a confederate republic, God's righteous requisition may demand. In God's name, and by God's good guidance with us, we have set up our banners, and with Him as our chosen Vindicator, we have unfurled the purified flag of freedom to the admiring gaze of earth and heaven.

Our liberty, however, though not lost, is exposed to a double danger. It is threatened by our enemies, but it is in still greater danger from ourselves. Our enemies have come against us with fire and sword. Fury is in their heart, and the malevolence of desperate, reckless vengeance hurls at us whatever missiles of destruction Europe and America can supply. The fighting material of their own twenty millions, augmented by all that large bounties and the promise of coming plunder and unrestrained riot, can collect out of the most atheistical, anarchical, and unprincipled populations of Europe, come up against us. By land and by sea, by day and by night, through summer and through winter, and in every portion of our extensive territory, we are assailed by multitudes three times as great as we can muster in defence, and armed with engines of destruction unknown in any previous wars, and beyond all former power of resistance. They fight for conquest, and not for honor; avarice, and not ambition, sustains them in their irrepressible conflict. Humiliation, bankruptcy, repudiation, and the scorn and contempt of the world, goad them on in their frantic effort to make subjugation and success repay them for the loss of glory, the destruction of liberty, and national ruin. Restrained by no laws of war, or of nations, or of God, they make the end justify

the means, and might they sanctify as right, and their tenderest mercies are horrid cruelty. The extermination of the whole race, or its reduction to vassalage, are the only alternatives before us, if we are abandoned by God, or by our own perfidious pusillanimity to prefer subjection to that heroic, unconquerable, and long-suffering endurance and sacrifice, by which alone peaceful independence can be achieved. The scales hang trembling in the fearful balance, and while eternal justice holds them in its grasp, liberty or slavery await the speedy issues.*

Are we willing to pay the price of liberty? Let us in another article inquire what that price is, and how and when it must be paid.

* In a recent speech in London, the United States Minister, Adams, "enumerated the great things which had been accomplished since the rebellion broke out. The government at that time was almost disintegrated—now it is solid and firm—able to act with vigor and effect whenever and however it pleased. The people have rallied round the government and maintained the policy of the President. They have money, they have men, and they have ideas which they mean to establish on the only true and successful conclusion of the struggle."