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From the author.

# ESSAYS,

Jno. B. Barber.

## HISTORICAL, MORAL,

## POLITICAL

AND

## AGRICULTURAL.

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"Where '*rational*' liberty is, there is my country."
*Franklin.*

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to publick *opinion*, it is essential that publick opinion should be enlightened." *Washington.*

"Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error." *Jefferson.*

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BY CHRISTOPHER MANWARING,

OF NEW-LONDON, CONN.

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NEW-LONDON:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL GREEN, FOR THE AUTHOR.

1829.

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the thirtieth day of March, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, CHRISTOPHER MANWARING, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"Essays historical, moral, political and agricultural, by Christopher Manwaring, of New-London, Conn.

"Where '*rational*' liberty is, there is my Country."—*Franklin.*

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to publick *opinion*, it is essential that publick opinion should be enlightened."—*Washington.*

"Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error."—*Jefferson.*

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."—And also to the act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

## TO THE PUBLICK.

The following Essays are extracts from productions, written between the years 1803 and 1825; not, however, with a design to the press: but on reviewing, it was thought they might be of *publick utility;* and in revising, such parts have been selected, as were supposed to be most conducive to that *end.*

When speaking of different religions I have given that of Jesus Christ the preference. When speaking of sects, no distinction has been made. This is not the business of a politician. Indeed, it does not come within his province.

Against having any particular denomination established by law, the author has

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taken a decided stand; viewing a national religion a national evil, unless all can agree to the same creed, without coercion.

Perhaps it may be thought, by some, I have borne too hard upon the British nation; but I wish to have it clearly understood, that what is said on this subject is of particular application to the government and administration. As a people I love them: their patriotism, manners, company and language, I prefer to those of any country, excepting my own. To give them their due, the English have carried the arts and sciences to a greater degree of perfection, than any other nation; while the ministry and administration have been tyrannical and oppressive, in the extreme.

The experiment is to be tried, whether the revolutionary principles, as exhibited in the declaration of independence, and the constitution of the United States, *will stand:* they, being the most conducive to the happiness of mankind, have a decid-

ed preference over monarchy and aristocracy. To accomplish the object, it is necessary to resort to *those* principles. It is in this way, and by instilling into the minds of youth ideas of rational liberty, that this best of all forms of government, and its excellent institutions, can be established for the benefit of the present, and from principle, habit, and education descend to succeeding generations.

In the title page, there are sentences selected from the writings of the most distinguished statesmen, that this country ever produced, and who were the most prominent leaders in the American Revolution. It is designed that every page of this work shall accord with the sentiments of these men, presuming that whatever has been written by Franklin and Washington, and approved of by Jefferson, must be deemed politically correct.

Conscious my design is good, I should extremely regret, should publick expectation be disappointed.

THE AUTHOR.

# ESSAYS, &c.

## ESSAY I.

### DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA.

In the History of *North America*, there are four important periods, namely :

The Discovery.—The Settlement by Europeans.—The Separation from the Mother Country.—And the Establishment of a system of government differing from every other on earth.

So important an event as the first discovery, cannot be viewed as uninteresting ; especially, as the circumstances which led to it, are well calculated to enforce upon mankind the belief that America was the part of the Globe reserved by heaven as the asylum for the oppressed of

all nations. In this event we are forcibly struck with the interposition of Divine Providence, with respect to the discovery and its first settlement by Europeans.

North America was discovered in the year 1492. The reformation by Luther commenced in 1517—so that there is but the difference of twenty-five years between the discovery and reformation.

During the long period of one thousand years, previous to the illustrious era of the reformation, the whole world was enveloped in ignorance. A period which has been justly termed by historians, the *dark ages* or the *night of time.* The papal church had extended her dominion throughout christendom—the religion of the gospel was not only corrupted, but the most monstrous absurdities, delusions and cruelties, were introduced and practised. The arrogance, impiety and extravagance of the Priests, could be exceeded only by the ignorance, credulity and blind submission of the Priest *rid-den* People.

The bare recollection of the wickedness of that age, is enough to make the blood run cold, *and freeze the soul with horror!* This was the first union of *church* and *state.* It took place under the reign of Constantine, in the fourth century; and such has been its accursed effects, to the present period.

The reformation by Luther progressed with astonishing rapidity; it took place in England under the reign of Henry VIII, about eighteen years from its commencement, at which time, nearly one half of the christian world had become protestant. In France and those countries where the civil power was in favour of popery, the protestants suffered the most cruel and unheard of persecutions, greater by far than had been experienced by the christians from the heathen. In England the same system was not only tolerated, but established, by law. From the persecutions on the continent, who could have supposed that the same evil for conscience sake,

would so soon have found its way into England, and as the Protestants had so recently felt the full force of *it*, it seems almost incredible that they should so soon imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow christians.

But thus are we again reminded of the direful effects of religious establishments, by law. For scarce had the dreadful storm subsided, when it again arose, spending its force on the devoted Puritans. It had just been Papist against Protestant ; but it is now Protestant against Puritan. The only alternative is conformity to the established order, fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death.—These different modes of punishment were inflicted in some instances under circumstances of aggravated cruelty.

At such a time what was to be done ? They might indeed have sacrificed their consciences to the lust and ambition of tyrants and been received into royal favour. But this would not do. No ! Here

were men who would not surrender their rights—*Rights* to which they were entitled by the God of nature, to any power on earth. Thus straitened which way to look for relief; not a civilized spot on the Globe, offered itself to their longing eyes. To no place could they flee and find refuge, but to this newly discovered world. What was the prospect before them? an extensive ocean; a dangerous coast; a wilderness inhabited by savages and beasts of prey. What but the most daring enterprise, the most finished fortitude, could have qualified men, with their families, for such an undertaking. *Nothing* but liberty and the grace of God. Yes! that *liberty*, civil and religious, the love of which is stronger than death.—Under such circumstances, these intrepid adventurers embarked, and with their wives and children, were preserved through the perils of the trackless deep, reached in safety their desired country; and after encountering in-

numerable hardships, by indefatigable industry, they changed this wilderness into a habitable world.

And here permit me for a moment to arrest your attention, and ask, whether you can cast a reflection on the first discovery of this country, the parallel event of the reformation, and the consequent persecution that drove the first emigrants from their native land, without being impressed with the signal interposition and systematick operation of Divine Providence, in reserving and preparing this country as an asylum for the persecuted of all nations, and laying the foundation of a vast republick, where civil and religious freedom might be enjoyed, and thence diffused to the whole family of man.———

Wonderful, divine interposition!
Incredible human intrepidity!

At our first thought, we exclaim, Oh the goodness of God—how excellent is thy name in all the earth! Therefore do the sons of men delight to put their

trust under the shadow of thy wings.—Therefore do we look unto Thee as our God, and the God of our fathers. Our next thought is—pious and venerable ancestors, what could have induced you to have exchanged your once pleasant homes, for this howling wilderness.—Surely no pecuniary consideration. No! It was liberty—liberty, civil and religious—for the enjoyment of which, you were willing to suffer the loss of all things; and which your posterity have since fought and bled to establish and perpetuate.

It would seem, if there ever was a race of men, who claimed superior homage, it must be these; and our first impulse is, to bow down with all reverence, before these illustrious shades. Yet while we mention their names with veneration, and applaud the spirit with which they opposed oppression and surmounted difficulty, the idea recurs, were these perfect? By no means.—Would *they* persecute? Yes,

they *did* persecute. No sooner had they become settled, than they exercised towards others, the same intolerance they had experienced in England. It was not now protestant against puritan, but puritan against quaker, baptist, and in fact, every man that would not bend to their established form ; and if the persecution was not equal in degree, it was in nature the same, and circumstances considered, more blameable than that which they had suffered.

This was the fittest time to have established a form of government, guaranteeing both civil and religious freedom. But this was not done—and since even these, our illustrious ancestors, men of holy lives, great independence and incorruptible integrity, since even these were bigots and persecutors, where are the men who would not persecute, if they had the means ?—The inference therefore is, that as republicans and christians, the best and safest way is for the people to retain the

power, and be extremely cautious, how they delegate it to any body of men whether civil or ecclesiastical.

Infallibility belongs to God alone. When applied to man, the term is inadmissible. It is the very foundation of popery. All the mischief of popery arose from the credulous idea that the pope was God's vicegerent on earth, and could not err. And, in this place, another idea might be advanced, which if possible, should be written, or rather stamped with indelible characters upon all our hearts. It is this—whenever any particular religion, whether jewish, christian, pagan or mahometan, or any particular sect, whether roman catholick, episcopalian, presbyterian, congregationalist, baptist, quaker, or methodist, is established by law, such establishment necessarily presupposes infallibility, and partakes of the nature of popery; and in whatever part of the world it may exist, whether in India, Italy, Arabia, Geneva, Old or New England, is totally immaterial,

and whoever be at the head of it, whether pope Herod, pope Mahomet, pope Pius, pope George, pope Calvin, or pope D—, is equally so; it is popery in nature, and in proportion as it prevails, will end, in a greater or lesser degree, in the before mentioned evils, resulting from a union of church and state. Be therefore determined by the grace of God, that wherever your lot may be cast, if religious establishments exist in that place, to profess yourself a protestant—protesting against popery of every shape, name, and degree. Let God be the object of your worship, the bible your creed, christianity your religion, conscience God's vicegerent, the world your platform, and man the object of your benevolence.

Although intolerant and oppressive towards others, our ancestors boldly asserted their own rights. Whether from conquest, possession, or by tenure of charters from European monarchs, they considered the soil as their own, and were deter-

mined, (as in the case of their religious principles,) that it should suffer no invasion. It was doubtless owing to this unconquerable spirit of liberty, (though at that time accompanied with much obstinacy,) which they instilled into the minds of their posterity, that stimulated our fathers to that noble and successful stand against the tyranny of Britain, in the cases of the stamp act, tea act, and that presumptive act of parliament, declaring "they had a right to bind us in all cases whatsoever,"—an act of finished tyranny.

## ESSAY II.

### AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

This leads us to the third important period in the annals of our history—the separation from our mother country. We call it the *American revolution*—the court of St. James—the *rebellion of the colo-*

*nies.* In this violent struggle between liberty and slavery, the finger of God is no less conspicuous than in the creation and preservation of man; and it may be considered as a principal link in the chain of events, to emancipate man from the thraldom in which he has ever been held by his fellow mortals. Every feature in this revolution is important, not only to those who achieved it, but to us and our posterity. The parties engaged, the principles involved, the means employed, the end accomplished—tyranny defeated, liberty triumphant, independence acknowledged, and finally, the great example to the world, and its consequent blessings, all conspire to exhibit in one view, one of the most interesting scenes that can be presented to mankind.

The author has spoken and meant to speak of our venerable ancestors, with approbation, and hopes he has bestowed on them their due share of praise; but circumstances considered, he must give the

preference to the men who made and signed the declaration of independence;—if they were not more courageous they were more liberal—if they were not more religious they were more virtuous and tolerant. They might not have loved their own particular sect so well; but as they were friends to civil and religious liberty, they were more benevolent, and liked the inheritors of the soil better. One cannot contemplate the act without astonishment. What was their situation? Small in numbers, scanty in resources, unskilled in arms and the arts of war, thinly spread over an extensive country, vulnerable in every part, liable to the attacks of hostile fleets, that had bid defiance to the ocean, and with frontiers exposed to the enemy, assisted by the merciless savage.—Under these circumstances, was the declaration of independence made. Thus situated, our fathers, sensible of their own weakness, looked to heaven for support—the appeal was solemn and sincere.—It was

registered by the "recording Angel"—answered by assistance, and rewarded by success.—Hear what they say. "Our cause is just, our union is perfect.—We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission by force, or death:—*The latter is our choice; we have counted the cost and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.*" What was the result?—They fought, they bled, their prayers were heard; (and they are always heard in the cause of liberty) they conquered; and to this conquest do we owe our independence, and our exemption from the subsequent wars, heavy debts, and ruinous policy of Great Britain. The contest ended, and in favour of the rights of man; what those rights were, was yet to be determined. They knew what had been wrong, and had now to decide what was right. And this leads us to the fourth important period, the establishment of a new form of government, differing from every other on earth.

As yet we consisted of thirteen separate states. A federal compact was necessary, to our union, strength and permanency.—The experiment was hazardous, but it was made, and we succeeded in establishing a constitution, admirably calculated to keep up the representative system in full vigour; and which if found defective, can be amended and altered, at pleasure—and by it, *thank God*, as a nation, we enjoy liberty of conscience, and freedom from ecclesiastical intolerance. In this undertaking, if we consider the nature of man, the divine agency is no less apparent than in the discovery, settlement, and happy revolution of our country.

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## ESSAY III.

### OF GOVERNMENT.

As the prosperity, happiness and liberty of every man, is in a great measure, con-

nected with government, it becomes his duty as well as his interest, to be acquainted with its principles. And I shall attempt to show that a republican or representative form of government, securing equal rights and privileges to all, is not only the best of all others, but the only one consistent with the prosperity, happiness and improvement of mankind.

From the persevering labors of succeeding generations, almost every art and science has been progressing towards a state of perfection, while the science of government, of all others the most easy to be understood, has been enveloped in mystery, for the purpose of imposing on, plundering, and enslaving mankind.—We find that in almost every country in Europe the same systems which were established in remote ages, still continue.—But to America was reserved the important privilege of taking the first effectual step towards political perfection, and to teach an ignorant world not by theory only, but by

practice, that men were capable of governing themselves.

At the commencement of the American revolution, "long lost liberty" once more began to dawn upon the world. Previous to that important period, we existed under a monarchical government, which we by experience found to be a tyrannical one, as is the case with all monarchies. What end had America in view during the revolutionary contest? Liberty and independence.—Does not this imply that we were before in a state of vassalage and dependence? After we had obtained the end for which we supported the perilous conflict, was then a form of government consistent with liberty and independence established? We think so. The same form of government now exists, and it is the duty of every American firmly and unceasingly to support it. All have the greatest inducements to perpetuate it, as it is the only form conducive to social happiness.

Under a real republican government, all enjoy equal rights—all stand on a level and act on one common floor.—Rights are not transferable like property.—A man may give all his estate to a favourite child, but he cannot bequeath to one greater privileges in society than another. The fee absolute of rights does not exist exclusively in our ancestors, ourselves nor our children, all are but tenants for life in this great freehold. Wherever inequality of rights exists in a state, it is clearly an assumption of one part, and a robbery of the other.—When a law exists, allowing the right of electing, or being elected, to men possessing a certain quantity of property, and excluding those who do not possess such a quantity, it is evident, that this inequality is created by men possessing that quantity, who have invested themselves with power, as a self created part, to the exclusion of the rest. This principle is not only unjust but dangerous; because it must exclude a large number

who cannot feel themselves interested in supporting a government in which they can have no voice. The principle is absurd and unreasonable, be the property more or less, on which rights are made to depend.

A real republican government, is not only the best and most just, but it is by far the strongest and most safe,—for the security and strength of a government most certainly must depend on the numbers who feel themselves interested in supporting it. And consequently, that government cannot be so strong and permanent, which excludes a part from having a voice in it. It is true, while men can be kept in ignorance, and persuaded they have not rights in society, they may be governed the same as beasts of burden, and in a political sense, become "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," for others: but it is equally true, that when the ignorance is gone, and the delusion vanished—when they become enlightened, and feel their

due consequence in society, that it then becomes impossible to deceive them as before. "The fraud being once detected cannot be reacted."

We have read of rebellions, dissentions and civil wars, which originated in oppression, and an abridgment of natural rights; but we never read, heard, or knew of the liberties of a nation being destroyed, or government being in danger, in consequence of all enjoying the fruits of their industry, and the free exercise of their natural rights; therefore, the most just, and by far the most safe way, is for all to enjoy the privilege of exercising them. It is this principle of full and complete representation, which renders a government equal,—and by interesting the whole in its support, gives it strength and permanancy.

Another distinguishing excellency of a real republican government, is this; that under it every person may enjoy the free exercise of his religious opinions.—When

they read of fines, imprisonment, banishment, loss of property and lives, in consequence of ecclesiastical establishments by law, some are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of the christian religion, and think it the cause of those things. But this is an unjust inference, and far from being the case. The religion of the gospel is exactly the reverse in its operation, and has a direct tendency to unite men.—Its true spirit and language is "peace on earth and good will towards men." And it must be completely reversed from the original design, when used under a cloak for the purpose of sanctioning war and ill will, and made to subserve the passions of its worldly hypocritical professors, or pretended friends.

As a free, regular government, never stands in need of ecclesiastical establishments to uphold it; so pure and undefiled religion flourishes best while standing on its own foundation; without human laws, carnal weapons, or the arm of flesh, to

aid its support. But, as a corrupt, tyrannical government, always needs a corrupt religion, as a prop to prevent its falling, so a corrupt religion would fall of itself, was it not upheld by human institutions. Under a truly free government, it is impossible that one sect can persecute another. The laws which place all on a level, would take cognizance of every persecutor as a disturber of the public peace—but under other governments, the persecution and intolerance of the established order is countenanced by law.

I shall now proceed to show, that the characters of men may much depend on the governments under which they exist. And from this view of the subject, it will appear evidently necessary, that the republican form be established, in order that men may conduct like men. For proof, let us turn our attention to Ireland, and take into consideration the distressing situation of that unhappy nation. Are not nine-tenths of the people poor and miserable,

and I may add, politically blind and literally naked? What have men in such a situation to hope for from this world? Unless possessed of an uncommon share of divine grace, they are just fit and ready for the perpetration of the most horrid crimes that can disgrace human nature. When we contrast the American and Irish characters, we are struck with astonishment and are ready to exclaim, what has made us to differ? has nature caused this difference? Some think this the case, and imagine that the nation is naturally worse than others; but this idea is incorrect, and is most certainly a reflection on divine providence, and the God of nature, who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth. This difference of character is owing to nothing more nor less than the government and administration under which they live. The vices characteristick of this unhappy people would never have prevailed to such a degree under a free representative government, but be-

ing ruled by the iron rod of despotism, governed by tyrannical laws, deprived of the means of acquiring useful information, reduced to a state of most extreme poverty, and consequently bereft of that ambition so essential to the welfare of man, is it a wonder they attempt the possession of liberty and property by means which under other circumstances might be improper and illegal. Reduce men, I care not of what nation, to a state of ignorance, vassallage and poverty—let them be lost to all dignity of character by destroying their ambition to be virtuous, and what can be expected from them; does not their hopeless, desperate circumstances, render them fit instruments of wickedness? Are not the haunts of ignorance, poverty and oppression, the *real sources* of almost all the evils that afflict mankind? If some patriotic soul, actuated by motives of genuine benevolence, ventures to hold forth the principles of liberty for the purpose of reforming this state of things, he is imme-

diately selected as the victim of tyrannical vengeance. He is at once apprehended, charged with high treason and rebellion—and finally consigned to the block, imprisoned for life, or banished from his native country, to drag out a miserable existence in exile. How often has this been the case with the best of men—men, who were the ornaments of their age, and ought to have been the boast of their nation. And would not this have been the case in this country, had America failed of success in her revolutionary struggle for independence? Yes. Hancock, Adams, Washington and other heroes, whose revolutionary services and patriotic exertions have rendered their memories dear to every true American, and immortalized their names, had Britain succeeded, would have been branded as rebels, and sacrificed at the altar of British cruelty, and their names been handed down to posterity blackened with infamy and disgrace. These are some of the miseries which result from a strong

energetic government, from which strength and energy, it is the happiness of America to be at present free.

It has been argued, that there is not strength and energy enough in a republican government to stand; that it contains the seeds of its own dissolution, and that there is not virtue sufficient in the people to support it—but such arguments are founded in delusion, and must, to succeed, be directed to the ignorance of mankind. As every person possessed of common sense must perceive on a moments reflection, that even allowing all mankind to be imperfect, it is infinitely more dangerous to give the government to one or a few of those imperfect beings, than to invest the whole with the sovereignty; thus rendering mankind accountable to each other.

The preposterous idea that a *part*, were formed to govern, and that government was not instituted for the good of all, has been followed by a train of evils, which otherwise would not have existed. Still

this is the opinion of all those who are not in favour of a representative form of government. The real language of their hearts must be something like this: "*We* aristocrats are fit to be trusted with ourselves, but *you* the people, are not. It is *our* province to make laws, it is *your* duty to be subjected to them. *We* are our own and belong to ourselves—*you* are not your own, but our property, and belong to us. *We* are *well* born, but *you* are *base* born. The original curse that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow never fell on us, but you are doomed to procure bread for us and our children." Now is this *noble* or *ignoble* language? Be that as it may, it is the language of all those who do not wish for a government guaranteeing and securing equal rights to all.

We scarce know which are most deserving of our pity, or abhorence—the man who would thus sacrifice the rights of others at the altar of his own aggrandizement, or the one who would meanly sub-

mit to those aristocratical impositions. We know that man who is born free and tamely submits to slavery is unspeakably contemptible:—but the man who would sacrifice the rights of another at the altar of his own greatness, forfeits the character of man, and is a being inconceivably abhorant and detestable. Such is man when he swells himself into a demi-god, and such, alas! is he when reduced to ignorance and slavery. As the mind bowed down by slavery, loses in silence its elastic powers—so, when it is buoyed up by folly it becomes incapable of exerting them. Aristocrats do not have just ideas of themselves or of others.—They constantly look through a false medium. When they take a view of themselves, to discover their own greatness, they comparatively look through a convex glass, which makes them appear near, and magnifies them to an enormous size, that is, in their own view. But when they take a survey of those whom they call THE

PEOPLE—they shift the perspective, and look through a concave glass, which diminishes the object. From this view, the common people appear remarkably small and at a vast distance. And they think it perfectly consistent, that the rights, property, and even lives of millions of these little common people should be sacrificed to support their folly and extravagance. What a pity it is that these self distinguished mortals could not obtain a glass, or some instrument, which would discover the true state of their own minds. Would not the most of them find written there *mene-tekel*—and would they not discover, and justly too, that although their bodies were *stall* fed, their minds were as poor as *Pharaoh's lean kine?* It is impossible that the mind which is occupied with titles, stars, garters and ribbons, should ever be great, the childishness of the objects intirely destroys the man. Thus when we view those *great men* in the light of republicanism, stript of all their silly page-

antry and external pomp, we find them just about the size of common men; and if they did not exhibit such striking proof of their knavery and folly, we should be willing to allow them *common sense.*

Whilst three quarters of our globe remain in ignorance, groaning under the yoke of tyranny, and experiencing the calamities of war, the people of the United States, enjoy, in a political sense, solid happiness and unclouded peace. Ours is the only truly republican government on earth, of course we are the most independent and happy.—Our excellent constitution of the general government, is admirably calculated to keep up and perpetuate the representative system in full vigour in all its parts.—We as a people, enjoy liberty of conscience and freedom from ecclesiastical intolerance. Ours is the privilege of pursuing innocent occupations, unobstructed by monopolies.—We are not burthened with oppressive taxes,—being lighter than those of any

other nation and applied to public objects. We enjoy the free exercise of our mental faculties, in speaking, writing and publishing our opinions.—And to crown the whole, we are in the enjoyment of peace amidst a jarring world. These are the blessings resulting from a well administered republican government, and which so eminently distinguish us from all nations, and render America the glory of the world.

## ESSAY IV.

### ON JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

All those visionary and imaginary evils, predicted at the downfall of the late administration, have fallen to the ground. The predictors have all proved false prophets. Not one of their prophecies has been fulfilled—nor one of the evils predicted taken place, or been realized.

They have all vanished, "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

To their utter *astonishment and surprise*, our clergy are as much respected, our bibles as much read, and as safe as at any former period. Our churches yet stand; religion still flourishes; and public and private virtue is practised and encouraged.

To their *sorrow*, information is disseminated; the public mind fast enlightening; our national debt diminishing; our country increasing in wealth; our public credit established and in repute; and our population rapid beyond a parallel.

To their *disappointment*, the industrious cultivator of the soil, the useful artificer, the fair merchant, together with the different professions, all receive the rewards of their labour.

To their *grief and lamentation*, the cause of republicanism is flourishing by the rapid increase of its numbers, especially in New England, and by the accession

of New-Hampshire to the general government. Our country has become more extensive by the addition of a territory, the acquisition of which does honor to the present administration.

To their *vexation and despair*, such is the happy state of our nation, that there is the fairest prospect of having our most sanguine expectations gratified, in the lasting and durable triumph of civil and religious liberty over every species of tyranny.

And it is to their *shame and contempt*, that they ever assumed the character of prophets. How much more to their credit would it have been to have kept silent, and waited with patience, till at least some of their imaginary evils took place.

As respects the general government, every thing appears to be conducted wisely and well—and no man who is a friend to the people, and possessed of information, can take a comparative view of the late and present administrations,

without being struck with the contrast, and giving a decided preference to the latter.

## ESSAY V.

### ON THE EMBARGO.

At a time when at peace with all nations, we have recently, in repeated instances, seen our sovereignty and independence treated with contempt—our national flag degraded—our commerce embarrassed and partially destroyed, by the detention and condemnation of our vessels, the spoliation of our property, the impressment of our American seamen, and the murder of our citizens within the jurisdiction of the United States; and all this outrage and destruction, under circumstances of aggravated cruelty and insult, and by a nation professing friendship and a high sense of national

honour. And to finish the climax, two of the most powerful nations of Europe, have, by orders and decrees, operating in the total destruction of our neutral rights, cut off our intercourse with all nations. In this critical, injured and insulted situation, what was to be done? In what manner retaliate? How seek redress? Must we have recourse to armies and navies, and by opposing force to force, bring them to a sense of justice? No: we were not in a situation to do this. Had we a navy sufficient, and were we instead of an agricultural and manufacturing, merely a commercial nation, and dependent for the necessaries of life on the nation or nations by whom we were insulted and injured, then with propriety might we have recourse to those kinds of retaliating measures. But the case is far different, and the plain and incontestible fact is, that as a nation we cannot with propriety be denominated commercial, but agricultural; and those nations with

whom we have intercourse are far more dependent on us than we are on them. This truth appears with full force from the consideration, that this country, to a great degree, in the commercial line, in exchange for the actual necessaries of life, receives those, which strictly speaking, may be termed superfluous. This shows that those nations, instead of having a redundancy, are in want; not of the luxuries and superfluities, but the ordinary means of subsistence. Their wants are real, not imaginary. But quite the contrary with us. While they are "starving in a foreign land, we have bread enough, and to spare." Our actual wants are amply supplied. For the gratification of our partial and imaginary ones, we are in a degree dependent on other nations.

This contrast exhibits in a striking and convincing manner, the dependence and independence of this and other nations, in a commercial point of view. And

while intercourse could be kept with the belligerent powers, upon mutual principles, we were willing to supply their actual wants, by delivering our produce at their own doors, and receiving in exchange, articles, many of which were wholly superfluous to them in every other respect, and not less so to us. Hence we can exist without them; but they cannot without us.

Placed in these circumstances, can any one be at a loss as to our mode of redress. On this point the voice of God, the voice of reason, and the voice of our country, unite.

The language of scripture speaketh thus:—"Come ye out from among them; be ye separate: for let favour be shown to the wicked, yet will they not learn righteousness, in the land of uprightness will they deal unjustly. Come therefore my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation

be overpast." More appropriate language cannot be made use of.

Listen now to the voice of reason, while it addresseth us in the following manner:

"Americans, consider well your sovereignty, prosperity and resources. Although your internal strength, if united, is sufficient to repel the force of foreign invasion, still you are young—you are not in a state of preparation, (and if you were, it would not be consistent with your interest or happiness) to be implicated in the war of hatred, desperation and extermination of the old world. As a nation, you have internal resources, and are the best calculated of any other to live alone. Still there are nations at a distance with whom you wish to have intercourse. To this I do not object, provided it is conducted on principles of reciprocity. But as those nations injure you, and insist you should take a part in their quarrels, my advice is, to stand

aloof. You are better customers to them than they are to you. You have the staff in your own hands—make no use of it in threatening—but let them know you do not wish to trade or associate with a band of robbers on the high seas, any more than on the common highways; and if they do not desist from such unjustifiable conduct, you will withdraw all connexion; and tame them as you would a tiger, by starving them."

With the voice of both, coincides the voice of our government. On our government having notice of the orders and decrees of Great Britain and France, which operate in the destruction of our commerce and neutral rights, what was to be done? Would it have been proper to have declared war against both nations? Prudence answers, no; this will not mend the matter. Our commerce, if possible would be in a worse situation. Shall we go to war with England? This may be gratifying to the French; but of

what advantage to us; our commerce remains in the same embarrassed condition. The gain on our side would bear but small proportion to the loss. But suppose we had levied war against France. I ask for what? Merely to gratify the British and their agents in this country; for surely we could neither get at them, or their property. Now in either case, our commerce would have been in a worse situation, if possible, than in consequence of the embargo. Not so, says the objector.—"Our government did not conduct wisely: instead of laying the embargo, they ought to have declared war against France—then Britain would have protected our commerce, fought our battles, and defended our rights against the universal invader—who in his boundless ambition for extent of territory, is not confined merely to Europe, Asia and Africa; but in his rage for conquest, is still sighing and grasping for America; and, Collossus like, stands with one foot

on the old world, the other on the new."

Here let any reasonable man, for a moment, pause, and reflect. I will not go so far back as the commencement of the American revolution. I will not point you to the catalogue of grievances, contained in the declaration of independence—nor would I remind you of the dishonorable conduct—the inhuman and savage cruelty of Britain from that time to the conclusion of the war. Look at her conduct since. When after relinquishing her right to govern us, and acknowledging the people of the United States, a free, sovereign and independent nation; has she not, in repeated instances, trampled on our neutral rights; despised our flag, scoffed and jeered at our independence; impressed our seamen; detained and condemned our vessels and cargoes, and even murdered our citizens; thus adding death to injury and insult: and all these acts of outrage and injustice, not only countenanced by her agents and

emissaries in this country, but tolerated and sanctioned by their own government.

I ask any candid American, whether this is the nation to entrust with the protection of our liberties and neutral rights? If so, I exclaim, *O, unhappy and ill-fated America!*—We may forgive, but to confide in or forget them, we never can. The man who in repeated instances has broken into your cellar and robbed you of your provisions, you may perhaps wisely forgive; but afterwards to entrust him with the key, would be consummate folly.

For my own part, I have no particular partiality for George III. or Buonaparte, and think all our apprehensions, respecting either, are groundless, provided we are united among ourselves. Still there are some who think we have much to fear from France, and that we are in jeopardy unless protected by the British navy; thus intimating, that she is fully equal to the conquering of America; and were

it not for the English, Buonaparte would at this moment be employed in the work of subjugation.

To such characters I reply: are you sure but France may conquer England? It is answered no. Well one thing is pretty certain, at our distance from England, we can be but of little use to her in subduing France;—and France, after all, may come off victorious; in which case, think ye, we should fare much the better in consequence of our friendly aid to Britain? If Buonaparte is such a terrible creature, is it not sound policy to let him alone?

But admitting the supposition, that by the assistance of America, England should humble France, could we expect to find more liberal friends in the character of George III. and his ministry? We have tried them again and again, and if at last we should succeed, I should be almost ready to pronounce it the "*wonder of wonders.*" Hence we conclude, that the

best and safest way is, to leave the king of England and the emperor of France to fight their own battles. If they do not use us well, withdraw all connexion, and have nothing to do with either.

This was the policy adopted by our government in laying the embargo; the only safe and effectual measure which at the time, could have been taken; and will, in my opinion, if strictly adhered to, soon convince both England and France, of the vast utility of American commerce.

But it is confidently asserted by some, "that the embargo is a war measure—forced upon us by our government, in compliance with the mandates of the French emperor, for the purpose of bringing us into a war with England."

Let any impartial person read the British orders of council of the 11th of November, 1807, together with the retaliating decrees of France, and he will see sufficient cause for an embargo, separate from the *secret mandates of Buon-*

*aparte.* In addition to these, there is another order of council, sanctioned by parliament, laying a tax on goods landed in England by neutrals, of over thirty per cent. called a warehouse duty.—Were ever the rights of neutrals so violated? Was ever the commerce of a neutral nation thrown into a more injured, perplexed and embarrassed situation? Was ever a government called upon to interfere at a more critical crisis? *At a time*, when our commerce was extended to a greater degree than at any former period—*at a time*, when from the united impulse of self-interest, foreign influence and party spirit, jealousy and suspicion, had arisen to the highest pitch. At *this critical*, this *alarming juncture*, was our government called upon by a sense of national honor; by the sovereignty and independence of their country; by public and private interest, *to interfere.* The government did interfere. It was their duty. The result of their discussions

and deliberations was the embargo. It was the only mean to prevent greater evils than we had experienced. But it is asked, is not the embargo an evil? Simply considered, perhaps it may be termed an evil; but as the only remedy to prevent a greater, I do not think it is. Admitting, however, that it is an evil in every sense, from whence did it originate? Not from the *secret mandates* of Napoleon; but from the *open*, *avowed* and *published* decrees of both England and France, operating in the destruction of our commerce and neutral rights.

But it is said, that Mr. Pickering, and other great men, who have possessed the means of information, are of a different opinion. They say, "they *believe* it was merely a compliance of the administration to the secret mandates of Buonaparte, to plunge us headlong into a war with Britain; thus sacrificing the interests both of England and America on the altar of France." I know they say they

*believe so.* Mr. Pickering has also given us to understand, that he is a good man. But, his goodness, to the contrary notwithstanding, from the tenor of his letter addressed to the legislature of Massachusetts, he has no claim on the public to consider him as a candid or impartial man. For while he is very particular in alarming the fears and exciting the passions, by resorting to secret corruption and the imaginary terrors of the French emperor; he is equally so in concealing the true interests of the nation, and the real causes of the embargo.

The secret corruption of French influence still remains a *secret*; and that the President's conduct was governed with a reference to Imperial commands, *is equally so.* Neither Mr. Pickering's letter, or any other, throws any additional light on the subject—nor, in my opinion, ever will. But as Mr. Pickering's letter answered the end intended, it may be

immaterial with some whether its contents were true or false.

But Buonaparte says, he will have no neutrals. Well, admitting for supposition that he did actually say he would have no neutrals. What then is to be inferred. The people must be told "that France is our *mortal foe*, that England is our *dearest friend*. That France has threatened destruction to our commerce and neutral rights—that England is fighting France for the support of our liberties:—it is therefore the interest and true policy of this country to unite with England, and wage war against France: and if our government do not act agreeable to this mode of reasoning, it is the most convincing proof they are subject to the dictates of the French emperor, and unworthy of the confidence of the people." Is this the language of *union* or *division?* of *peace* or *war?* of a *true hearted American*, or of a *false foreign faction?* I am now upon a topic on which every Amer-

ican ought to feel himself deeply interested.

Permit me, therefore, to call upon the disaffected, upon foreign agents, upon one and all, to come forward and testify, as in the presence of the Judge of the Universe, whether you ever saw any thing in, or heard any thing from Mr. Jefferson, either directly or indirectly, that had the most distant appearance of sacrificing the interests of this country to France. If it can be made to appear that he is guilty, then he has forfeited the national confidence, and is totally unworthy the trust committed to his charge; and I will be found among the first to have him displaced; to have his name recorded, and handed down to posterity, blackened with infamy and disgrace. But if he is not guilty, how wicked; how scandalous; how infamous must that man be, who will invent and circulate such notorious falsehoods, for the purpose of blasting the reputation of the President, and des-

troying the confidence of the people in the present administration.

Admitting Buonaparte had written, or ever had in person directly spoken to Mr. Jefferson, declaring he would have no neutrals. How could the President prevent his saying what he pleased, and what more could be done, than has already been done? The proper answer in this case would have been,—"You say, sir, that you will have no neutrals. Very well; one thing you may rest assured of, that you shall reap no advantage from our neutrality."

Sometimes it is confidently asserted, that Mr. Armstrong has quit France; again it is reported as a fact, that he is massacred.

The next news, all well authenticated, is, that Buonaparte has limited Mr. Jefferson to sixty days to make war with England.

At one time, Mr. Jefferson is represented as being afraid of the French

emperor, and will unconditionally submit to any injunction or command, for the purpose of keeping him at a distance. At another, he would make any sacrifice for the sake of getting him to this country; and readily leave the most dignified and honorable station in the known world, for a small appointment from his imperial majesty.

Now, for what are all these falsities retailed or circulated throughout the United States? Is not the object to delude the honest and industrious part of our countrymen, by imposing on them the belief that America has no liberty, no property, no happiness, separate from Great Britain—that the President of the United States is a decided Frenchman, and that every other American ought to be a decided Englishman. The men, who with such indefatigable industry circulate such monstrous absurdities, are the very same from whom originate the abuse of our government for laying the embargo.

But the embargo is on:—what the the event will be, time alone must determine. The cause of it was the conduct of the belligerent powers of Europe. The men who made the law, were those whom the people of the United States selected, by their suffrages, to legislate and manage the national concerns. If there are any foreign agents, or members of a foreign faction, in this country, who dislike the measure, they will do well to consider, that the fault lies at their own doors—and if they do not like the government and laws of the United States, they are at full liberty to return home; and as dutiful subjects, take their places at the foot of the sovereign to whom they respectively belong: being confident that Americans can manage, at least, their internal concerns, as well without as with them.

Notwithstanding the embargo was a judicious measure, and the only alternative except war; still it must necessarily

have a considerable effect on almost every kind of business. As a commercial nation, we had increased with surprising rapidity, and perhaps too fast for the real prosperity and happiness of our country. It is acknowledged that commerce is a spur to industry: but at the same time, it will not be disputed, that it is a business more hazardous than any other. It also, like any other business may be overdone; in which case it will not support itself. To be conducted prudently, a capital is required, at least equal to the amount employed in trade, otherwise the business must be partly done on credit; consequently, if not insured, at the risk of the creditor.

No event ever gave such a spring to American commerce, as what is termed the French revolution. Soon after the conclusion of the American war, the price of lands, labor, produce, and almost every article of trade, both foreign and

domestic, fell in price, to about the same they were previous to the war.

The revolution in France, and consequent wars, occasioned the demand of our produce in foreign markets. This raised the price of produce and necessarily of land. As some now supposed that all the lands in the United States would soon be in a state of cultivation, it opened a wide field for speculation. No young man of an ambitious make, on seeing one of his poor neighbors, jump, as it were, into an estate in a few days, could be contented to get rich by the dint of industry. It was a powerful stimulant to follow the example. One followed another, till it was discovered that there was more land than could be occupied. The purchases being on a credit, pay-day came—no man wanted to pay—the price had fallen—titles were bad—one fell through after another—the fever subsided, and the business ended. Here was an embargo. What was the

cause of it? The business was overdone, because done on credit.

Now, if at the height of this fever, it had become necessary for government to have passed an act, putting a stop to the business, how many of those speculators, who, notwithstanding their "golden views," were worth nothing, would have exclaimed, *I am ruined! I am ruined! O, this cruel law!* it has stripped me of all my property. Ah! how? Has it taken from you your land or your money? O, no; but it has blasted my expectation. Yes, that is it. It has deprived you of property you never owned—and prevented your buying more, for which you had nothing to pay.

Thus, in some measure, has it been with the commercial and mercantile business. Many have left their industrious callings and engaged in trade and navigation, who had no business with it. I do not mean that a man ought, by law, to be deprived of pursuing any innocent or

useful calling:—but it is inconsistent with honesty or prudence, for a man worth nothing, by telling some plausible story, or by other improper means, to get his credit established; run in debt for a vessel, fit it out—set all his property afloat, incident to numerous risks—and, perhaps, continue the business for years, with the balance of trade continually against him. I say such conduct is inconsistent with prudence or honesty. Still how many instances of it have we, in this country.

Of the failures that have taken place since the laying of the embargo, I presume not one in twenty have happened in consequence of it. What then has been the cause? Why, as Franklin has justly observed, "men may live by their wits, but they generally break for the want of stock."

A person may commence trade insolvent, and continue to grow more and more so through life; but when death comes,

the enchantment is broken, and his real standing becomes known! And if by any accident or event, previous to his death, his business stops, it will have a similar effect in discovering his circumstances. It is not on the principle of putting a stop to credit, or of disclosing men's real standing in life, that I justify the embargo.—These observations have been made, merely to show, that those who find the most fault with the measure, have, of all others, the least reason; and that it is very ungenerous to impute the cause of their failing to our government, when, in fact, they were worth nothing before the embargo. No man, in good circumstances, will continue a business which will not support itself; or when the risk of loss is greater than the chance of gain: but a man insolvent may for the purpose of concealing his poverty. Hence, men really possessed of property, object least to the embargo.

If there ever was a time when foreign intercourse might be suspended, for a

season, without experiencing inconvenience for want of imported articles, it is the *present.*

Is there any want, at present, in this country, of articles of foreign growth and manufacture? There is an abundance, and I might add, a superabundance. If there was a scarcity, the demand would be greater. The same complaint is heard from those engaged in commerce and agriculture. We have property on hand; but there is no sale. What is the reason there is no sale for imported articles? Is there a scarcity of cash? No; there is more real cash, that is, hard money, at this time, than at any former period, and no one will dispute, but there are as many bank bills. It is true, there is not so much money in circulation, neither is it necessary; the most it is now wanted for, is to pay debts. But there never has, in reality, been so much in circulation as appeared to be. A ten dollar bill has frequently been made to count for one hun-

dred dollars, in the course of a day, by shifting through ten different hands; still neither of the possessors was the real owner, and after all, it was but a ten dollar bill.

The scarcity of money is not the grand cause why foreign articles are not in demand; but the reason is, the business has been over-done, and credit is at an end. The true state of the case is, the husbandman and mechanic, have been trusting the commercial part of the community; the banks and monied men have been loaning to the merchant and importer; and, in their rage for extending business, on the foundation of both domestic and foreign credit, they have been heaping upon heap, as though they were determined to export the *new* and import the *old* world; and we have sometimes been almost persuaded to believe, that our produce, consisting of the actual necessaries of life, was of no use but to foreigners;

and that Americans ought to live on tea and rum.

Money ought to represent industry: it is this, and this principle only, and not credit and speculation, that makes a dollar worth a dollar, and count for no more, and establishes a circulating medium.

It is much easier to write a note, or to get money from the banks, by the assistance of an endorser, of sufficient amount to purchase a vessel and cargo, than to raise enough by industry, to pay for them. It is conducting business in this manner, and not the embargo, that causes failures. It is running in debt further than they are able to pay, that makes bankrupts. The embargo has, for the present, put a stop to the business. Credit appears almost at an end.

The price of lands and produce may fall. But the farmer has no reason to be discouraged. Your lands and produce are in reality worth no more on account of the prices being enhanced, by holding

the note of a bankrupt. They still remain the same, actually necessary, worth as much as ever. Cultivate, eat, drink, enjoy, the good of your labour. Complain not in consequence of the embargo; but consider it more prudent to sacrifice the note of an insolvent debtor, than your best interests—the liberties and independence of your country.

Once more, I observe, that the men who exclaim the most against the embargo, make use of the most direct means for its continuance. It is most likely that the embargo will not be raised, until the belligerent powers are disposed to regard our neutral rights, and respect the flag of the United States. Those nations are well acquainted with the design or end of our government, in suspending all intercourse with them. As it is a measure which, in all probability, does not meet their approbation; they, undoubtedly, will stand out as long as possible, before they will negotiate on honourable terms.

Meanwhile they are anxious to learn how the people of this country stand affected towards the measure. Now, if England and France are informed, that the people of the United States, instead of unanimously supporting their own rights and laws, are divided and contending for those of other nations, what will they infer? Why, that there is a party in the United States, who place no confidence in their own government, and would give the preference to another.—Is this the way to accelerate or retard negotiation? To a question so plain, any one can answer.

All laws made and sanctioned by government, referring to the illegal conduct of other nations; bringing them to a sense of justice, and tending to negotiation, ought to be strictly observed by every citizen of the United States.

The least violation of such laws, either directly or indirectly, is inconsistent with the character of an American; tends to

rebellion, and the destruction of the Union ; ought not to be countenanced by any citizen, much less, by those whose particular province it is to guard the laws. If we do not regard our own laws, can it be expected other nations will: in this case we should not be united at home, or respected abroad.

Let us respect ourselves, and submit to the laws of our land. Teach surrounding nations, that in one principle, at least, we are united, namely ; in repelling every foreign aggression, and resisting every foreign foe.

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## ESSAY VI.

### ON THE LATE WAR WITH ENGLAND.

THE "times that tried men's souls" being over, and the perilous contest decided in favour of America ; Great Britain was under the necessity of acknowledging the United States, free and independent. Both professed to forgive, but to forge

was not consistent with the feelings of the one, nor the selfishness of the other.

England constantly sighing and sobbing for what she had lost, and having full proof she could not conquer us by land, yet conscious of her naval superiority, cast her eyes upon the ocean, and soon gave us to understand, that she could restrict our commerce to such laws and regulations as she pleased ; and time and experience have convinced us she was not mistaken. In all instances where intrigue and duplicity have failed, she has applied force, and thus kept America, " dancing attendence," as it were, ever since.

It is presumed, that since the first establishment of our national government, Congress have spent half their time, about commercial regulations and fruitless negotiations with England—during which time, Britain has constantly been making promises, and as constantly breaking them—while many, professing themselves

Americans, grew more and more credulous, as though every promise they broke, or lie they told, bound them by a greater obligation to believe the next.

A catalogue of the injuries and insults we have received for years past, is contained in the report of the committee of foreign relations to Congress, to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, of the 1st June, 1812. But the question may be asked, how are these evils to be remedied? I answer, by a *War*. But why go to *war?* Because the evils are too great to be borne, and every pacific measure, which human policy could devise, has proved ineffectual. Why would not an embargo answer? Because certain characters, who are more under the influence of avarice than patriotism, or were more influenced by foreign politicks than their own, with the aid of Britain, violated, or encouraged the violation of the laws. But will it not be the same with respect to

war? No. The risk is greater, as England will make prizes of those vessels, which in the other case, she would encourage and protect. Besides, terms of war will admit of more decided measures being enforced upon those who violate the laws made by government, for the purpose of bringing an enemy to just terms.

But if after the most justifiable and unanswerable reasons which can be given, and which have been repeated frequently in the hearing of almost every man, woman and child, you should again repeat the question, *Why go to war?* Do view yourself as the owner of an American vessel, peaceably pursuing a lawful trade with a foreign nation, boarded by a British man-of-war, carried into one of their ports and condemned, or subjected to illegal restrictions, amounting to nearly the same—after petitioning for redress till you are convinced you are but adding expense to the original loss. Then if

you are not satisfied, place yourself in the situation of an American seaman, torn by force from his vessel, thence transported to the most distant and deadly clime, subjected to hardships of almost every description, and doomed to drag out, in exile, a miserable existence, separated from all he holds dear on earth.—Should you still remain unconvinced—then behold your nearest friends murdered, within the jurisdiction of your own country, by the authority of British commanders, and the inhuman dictators of the horrid act, viewed as the complacent objects of governmental favour, and fit subjects for promotion. Then turn your eyes eastward, and behold, an agent or emissary employed by the government of Great-Britain, for the purpose of effecting a division of the Union. If conviction still be wanting, look westward. Place yourself at the head of a family on our frontiers, and witness the tragic scene of the friend of your bosom, and your

innocent children falling a prey to savage barbarity, and expiring under circumstances of aggravated cruelty—at the same time having a full knowledge, that your government has taken every pacific method to obtain redress and reconciliation. If after this, you again repeat the interogatory, why go to war with England? What occasion for it? She has done us no essential injury. What answer can be given. "We sometimes experience sensations to which language is not equal, and in the torture of thinking become dumb, till the struggle for expression is so great, that it discovers itself in every motion of the body, and every finger, as it were, tries to become a tongue." Similar must be the sensations of every friend to his country, while listening to such repetitions, till at length too full to contain himself, the door of utterance is burst open, and he justly exclaims, *good God!* is it possible that an American, who has the least spark of patriotism, and in the

face of the fullest evidence, having seen and experienced to the degree you have, can repeat the question, why go to war ? The very question itself, under such circumstances, affords one of the strongest reasons for war, that can possibly be produced—while it discovers that you are so *far gone*, so *entirely lost* to the best interests of your country ; so completely hardened against conviction, that there can be no hopes of your recovery—any further reasoning would be like "administering physick to a dead man, or attempting the conversion of an Atheist by scripture."

Every gentle mean has been tried in vain, to bring England and the faction in this country, to a sense of duty. Palliatives and mild correctives will no longer answer. More powerful remedies must be applied. To talk of reconciliation would be fallacy. The cup of forbearance is now emptied to the last drop—and as a Milton wisely expressed it, "ne-

ver can true reconcilement grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

The voice of our country calls for unanimity. Its voice will not only be heard, but must be obeyed. The declaration of war is not only necessary but constitutional. The laws of the general government with respect to it, must be constitutionally adhered to by every State, otherwise the most serious evils will result. No individual is under stronger obligations to observe the laws of this State, than this and every other State, is those of the United States. And in case of the avowed hostility or resistance of one State, it will be actual war against the rest. In an event of this kind it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretell the consequences. It would introduce at once, what in England, is called the levelling principle. There would be no protection either for property or lives—but all laid waste by the whirl-wind of anar-

chy and confusion. But from the anticipation of such an event, I willingly withdraw.

If each State is to the United States, what each individual is to the State in which he resides:—then as States, how dear and invaluable is our union. Before it every other consideration vanishes.—On this, our character, as a nation depends.

It is the flag of the United States, which must render our ships or commerce safe, on the seas or in foreign ports. "United we are formidable, separated we are a medley of nothings, and shall become the prey and sport of foreign powers." If we are only united at home, and duly assert our sovereignty as united and independent States—our situation, resources and force, will be amply sufficient to command respect from every nation.—Then will free ships make free goods; then will the American flag cover the vessel; be the only effectual protection to

those who sail under it, and our property be transported unmolested to every port. But otherwise, "our flag, however beautiful to the eye, or however delightful the contemplation of its origin," by its insult, will bring sorrow to our hearts and degradation to our national character.

As to the duration of the present war, that also will depend upon our being united in supporting it vigorously. Great Britain's most sanguine hopes rest on our being divided. May our *united* exertions disappoint her expectations. She must be made to know that the present politicks of the two countries can never unite. A total reformation must first take place in England. She must first have a more expanded soul, and instead of quarelling with the world, by her profession and practice, convince mankind she is not their enemy. Her wretched policy and ministerial intrigues are well understood, and threaten dissolution to her govern-

ment. America is too experienced to be imposed upon, too wise to be duped, and too virtuous to be corrupted. "The idea of seducing her from her independence, or dissolving her union, is too little for a liberal mind, and impossible for an honest one to attempt. Politicks, which in their application have a tendency to debauch mankind, and dissolve the virtues of human nature, are truly detestable, and the statesman, on their plan, is only a commissioned villain."

What is the government of Great Britain, that we should discover any partiality for it? Its commencement was unfriendly to the rights of man; and instead of becoming more pure from age and experience, it has been growing worse and worse. It seems entailed with a curse, and the nation that adopts its policy must expect to sink with her into the abyss of ruin to which she is fast verging. Do I exaggerate? Look, but for a moment, at her history. Almost every page is stain-

ed with human blood, as though life was so long, as to render it necessary to shorten the period of its duration. So that monarchy, as some pretend to assert, does not preserve a nation either from internal or external wars. The whole history of England proves the contrary. Thirty-two Kings and two minors, besides the present Prince Regent, have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the conquest. In which time there have been no less than eight civil wars, and upwards of twenty rebellions. The contest for monarchy and succession, between the houses of York and Lancaster, laid England in a scene of blood for many years. Besides sieges and skirmishes, there were twelve pitched battles between Edward and Henry. Twice was Henry prisoner to Edward, who in his turn was prisoner to Henry. Henry was taken in triumph from a prison to a palace, and Edward obliged to flee from a palace to a foreign land.—

Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward called to succeed him. The quarrel was grounded on personal matters only, and as respected the Kings, perhaps right enough; but the nation had to bleed.

For many centuries, more than fifty years out of an hundred, has England been engaged in war. Whether the cause was justifiable, or not, was not thought worthy of consideration. Power, not right, was with her the moving principle, and when she could not conquer, her policy was to divide. Her fleets have proved a curse to the world. They have been employed as the engines of prey, and acted on the surface of the deep the character the shark does below it. Her ministry are distinguished for diplomatic intrigue and duplicity, and have rendered themselves hateful to all nations. Her religious are equally corrupt with her political institutions, and form a part of her civil government.—

The rights of conscience have seldom been enjoyed in any reign. Hence persecution, fines, imprisonment, exile and death, have been the fate of dissenters. Some of the most distinguished characters for virtue, science, patriotism and piety, such as Sidney, Latimer, Lock, Atterbury and Emmet, have been the subjects, and many of them the victims of tyrannical vengeance. It is impossible but from a fountain so corrupt, the streams should be impure, and by them the poison communicated to all nations. Hence Britain may be emphatically termed, the "*universal corruptor.*" She has set nation against nation, sowing the seeds of faction and discord, and as before observed, when she could not conquer, her policy has been to divide. Till at length she is considered the common enemy of mankind: hated by all nations.

The present crisis is important. He who now comes forward in his country's defence, is entitled to its love, protec-

tion and reward. Let him who does not bear arms, contribute liberally to the support of him who does. He who does not aid in the support of a war which involves the independence of his country, discovers his want of patriotism, forfeits all claim to protection, and deserves to be doomed to slavery,

May the troops of the United States, and the military of each State, if called into actual service, display that courage and patriotism, for which American soldiers have been distinguished; and receive that support, respect and encouragement from their fellow-citizens, which their meritorious conduct will deserve. May they adopt the language of the American Hero—"Life for my country in the cause of freedom, is but a trifle for a man to part with, and if preserved in so great a conquest, life is redoubled."

We are called to unanimity and exertion. If our rights were worth fighting for to obtain, when invaded, it is our du-

ty to defend them. "No ability ought to sleep, that can produce a mite to the general good. Nor even a whisper to pass unnoticed that militates against it. The crisis is such as to admit of no delay from a friend, nor apology from an enemy." The war is the *nation's war*, the *people's war*. A war for the just rights and independence of our country; and he who avowedly opposes it, deserves not the name of an American. His property ought to be appropriated to the support of a better cause, and the place of his residence filled by a better man.

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## ESSAY VII.

### ON PATRIOTISM.

PATRIOTISM is a noble virtue. It calls into action some of the best feelings of the human heart. It divests its possessor of every unworthy motive, and renders him liberal, compassionate, and

brave. Its ultimate object is not the aggrandizement of an individual, or a party; but the welfare of the nation. As in a religious sense, without charity we are nothing, that is, destitute of every grace. So in a civil one, if destitute of patriotism, we are wanting in every social virtue. The man who is wanting in this virtue, is sordid and contracted in his views. *Private*, separate from *publick* good, is with him the grand principle of action. The salutary laws and legal restrictions of his country, will be broken and disregarded; and the best interests of the nation sacrificed, if they do not subserve his selfish ends.

Such a character is totally unfit for publick office, particularly in time of war, or when differences exist between his own and other nations. For being destitute of love of country, he is vulnerable, and the lure of ambition, or the pecuniary consideration held out by the enemy, will induce him to betray his country. Hence

the maxim of these corrupt politicians, "that every man has his price."

Not so with the patriot. He views himself as acting only for the nation's good. No promises, threatenings, nor other considerations can prevail with him to sacrifice the interests of his country.

I will mention an instance of the purest patriotism, which occurred during the American Revolution. In the year 1779, an attempt was made by Great-Britain, to compromise all differences between the two countries, but in a manner which was thought dishonourable. One of the commissioners applied to Mr. Reed, an American General, offering 10,000*l.* and any office in his Majesty's gift in the colonies, provided he would use his influence in bringing about an accommodation. This offer the General considered as an attempt to bribe him, and therefore replied: "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the King of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it." Here

was a man evidently *above all price*. And thousands were the characters engaged in the American war, who could not be tempted to apostacy, by all the charms of gold, titles and nobility. Whence was it that so few of our army deserted to the enemy, or that our brave sailors, chose the horrors of prison-ships and death, rather than fight against their country? It was their *patriotism*. Patriotism stronger than death. And is the American nation more destitute of it now? By no means. Let but the exigencies of the country require it, and it will operate like electricity from one end of the continent to the other.

## ESSAY VIII.

### ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1776.

THE 4th of July, 1776, appears to be the day set apart by Heaven, as the *birth-day of Liberty*. Shall we suffer its com-

memmoration to pass disregarded ? No ; let us rather regard it as our *political Sabbath.*

*This day*, the most interesting of any in the annals of America, ought ever to remain fresh in the recollection of all her sons, and its return to awaken the livliest sensibility in their hearts. It may emphatically be denominated the *birth-day* of the United States. And surely, the recurrence of the anniversary of that day, which gave birth to a nation, and especially, the remembrance of those immortal sentiments, which actuated and inspired the patriots of '76, to arise from the degraded subjects of the King of England, to that of free and independent citizens of a republic, and assume a national and independent character, are considerations, calculated to call into action, sentiments far different, and by far more congenial with the patriotic soul, than the observance of the birth-days of the greatest princes, statesmen or heroes, that ever existed.

*The return of this day*, is calculated to excite the most patriotic feelings, and awaken the recollection to events that ought never to be forgotten. It was on the 4th of July, '76, that our fathers resolved to free themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Britain, or die in the attempt. Their declaration was made with a solemn appeal to the Judge of the Universe. The answer was propitious, for during the struggle, it was evident the Lord was on our side. Had not the separation have taken place, we must necessarily have been involved in the wretched policy, heavy debts, and distressing wars of England, with all the attendant evils.

*The return of this day* brings to our reflection what we were, and but for the revolution, what we should now have been; the fond remembrance of departed sages and heroes; a grateful feeling for those who survive and continue steadfast; the congratulation of each other, and

above all, unfeigned thanksgiving to that God whose tender mercies have been over these his works, and who permits us still to enjoy the blessings handed down to us by our fathers.

*This day* calls to our remembrance, sentiments which patriotism approves, which virtue justifies and which Heaven rewards. Sentiments, which the sages of our revolution laboured, but not in vain, to inspire. Sentiments, which it is the interest and glory of every American to defend and perpetuate. The sentiments are, *the love and independence of our country.* Here Americans, whether denominated federal or republican, if they ever unite, must unite.

Festivity and external performances, constitute but a small part of the business of this day. The due observance of it is calculated to arouse into action some of the best feelings that ever emanated from the heart of man, and we by commemorating it, profess our attachment to the

principles of the revolution. Let us then exhibit a consistency of character, and our conduct be such as shall do honor to those principles. May we consider that the first step towards a regular government, is self government; and that the basis of all publick virtue, is private virtue; and if these are not duly cultivated, it matters but little, what our form of government is, or by what name it is called. May we avoid discord, faction and every vice:—practice industry, temperance, prudence, moderation and the whole train of republican virtues. May we never suffer party views, or local prejudices to divide us, or prevent us from pursuing the public good. And may the principles of genuine republicanism, become as extensive as the human race, and be handed down, unsullied, to the latest posterity.

# ESSAY IX.

## ON TAXATION AND RIGHTS OF SUFFRAGE.*

In no part of the United States, do taxes operate more unequally than in the State of Connecticut. The mode of taxation here, is calculated to injure the poor and favour the rich man. Even the poll tax, in some towns, amounts to more than one half of the whole amount of the levy. Consequently in those towns, property does not pay one half of the taxes. Yet property, and that *only*, must constitute a man a legal voter.

According to the laws of this State, the poor man who pays a poll tax, does military duty, and works two days in a year on the highways; pays annually a larger tax than is paid on sixteen houses of the first class—calculating the houses at three thousand dollars each, his tax is

* Written in 1804.

equal to that of forty-eight thousand dollars worth of property in houses. If he has two sons or apprentices between eighteen and twenty-one years of age, his yearly tax is more than equal to that of thirty-six dwelling-houses, or property in houses to the amount of one hundred and eight thousand dollars This is indisputably true ; and there are instances enough in this State, of men who pay a tax yearly, equal to what is here stated. Still they have no voice in the government which they contribute to support ; are not allowed to vote in either town, or freemen's meetings, and go unrepresented from year to year. What can be more unjust, more unequal than this ? And yet it is the case with many an old war-worn soldier, who has braved death at the cannon's mouth, to establish the revolutionary doctrine, that *taxation and representation are inseparable*, and that taxation without representation, is tyranny. This tyrannical principle, reduced

to practice, was the chief cause of our separation from Great-Britain. America was taxed in the British Parliament, but not represented there. Perhaps it may throw some additional light upon the subject, to quote a sentence or two, from the speeches of two celebrated members of the British Parliament.

Mr. PITT, in the House of Commons, with an original boldness of expression, observes, "Let the sovereign authority of this country, over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever, that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and do any thing except taking the money out of their pockets without their consent."

Lord CAMDEN, in the House of Peers, in strong and pointed language, said, "My position is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour, *taxation and representation are inseparable.* This po-

sition is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury. Whoever does it, commits a robbery."

Thus, according to the sentiments of some of the most distinguished members of the British Parliament, taxation without representation, is both tyranny and robbery. And, indeed, I think it must appear so to every honest man. But say our *steady-habit* men, "it is not right for those who have no property, to vote away the property of others." Neither is it right for you to vote away the poor man's labour. If you do not believe his labour is as useful to society as your money, suspend industry for six months or a year, and see which then will be the most called for at the expiration of the time.

I contend that every man, whether poor or rich, who is a good member of society, ought to have a voice in that government, of which he contributes to the support; also a voice in laying that tax of which he pays a part. If this reasoning is not acceptable, and men cannot be made freemen, because they do not own or possess property, or at least enough to constitute them voters, according to the laws of this State, then repeal the laws which oblige them to pay taxes. If you do not, and call on them for a tax, the old revolutionary doctrine, that taxation and representation are inseparable; and that taxation without representation, is tyranny and political robbery, *stares you full in the face!*

I cannot conceive that there is any danger in extending the right of suffrage to every man, who is a good member of society. There will always be a large majority among the whole, who will possess virtue and information sufficient to see

and feel the necessity of supporting government.

It must be admitted, that all those who wish to have men excluded the right of suffrage, because they do not possess property to such an amount, do not mean the exclusion should fall on themselves. But suppose the right of suffrage is made to depend on an inconsiderable quantity of property. It only discovers liberty in disgrace, and still makes rights depend on property ; in which case they depend on mere accident. If property entitle me to the right of voting, the loss of it ought to disfranchise me. And it is totally immaterial, as it respects the justness of the principle, whether you make a horse, a cow, or a sheep, the criterion for voting. But in this case, let the question be asked, in whom does the right originate ? Why in the horse, cow, or sheep, to be sure. They possess the right but the man may exercise it. What a ridiculous idea this. Again, property

may be acquired without merit, and it may be lost without crime ; and there is as much propriety, that the means by which property is obtained be made a criterion, as that property itself should. Indeed, it would be abundantly more consistent to confine the right of suffrage to moral character, than to property.—And surely wealth cannot be considered as any part of morality, neither does poverty imply the want of it.

I do not wish to be understood as advancing the idea, that property ought to be equal among mankind. The different means of acquiring it, necessarily establishes an inequality. The indefatigable industry of some, and the extreme negligence of others—besides fortunate opportunities, superiority of talents, and dexterity of management, with their opposites, all have a tendency to perpetuate this inequality. Some, perhaps, do not wish to acquire more than is necessary for a comfortable subsistence, while

others are for amassing wealth by every means not punishable by law. But one thing respecting property is absolutely necessary, which is, that it be justly obtained, and not criminally employed—when made a criterion of rights, it is always employed criminally.

The right of voting for representatives, is the only one, by which all others are protected. Take away the right from a man, and he is immediately subjected to the will of another, which is reducing him to a state of slavery. The distinctions in society will ever be in proportion to the numbers excluded from the exercise of their natural rights, together with the ignorance of the times.

If we are in indigent circumstances, still realize, that we have rights which cannot be bought or sold. Realize that our independence, was, in a great degree, achieved by men of small property; and as they assisted in planting and rearing the tree of Liberty, they

have a right to repose under its shade, and partake of its fruits. Rights are equal among all classes of men. The laws ought never to make a distinction. The right of dictating does not belong exclusively to one more than another.—The poor man's privilege among the rich, is equal to the rich man's among the poor. Industry is full equal to money, and we can better dispense with the latter than the former. Thus the rich and the poor are equally dependant.

But how are the evils of unequal taxation and exclusive suffrage to be remedied in this State? I know of but one way, which is, a change of officers. So long as the men now in office are kept in, so long we must suffer those evils to exist. But as soon as there is a majority of men of the right stamp, friends of equal rights, in both houses of the legislature, then will those oppressive laws be repealed, and just ones enacted.—Then will the *old charter* be dispensed

with, and a constitution formed, fixing bounds to rulers, and saying to legislatures, thus far shall ye go and no farther. We shall then see men rank according to personal merit; not according to the piety and worth of their fathers and ancestors; neither according to their houses, occupations and professions. And instead of a haughty, imperious, scornful and tyrannical conduct and behaviour in one part of mankind; and a mean, servile, degrading carriage and manners, in the other, we shall see an open, frank and manly independence of manners, and propriety of conduct in all, a respect of man for man.

## ESSAY X.

### ON MUTUAL DEPENDANCE AND INDEPENDENCE.

I HAVE long been of the opinion, that neither birth, rank, equipage or wealth,

constitutes *the man ;* but correct sentiments reduced to practice. This is the source whence originate real greatness, true nobility and genuine goodness. All other greatness is comparative littleness; all other nobility sinks into ignoble *no*-ability ; and all other goodness is but a delusion.

A sincere adherence to truth as represented to the mind, reduced to practice, is the only standard both for our civil and religious creeds. If they will not bear this test, our light is but darkness ; our religion is but enthusiasm, delusion or hypocrisy, and our political sentiments erroneous and partial in the extreme.

For what was man sent into the world ? is not an impertinent, but an important question. As a christian I would answer, to love his God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself. This may be said to comprehend all the duties both in civil and religious life. But confining the question to a political sense, I reply,

to do and get good—or in other words, by a virtuous life, to make himself happy, and by a continuation of the same mean, to augment the happiness of his fellow-man. To faithfully discharge both duties, is the great business of a virtuous man's life. "Every species of virtue or happiness, which has any other foundation, however beautiful and splendid in appearance, are in reality but empty names." We here find the distinction between wisdom and folly; virtue and vice; and I know not but greatness and littleness, as appropriate to man.

Respecting the term greatness, it is frequently perverted in application to man. Solomon informs us, that, "greater is he who commandeth his spirit, than he who taketh a city." Reason is the distinguishing characteristick of man; and acting agreeable to enlightened reason, is what constitutes him both great and good. Separate goodness from his character, and he has but a sorry claim,

even to the name of a man. He may be bulky as to his body, yet possessed of a very small soul. His estate may be large and extensive, but his mind narrow and circumscribed. Greatness and goodness, I am sensible, are words of different import; but greatness, applied to man, will hardly bear, when separated from goodness. I choose rather to join with the poet, in counting "*those only*, who are *good* and *great*."

In this life our wants are various: some natural and absolutely necessary; some self-created, and from habit partially so; others merely superfluous and imaginary. From these wants originate the various pursuits and employments of mankind.—The utility of the business or occupation in which they are engaged, depends on the real necessity of the article which their industry produces. Hence we say the calling of the husbandman is the most honorable, because the produce of his labour is the most essential to our existence.

The next class in point of utility, is that of the manufacturer or mechanic. Among their various occupations, some are more, some are less useful, in proportion as the article made or manufactured is more or less necessary.

The third and last class I shall mention particularly, are those styled merchants, or venders of the produce or articles, after having passed through the hands of the farmer, manufacturer, or artisan. These men, in their employments, cannot be considered so necessary to the existence of society, as either of the former. They never originated from necessity, but convenience. It cannot therefore, strictly speaking, be said that the merchant is a necessary, but a convenient man.

In addition, might be mentioned the employments of professional characters and others ; but I only observe, they are all useful when honourably pursued ; and each one must be viewed more or less

so, as each province is more or less necessary.

These observations have been made partly for the purpose of showing what particular men are the most useful in society. The principle is this; that the business or occupation that is the *most necessary* is the *most useful:* and if the word honour can be applied to callings, or men on account of their callings, it in a peculiar sense applies to the most necessary. By what principle in philosophy or religion, mankind judge that there is more merit and attention attached to a ribbon, or piece of gauze, than to a hoe or grid-iron, I am at a loss to determine. Or why there should be more honour or respect given the man who stands behind the counter and vends the articles, than the husbandman and manufacturer, is equally unaccountable. But such is the vanity of the human mind, that when it leaves real substances, it pursues shadows; while on the flight, not unfre-

quently lights on equipage, parade and external show; and in its rage for gratification, how often is real utility sacrificed to vanity and extravagance. With respect to the honour attached to men on account of their employments in life, it very much depends on their acting well their part in the station they fill, or calling they follow. Agreeable to the words of the celebrated Pope—

> "Honour and shame from no condition rise,
> Act well your part—there all the honour lies."

From the absolute wants of men originate their mutual dependance. Man in the strictest sense, is dependant. He comes into the world more helpless than any other being, and longer needs the assistance of those from whom he derived his existence. Even when arrived to full strength of body and mind, he has wants which considered in himself, he cannot satisfy. As old age advances, the necessity of assistance increases. Thus, from the moment he draws his infant breath; from

the cradle, through the whole bustle and business of life, and I might add, till he is deposited in the "deep, damp vault," is he dependant on his fellow-man.

This lesson of mutual wants and dependance, if duly attended to, would do much towards regulating our conduct towards each other in society. It addresses every individual thus—"Man behold thyself. Consider well thy existence; thy condition; the relation in which thou standest to thy fellow-man. What is thy life? The brevity of which may be justly compared to a vapour lost in the air! a flower fading in the sun! a dream vanishing in the morning! What art thou? but a being of yesterday, possessed of a body liable to infirmity, disease and death. A mind knowing comparatively nothing; happy only in embracing the truth, but prone to err; putting light for darkness, and darkness for light; wandering in the mists of error, ignorance and delusion. With discordant

and contending passions; which if let loose, will scatter death like a whirlwind; causing the destruction of thyself and others. Alone in the world, thou findest thyself a poor, forlorn, destitute, forsaken creature; having desires thou canst not gratify; having wants thou canst not supply—pining for society, and languishing out a miserable existence.—Then consider well the relation in which thou standest to thy fellow-man. In society thou mayest be sheltered from the heat and cold—thy hunger and thirst be allayed. Here thy sorrows may be soothed; thy joys participated; thy tears sympathized; thy pains alleviated.—Learn then from thy need of others, to administer to others. Go visit the sick; feed the hungry; clothe the naked. As thou wishest for the enjoyment of thine own right, learn to respect the rights of thy neighbour. Dost thou wish others to rejoice in thy prosperity and happiness? rejoice then in the happiness and

prosperity of others. Finally, do as thou wouldst be done by." *Thus* it becomes every man to think, *and thus* it becomes every man to act. Were this the case, what a happy change would be wrought in our world. Instead of the tyger-like spirit of revenge, we should discover the lamb-like spirit of forgiveness. In the place of falsehood, slander, envy, hatred, persecution, malice, fraud, and the whole train of vices, we should find truth, candor, sincerity, love, toleration, meekness, honesty, and the whole train of virtues. But we *pause* and reflect, O, how happy, were it so ! We think, and *wish* it were so ; we think again, and *lament* it is not so—then end with the sad reflection—*Alas ! poor human nature !*

# ESSAY XI.

## ON REFORM AND CHANGE.

Let those teach others, who themselves are taught,
And those bear rule, who govern well themselves.
A publick man must have a publick heart,
Or *publick acts* will end in *private views*.

If a change of men in office, and a change of measures, necessarily implied political reformation, no danger would accrue to a State, from a sudden removal from office, of every man in publick life. But as political change and political improvement, are by no means inseparable, and a total change of officers, rather the work of revolution than reformation, it behoves reformers, to conduct themselves prudently, lest while in the attempt to give health and vigour to the body politick, they by rashness, indiscretion and overaction, debilitate and destroy it.

To discern with accuracy, the nature, bearings, connections and nice depend-

encies of the constitution, laws and government, necessary for a well ordered State, requires the eye of a sagacious theoretical politician—but, to select for the people, qualified and disinterested men, who can so administer such government and laws, that equal rights may be enjoyed, and liberty and tranquility go hand in hand, requires an extent of knowledge, both of men and things, in all relations and circumstances; and such an uncommon share of candor and patriotism, as seldom, if ever, falls to the lot of one man to possess.

That perfection is not attainable by man either in a moral, civil or political sense, is no reason why he should not progress in improvement, to that degree, which his nature and advantages admit of; and were every one disposed to do this, no doubt, but there would be an alteration in society for the better, apparent to the most superficial observer.

But we must consider men and States

as they are; and reason and infer from their present situation; not from what they should be, or what the benevolent heart would have them. Were all men virtuous, we could not conceive the necessity of civil government, at least while they continued so. But that this is not the case, and that there is in the State of Connecticut, even in its present improved state of society, sufficient room for political reform and improvement, no person of ordinary discernment can doubt, and that there is need of it, all good men will agree. Yes; here is work for *wise heads* and *virtuous hearts*. But subtract from the list of information and abilities, men of design, ambition and avarice only, and how *few* alas! will remain to take the lead or management in State affairs.

To ascertain as nearly as may be, the reform necessary; or in other words, to do away what is politically unnecessary and wrong; to introduce and establish what is politically necessary and right,

by the best means and in the best manner, is doubtless the wish of every enlightened and well disposed man. I shall not however, at present, say any thing with regard to the existing evils; but confine myself chiefly to the mode of managing and conducting the business of reform. Before proceeding farther, I would premise, that by the word *change*, I wish it to be understood as applying to a change or shift of men—and by the word *reform*, political improvement.

With us as with every other republican or representative form of government, all power originates in the people. Our rulers are from ourselves; and no public officer, continues in office, except re-elected or appointed, more than one year*—the democratic branch of the legislature being elected semi-annually: thence ruled and rulers may all be included in the words—"*the people.*" With the people, therefore, must the work of

* Written previous to the adoption of the constitution of Conn.

reform commence, by them conducted, and by them must all changes be made. As they now occur to my mind, perhaps in no better place, can I use the words of the beloved and immortal Washington —"That in proportion as publick opinion gives force to the structure of government, it is essential that the publick mind be enlightened." The words will also apply to the administration of government.

It is essential that the people be informed, in order to select suitable persons to compose the legislature—as on that depends, not only the enacting of just laws, but in a great measure, the just and faithful administration and execution of them. And in no instance does information appear more essentially important and necessary, than for the purpose of preventing the delusions and impositions, originating from intrigue, ambition and avarice. Elections corrupted by fraud, bribery and undue influence, and

rational, civil and religious liberty, never can amalgamate or exist at the same time. Virtuous and enlightened freemen, will be most likely to *select* and elect the most virtuous and enlightened candidates and officers.

It is a maxim which will prove true, either in a moral or political sense, "that what we easily obtain, we too lightly esteem." The rights and privileges of a Nation or State, are but trifling to a people who neither realize or enjoy them. We must learn and experience the utility of a thing, before we can duly appreciate its value. Knowledge of men and things, acquired by actual experience, is a work of time. A great general must first have been a good soldier, acquired courage and the arts of war, by fatigue and combat; and how to command by having served well in subordinate stations. No man ever became eminently wise, learned or good, in a moment.

Improvements in the arts and sciences,

have been progressive ; and the only reason is, that the one is theoretical and the other practical. Science being generally acquired by books and study, while art is the product of observation and actual experiment. All reformations of a religious, moral or physical nature, must become matured, to be effectual and permanent. It is the order of nature and confirmed by observation.—Time, although the greatest innovater, works imperceptibly, though silently and thoroughly.

In all reformations, it is safe for practice to precede profession—and particularly with respect to political improvement, let the work be gentle and gradual, which in the end will prove, it is presumed, the most practical, safe, effectual and least dangerous and expensive mode : and to prevent re-action, be extremely cautious, lest the change produce the reformation, and not the reformation produce the change. Which if the case,

your reformation will be without improvement.

The first steps towards a reformation are generally correct, that is, there is cause of complaint with the people—and the grievances in representative governments, would be redressed without much difficulty or animosity, were it not for the interference, duplicity and intrigue, of a few selfish, designing individuals, who by their over-action, either destroy themselves or produce infinite mischief.—They are what may be justly termed the excresences of democracy, and will never be productive of harm, when the people, whose interests are materially the same, are duly enlightened. But when this is not the case,

> "They meteor-like fly lawless through the void,
> Destroying others, by themselves destroyed."

In the thirst for power, they forget right, and under the name of liberty, cloak licentiousness. Their ultimate object, or selfish ends, are ever kept from

those they suppose the subjects of delusion. And when about to carry their concerted plans into execution, they exclaim—"we are no office seekers, neither do we wish for an office, God knows —we have no more in view than the good of the people"—when it requires but half an eye, to discern, that they are acting solely for themselves, or have some favourite in view for promotion, whom they suppose will best subserve and accomplish *their* private ends. Such men, a few at least, there are in society, who are ever ready to step forward, as conspicuous characters, in every nation, state and town, whenever an alteration in civil affairs is about to take place.—The most of this class, are men of disappointed ambition, and who well know, that in an ordinary state of society, they have no chance for rising—they will gladly embrace and foster any order of things, that will conduce to their exaltation.

In proof, I will refer you to modern

history. As I am a republican, addressing myself to republicans, I ask—was the conduct of Charles I. of England, justifiable? I answer, no. He was beheaded, whether right or wrong—say right. What occasioned the restoration of his son, Charles II. to the throne?—Ambitious, designing men. Were the first steps of the revolution in France, justifiable? I answer, yes. What impeded its progress? An ambitious faction. Robespierre could not be satisfied till he had beheaded the first men of the country. What was the result?—The death of the wicked, ambitious demagogue, and many of his satellites. But would this atone for the blood of the martyred patriots, or restore them to life? No—no more than Athens could raise a Socrates. Look at the fate of France, Louis XVI. dead; some of the first men the victims of ambition; Buonaparte in exile—liberty and humanity in disgrace—and could we ascertain the

degrees of wretchedness into which the nation has fallen, we might with safety say, it has sunk below freezing point. Should I for the sake of coming nearer home, descend from great to small events, I might turn your attention to sister States. Massachusetts has been republican. How long did she continue so? While a few ambitious men had time to convince the people, that they had quit their republican principles, and were actuated by intolerant and retaliatory measures. Were the people right? Ask them; most likely they will say, men are but men, and they support them only on principle.

How different was the conduct of Mr. Jefferson, who on taking the Presidential chair, said, "we are all federalists, we are all republicans"—we are all men, children of the same common parent, and entitled to the same privileges, both civil and religious. The industry and wealth of one, is as beneficial to the pub-

lick, as of the other—and their fire-sides, friends and relations, are as dear to them as to us. While you are peaceable, moral, good citizens, support your government and contribute your proportion of industry, you are entitled to a proportion of the offices, and shall participate in them. It is by contrasting the virtues a man professes to possess, with his life, that we ascertain his true character. Behold the caution, prudence and wisdom, of the patriotick sage—not rash, not precipitate, not revengeful. What is the result? Slander, malice or misrepresentation, availed nothing. "The floods came, the rains descended, the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock."

A liberal policy is the best at all times and at all places. It is best both for the publick and publick officers—while in the one it inspires magnanimity and patriotism, with the other it yields content and acquiescence. A publick man ought

to possess a publick spirit, to rise superior to mean retrospects, local considerations and party views. If he is a member of the State legislature, he pays due attention to his constituents, he is familiar and alive to all their proper claims and interests: though, at the same time, he views himself not merely as a member of the particular town he represents, but in the enlarged capacity of a more publick character; and in all publick questions, considers himself bound to take into consideration the good of his town, in connexion with the interests of the State. This spirit is commendable. Without it he cannot act agreeably to his station—for though he may discover uncommon zeal, and display great interest in favour of his own town, or some particular constituent, at the expense of his County, and perhaps his State; yet depend upon it, he is a selfish man, and while at home, (should you but notice him,) will manifest equal zeal, if not greater, for

the aggrandizement of himself and family, while he feels indifferent and takes but little interest, whether the town suffers in consequence.

The true character of a publick man, may be best learned at home. The important virtues of forbearance, compassion and liberality, excellent ingredients in a State officer, can be equally as well ascertained in the private, as the most publick walks of life. These ornaments of the heart, are not one thing at New-London, another at Hartford, and still different at Washington. They are characteristick of the man at all times, places, and under all circumstances.

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## ESSAY XII.

### ON RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

I BELIEVE that the gospel is a system of real benevolence, and the greatest

good that Heaven ever conferred on man: its "ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace." But as the greatest good when perverted is productive of the greatest evil; so when priests unite with statesmen, and become politicians, with a view of having religious establishments by law, to the end of aggrandizing themselves, increasing their power and wealth, and securing their salaries on a more permanent foundation; and statesmen unite with priests, and become christians, (and now and then sound an alarm, that *"the church is in danger,")* for the purpose of strengthening and sanctioning their political measures; religion becomes a state-engine, changes its nature, turns the gospel into a system of malevolence, and produces the same evils which otherwise it is calculated to destroy, and its uniform effects are tyranny and ecclesiastical oppression.

As a confirmation of this observation, and a proof that the prosperity of chris-

tianity does not depend upon uniting church and state, let us for a moment revert to ecclesiastical history, take a view of the church, and see in which situation true religion most flourished; when standing on its own foundation, unsupported by human aid, or when established by law, and protected by the sword.

In the early ages of christianity, when the church was entirely independent, and unconnected with government, religion discovered its full force and efficacy on the minds of men: it raised its proselytes above either the pleasures or sorrows of this life: it inspired the vicious with rational devotion, strict purity of heart, and unbounded love towards their fellow creatures: it was productive of the happiest effects in forming men for the social state: it made them better magistrates and subjects, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, friends and neighbours, and the most disinterested patriots; and in pro-

portion as it spread through the world, it diffused happiness, and changed mankind into a different species of being.—This, surely, was the golden age of the church. It is true she had her enemies; but they were not of her own household.

Now let us view the other side of the picture.

Soon after the commencement of the fourth century, Constantine arose, by whom the heathen emperors and their armies were overthrown, (at this time the only enemies of christianity,) heathenism was abolished, and christianity made the established religion. For a short space the church now enjoyed a considerable degree of calm, and multitudes were added to her number.

At this period, had freedom of inquiry been tolerated, the rights of conscience enjoyed, and every description of men allowed equal privileges with christians, Constantine being a christian emperor, must be acknowledged a favour-

able circumstance, and was doubtless considered as highly advantageous to the church. But christianity being established by law, it threw open the doors of the church in such a manner as to give an opportunity for hypocritical and designing men, to enter in as the high road to political preferment. Hence her members became corrupt; and being upheld by the secular power, she no longer stood upon her original foundation.—And by the death of Constantine, she found by woful experience, that she had been leaning on a broken reed, and that her prosperity did not depend on wielding carnal weapons. Her members, in grasping after worldly, had lost their spiritual power.

Their strength now became weakness, their light became extinguished, and soon commenced the dark and dreadful ages of ignorance and superstition.—Errors began to creep into the church, and by the gradual corruption of her

doctrine, worship, discipline and government, her ruin became almost complete. The Bishop of Rome was constituted her universal head; not only so, but all power was vested in him, both civil and ecclesiastical; as an earthly sovereign, he was complete; his word was both law and gospel; the opening of his hand was life, and the shutting of it was death.

Tyranny, either civil or ecclesiastical, is dreadful; but now, being both united, it was peculiarly aggravating and intolerable.

At this time, scarce a trait of the christian church is visible; and notwithstanding she has forsaken her original simplicity and purity, still she retains the name of *christian*: and certainly it is but the name to live, for she is dead in the strictest sense; her glory is departed, and the most fine gold become dim. One part of her members are hypocritical, worldly-minded and oppressive—the other poor, oppressed, ignorant and deluded. So

the one half is held in complete bondage to the other. Her priests have become corrupt, indolent and avaricious, destitute of the spirit of religion, and wholly bent on laying up treasures on earth.—They now with serpentine wisdom, the sable gown and solemn countenance, enter the church, ascend the pulpit, and with hypocritical pretences of piety, deceive the ignorant and extort from them their hard earned pittance; thus spreading around them want, misery and oppression. Puffed with pride and filled with bigotry, they bring all to their own standard, and with propriety it might be said they introduce the bed of Procrustus, and those who are not suited with its size, will be under the necessity of losing their legs or having them stretched, and if not content with this, their heads must experience the former or their necks the latter operation.

It is worthy of remark, that tyranny, civil or religious, either separate or uni-

ted, checks the spirit of liberal inquiry or literary improvement, and is equally destructive of true religion and philosophy ; therefore real christians and men of science, with propriety agree in denominating the time from the fourth or fifth century down to the illustrious era of the reformation, *the dark ages;* and by some it is justly termed the *night of time.*

But few of the useful arts which now exist among mankind, were discovered at this period. All the various nations, who inhabited the different provinces of the Roman empire, were, in a great measure, uncivilized, strangers to letters, destitute of arts, unacquainted with regular government, and of manners so rude as hardly to be compatible with the social state. Christianity did but barely exist; the glorious luminary of the gospel, I had almost said, was totally eclipsed. It is true, light broke out a few times in the course of a thousand years; but it was soon extinguished by the powers of

darkness; the gates of hell had apparently prevailed. But relying on the divine word, a degree of the spirit of true religion, I believe, was to be found, if no where else, in the humble cottages of those who dwelt in obscurity.

The ignorance of the times and consequent credulity of the people, gave rise to establishments and paved the way for doctrines, institutions, and practices the most unnatural and absurd, that ever entered the imagination of a savage. As they are well known, it would perhaps be needless to undertake the enumeration of the black catalogue. Suffer me only to observe, that complicated systems of cruelty were assiduously devised and inhumanly practised, to support the *most holy* faith.

The methods to which they had recourse for increasing the revenues of the church, by selling indulgences and pardons, were means of amassing wealth and promoting vice and immorality before un-

known, and which will ever remain a monument of Popish superstition and ignorance. So great was the ignorance even of the clergy, that they were but little superior to brutes, and so great their avarice, deceit, pride, cruelty and blasphemy, they were scarcely preferable to demons, and comparable to nothing so justly as the father of all evil. But so much greater was the ignorance, and especially the credulity of the multitude, that for a long time they submitted to every imposition of priest-craft and every act of ecclesiastical tyranny almost without a murmur.

Hence these wicked and blind leaders of the blind, claiming all power to bind in heaven and on earth, and exercising unlicensed dominion over the bodies and estates, spiritual and temporal, of the miserable people under their charge, exulted for ages in their abominable career; until at length some of the most thoughtful were shocked at their scandalous con-

duct in general, and particularly in beholding these same sums squandered in drunkenness and debauchery, which were bestowed for pious uses and in hopes of obtaining eternal life. And those who had any remains of true religion, could but regret the delusion of the people.—Especially Zuinglius, in Switzerland, and Luther, in Germany, affected with the blasphemous manner in which these pardons of, and indulgences in sin, were exposed for sale, openly professed their abhorrence of them; and by a diligent search of the scriptures, for justification of their conduct, their views of religion became enlarged, and as light increased, they were bold in communicating it to others, and in warning them of the danger of adhering to the church of Rome. Wearied of the tyranny, and detesting the wickedness of the clergy, multitudes readily embraced their doctrines. And for the purpose of searching the scriptures themselves, (to find if these things

were so,) the learned reformers, every where, furnished them with translations of the bible in their mother tongues.

Thus in Luther, the hand of God, in one man, was instrumental in shaking the foundation of that throne, before which the mightiest monarchs on earth, were made to tremble. Doubtless his life was marked, in some respects, with impropriety of conduct. Yet when we consider the work to which he was called, namely, to rouse mankind from the depths of ignorance and superstition, to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, it required a vehemence of zeal, and a daring excess of temper, that could not be justified in less important undertakings. But to say nothing more of the man, the many blessings that accrued to mankind, in consequence of this reformation, render the name of Luther worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance.

Now the papal powers are shaken, but

not overthrown ; the beast meets with a heavy but not a fatal blow ; mankind begin to emerge out of darkness into light, and from slavery into liberty. How beautiful the day, after so dismal a night ! The light of the glorious gospel of peace, once more begins to dawn on the world, and thousands are attracted with its beauty and excellence ; the liberty of conscience is tolerated by the reformers ; men beholding their rights, are anxious to enjoy them ; the gospel is preached with such remarkable success, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Popish rulers, both in church and state, by prohibitions of Protestant meetings, by wars, persecutions and massacres, and by all the suggestions of the infernal combination—yet, so great is their success that one half of the church of Rome is converted to the protestant religion ; and in a short space of time was the gospel spread over a great part of the European world.

But let it be remembered, as a plain demonstration, that religion needs not the arm of flesh to establish or protect it, that in the commencement of this great event, the weapons of these bold reformers, in this arduous conflict, were not carnal or formed of bodily strength, but spiritual or formed of the mental powers of argument and conviction. Thus in a very few years, was more done towards enlightening and improving the condition of mankind, by the force of truth alone, and opposed by every other power on earth, than for many ages before; a clear proof that the church is upheld by a power superior to human.

It should be remarked that when the reformation most flourished, it was wholly unconnected with State; and that at this time, the number of protestants in Europe, is no less than fifteen millions greater than it was some years ago, when the church was so universally established by law.

That true religion needs not the civil law or the sword to propagate or uphold it, but on the contrary, that it has prospered and flourished and doubtless will continue to, not only independent, but in spite of the opposition of the united power of both, is sufficiently demonstrated in the reformation begun in 1517—a short account of which I have already given. I shall now give a brief sketch of the persecutions most worthy of observation, that followed this glorious revival of religion.

But one thing I would premise, which is—believing oppression and coercion, especially under the same circumstances, to produce the same effect, in whatever sect they may be found, and therefore as unjustifiable in Protestant as Roman Catholick, I shall endeavour to divest myself of party feelings, and prosecute my design without partiality to any particular sect.

It will not be necessary to attempt a

minute detail of all the evils which have arisen in consequence of uniting church and state among the various nations in Europe, which shared in the reformation ; therefore passing over Germany, Poland, Hungary, Holland, &c. &c., (which were for years, a scene of the most affecting cruelties, and deluged with the blood of Protestants,) I shall for a moment confine my attention to France. Perhaps in none of the Pope's dominions, did the papal religion take deeper root than in France. Both soil and climate seemed peculiarly adapted to it, and wanted neither manure nor cultivation. Hence I infer that no part of the earth was more deeply stained with human blood.

Without being particular with respect to the immediate cause, the persecution took place during the reign of Charles IX. Aug. 24, 1572, on Bartholomew's day, at night. The event was marked with circumstances of aggravated cruel-

ty. The King himself was present, and assisted at the massacre. Signal for slaughter was to be taken from the striking the great bell of the palace. At the terrible knell the bloody work commenced. And humanity must ever recoil from the horrors of that fatal night, in which twenty thousand innocent persons were inhumanly sacrificed, for no other reason than because they would not sacrifice their consciences, to gratify the ambition of civil and religious (or rather irreligious) tyrants.

But for exquisite and aggravated cruelty, no persecutions ever exceeded those in the reign of Louis XIV. The sufferings of the Protestants were shocking beyond conception. Their meeting-houses were razed to their foundations; their dwellings destroyed; their persons most shamefully abused by the soldiery; and, besides the loss of their estates, and the innumerable loss of lives, above fifty thousand of their most valuable members

were driven into exile. But, to be short, the history of the hellish reign of this infernal tyrant, which is nothing more or less than the history of a human devil, no feeling man can read without abhorrence—the perusal of which will give an idea that cannot be expressed by a few words. Other instances might be adduced, but these two I think amply sufficient to answer my design. Therefore, after observing that evils of a similar nature, for the most part of the time, were experienced by all those who dissented from the Roman church, from the reformation down to the revolution in '89, I will leave France, and just glance at England.

The reformation made its appearance in England, under the auspices of Henry VIII. But its progress was much impeded by Mary, who proceeded in the most furious manner to establish Popery.—During her sanguinary reign, great numbers of different ranks of men were burnt

to ashes. Soon after this the Roman church began to decline in England, and it is not probable that it will ever again be established.

Happy would it be if persecution was only confined to the church of Rome.—But alas! no sooner had the protestant religion gained an establishment by law, than they ran into the same antichristian errors, against which they protested—the church of England became the church of Rome. And as it was in the days of Constantine, so it is now. The church became accessible to unprincipled, ungodly men, who, not with a view of being made better or doing more good, but with a design of practising iniquity on a larger scale, under a better appearance, take on them the name of christian. In this way the church was filled with impious formalists, by which means she became corrupted, and when those who possessed the spirit of religion, began to separate themselves from those empty

professors, it manifestly excited the same persecuting spirit, and they received the same treatment of those who dissented from the church of Rome. This is evident from a great number of instances, of which I shall mention one or two.

In the time of Charles I., such was the effect of the union of the mitre and the crown, that the King, together with his favourite Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, (into whose hands he had delivered his conscience, and who were both equally fond of civil and ecclesiastical power,) were determined to make all churchmen, and that those who were in the church should stay, and those who were out, should come in. And to effect this, liberty of conscience could not be indulged, even to the most peaceable and loyal subjects, who would not conform in every respect to the church of England; and for non-conformity, they were exposed to fines, imprisonment, the ruin of their fortunes, families, and

every earthly object they held dear.—They were condemned in their spiritual courts without the privilege of juries, without having their witnesses present, and many times without knowing the crimes alleged against them; till at length harrassed with persecutions, some of them resolved to quit their native country for the wilds of America, where they might peaceably enjoy their religious liberty, free from tyrannical oppression. This persecution was the means of spreading universal desolation over England, and by a re-action of these evils, monarchial and priestly power were levelled with the dust. The king, archbishop, and many of their favourites, had measured to them the same that they had meted to others, and the sceptre of Great-Britain was swayed by one who rose from obscurity, and an enemy to the church of England. But no sooner was Charles II. restored to the crown, than he immediately imitated the example of his father. He

passed the act of non-conformity, which took place on Bartholomew's day, 1662, in consequence of which, two thousand consciencious ministers quit the established church. And so harsh were the measures of the episcopalian party, that the whole country was thrown into confusion.

And in our own country, was not the worthy and inoffensive sect of the friends, which never persecutes or provokes retaliation in another, persecuted, and its members fined, imprisoned and put to death—and this too, by the very men who had learned at so dear a rate, the value of religious liberty, and fled from ecclesiastical tyranny in England, to the wilds of America, to enjoy it? Who could have thought it? Yet no sooner was the civil authority established in their hands, than such was the case.

Thus does all history, civil and ecclesiastical, testify to the serious and lamentable evils, which have resulted from this

ungodly connexion between church and state—and thus do I conclude the historical part of the subject.

Whether this union exists among Roman Catholicks or Protestants, or in a monarchy or democracy, or whether viewed in this or that point of light, or in a greater or less degree, still its uniform and direct tendency is, to subvert all moral principle and practice, in either religion or philosophy, by rending the bonds of society, separating families, societies, states and nations, and setting them against each other, reducing mankind to ignorance, and enslaving the consciences, bodies and estates of individuals. In the same degree as this connexion exists, are the complicated and dreadful calamities it occasions, experienced, as has been witnessed in every age, and is incontestibly proved not only by the general and limited sketch of history I have given, but by the particular and universal history of the church, from the

fourth century down to the present time.

From the history of the church in different ages, and in different situations, and among different nations, I have sufficiently demonstrated, that a connexion of church and state, is productive of no good, but infinite mischief; therefore we naturally infer, unless it can be proved that from the same causes, attended by the same circumstances, do not proceed the same effects in one nation and age as another, that no such alliance ought to be formed. Presuming this cannot be done, I observe, that the motives which induce government to unite with, or establish any particular form of religion, have a direct tendency to corrupt that form, and to infringe the rights of conscience. When any form of religion gains an establishment by law, it is not done that the rights of man may be more enjoyed or better secured. For to secure these rights separate from religion,

is the design of the civil law. Besides, this connexion gives one denomination power over another. When any denomination unites with state, it is not with a view to the prosperity of true religion, unless such sect is totally ignorant of what constitutes true religion, and the manner in which the gospel has been, and still continues to be propagated.—But that it is not for the advancement or prosperity of religion, has been incontestibly proved. It therefore remains, that such an union is inconsistent with just and regular government, and equally so with true religion. From whence I argue, the point is indisputably established, that no such alliance can be formed till they both become corrupted or degenerated.

Whenever a government becomes corrupted, by means of the people not being on their guard, and looking well to their rulers, its members begin to have longing desires after power, wealth and na-

tional grandeur, they soon get to have exalted ideas of themselves, their birth, importance, &c. They think it perfectly consistent that the liberties and properties of thousands of the base-born, (as they are pleased to style them,) should be sacrificed for the purpose of advancing their interests and honour. And if at the same time, some particular form of religion has become so degenerated, that the priests and leading members have "forgotten the rock from whence they were hewn," become earthly and sensual, and adopt the same method of reasoning; they are both ripe for union. Whenever the scales drop from the eyes of the people, and either or both of these systems are threatened with a revolution, their situation becomes alarming; fear rages; delays are dangerous; the business must be speedily attended to. Now a courtship commences; the terms are agreed upon; the conditions are, that the State shall exert the utmost of

her power to establish and support by force and wealth, their form of religion; and the church, on her part, becomes obligated to speak in the highest possible terms, of their excellent constitution, and to support every measure adopted. Thus an alliance is formed; and what Heaven designed should ever be kept separate, is now united on earth. And can it be wondered at, if unnatural births are brought into existence? Now every thing moves strong and steady; and an impregnable barrier is formed against all opposition, by the united powers of heaven and earth. All goes on smooth and easy: for the consciences of the rulers are safely deposited in the hands of the priests, and the religion of the priests is established by law and protected by the sword. Thus all enjoy equal rights and privileges, on the broad basis of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; and equally politick and religious, with equal propriety, the alarm may be sounded from

both sides—*the church is in danger, the government is in danger.* Thus it is that government is made to subserve a religion, and religion a government that ought not to exist. It is in this way they generally become united, and produce complicated evils, which otherwise would never be experienced by man.

But both are alike mistaken, if in this way, they think to make a sincere christian or disinterested patriot. They may make hypocrites, but honest men they never can. In vain have tyrants and priests framed racks, fixed stakes, erected gibbets, and like a pestilence scattered death around them. These are not the means by which piety and virtue are promoted: they need no such props and implements of cruelty to propagate or defend them. Truth carries conviction with it, and makes its way to the mind by the evidence which attends it. Rash accusations and persecutions, are rejected by reason and revelation, and that

system, either of politicks or religion, which does not recommend itself to the understanding of man, it will be in vain to enforce by coercion.

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The blending together of politicks and religion, for the purpose of sacrificing the interests of the many, to the unnatural and unchristian feelings of the few, has a direct tendency to corrupt both: they then become mysterious and hard to be understood, and to an uninformed mind, appear a kind of civil and ecclesiastical witchcraft.

Keep religion separate, view it only as a matter between man and his Maker, for which he is alone accountable to his God, and you at once divest it of all mystery, and it becomes so clear and easy to comprehend, that he who runs may read and understand.

And when civil government is considered in its nature and design, as a social compact instituted for the good of socie-

ty ; for the preservation of the lives, liberty and property of all—the mystery at once vanishes, and it appears not such a very difficult and puzzling thing to investigate as many pretend. Thus you see civil government and religion have no connexion with one another, but are instituted for different ends. Religion to regulate our conduct towards God. Civil government to regulate our conduct towards men. The one, for the purpose of making or keeping us civil ; to fit us for the society of men in this world ;—the other, for the purpose of preparing us for the society of saints in Heaven.—The Saviour declared, that his kingdom was not of this world—and what Heaven has ordained shall be kept separate, let not men on earth pretend to unite.

But when once civil government gets perverted from its original design, by becoming a matter of speculation, and is viewed as the road to preferment, wealth and honour ; when those who are select-

ed from the people, for the purpose of attending to political matters, forget their accountability to the people, and instead of seeking and promoting publick interest, pursue private interest and personal aggrandizement; when they forget they are the people's servants, and make use of the power delegated to them, for the purpose of oppressing those from whence their power was derived; when the people are reduced to such a state of ignorance and credulity, as to place implicit confidence in those in office, and think that none can do so well as those now in, and believe and confide in every thing they say and do; and finally when government is represented as a very weak thing in itself, and will certainly fall unless supported by the pillars of the church, and that the church is in danger, and religion will also tumble unless civil laws are made to protect it; and when the people are so far deluded as to believe this mysterious doctrine, and those

who are opposed to these monstrous absurdities, are reprobated in the strongest terms, and branded with the epithets, of atheists, deists, heriticks, jacobins, infidel philosophers, enemies to God and man, and in league with the devil, and opponents to all order, government and religion. When things come to this pass, then both politicks and religion become enveloped in mystery, and the knowledge of them confined to a few, a very few indeed. And that government and religion may be so perverted and degenerated as to unite, and then corrupt each other, and instead of a blessing, prove a curse to mankind, is incontrovertible, and that this has been, and still is the case, cannot be disputed.

Even in this comparatively free and enlightened country, in consequence of this union, there have been repeated acts of intolerance and persecution.—And if history may be relied on, more of the evils which the human race have ev-

er experienced, have arisen from this ungodly union of church and state, than from any other source that can be named. That it may cease to exist, must be the fervent wish of every patriot and christian.

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## ESSAY XIII.

### ON AGRICULTURE.

THE judicious and well informed part of mankind, of every age, have considered the cultivation of the earth, as the most useful employment that could occupy the attention and labours of man.—But although to be a proprietor of the soil, had long been considered as a distinguishing mark of nobility, yet to be a practical farmer, was thought derogatory to the characters of *self-termed* lords and gentlemen. It was doubtless owing to this cause, that while from the persevering labours of succeeding generations,

almost every art and science had been progressing towards a state of perfection, the art of husbandry stood still, and until of late, no material improvements had been made.

Whether men of genius and literature, have recently turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil, from a conviction of its vast importance, from interest, or a combination of circumstances, I shall not attempt to say. It, however, is the case. They now venerate the plough and the hoe; and whatever may have been their motives, by so doing, they deserve much credit, having subserved the real interests of mankind.

Agriculture, at the present day, is not viewed, either in Europe or America, as beneath the attention of gentlemen distinguished for rank, property and literature. In connexion with experimental farmers, they have formed societies, for the purpose of making real improvements, by having theory and practice go side by

side, and exciting a laudable ambition and emulation; destitute of which, no occupation can rapidly advance to a state of maturity.

To ascertain the different kinds of soil; the different kinds of manure, best adapted to them; the quantity to be used, and the due proportions of each, is deemed important in the practice of agriculture.

In this State, and indeed in this County, there are a variety of soils; of which I have noticed but two kinds, but will amply repay the hand of industry. Of all others, that which has most baffled the skill of the husbandman, is *bog meadow*. This of any kind might be best dispensed with. It is ill fated by being so situated that it cannot be drained; and therefore is doomed, as it were, to a confirmed dropsy. It seemingly may be tapped to advantage, but the symptoms will return under aggravated circumstances, setting at defiance the skill of the agricultural physician. Manures of eve-

ry description are unavailing: better to abandon it to its original destiny, the habitation of snakes, lizards and other reptiles.

Another kind of soil I will mention, as next least inviting to the husbandman, is that which largely partakes of *sand and gravel;* but this soil, if duly attended, in favourable seasons, will yield a tolerable crop of beans, or any other vegetable that does not require land containing but little of the principle of vegetative life, to bring it to maturity, and is not of sufficient strength or consistency to either assimulate, adhere or stimulate. But let it be remembered, that this description of ground, requires at least, alternate years of rest. It is, however, in nature wanting in constitution, and neither discipline, regimen or medicine, can make it strong and healthy.

There is one more kind of soil, that has been complained of; generally styled *leaky*, that is, it will not hold manure.

Having but little knowledge of land of this description, I shall pass it.

But in this county and in this State, we are highly favoured. Not more than one tenth of our land, can be classed with the before mentioned. It is true, that in many places there are ledges, rocks and stones in abundance, but between these ledges, rocks and stones, the land is extremely fertile and luxurient.

Either from ambition, avarice or ignorance, it has been thought that one man could not hold too much land : it is now believed, even by men of judgment, that one person can hardly possess too little ; at least no more than he can till to advantage.

Two acres of good land, well cultivated, will support a cow, and the cow prevent the land from degenerating. In this case, of what use would be four acres, for the same purpose. Is it desirable to be at the expense and trouble of fencing

and attending to twice the quantity, and travelling double the distance, when one half will answer? So with regard to hay, corn and potatoes, and other produce. It is much easier to raise forty bushels of corn from one acre of land, than to be at the expense and trouble of managing two, to obtain the same quantity. A little land well fenced and well tilled, is more to the honour, health and prosperity of the possessor than twice the quantity, overrun with bushes, wild, unfenced, and uncultivated. Many lots of land may be observed in every direction, which could be made to produce double what they do at present, and were we busily engaged in doing this, a century hence would be soon enough to think of emigration—and so long as so large a portion of our lands remain uncultivated, no one ought to be suffered to complain for want of employment.

Our grateful mother earth, bountifully rewards all, who liberally bestow on her;

but to the agricultural miser, who is wishing to be ever reaping and scatters with a griping hand, she will become a barren heath, instead of a fruitful field.

The various kinds of manure, and which kind is best adapted to the variety of soils—merit consideration.

No land will so well bear the removal of its crops, without degenerating, as that which is recruited by stable or vegetable manure, and it is doubtful whether any of our soils will produce much of a crop, for any length of time, (provided the whole of the products be removed,) from the application of any other kind. All animal and vegetative life, is continued in existence, by the dissolution of such substances, as have before existed, and having reached their destined bounds, they break, dissolve, incorporate with the earth, and are the support of vegetable and animal life. Like begets like in many respects, and there can be no doubt, but *marine manure* used in suffi-

cient quantity, will produce *marine* grass. One instance has fallen under my own observation. From a very liberal use of the hair of *seals*, which is highly charged with oil, and at the time of using was impregnated with lime, it produced a grass, resembling in some degree, that which grows on our salt marshes, and it is presumed, similar in kind to the grass of the south sea islands, from which the skins are brought. It may be inferred from this circumstance, that *marine manure* produces *marine grass:* but not in every instance, for a sea vegetable, commonly called *rock weed*, on any of our common soils, brings forth a crop of *red clover*—while *ashes*, on the same soil, produces *white*. Now can it be supposed that the seed of the marine grass came from the pacific ocean with the skins, and that it could grow after having been in salt for months, then immersed in water for one, and then in a strong solution of lime for two weeks? No—no

more than it can be believed, that the seed of red clover exists in rock weed, or that ashes, originating from wood, having undergone a chemical process, contains the seed of white clover. Hence it is infered, that the principle of vegetation exists in the earth, and is called into active life by the application of different manures.

There can be no doubt, but all lands adjacent to the sea, require a less quantity of marine manure, than those remotely situated—hence farms on the seaboard, where hay is in the most demand; the crops being removed and the consequent exhaustion supplied by marine manure, degenerate in a few years, from the want of a due proportion of land-vegetable or animal manure, by which only, they can be brought back to their former state of fertility. Let it not be infered from these remarks, that all manures, except the animal and vegetable, are useless; on the contrary, a due pro-

portion of salts, acids and alkalis, serve to correct, neutralize and decompose other kinds, and all, when duly mixed, tempered and employed judiciously, mutually assist and support each other.—Great judgment should be used in the application of manure—too much of any kind, will not only retard but totally destroy vegetation. As it is with the human or animal economy, a great quantity of animal food will corrupt the humours—add more, life is destroyed.—Too much liquid occasions a dropsy, and too much salt, the scurvy. Thus an undue quantity of either of the articles on which life depends, will destroy it.—This observation is of universal application.

I cannot quit this part of my subject, without speaking of *weeds*—noxious plants—which are too apt to elude the eye of the husbandman. In addition to their being of quick growth and greatly impeding the progress of esculent ve-

getables, they are considered as positively poisonous. Hence Virgil justly observes,

"The towering weeds malignant poisons yield."

Observe in a potatoe-hill one large weed, will absorb the fertility, stint the growth and corrupt the quality of this important vegetable.

The business of the farmer, may justly be compared to a circle. It is without end, requiring constant care and diligence. Every thing is to be done in season, and every thing to be saved.

Poetry, painting, musick and the other fine arts, have long and deservedly engaged the attention and patronage of mankind. But if we are husbandmen, those arts must be reserved for the amusement of leisure hours. We must be up and doing. Our sons must go to the plough and the hoe—to the sickle and the scythe. Our daughters must apply themselves to the loom and the wheel, seeking wool and flax, and working dili-

gently with their hands. While thus industriously and usefully employed, our musick must be that of the thresher's flail, the singing of birds, and the harmony of the spheres—our painting, the green verdure of the fields, the gilded clouds of heaven and the etherial blue—and the subject of our contemplation, the earth which we inhabit and worlds on worlds, composing one vast universe.

Astronomy, geography and navigation, may teach mankind to count the stars, measure the earth and traverse the ocean; but agriculture only can furnish them with the means of comfortable subsistence for a single day—and the humble and devout husbandman, who improves to advantage, a few acquired or paternal acres, may enjoy as much from the light and heat of the sun, as a Newton, who could ascertain its size, degrees of heat and distance from our world.

## ESSAY XIV.

### ON MANUFACTURES.

NEXT to agriculture, nothing is so important to us as *domestick* manufactures. Nothing has so much excited the attention of the English government, as their manufactories—and for two of the best reasons that can possibly be adduced, viz ; wealth derived from exportation and the preservation of internal tranquility—for nothing quiets like industry.—How does Britain view the establishment of our manufactories? I answer, with concern and dread ; because she knows full well, that this source of our wealth would be her poverty, and an abridgment of her power ; our strength, her weakness ; our joy and glory, her sorrow and shame.

Our manufactures, though in infancy, have presented a mighty struggle between nation and nation. How striking-

ly was this manifested at the conclusion of the late war.

Can the historian enforce on the minds of future generations, the belief, that England, within two years from the termination of the late war, by the tide of importation, so completely *inundated* our country with her goods, wares and merchandize, as so far to paralize the exertions of our manufactures, that at least, one half of the persons employed, were discharged? Many of our most enterprising citizens suffered a vast reduction in capital, and others were involved in total bankruptcy. And what to some may appear strange, the second importation was disposed of at less than the invoice prices, or even the first cost. Here is an instance of genuine English policy —for as Mr. Brougham, a celebrated member of Parliament, shrewdly observed, "It is worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order to glut, to stiffle in the cradle, the rising

manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things."—What stronger proof can be had of the importance of our manufactures, than the eagerness of Britain to paralize them? They constitute a source of wealth, strength and independence which excites her envy. But, although she was sanguine that she would be remunerated for the loss on her first exportations, her expectations have not as yet been realized, and it is probable from the present and prospective state of our manufactures, that they never will.

It is within the recollection of many now living, when a great part of the leather and shoes used in this country, were imported from England; and the time *well* remembered, when one half of the hats, and almost all the nails, were of foreign manufacture—though at the present time there is a sufficiency of these articles manufactured in the United States for

our consumption; and the increase of these important articles of national wealth and independence, is the result of individual enterprise and industry, separate from legislative aid. And were our enterprise and industry in future, to keep pace with our population, with respect to other articles of manufacture, the result would be the same, and in a short time we should supply ourselves, not only with cotton, woollen, silk and linen fabricks, but with every manufactured article, either of lead, copper, brass, iron and even of silver and gold, independent of the aid of government.

It is the opinion of many, that manufactures ought to be left to individual enterprise. Whether correct or not, only let every American give the preference to our own manufactures, on condition he can procure the same quality and quantity at the same price, and there would not, it is believed, be any necessity for fearful apprehensions of their de-

clining for want of legislative interference or protection.

These remarks have been made with particular reference to manufacturing establishments. But there is a branch which must not be passed unnoticed—I refer to household manufactures. I have been repeatedly gratified in viewing fabricks, wrought by females, equalling, if not surpassing in quality, articles of the same descriptions, coming from the hands of European artists.

Then let the daughters of Columbia assert their dignity, and disdain, as much the fashions, as its sons do the politicks of foreign climes. Do not suffer the daughters of enslaved Europe, to excel in patriotism, the free-born fair. Let your taste, fashions and manufactures, be your own, adapted to your climate and situation. "Then shall your dress assume a national character, and the charms of your persons, be associated with the love of your country," and the ears of

the patriot, as he passes through our streets and villages, be delighted with the most charming of all musick—the sounds of the loom and wheel.

The time will come, and, in my opinion, is not far distant, when the New-England States, will be primarily devoted to agriculture and manufactures.—When this period shall arrive, the farmer will not depend on a foreign market for the sale of his overplus produce. Then will double our present population be wanted, and all the products of our soil required. However visionary this idea, in prospect, may appear, it is reasonable to infer it from our relative situation with the western and southern states. *Our* climate, habits of industry, water privileges and other local considerations, in connexion with *their* extent of territory and growing numbers, almost ensure it.

Such a state of things will supercede the necessity of entangling intercourse with foreign powers. For possessing

the advantage of the productions of every clime, the United States, by a mutual domestic commerce, will become independent of every other part of the globe. Then indeed and in truth, shall we be free, independent and happy.

## ESSAY XV.

### ON INDUSTRY.

LET it be remembered, by every American, that neither agriculture nor manufactures can flourish, separated from industry. Examine the histories of other republicks—observe their beginning, progress and end. While industrious, they flourish; when indolent, they decline. Indeed, whatever the form of government may be, nothing is so essential to its union, strength and permanency, as industry. What has been the policy of Britain for centuries? What the cement that has rendered her government

indissoluble ? Industry.—And however indolent her statesmen, in other respects, they have been sufficiently diligent to keep the nation at work. This has frequently preserved internal tranquillity, when fleets and armies would have proved inadequate. It is industry united with economy, that constitutes the genuine *philosopher's stone*, which has the transforming power of changing all into gold. Although we have an interminable extent of territory, abound with fleets, armies, possess the wealth of the Indies, and have the whole world at our command, yet without industry "*we are nothing.*"

It is not only advantageous in a national point of view, but conducive to individual health, prosperity and happiness. It is in vain, we look for a sound mind and a sound body, among the idle and the dissipated. Dyspepsy, low spirits, and the whole train of chronic and nervous complaints, are in reserve for the

sons and daughters of pleasure, ease and luxury, and are destined to be their constant attendants.

Although in the present advanced state of society, many are necessarily exempted from manual labour and the divine sentence of eating their bread in the sweat of their brow, yet it is an immutable decree, that the oil of gladness shall brighten the face of industry alone—and those who are placed in stations where there are no active duties to perform, will, in a great degree, be deprived of that constant cheerfulness, which is the solace of toil and the reward of industry.

# ESSAY XVI.

## ON CHARITY.

"And though I bestow all my goods to feed *the poor*, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."—1 Corinthians, xiii chap. 3 v.

THE subject of the whole chapter, from which these words are selected, is charity—and perhaps there is not another instance in the sacred volume, of so much being said, in the same space, on one particular virtue of the gospel, as the apostle has said upon charity in this, the foregoing and following chapters. In the chapter preceding the context, after enumerating the different gifts, distributed among the brethren, for the edification of the church, he closes by pertinently observing, "covet earnestly the best gifts; and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way." Then commences the extraordinary chapter, wholly

devoted to the subject under consideration, in the following manner:—"Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal—and though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."—Then comes the words of the text; "And though I bestow all my goods to feed *the poor*, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." From which we may with the utmost assurance infer, that the charity here spoken of, is the very essence of true religion. Without which, the highest attainments, the gift of prophecy, the understanding of mysteries, faith even to the removal of mountains, the distribution of property, and finally the sacrifice of life, will avail nothing. It is evident that the charity here refered to,

cannot be misunderstood for alms-giving, or that partial love which confines itself to a particular party, and must be viewed as merely selfish. No: the charity here spoken of, is nothing less than that genuine love of God and man, in which alone, christianity consists. This is the great commandment, on which hangs all the law and the prophets. This is the test of our faith and practice. In vain are all our ceremonies, our observance of the Sabbath, or praying and fasting, or all the means of grace, if we are wanting in this principle of divine love. It signifies not by what name we are called, how pure the church to which we belong, or the creed to which we adhere, if in this we are deficient. I am the more particular on this point, from the consideration that we are too prone to place religion in something which it is not.—Whereas all that is truly essential to happiness, is within every man's reach—it is not too high for the vulgar, nor too low

for the learned—the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err if sincerely engaged in the pursuit. Still how many are there among mankind, who suppose, that religion consists in being attached to a particular denomination, and that such only are the favourites of the Lord. But shall I be viewed as violating that charity which I am recommending, by asserting, that there cannot be a stronger proof of our being strangers to genuine christian charity, than by manifesting a rigid adherence to a particular sect, to the exclusion of every other. Such a spirit is repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, and most severely reprimanded by the apostle Paul. For, says he, "whereas there is among you envying and strife, and divisions among you, one saying I am of Paul and another I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal and walk as men."

Christianity has a direct tendency to promote union and brotherly love. The

charity of the gospel seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked; beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. It suffereth long and is kind, it envieth not, it vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up. It lays the axe to the very root of self-sufficiency, arrogance and pride. It never discovers itself in the vaunting pharisaical language of "come and see my zeal for the Lord—stand by, I am holier than thou." It has no affinity with human infallibility, condemning and denouncing every one as a heretick, who does not submit to his dictates and subscribe to his creed. This heavenly grace rather leads its possessor to be yielding, modest and unassuming—viewing the present as an imperfect state—that here the wisest only know in part, and prophecy in part—therefore christians ought to exercise towards each other, mutual forbearance and good will, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. And al-

though possessing much knowledge, and being deeply skilled in the mysteries of theology, might be of some benefit to the church, still this is not true religion, and if not kept in subordination to divine love, is not only unavailing, but "worse than worthless"—for "knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth"

It were vain to recommend for attainment, this divine virtue, by attempting to describe its excellence. This has been done by the apostle in a masterly manner, surpassing all uninspired writings. But to give it its true character, in the most striking point of light, to make it appear as it really is, would surpass the powers of an angel. A human being, born in sin, deformed, debased,—having lost the lovely image of his divine original, and by perverting every faculty of his mind, brutalized himself; to be so far transformed, as to be capable of possessing and exercising this divine principle of love to God and love to man, is a bles-

sing, of which all those who have not received it, can form no conception. Little, very little do they know of real happiness, who are strangers to the ever-living principle of gospel charity. This is the only thing which will abide by us when every earthly enjoyment fails.—When earthly springs of comfort run low, and finally dry away, this will be a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

My readers, do any of us possess this lovely virtue ? I fear not in an eminent degree. But if in our hearts it really has existence, though in comparison as a grain of mustard seed, let us consider it as the pearl of great price—cultivate and exercise it until it pervades the whole soul. Consider its high origin—it came from God, the fountain of all excellence and perfection, and in proportion as we advance in charity, we become assimilated to its divine author, and partakers of the divine nature ; the nearer we ap-

proach also, to the benevolent Redeemer, whose compassion induced him to be sacrificed for the redemption of man.—Contemplate this benevolent principle, in its nature. It is all lovely and divine, operating in the happiness of its possessor. It is the foundation of every other grace; in it is comprised, meekness, temperance, justice, patience, and the whole train of christian virtues.

Consider it with respect to its duration. Charity never faileth. If destitute of this abiding principle, we have nothing certain. Before the next breath we may be forever separated from all we hold dear. It is in vain we boast of our faith, our hope, our zeal, our performances or attainments, for these all must vanish. When hope can be no longer indulged, when faith shall be swallowed up in vision; then shall charity, divine and eternal, shine forth more clear, and be enjoyed in far greater perfection, than is possible in the present life. As we

all desire happiness, should we not strive to obtain something that is not only satisfactory for the present, but eternal in its duration? How uncertain our present state. Can we calculate upon durable happiness upon earth? Certainly not. Then let us be wise: conduct like rational creatures, and regard the will of the Creator, as inseparable with our own felicity. Drop the world and all its amusements, if in competition with the attainment of this immortal grace.

And finally, if you regard the glory of God, your own and neighbour's happiness—I beseech you, by whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure or praise-worthy, to strive not merely for the possession of, but to become perfect in charity.

# ESSAY XVII.

## ON ATHEISM.

"The fool has said in his heart, there is no God."

Although Atheists may boast of the antiquity of their doctrines—still, they have seldom, if ever, been sufficiently numerous to organize themselves into a society. They approached the nearest to organization, at the commencement of the French revolution—but were soon dismembered and scattered, on Buonaparte's assuming the reins of government, and guaranteeing the right of private opinion, and securing religious freedom to all. In this *enlightened age*, they are now again attempting to organize, under the more specious appellation of Materialists, thinking by changing the name, to escape the stigma, universally attached to the Atheist. Suppose Atheism could obtain or get a footing in this country. Of what use would it be? What

good could result to society in consequence? Would the people enjoy more happiness in the belief of no God, in the mortality of what is termed the soul, or that matter could create itself, independent of a first cause, and at the same time, by some unknown, unaccountable cause, create spirit, inspire itself with power, wisdom and goodness, to keep itself in that beautiful regularity and harmony, in which the manifold works of creation, present themselves to man. A doctrine too absurd for the belief of the most sceptical.

The superintending power of the Atheist, or if you please, Materialist, is nothing more than a blind, inanimate power, which they call Nature—without intelligence, this *God Nature*, is the creator of what displays infinitely more intelligence than the making of the machinery of the most ingenious and skillful artificer. If intelligence is wanting, an ingenuity and skill is displayed infinitely

above all competition by man, whom even the Atheist admits to be an intelligent being. How comes this to pass? Is not this theory a palpable absurdity, if we can trust to reason and effect.

It is to be feared that there are many practical Atheists, who, as the apostle Paul says, "live without God in the world"—but professed Atheists are but few, and

> "Dim lights at best, peep out but once an age,
> Dull, sullen pris'ners to their bodies' cage."

Indeed, I had heretofore formed the opinion, that not more than one professed Atheist appeared in an age, and Phenix like, another sprung from his ashes—but in the present age of free discussion and free inquiry—and under our free institutions, which allow every man the privilege of thinking and acting for himself, in religious matters, the number has somewhat increased in this country.—I am, however, happy to add, that their

numbers are principally confined to foreigners, who have recently emigrated to the United States, and that very few native Americans, have as yet, become supporters of their pernicious and corrupting dogmas.

The Atheists admit they are not certain that their doctrines or opinions are correct—for they are certain of nothing for which they have not optical or tangible evidence. Have not they then their doubts and fears, as well as the believer in revelation? Have they so conclusively demonstrated the groundlessness of religion, that they at no time entertain fears from an offended Deity, whose very existence they profess to deny? Let their own bosoms answer the question.

Atheism claims among its devotees, men of science, superior talents and profound erudition; but of such it is presumed, there are not to exceed four in the United States. But are there not opposed to these, more than one hundred

times as many, with equal, if not superior, natural talents and acquirements?—Not including the clergy, who to a man, are opposed to the worshippers of matter. In England, Bacon, Newton, Lock, Boyle, Maclaurin, Ray, Clark, Pope, Beattie, and other philosophers distinguished for extensive research and profound erudition, have strenuously opposed Atheism, and been the able advocates of the existence and superintendence of Deity.

The defenders of Atheism, in comparison, have been few indeed. Among the most eminent of these, was Spinoza, who was born at Amsterdam, in 1633.—He was a Jew by birth, but gradually declining from his church, he was on the point of separating himself totally from it, when he was treacherously attacked by a Jew, who gave him a thrust with a knife, as he was returning from a play. The wound was slight, but he believed the aggressor designed to kill him. He

then entirely quit the Jews, and was consequently excommunicated by them.—He then became a christian, but merely by profession, as appeared by his writings afterwards, he was in principle an Atheist. So it appears he was a Jew by birth, a Christian from policy, and an Atheist in principle. History represents him as sociable, affable, honest, friendly and moral—as being temperate, liberal and disinterested—his conversation was edifying; he never swore; never spoke disrespectfully of God, (although he did not believe in him,) sometimes attended church, and constantly exhorted others to go. A proof that, although an Atheist himself, he was convinced that a general belief in his tenets, would be pernicious. Spinoza died of a consumption, at Hague, in February, 1675, aged 45. He was so fully confirmed in his opinions, that he had taken precaution to conceal his wavering, in case he should discover any. His friends say, that from

modesty, he desired, that no sect should be called by his name.

I will mention but one more of the order. Lucilio Vanini, an Italian, of eccentric character. He was burnt at Toulouse, for his Atheistical principles. The only instance known of an Atheist's suffering severe and cruel persecution. In fact, in this or any other country, the Atheists need be under no apprehensions from persecution on account of their religious opinions—for they possess none.

I shall conclude this essay, by making a few extracts from the writings of some of the most celebrated authors, who have written in favour of the existence and general providence of Deity—as being better than any thing I can produce of my own.

Beginning with Lord Bacon, who by men of literature and genius, is considered as the first of philosophers.—He says,

"I had rather believe all the fables in

the legend, and the talmud, and the alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracles to convince Atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for, while the mind of man looketh upon the second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."

"The fool has said in his heart, there is no God;" it is not said, "The fool has thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God but those for whom it maketh that there were no God."

"They that deny a God, destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys, likewise, magnanimity, and the raising human nature; for, take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty."

The learned and ingenious Dr. Bal-

guy, thus forcibly expresses himself :— "Of all the false doctrines and foolish opinions which ever infested the mind of man, nothing can possibly equal that of Atheism, which is such a monstrous contradiction to all evidence, to all the powers of understanding, and the dictates of common sense, that it may be well questioned whether any man can really fall into it by a deliberate use of his judgment. All nature so clearly points out, and so loudly proclaims a Creator of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, that whoever hears not its voice and sees not its proofs, may well be thought wilfully deaf and obstinately blind. If it be evident, self-evident, to every man of thought, that there can be no effect without a cause, what shall we say of that manifold combination of effects, that series of operations, that system of wonders, which fill the universe ; which present themselves to all our perceptions, and strike our minds and our senses on

every side! Every faculty, every object of every faculty, demonstrates a Deity. The meanest insect we can see, the minutest and most contemptible weed we can tread upon, is really sufficient to confound Atheism, and baffle all its pretensions. How much more that astonishing variety and multiplicity of God's works, with which we are continually surrounded. Let any man survey the face of the earth, or lift up his eyes to the firmament; let him consider the nature and instincts of brute animals, and afterwards look into the operations of his own mind: will he presume to say or suppose that all the objects he meets with, are nothing more than the result of unaccountable accidents and blind chance? Can he possibly conceive that such wonderful order should spring out of confusion?—Or that such perfect beauty should be ever formed by the fortuitous operations of unconscious, unactive particles of matter? As well, nay better, and more ea-

sily might he suppose, that an earthquake might happen to build towns and cities; or the materials carried down a flood, fit themselves up, without hands, into a regular fleet. For what are towns, cities or fleets, in comparison of the vast and amazing fabrick of the universe! In short, Atheism offers such violence to all our faculties, that it seems scarce credible it should ever really find any footing in human understanding."

On this subject, the celebrated Chesterfield, made the following remarkable declaration; and no man can suppose *his* understanding to have been clouded with *religious* prejudices.

"I have read some of Seed's sermons, and like them very well. But I have neither read nor intend to read those which are meant to prove the existence of God; because it seems to me too great a disparagement of that *reason* which he has given us, to require any other proofs of his existence than those which the

whole and every part of the creation afford us. If I believe my own existence, I must believe his: it cannot be proved *a priori*, as some have idly attempted to do, and cannot be doubted of *a posteriori*. Cato says very justly—*And that he is, all nature cries aloud.*"

Pope, one of the most distinguished English Poets, thus admirably expresses himself with reference to the Deity:

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
That, chang'd through all, and yet in all the same;
Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal frame;
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
Lives through all life, extends through all extent;
Spreads undivided, operates unspent;
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt seraph that adores and burns:
To him, no high, no low, no great, no small:
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all."

so strange such Christian bitterness a
gmatism seems to one who knows of
ligions. gpro. Sept 1895

# ESSAY XVIII.

## DESULTORY.

THE contest for power, has agitated the world, more than the natural evils to which it is incident. The passion for bearing rule, is perhaps, inherent in man, although it may predominate in one more than another. This principle I consider as necessary to the existence of the human race, and when subjected to reason, conducive to their happiness. The passion of power, like that of love, may become a disease, if not duly restrained—and in case of excess, is in its operation, far more pernicious to society, than any of the other passions.

In a state of nature, thirst for power, would discover itself in grasping, holding and controlling every thing thought essential to the gratification of self, and those who were wanting in strength of body, would substitute artifice, to accomplish the same objects. But as mankind

multiplied, it would soon be discovered, by the discerning part, that some plan or system was necessary for the security of property and rational liberty. The system planned and adopted for this purpose, might be termed, civil government. This government does not alter the nature of things, for right and wrong existed prior to all human laws or institutions. And the true end of all laws, ought to be to secure, not create right. As the rights and privileges of all men, are by nature the same, they of course ought to be defined and secured.

It is this principle of thirst for controul, power or pre-eminence, that in a peculiar sense, makes what is termed civil government, necessary. But the remedy not removing the principle of the disease, it has in some instances, introduced the same disorder—different in form, yet aggravated in circumstances, which it was intended to cure. And this is ever the case, under all absolute, monar-

chical or aristocratical governments, or in all instances when the power is assumed by a tyrant or tyrants and yielded by the people. The power in possession of the former, gives them the controul of the persons and estates of the latter, which are generally disposed of in a manner, the best calculated, to exalt, aggrandize and establish the power of the one, and debase, humble and reduce the other.—It is in vain we look for a nation, without a constitution of civil government, guaranteeing just laws and equal rights, where the people enjoy their due proportion of the fruits of their industry, security of person, or rights of conscience.

The ambition of man, unrestrained by external checks, is seldom kept within due bounds, by the power of conscience or the considerations of virtue. And if laws exist for the purpose, they are often either so framed, construed or executed, with respect to the responsibility of the rulers, as to render them useless. Thus on

one part of the community, the most rigid observance of them is enforced, while by the other, they are totally disregarded. We are therefore left only the alternative of adopting a democratic or republican form of government, placing the power in the people, from whom all public officers are selected, and to whom they are accountable. Such a government is the only one that will ensure liberty, happiness and prosperity to a nation. I do not mean that a free government will ensure liberty, happiness or prosperity in the strictest sense. A want of virtue, energy or ability in those that administer—and vice, negligence or extravagance in the people, may render it ineffectual, as also a disregard to the principles, spirit or genius of the constitution. But this is not owing to the nature of the government.

I can conceive of no disadvantages attending a republican government that will not apply to any other; but there are

many advantages which cannot be enjoyed in monarchies and aristocracies, especially of the hereditary kind.

It is offered as an argument in favour of monarchial government, that it is less troublesome and less expensive, to be subjected to the will of one man, than many, provided he be a wise and good sovereign. To this I agree—but who will underwrite, that every succeeding prince will be as wise and good as his predecessor.

The people cannot be too vigilant or too much on their guard in defining and confirming whatever is right, nor too careful in guarding against what is wrong.—As it is commonly the case, that mankind degenerate or swerve from first principles instead of becoming better from experience, the safest way is to take them in a state of originality or purity, before corruption and the imbecility and degeneracy of age ensue.

From the nature of man, will be read-

ily admitted the necessity of what is termed civil government. The object is to secure to every member of society, the enjoyment of life, property and rational liberty. To restrain the evil and protect the good. The question here may be asked, who are the governed? I answer, all, every one being amenable to the law. While at the same time every law ought to subserve the publick good, or the aggregate interests of society. It must be acknowledged, however, that from the lust for power, wealth and pleasure, which is apparently inherent in man, that they are too apt to deviate from those principles necessary for the good of the whole, while the accomplishment of all or either of those objects, constitute the ultimate end of their views.

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