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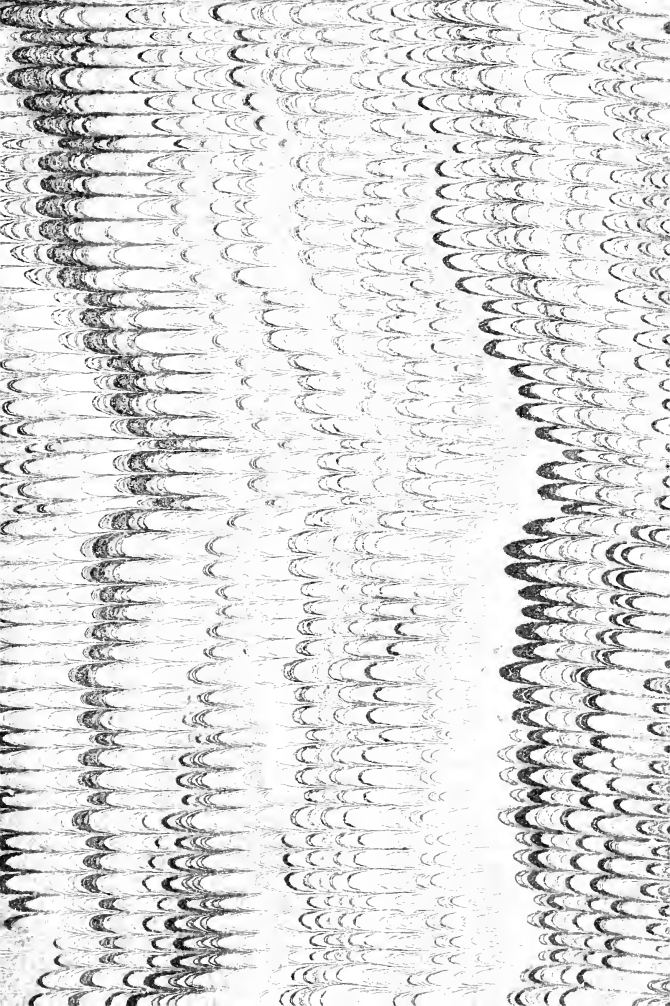
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DEFENCE

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OF THE

CLERGY OF NEW-ENGLAND,

AGAINST

THE CHARGES OF INTERFERING IN OUR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS,

AND

CONDEMNING THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT WAR.

2.5.10

of Concord

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CONCORD:

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JULY....1814.

country with the triumphs of Bonaparte; that the Administration might have some share in the downfall of Spain, and Russia, and Great-Britain, and seize their provinces..... They believe, that the war is hastily involving the country in vice and ruin: and they dare to express their opinion..... This is the sum and substance of their offence.

The following numbers, which originally appeared in the Concord [New-Hampshire] Gazette, shew some of the reasons which the Clergy have for the part that they act. Let the reader weigh those reasons; and see if the time does not soon come, when it will be distinctly perceived that those Clergymen, who have reprobated and exposed the policy which has brought us into this condition, have been friends to the best interest of the country.

Every month furnishes new proof that Heaven does not approve of this war. It is a measure which was adopted without asking counsel of Heaven. And every month, and almost every day, furnishes proof that the Administration, which has involved us in this disastrous war, is wholly incompetent to carry it on to any successful issue.

July....1814.



DEFENCE

OF THE

Clergy of New-England.



No. I.

IN the primitive times of Christianity, such misrepresentations of the views and conduct of the early Christians went abroad, that it was deemed necessary to publish Defences of the Christians, in order to counteract those false insinuations. The spirit which manifests itself in these days, renders it as necessary to make a public Defence of the views and conduct of the Clergy. Great efforts are now made to destroy their influence; and the pages of certain newspapers are devoted to that purpose.

A series of numbers, under the signature of *A Layman*, addressed to the Clergy of New-England, have recently appeared in a democratic newspaper.*— It must be obvious to every one, that the writer's intention is to vilify the Clergy, and destroy their influ-

* *The New-Hampshire Patriot, printed at Concord, by Isaac & Walter R. Hill. These numbers have also been published, from the same office, in a pamphlet, in an edition of five or six thousand copies, as designed for more general circulation.*

ence, under the covert of an address to them. The writer requests the Clergy of New-England, not to be offended with him because he tells them the truth. It is presumed they will not be offended with him for telling the truth, but for insinuating what is palpably and maliciously false.

But before I proceed to any animadversion on that insidious publication, (for such it must be considered by all candid men) I will offer one or two remarks on the present condition of the Clergy, and the similarity of the treatment which they receive, to that which Christ and the Apostles and primitive Christians received from the enemies of Christianity.

In regard to their condition, it is a fact, that although the Gospel enjoins that they shall have their living allowed them, in consequence of their ministerial labors; yet not more than one in four of them has his living by preaching the Gospel. They are under the necessity of resorting to other means than the provision that is allowed them, in order to support their families. There is no class of people in New-England who have so small a compensation for their labors as the Clergy. They certainly labor under privations which most men of education would not endure. They are poor and straitened, although the Author of that Religion which they preach has enjoined that such provision shall be made for them, that their whole attention may be given to their ministry.

Another remark that I would make is this---The treatment which they receive, from a certain class of people, is strikingly similar to the treatment which Christ and the Apostles and the primitive Christians received from the enemies of Christianity. They are vilified in the same spirit, and under the same pretext. The Savior of men was accused of opposition to the existing government. This was the ground of his condemnation, although the charge was supported

by no proof, except a malicious perversion of his words. The enemies of Christianity endeavored to draw the public odium on the Apostles, by calling them movers of sedition—These were the men who turned the world upside down. The charge against the Clergy now is the same. They are accused of opposition to the government, and seditious practices; because they cannot, according to the spirit of that Gospel which they preach, approve of a war for conquest, a war waged against the peaceable inhabitants of neighboring provinces, who never did us any harm. It is a fact, that those who are called the standing order of ministers, have experienced and do experience the united opposition of atheists, infidels, and all the hosts of sectarians through the country. However widely infidels and certain sectarians have differed in other respects, it has been a common cause with them to vilify the Clergy, and accuse them of opposition to the government, and, if possible, destroy their influence. *Down with the Clergy*, has been vociferated from the infuriated populace of Paris, through every corner of the United States. It is probable that the Clergy of New-England have not been surprised in meeting such a host of enemies.—Their Divine Master has forewarned them that they shall experience just such kind of treatment, and that in consequence of the truths which they maintain. “If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more they of his household.” “If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also.” He has told them that they shall be hated for his name’s sake. “All these things will they do unto you, because they have not known Him that sent me.” The professed reason why the Clergy are hated and reviled is, not because they adhere to the spirit of that Gospel which Christ taught them, but because they are opposed to the government. So the Jews did not persecute Je-

sus, professedly because he came to them in his Father's name. They did not accuse him of this, but of opposition to Cæsar; because an accusation of opposition to the existing government would be most likely to excite the populace against him.

I will now attend to some of the accusations, which the writer above alluded to, who addresses the Clergy, brings against them. He charges them with entering the ranks of opposition against those whom the nation has elected, both to legislate and administer the general government. He prudently declines saying that they enter the ranks of opposition to the government, but to the *men* who administer the government. He probably, however, means, notwithstanding his caution, to have it understood that the Clergy are opposers of the government; for men of his stamp are perpetually confounding those who administer the government, with the government itself. If he means to accuse them of opposition to the government, the accusation is false and groundless. There is not a shadow of proof to support it. In Turkey and in France, they have a government of men, and not of laws; or rather the will of the Grand Seignior and Bonaparte is law; therefore opposition to the person of the Grand Seignior or Bonaparte, is deemed opposition to the government, in Turkey and in France. But with us it is different. The government which we have chosen, is a government of law, and not of men. The person of the President, or of the heads of Departments, or members of Congress, do not constitute the government, because it is a government of law. Now the Clergy believe that the nation may elect men, both to legislate and administer the government, who are fallible, and men that may adopt and pursue a pernicious policy. If they disapprove of the character of the men, or their measures, in this land of liberty, they do not deem themselves

justly chargeable with sedition, or opposition to government. If it can be proved that they disobey the law---for instance, if it can be proved that they have, like some of their fellow citizens, endeavored actually to obstruct or defeat the administration of justice, and to excite the people to violent measures against the Courts of Justice, which are established by law---then a charge of opposition to the government could be supported against them, for this simple reason, that ours is a government of law. If the Clergy have been guilty of such seditious practices, let them be fairly tried by the law, and let them suffer as movers of sedition. But so long as they obey the laws, and peaceably follow their vocation, it is a false and malicious insinuation that they oppose the government. But if the writer means no more than that the Clergy do not approve of the men, whom the nation has chosen to administer the government, or of their policy in general, the charge is probably true. But where is the criminality of this? Have not all men, in this land of freedom, a right to think and to judge for themselves? It is a hard case indeed, if the convictions of their minds are to be controlled, or that they should be compelled to justify measures which they are convinced are ruinous. In such a state of things, they could no longer boast of an heritage of freedom which they supposed they possessed.

No. II.

ONE of the charges that are alledged against the Clergy is, that they are an ambitious class of men, who are aiming at a religious establishment, to compel all men to conform to their creed, and pay for their support, whether of the same or a different de-

nomination. A writer, who calls himself "A Layman," addressing the Clergy, says, "Many of you have been anxious to obtain a religious establishment; some in open, but more by covert means. In Massachusetts, some of you have openly avowed the object." It seems difficult to obviate charges which are supported by no proof, otherwise than by saying that they are false and groundless. And this, in justice and equity, is sufficient; for it belongs to him, who brings a charge against a man, or body of men, to support it by evidence, before any one can fairly meet it with evidence or argument. The only way in which the writer attempts to support his charge, is by a palpable misrepresentation of a communication in the Panoplist for July 1812. He says a writer there "contends for the establishment of a permanent tribunal, with power to ordain and depose ministers, as they shall judge proper; and, in fact, to establish articles of faith." This is entirely a misrepresentation. No writer in the Panoplist ever contended for these things. And here I would ask that "Layman," to sit down and seriously inquire, what is the proper definition of lying? Is it not an attempt to give to others an impression that is different from the real state of things, with intention to deceive? And then let him ask himself, if he has not attempted to give the public an erroneous impression of the sentiments of a writer in the Panoplist? The truth is, that there have been certain communications in the Panoplist on the expediency of ministers and churches forming consociations, in order to hear complaints brought by the people against their ministers for immoral conduct. The way in which this has heretofore been done, is by councils, chosen for the purpose. It often happens, that these councils are chosen by one party; and then the accused is tried by persons who are chosen by his accusers. This is found to be a very

inconvenient, not to say an unjust, mode of proceeding. To remedy this inconvenience, many have thought it would be a better way for a circle of ministers and churches to consociate by mutual consent. In that case, when a minister settles within the limits of a particular consociation, he will know, if the church over which he is settled, or part of them, charge him with immoralities, who is to try his cause. Instead of a council called for the purpose, and perhaps a council chosen by his accusers, he knows that the consociation will be called to hear and try his case. This is the sentiment of the writer in the Panoplist. Is there any thing in this like an attempt to establish a tribunal to ordain and depose ministers without the call and concurrence of their people? Much more, is there any thing in this that looks like establishing articles of faith? Observe, that the tribunal which is recommended in the Panoplist, is to hear and decide on complaints which people may bring against their ministers. When the Clergy shall attempt to establish a tribunal to try laymen, or impose articles of faith upon them, then they may complain. If the Layman, referred to in these remarks, is a member of a church, that Ecclesiastical body to which he has united himself is competent to try him for immorality. If he is not, the civil authority is competent to try him for breaches of the civil law. The Clergy have not attempted to establish any tribunal for him. They pretend to no control over him, or any other layman, except what may result from argument and persuasion.

But to return to the charge so often reiterated against the Congregational and Presbyterian Clergymen, that they are anxious for, and aiming at, a religious establishment; how can one meet it otherwise than by declaring, that it is altogether groundless and false? It is impossible to meet it by opposing proof

to proof; for there is not a shadow of proof brought to support such a charge. It is perfectly absurd; because such an event cannot be brought about without an entire change in our civil constitutions. And are the few Clergymen of New-England, in their straightened and depressed condition, so ambitious as to think that they can produce a revolution in the civil institutions of the country?

But it may be well to examine into the origin of that order of Ecclesiastical government on which the Clergy now stand; by what means they occupy the places which they now hold; and how they conduct in their places.

Whence did arise that order of Ecclesiastical government on which the Congregational and Presbyterian Clergy stand?—It was handed down from our forefathers. This is the order which the first settlers of this country established. It has not been altered since their day. Yes, these Clergymen, who are charged with aspiring to an Ecclesiastical establishment and Ecclesiastical honors, occupy the places of those wonderful men who encountered the perils of the ocean and the wilderness, in order that they might enjoy religious freedom, and maintain the purity of Gospel doctrine and discipline. The Clergy are satisfied with that order, in respect to religious institutions, which the first fathers of New-England instituted; and all their efforts go to maintain this order.

How did the Clergy of New-England come into the places which they occupy? Did they obtrude themselves upon the people? Did they endeavor to subvert some other denomination, in order to make places for themselves? No, they were called by the churches and the people: and they remain in the places where they were called.

How do they conduct in these places? Do they conduct like men aspiring after Ecclesiastical honors?

Do they annoy and disturb other denominations, and obtrude themselves into the labors and places of others? No, nothing of this sort can be proved against them. I observed, that all their efforts go to maintain the religious institutions and ecclesiastical order which has been handed down from our forefathers. In this they act only on the defensive. They are assailed from a variety of quarters. Atheists, infidels, disorganizers, and various ranks of sectarians, are set in array against them. It seems to be a common cause among all these, to break down the religious order, and demolish the regular habits, of our forefathers. The Clergy contend for the support of this old state of things; and as they stand in the way of the ultimate designs of disorganizers, attempts are continually made to destroy their influence. This accounts for such groundless insinuations, as that they are aspiring after a religious establishment, in order to draw the public odium on them. I say groundless insinuations; for I confidently challenge all their opposers to furnish any proof that they have, as a body, taken a single step, or made an effort, towards such an establishment. As it respects the external institutions of religion, the war in which they are engaged is a defensive war.

No. III.

THE Clergy are loudly complained of, because their conduct in this war is different from their conduct during the revolution. At that time they encouraged the men to fight; and prayed for the success of our arms: and now they do neither. And it is somewhat extraordinary, that though the persons who make

this complaint say, that the Clergy of 1775-6 "adopted a manly course of conduct, directly the reverse of those of this time; " yet they do not allow that the motives of the Clergy were any other than selfish at that time; just like the motives of the Clergy now. At the beginning of the revolution, it is alledged, they were afraid of the prevalence of Episcopacy; now they are afraid of the prevalence of sectarianism; and this has influenced them to act so diversely at these different periods. It seems after all, that the Clergy of this time are on a level with the Clergy of 1775-6; for in both cases they are actuated only by selfish motives, according to the suggestion of their enemies; although in 1775 their course of conduct was manly, and now it is base and wicked.

I have nothing to do with the *motives* of men; but I would inquire, and it would be desirable if all classes of people would inquire, if there is not such a difference between the war of the revolution and the present, as to render it proper not for the Clergy only, but for all good men, to act a different part respecting them? In the revolutionary war, Great Britain began the contest: in the present war, we have begun it. In that war, they sent their armies here to invade us: in the present war, we have sent our armies to invade neighboring provinces which have lived peaceably by us. That was on our part a war of self defence: this is obviously a war for conquest. These cases are so different, that men, to be consistent, must feel and conduct differently.

The complaint alledged against the Clergy, that they do not pray for the success of our armies, naturally brings us to consider whether the war in which the nation is engaged is just or not. It is important that this momentous subject should be often brought before the public. It would be a serious misfortune, if this nation should ever, during the present war, cease to

inquire into the reasons, or lose sight of the causes, which have brought so great a calamity upon us. The nation that engages in an unjust war unquestionably brings upon itself awful guilt. Those who are abettors of such a war will, without repentance, go down to the grave with blood-guiltiness; for war is murder on one side or the other, or both; it is the murder of the thousands who fall in battle. Now, as it respects the Clergy, all men will acknowledge, that in such a solemn transaction as prayer, they ought to be honest and sincere. If it is the conviction of their minds that the war is not just on our part, and they should still pray for the success of our armies, their prayers would be of no avail. They would be but a solemn mockery. The Majesty of Heaven does not answer the requests of those who pray contrary to their convictions. If the Clergy should act such a hypocritical part, they would provoke their Maker to his face; and they would prove themselves unworthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens.

Is the war, in which we are unfortunately engaged, a just and necessary war? Is it a war which could not be avoided without sacrificing the vital interests of the nation? In order to justify a nation in declaring war, the justice of the cause should not be doubtful. It should be an indisputable case. Then let the inquiry be made, and seriously considered—*For what are we at war?* Surely not on account of the Orders in Council. If war was proclaimed on account of any edicts of other nations which violated our rights, it ought to have been proclaimed against the nation whose edicts first violated those rights; and that nation was France.

Again—The war cannot in justice be continued on account of the Orders in Council; because, in a reasonable time after the government of Great Britain was officially notified of the repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, the Orders in Council were revoked;

and that happened, if I mistake not, just five days after this government had declared war. It is obvious, that the British government did not revoke their Orders because we declared war; for they did not know that we had declared war: but because they then had evidence that the French Decrees, of which the Orders were a consequence, were actually repealed.

Was the subject of impressment a just cause of war? Certainly not, if we may believe Mr. Monroe; and why not believe the declaration of one who is an important member of the American Cabinet, and probably a candidate for the next President? It is not pretended that the government of Great Britain ever claimed a right to impress American seamen; but it will be said their officers have actually done it. This is granted; and it is a great grievance. Still, if we are to believe the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe, it is such a grievance as might have been remedied in a satisfactory manner. The British government offered to enter into arrangements to remedy this evil; and such an arrangement was actually made respecting impressment, as he deemed to be "both safe and honorable for the United States."*

If the government of Great Britain claim only their own subjects, and them only that are sailing in merchant vessels, without the territory of the United States—for she does not claim the right to take them from our territory—if she offers to restore those that have been impressed through the abuse of her officers, and if she offers to make such arrangements as are "both safe and honorable for the United States," where is the just cause for war?

Again—In the very last correspondence between

* *This arrangement was made at the time when Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney negotiated the treaty which Mr. Jefferson, then President, sent back, without laying it before the Senate.*

this government and the British minister, previous to the declaration of war, it will be recollected that Mr. Foster requested of Mr. Monroe, that a list of impressed American seamen might be made out, and they should be restored. Mr. Monroe's answer was short; but it is a document which ought to be preserved and kept in remembrance, because it discloses the very point for which we are contending. It was this—"The American government can make no discrimination between her natural born and naturalized subjects."—Here then we are at issue; not about native American, but British subjects. We claim a right to naturalize and take their subjects into our service. If Mr. Monroe makes no discrimination between natural born and naturalized subjects, the time is coming, when the people of these States will make that distinction. When their resources are cut off, and heavy taxes are imposed upon them, with an enormous debt for the inheritance of posterity, they will conclude it had been better not to have incurred these, and many more evils of war, for the sake of protecting run-away British subjects; especially when they are without the territory of the United States. The people, when they feel the pressure of the war, will conclude that it had been better to leave it with the British subjects to settle the question with their own government, respecting the allegiance which they owe it, than for us to fight for them; for this is the very point for which we are at war, to naturalize and take British subjects into our service, and protect them. The people will conclude that we should be better without their subjects, than incur the dreadful evils of war—evils which probably will not be repaired in a century.

In a future communication, I may offer some remarks on the subject of naturalization. This subject is interwoven with the causes of the war. It is in-

volved in the great question, whether the war is just or not. This subject begins to be better understood than it was formerly; and it is desirable that it should be yet more clearly understood.

No. IV.

THE complaint, that the Clergy do not encourage this war, and pray for the success of our arms, deserves further consideration. It would seem that a conviction that the war is not just or necessary would be a sufficient justification of their conduct, even though their convictions were erroneous; for it would be absurd and offensive to Heaven, if they should pray for that which they consider to be wrong. But I will examine further into the grounds of this war, to see whether it be just or not. I will here repeat an observation which was made before, that, as war is murder upon the broadest scale, in order that a Christian nation may be justified in declaring and commencing hostilities, the question, whether the cause is just or not, ought not to admit of a doubt. It should be so obvious, that those who hazard their own lives in battle, or take away the lives of others, may feel no doubt that Heaven approves of the cause. It should be so indisputable, that those who take up arms and go into battle may feel confident that they shall not be chargeable with the criminality of being accessory to murder.

It will be admitted, that a Christian nation ought not to wage war on account of grievances which might be settled by negotiation. The Clergy, and this whole nation, have the testimony of Mr. Monroe, now Secretary of State, that the subject of impressment might have been settled in a way that

would be "both honorable and safe for the United States." The government of Great Britain never claimed a right to impress native citizens of the United States. And when Mr. Foster, the British minister, requested that a list of American seamen might be made out, with an engagement that they should be restored, the same Mr. Monroe, who had said that an honorable arrangement had been made by the British government on this subject, refused to make out such a list in order to the restoration of American seamen; and said, "the American government can make no discrimination between her natural born and naturalized citizens!" Then the conclusion is unavoidable, that we are at war for the protection of foreigners. We are contending for the right to naturalize the subjects of Great Britain, and take them into our service. Every other subject, but this, might have been honorably settled by negotiation. This will lead us to consider the subject of naturalizations.

I admit, that a nation has a right to naturalize foreigners. But when a nation does this, what are the engagements it enters into with them? It allows them all the privileges of native born subjects, so long as they remain within its territory. They have the protection of the law, and the privilege of voting for national, and state, and municipal officers. But should these naturalized foreigners go beyond the limits of the nation that naturalizes them, has that nation engaged to go to war for their protection? I think not; and I believe that none of the nations of Europe, if they are in the habit of naturalizing the subjects of others, would go to war for the purpose of protecting them when they go beyond their territory. Now Great Britain has not claimed the right to come into our territory to take her natural born subjects. She has not pretended a right to search the public arm-

ed ships of the United States for them, because she considers the public armed ships of a nation in the same light as the territory of that nation. But when they enter into the service of merchants, and sail upon the "highway of nations," she claims a right to their service. She acts on the principle, and so does France, and I believe other European States, that a nation has a right to its own subjects, especially in time of war; and that this law of naturalization does not dissolve the allegiance which men owe to the country which gave them birth, and protected them in the time of their infancy and youth. Hence it is a common thing for the nations of Europe, when they are involved in war, to call home their subjects by proclamation. They call them home on the principle, that they have a right to their service in time of war, as a father has a natural right to the assistance of his children when he is in danger. Then, are we not contending for a principle which is manifestly wrong? The natural born subjects of a nation are, in some sense, the property of that nation. They are its support and strength in times of public danger. The British nation considers her seamen as an essential support of her independence in these times of convulsion; and she never will relinquish her right to their service. If we take the Canadas, the loss of these provinces, which have been of little benefit to her, and would be less to us, will not compel her to relinquish this claim to her natural born seamen in time of war.

But should it be seriously insisted that the subjects of one nation have a right to expatriate themselves; and become the subjects of another nation, I have admitted that one independent nation has a right to naturalize the subjects of another; and she may protect them within her own territory; but she enters into no engagements to protect them beyond this. If they

are found on the "highway of nations," and are taken by the power to which they are naturally subject, the nation that has naturalized them is not obliged to fight for them. Let the people of this country understand this subject, and they will conclude it would be better to leave it to the subjects of England or France, or any other nation on earth, to settle this point with their governments, rather than that we should involve ourselves in war to settle it. We have no need of their men, and I apprehend we have no right to them. It is believed that we should be as happy a people, and that our civil institutions would be as stable and permanent without as with them. What advantage would it be to us, if we could compel Great-Britain to give up this point? She considers this of vital importance; for she considers her seamen as the means of her defence. But if we could compel her to relinquish a point which she considers of so great importance, what great benefit should we gain? Would it be any advantage to our natural born seamen? Certainly not. It would have a tendency to deprive them of the means of their support. Is it possible then that the administration can be sincere in going to war to preserve the rights of seamen, when the point for which they contend, if gained, would deprive our natural born seamen of their employment and their living?

Neither the Clergy, nor other thinking people, can see any attainable good in this war. It is a contest which is fruitful in nothing but misery. It makes many widows and orphans and bereaved parents. It will impose insupportable burdens on the present generation; and an enormous debt must be left for posterity. There are rich men who can loan the money to carry on the war, but they must be paid; and when the middling class of people fail to raise the money, must not their lands go? Will not this state of things throw the landed property into the hands of a few rich

men? It will unquestionably produce great changes of property. And suppose we take the Canadas, will this bring the war to a close? Will it induce Great-Britain to relinquish the point for which she contends? No; the loss of those provinces would be but a small thing compared with the loss which she would apprehend, should she relinquish the right to the service of her seamen. And, for us to hold those provinces in time of war, would occasion an enormous increase of the debt which we must contract in conquering them.

It is moreover to be observed, that, if we had been eminently successful in this war, we should have helped that tyrant who, till lately, has proudly trampled on the rights and independence of every nation within his reach. It is a circumstance worthy of consideration, that this war was declared about the time when Bonaparte set out with the design to conquer Russia.

It certainly had a tendency to further his designs, for us to commence hostilities against England at that time. Whatever weight we had, was thrown into his side of the scale. Whatever force we could bring into action, would serve to prevent England from affording assistance to the Russians and the Spaniards. I do not pretend to say that there was a secret understanding between this government and France on this subject, or that it was a concerted plan; but circumstances are such as to excite a strong suspicion that this was the case. Certainly no man, who is a friend to the independence of nations, can feel satisfied with a measure which should help that tyrant to trample the civilized world under foot.

No. V.

MUCH that is said against the Clergy, rests on the monstrous principle, that they have no rights; not even the right of private judgment. They must ap-

prove of the men whom the nation has elected to legislate and administer the government, whether they are infidels, or believers in the Christian dispensation; whether honest men, or knaves. They must approve of the measures which these men pursue, right or wrong. If the rulers tell them that black is white, they must believe it, or incur the guilt of opposition to the "powers that be;" and some pretend to adduce Scripture to prove that Clergymen should approve of the men and their measures, even if they must do violence to their own convictions. There is strong reason to believe, that a party of men in this country are aiming at a despotic government in this way. They mean to suppress all opposition to the measures of the administration; and they mean to put down the Clergy first, for reasons which will be exhibited hereafter. Where we are not allowed to think for ourselves, and express our opinions, there is no vestige of liberty left us. We may as well live under the administration of the Grand Seignior, or the tyrant of France, as under a government which, though called republican, does not admit to the citizen the freedom of opinion and of speech.

The Clergy knew before this time, that civil government was ordained of God, and that whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. They have considered their duty in this respect. They believe it is their duty to obey the laws, and to lead peaceable and quiet lives, in all godliness and honesty. Let the community judge (for the Clergy act in the view of the community) whether they do not obey the laws of the land. Do they not demean themselves as peaceable and quiet citizens? Do not the Congregational and Presbyterian Clergy use all their endeavors to preserve order and peace in society? Are they not honest and upright men? Do they defraud their fellow citizens? If they are disobedient

to the laws, they resist the ordinance of God, and ought to be punished.

But though civil government is an ordinance of God, and therefore the Clergy and all Christians are bound to obey the laws for conscience sake; yet it does not follow, that they are also bound to approve of men for rulers, or their measures, when they are convinced that those measures are ruinous to the morals and temporal interests of the community. If the laws of Christianity oblige the Clergy always to approve of the men who administer the government, and always to be silent, the Clergy of 1775 acted a very wicked part: for though, as a late writer has said, they "pursued a manly course of conduct;" yet the course of conduct which they pursued was directly in opposition to the measures of the existing government. They spoke very freely of the men who administered the government, and with great boldness and vehemence condemned their measures as oppressive. They taught the people that it was right to oppose such measures. Therefore if these men did right, it is always the duty of Clergymen, and all men who love their country, when their rulers adopt pernicious measures, to expose the evil, and endeavor to have such men removed from office, and wiser and better men put in their places. The Clergy know, that sometimes God ordains wicked rulers to be the instruments of his vengeance on a people. When a people imbibe a spirit of infidelity, and contemn the Divine authority, God gives them unprincipled rulers to be a scourge — just as he ordains hurricanes and earthquakes to execute his vengeance: but no man loves hurricanes, earthquakes, or pestilence, in themselves considered, although they are ordained of God to accomplish his purposes of judgment. All men consider it their duty, as much as possible to avert such calamities, though they are sent by God. He has in the Scriptures given

us a certain rule to determine when wicked men are at the head of a nation. In Psalm xii. 8. we have this rule—*The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.* When vile and profligate men, without principle or talents, are appointed as the agents of Administration, that Administration must be corrupt. In that case, the wicked will walk on every side—that is, wicked men will then multiply, and be open and bold in vice. It is natural that this should be the case: for when vile men are exalted to office under an Administration, it will be seen that infidelity and profligacy of morals are, in the view of that Administration, qualifications for office: a course of vice is the road to preferment. Therefore wickedness, in such a state of things, receives public encouragement.—Now when the Clergy see, that the vilest men are exalted, and that wickedness is thereby emboldened, what shall they do? Must they approve of such an Administration? Must they keep silence, and not expose wickedness in high places? Would the prophet Elijah have kept silence in such a case? He was a man of God; but he boldly condemned the character and conduct of Ahab, because he was an unprincipled and wicked ruler, though he was ordained of God to be an instrument of judgment on the people of Israel for their sins. Read his conversation with that king of Israel—*And Ahab said unto him, (that is, Elijah) Art thou he that troubleth Israel? And he answered, I am not he that troubleth Israel; but thou and thy father's house.* At another time, when Elijah received a divine message to go to Ahab, the king said to the prophet, *Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? And he answered, I have found thee, because thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the Lord. Behold, I will bring evil upon thee.*—This was plain dealing; and it proves, that it is not the Divine will that the Clergy should be silent when vile men are exalted;

much less that they should approve of wicked men or measures.

We see by the part which the prophet Jeremiah acted, that the Clergy are not bound to approve of all sorts of men for rulers, or of measures which are wicked and ruinous. And in him we have an example of the treatment which they will receive for exposing the wickedness of men and their measures.— Jeremiah was a man of GOD; and what was his language towards Zedekiah and the measures of his Administration? He knew, that civil government was ordained of GOD; and it is quite probable that he was obedient to its institutions; yet that did not deter him from exposing the wickedness of the rulers. *He was opposed to the war which the king was carrying on— and uniformly declared that he would not prosper.— He said to the messengers which the king sent to inquire of him, Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah, Thus saith the LORD, Behold I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon; and I will fight against you with an outstretched hand, and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath.*

If a prophet should now rise up among us, and use such language as this respecting the unnecessary war in which this nation is involved, what would the lovers of this disastrous measure say? Read Jeremiah xxxviii. 4. and you may learn what they would say: *Therefore the princes said to the king, We beseech you, let this man be put to death: for thus he weakeneth the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, in speaking such words unto them: for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt.—* Here the charge against Jeremiah was, that he sought not the good, but the hurt of the people; or in modern language, he was not a patriot, because he exposed the wickedness of the rulers, and

spoke in a discouraging manner respecting the war. For this he was more than once put in prison. Who does not see, that the same spirit which the princes of Judah showed to Jeremiah, is manifested towards the Clergy now, by those who approve of this war, and especially by those who *profit* by it?

No. VI.

WHEN a writer undertakes to exhibit some things in defence of the Clergy, it is natural that he should attend to an inquiry which has seldom been answered in such publications as a newspaper. The inquiry is—*Why are the Clergy so offensive to a certain class of men in this country?* The fact is indisputable, that the Congregational and Presbyterian Clergy are very odious to certain characters—more odious than men of any other profession. Every instrument, not excepting falsehood and misrepresentation, is put in operation to annoy them, and destroy their influence. Every exertion is made to deprive them of that support which the Gospel has enjoined on men to allow them. As their outward conduct in general cannot be impeached, their motives and views are misrepresented. It is intimated, that their motives are wholly selfish and corrupt; that they aim not at the good of their flocks, but at worldly gain and self aggrandizement. This suggestion is a reflection upon the understanding of the Clergy. It would prove them destitute of common sense. For, if worldly gain is their object, they have been very unfortunate in their choice of means to obtain it; for they have chosen that employment which, of all others, affords the least prospect of emolument.—They are represented as a dangerous set of men. The fact that they are of-

sensitive to a certain description of persons must be obvious to every one; for it is presumed, that almost every person in the community has heard them vilified with great bitterness. And what reason can be given why these men should be objects of such peculiar hatred? It is not because, as men, they are more disagreeable characters than other men. It cannot be contended, that they invade the rights of others, or that they are hard-hearted, unfeeling, and cruel men. Neither can it be said, with truth, that they put themselves above their fellow creatures; that they are proud and assuming men. Those, among whom they exercise their ministry, will testify that the New-England Clergy condescend to men of low estate; and that they are attentive to the distresses of people of the most humble condition. Why then are these men so odious?

There are two causes which I apprehend may satisfactorily account for this, which I briefly state. One cause why the Clergy are so offensive is, that the system of religious truth, which they are appointed to maintain and enforce, always was, and always will be, offensive to men of corrupt sentiments and profligate lives. It is natural to transfer the offence of the Cross to those who maintain the doctrines of the Cross. The Clergy cannot be faithful without giving offence to such characters. I have already noticed the warnings which the Savior has given his ministers, respecting the treatment which they will receive on account of the offensive truths which they maintain. But in the 11th chapter of the Revelation, the reason, why those who faithfully preach the truths of the Bible are offensive characters, is plainly stated. They are called *Witnesses*. It is said, that they shall prophesy clothed in sackcloth, or exercise their ministry in a state of depression. Towards the close of their testimony, it is said the beast, who riseth out of the bottomless

pit, shall make war with them, and slay them; which is understood to mean, that the spirit of infidelity shall, for a time, accomplish the downfall of the Clergy; and their downfall is the occasion of unusual joy; as may be seen by looking at the 10th verse: *And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, (that is, the witnesses) and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the earth.* The occasion of this joy and merriment among men is, that these witnesses, who *tormented* wicked men, are down: Their influence is destroyed. But how do the witnesses of the truth torment such men? They do it by exposing the profligacy of their principles and lives. They torment them, by making them see their real character, and warning them of their danger.

Another reason why the Clergy are so offensive to some men is, that whatever influence they have, presents an obstacle in the way of the ultimate designs of these men. At the commencement of the French Revolution, that earthquake of the moral world, a set of men combined together who called themselves *Jacobins*. Their avowed object was the destruction of all those institutions and habits, whether religious, civil, or social, which had before bound men one to another in society. They immediately took measures to increase their numbers, and extend their influence; and they were but too fatally successful in this kind of propagation. In this country were men who were already predisposed to imbibe the spirit of *Jacobinism* and disorganization; men in whom was a strong affinity with the views of those who produced the unprecedented horrors of that revolution, and who approved of the excesses which were committed in France and the neighboring States. While I speak of *Jacobins*, I would not be understood to include all of that political denomination who are called Democrats.

Some of this denomination are worthy of esteem, men of pure principles and correct habits; but it is to be feared, that they have yielded too much to the influence of others who have imbibed this disorganizing spirit. A *Jacobin* is one who feels a deadly hostility to all those religious and civil institutions which preserve the order of society. He is impatient of every moral and social restraint, and labors incessantly to disengage himself from all such restraints, and demolish the regular and sober habits of our forefathers. Sensible that, while religious principle and moral virtue are held in estimation, he cannot rise into consequence, he labors to erase from the minds of men every impression of the difference between virtue and vice, honesty and fraud, simplicity and deceit. If he can bring about this state of confusion in the moral world, he sees a fair chance that he may obtain preferment and power. In such a state of things, knavery is more likely to succeed and rise to power than honesty, because a knave will use means to obtain preferment which an honest man would not. The Clergy stand directly in the way of such men. While they have influence, they are an obstacle between such men and their ultimate object. The influence of the Clergy tends to support and strengthen the wholesome institutions and habits of former times, and maintain in the minds of men an estimation of virtue and honesty, and an abhorrence of duplicity and fraud. This is a reason why they are so offensive to *Jacobins* and disorganizers. When men are pursuing an object that is very desirable, they feel impatient at obstacles which stand in their way, and will endeavor to remove them. There is no wonder that the Clergy are so odious to men who labor to demolish the restraints which Religion and society have laid upon their vicious appetites.

No. VII.

IN stating the reasons for that part which the Clergy take in relation to this war, it was natural to bring into view the alledged causes of the war, in order to settle the important question of its justice. I trust it has been proved by facts, at least to the satisfaction of candid men, that every subject of difficulty between this country and Great Britain, except one, might have been settled by negotiation, in a manner that would be honorable to the United States. The Orders in Council were removed, agreeable to the uniform promise of that government, as soon as they were duly notified of the repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees. That government never set up a claim to search merchant vessels for native Americans; and though native Americans had been impressed by mistake, and also by the abase of British officers, that government offered to restore such, when it should be ascertained that they were American citizens; and to make such arrangements with this government as should remove this source of complaint for the future. These facts are undeniably proved by the public documents, and also by the deliberate declaration of one who is now a member of the American cabinet.

The only remaining difficulty, which could not be settled by negotiation, and that which is the only cause why the nation is precipitated into a disastrous war, is this — The American administration contend, not only for the right to naturalize the subjects of Great-Britain, but to protect them when on board merchant vessels, and beyond the territory of this government. Great Britain, on the contrary, contends that our laws of naturalization ought not to interfere with the rights of other nations; and as every nation has a natural right to the service of its own subjects, especially in time of war, she contends that our acts of naturaliza-

tion cannot dissolve the allegiance which subjects naturally owe to the country that protected them in the time of their infancy and youth. She never will relinquish her claim to the service of natural born subjects. As, therefore, we are at war with that nation in order to protect her subjects, even beyond our territory; it is to inquire whether the principle for which we contend is not manifestly unjust, as well as contrary to the usages of all civilized nations.

But there are other reasons why the Clergy should be dissatisfied with that course of measures which have brought us into this calamitous condition. The Clergy, and many others, have seen an abandonment of that neutral ground which was assumed by Washington. When the unprecedented horrors of the French revolution began to appear, and those who conducted the affairs of France at that time employed every artifice to prevail on the people of this country to make a common cause with them, that wise and prudent Statesman, that Father of his country, foreseeing the evils which were ensuing on the world in consequence of that revolution, issued his Proclamation of neutrality. It is well known, that this wise and safe measure gave great offence to those who felt a strong affinity with the spirit which actuated the French revolution. From that moment they began to oppose his measures; and that man, "whose like we ne'er shall look upon again," was not permitted to go down to the grave without abuse, because he would not have fellowship in the murderous scenes that were acted in France.— From that time, incessant attempts have been made to change the neutral position of the United States.— At length the friends of France have succeeded. If the administration had maintained that neutrality which Washington assumed, and especially if they had cultivated a neutral temper, the alarm of war would not have assailed our ears, and we should not

experience the woes which are now multiplying upon us.

France, by her edicts, first violated our neutral rights; and at a time too when there was a treaty of commerce existing between the two nations. Yet this government did not resist the unjust edicts of France. They did not even remonstrate in a tone which was calculated to give France an impression that they seriously intended to maintain our national rights. When the British government afterwards retaliated upon France, all our resentments were directed against her, as though she had first and alone injured us. Nothing was said of the millions of property that were pillaged from us under the decrees of France; while every effort was made to direct all the popular resentment against Great Britain.

The Clergy have seen, that the wrongs and the insults which we have received from France, have, as much as possible, been concealed; and those which we have received from G. Britain have been blazoned forth and magnified. The French government have told our administration to their faces, that we are a nation "without honor," and that we had better burn our declaration of independence; yet this insulting language was borne with wonderful patience. At the same time the administration have manifested great industry and acuteness in discovering insults from the government of Great Britain.

A secret has lately transpired, which proves that the American rulers would patiently receive any insults and abuses from France. It is well known that, even before Mr. Jackson arrived in this country to open a friendly negotiation, he was abused in the public papers that are devoted to the administration. Every engine was put into operation to fix a prejudice on the minds of the people against the man, and that before he had set foot on our shores. This was done, prob-

ably to defeat the object of his mission. It is also known, that Mr. Jackson was dismissed in consequence of an alledged insult contained in a communication from him to the Secretary of State. And though the friends of the administration seemed not to be agreed among themselves on the clause or sentence of the communication which contained the insult, yet they declare there was an insult; and the British minister was dismissed. The cause of this precipitate measure has lately come to light. Some time before this, the administration had received a letter from Mr. Turreau, the French minister, that was filled with the most overwhelming insults and abuse. It contained language, which, it is believed, no independent nation ever before received from another. The French minister even demanded that we should change our civil institutions, and take away the freedom of the press, to please his master.

It appears the administration were alarmed, and entreated Mr. Turreau to take back the letter, which at first he refused. They were afraid to have it recorded in the Secretary's office, lest it might be made public, and excite in the American people resentment against France. But it seems, on the sudden dismissal of Mr. Jackson, the wrath of Turreau was so far appeased that he consented to take the letter back. And therefore it was not put into the archives of the Secretary of State, to be forthcoming at the call of Congress. This letter, however, translated by Mr. Graham, chief clerk in the office of State, and in his hand-writing, has fallen into the hands of a member of Congress. That member, (Mr. Hanson) with others, have lately made a manly attempt to have this disgraceful business investigated. Mr. Hanson asks for liberty to substantiate all these facts; but he will not obtain it. Information will be suppressed. Such is the policy which has led to this war. Have

not all reflecting men reason to be dissatisfied with the spirit and the measures which have brought this most dreadful calamity upon the nation!

No. VIII.

FROM the observations that have been made respecting the events that have involved the country in war, the Clergy can come to no other conclusion, than that an overweening subserviency to France, and an implacable hatred to Great Britain, have influenced the administration to adopt this desperate measure. In the process of our national difficulties, they have concealed or palliated the wrongs and insults which we have received from France; and magnified, beyond all credible dimensions, those which we have received from Great Britain.

But there are other circumstances belonging to this, in common with all wars, which would naturally influence Clergymen to condemn that policy, which, without manifest necessity, should involve this once happy country in that calamity. The vocation of the Clergy will naturally incline them, if they are faithful, to dread the effects of war. It is one object of their calling to preserve the people from those habits of immorality and vice which will drown their souls in perdition; but war tends to fix such habits upon them.

The life of a soldier seems to be no other than a life of dissipation and vice. When he engages in that employment, he feels disengaged from all moral and social restraints, and concludes that he must, in this condition, despise the authority and profane the name of the great JEHOVAH.

War always serves to beget and confirm the most pernicious habits, profaneness, intemperance, sabbath-

breaking, and a practical contempt of the institutions of religion. The pernicious effects of war are not confined to those only who engage in a military life. The whole mass of the community is infected. Its tendency is to eradicate that benevolence and compassion which mankind ought to exercise towards each other, as the offspring of one common Parent, and to nourish all the bad passions of the human heart. By familiarizing a people to scenes of violence and slaughter, it produces a savageness of feeling and of manners. Those who arrived to a state of manhood previous to the revolutionary war, can testify that the moral character of this people was greatly changed for the worse by that event. Since that time, infidelity has had an influence in this country which was not known before, and violations of the Sabbath, and profaneness and intemperance, have prevailed to a degree which threatens a subversion of all civil and social order. Although war is one of the judgments of Heaven, it has never been known to reform a people. Its usual tendency has been to strengthen every licentious propensity of the human heart, and break down all the sober habits of a people.

But this war has a more alarming aspect, on account of the connexion which it unavoidably creates between this country and France. Great pains have been taken, to make the people believe, that though we are at war with G. Britain, we are not therefore associated with her enemy. But if two men are contending with each other, and a third selects one of these for his enemy, and falls upon him, can any man conceive that he does not help the other, just so far as his abilities will go? Can any one be made to believe, that he does not *intend* to assist the other, when he lends him all his strength?

The whole civilized world is engaged in one unprecedented struggle. We have voluntarily entered

into this conflict, and declared to the world the side on which we stand—the scale into which we mean to throw our strength. Did not Bonaparte, last summer, consider that we were associated with him? Was it not evident last spring, that the parties in this dreadful struggle were, on the one side, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain; and, on the other side, France, the United States, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and the German States? *

* *Since this was first published, the dreadful struggle has terminated in Europe; and through the wonderful mercy of GOD, it has terminated in favor of those Powers who respect the rights of independent nations, and the Laws of HEAVEN—It has terminated in the marvellous overthrow of that Power which has disowned the Authority of JEHOVAH, deified itself, and trampled alike on the rights of nations and the institutions of Religion. This wonderful interposition of Providence has removed much of the alarm which serious people have felt, in regard to the result of this war.—It is true, the war may cost the nation two or three hundred millions of dollars; and many lives, and some of them perhaps useful lives, will be thrown away: But it will not now associate this Christian Republic with an Atheistical Power, which, three years ago, threatened to extend its blasting influence over all the civilized world.*

It is worthy of observation, that the great, the magnanimous ALEXANDER, who is called by the supporters of this war “A Royal Russian,” “The Head of a Banditti of Vandals, Robbers, and Slaves,” did actually delay, for several days, his military preparations for the memorable campaign of 1813 in order that he might personally assist in the formation of a BIBLE SOCIETY at St. Petersburg.—He lost nothing by this delay. The event proved, that GOD honors those

Every attempt to prove that the war does not associate this country with the fortunes of Bonaparte is vain. An intimate connection between us and that scourge of Europe must unavoidably grow out of this state of things. And what an alarming consideration, to have this Christian Republic associated with a nation of Atheists, a nation which has publicly dissolved its allegiance to God! Before Bonaparte placed himself at the head of the French nation, they had, by a public & national act, declared that they would no longer be in subjection to the King of Heaven! But if any one doubts this, let him read the official communications of Bonaparte during the two last campaigns, and compare them with the proclamations and official accounts of his enemies. It will be seen that the Allies, in taking up arms, have acknowledged that there is a God who governs the world, and decides the destiny of men. They have made their appeal to Him as the Arbiter of nations; and when victorious, they have imputed their successes to his kind interposition, and given the praise to Him. But where, in all the official bulletins of Bonaparte, can there be found one acknowledgment of a God, or an overruling Providence? In what official communication has he ascribed any success to JEHOVAH? It is notorious, that he has ascribed his victories to his own skill and

who honor HIM. The most marvellous success has attended his enterprizes. He, with his Allies, has marched through Europe, like a Guardian Angel, not to destroy, but to restore Peace and Order to bleeding and distracted nations. Yet the promoters of this war reproach him with the vulgar epithet of "Roual Russian!"—Ah! they never will forgive him this offence...that he has prostrated their IDOL, and arrested the progress of Atheism, Disorganization, and the shedding of innocent blood.

strength; and thus in effect deified himself. In his very last speech to his Senate, after the overwhelming disasters which he experienced in Germany, he did explicitly declare that he would yet control events, which is a denial that the Deity rules in the armies of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth. Is not this the power which exalts itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped? By the present war, we are unavoidably associated with this power. We make a common cause with this power which has disowned the God of our fathers. This circumstance cannot but affect the minds of the Clergy, and all serious minded people. They cannot avoid the apprehension, that as we are nationally associated with that power in its projects of conquest, we shall imbibe its spirit and partake of its plagues.

There is another circumstance relating to this connection that must affect the minds of religious people. It is well known that, in these days of darkness, gloominess and indignation, one portion of the civilized world has taken a deep interest in the great work of evangelizing the heathen. A multitude of Societies have been formed in Europe, and a vast amount of property has been expended, for the purpose of translating the Scriptures into the languages of the heathen, and sending preachers to them. But in what part of Europe, on which side of this great conflict, in which the civilized world is engaged, are these charitable institutions to be found? They are all, without exception, among those who are fighting against Bonaparte for the emancipation of Europe. In a sense, we may say they are found among our national enemies; while our national friends, the French, have no participation in the grand design of sending the light of Divine truth to the heathen. Nay, when the British and Foreign Bible Society, a few years since, contemplated printing an edition of the Scriptures in the French language, their agents searched the city of

Paris two days before they could find a single copy of the Bible. Now serious people cannot but think of these things, and be affected with the circumstance that we have come into such a relation with such an atheistical power.

The Clergy are accused of being under the influence of Great Britain, because they do not approve of this war. It is to be hoped, that they have yielded themselves to no influence but that of Divine truth. But if they are attached to this cause, they cannot but lament that, by an unnecessary and rash step, we are the enemies of that people who, with all their faults, do more than all the rest of the world beside to extend the knowledge of revealed Religion.

How much has the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts been abused for having called Great-Britain "the bulwark of our Religion!" It is always manly to give our enemies their due. Governor STRONG or the New-England Clergy never pretended that all the people of Great-Britain are righteous, or that all who compose their administration are righteous. A majority of them may be very wicked men. But it is a fact, that there is a people in Great-Britain who make greater efforts and sacrifices to enlighten the heathen nations in the knowledge of revealed truth, than all the rest of the world combined. Therefore, if we are to know a people by their fruits, if we are to judge of the spirit of a nation by what they do to uphold and strengthen the cause of religion, the declaration is true that Great-Britain is the bulwark of our Religion.

Can it be thought strange, can it be a crime in the Clergy, provided they submit to the laws of the land, if they feel a strong desire that we may be at peace with Great-Britain, and that our civil rulers should cultivate a spirit of peace towards that nation?

No. IX.

THE Clergy have great cause to reprobate the policy of the administration, on account of the change which the war, if continued, will be likely to produce in our civil institutions. Its tendency is to change our republican institutions into an aristocracy, or even a monarchy. A state of war in a republic, puts great power into the hands of him who is at the head. It creates new places for salary-men, who are appointed by the chief magistrate of the nation. What a multitude of offices are created by the present war! All the officers of the army, the revenue officers, assessors and deputy-assessors, collectors and deputy-collectors, and custom-house officers, who, it is said, are appointed in every considerable town and village through the United States. These all derive their offices and their salaries, directly or indirectly, from Presidential favor. The more favors of this kind a President has to bestow, the greater will be his power. He will be so much the better enabled to carry into effect his plans, and, in the end, fix himself at the head of the nation. As all these receive their offices and emoluments from the favor of the President, it will be a wonder indeed if they are not subservient to him.— They will not be willing to forfeit the favor of their Patron, and lose their offices and salaries. They will therefore be ready, at all times, to support him, and carry his measures into effect. Let him propose what measures he will, these dependants of his will be ready to second him; for if he fail to accomplish his plans, *their craft will be in danger.* Besides those officers who in time of peace depend upon the President, what a host of military officers, officers of the customs and revenue, are now under his command! Let it be remembered, that this army, already numerous

and formidable, receive their pay out of the people's money: but the people do not appoint them--they are not dependant on the people for their offices, but on the President. Is there no danger in placing such power in the hands of the President? Are the people's rights in no danger, when it has become the interest of such a formidable host to support him, and carry into effect any measures which he may propose? Since the declaration of war, an attempt has been made to place the whole military strength of the country, in effect, under the President. The monstrous doctrine, that he might call out the militia of the States, and put them under officers of his own appointment, and order them away for a foreign conquest, has been urged, and carried into operation in some of the States, to a certain degree. This would make the President absolute at one stride. He and his friends have nothing to do but create a war, and the whole military strength of the country is in his hands, and the sovereignty of the States is destroyed—State sovereignty becomes nothing but a name.— Surely the Constitution does not contemplate that the entire physical strength of the country should be put into the hands of the President, whenever he might make a party in Congress strong enough to declare war. The fact appears to be, that those who framed the Constitution never contemplated that this Republic would engage in a war for foreign conquest. It is probable, that they considered such a war to be wholly contrary to the genius of such a government, and therefore they made no provision for calling out the strength of the country for such a project.

The prodigality with which this war is managed, endangers our civil liberties. Under the administration of Mr. Adams, there was an impression created in the minds of people, that the expensive measures which were then pursued would ultimately place the

real property of the nation in the hands of a few monied men, and the present land-holders would become tenants to those who should loan the money to defray the expenses of the government. But what must people think of the unexampled prodigality of this administration? I say *unexampled prodigality*: for in what page of history can it be found, that a nation has offered the exorbitant bounty which is now offered to men to enlist for the conquest of the Canadas? An army of *sixty thousand men* is to be raised—*one hundred and twenty-four dollars* is to be given to each man, who enlists in this murderous service, besides *eight dollars* to the officer or citizen who shall procure a soldier. This makes *one hundred and thirty-two dollars bounty* for each man, besides his monthly wages. How long can the country sustain such an unprecedented expense, before the real property shall be swallowed up, or shifted into other hands? Was there ever such an instance of prodigality? The industrious farmer will inquire, where the enormous sum of money, to carry on a needless and unjust war, can be obtained? I answer—there are men, and banking companies, who can loan this money to the government. But let this same industrious farmer remember, that his farm stands pledged, and in a sense mortgaged, to pay it. The estate of every man is pledged to pay the public expense. This state of things, if suffered to continue much longer, will inevitably place the real property of the country in the hands of a few, and thus create an odious aristocracy. It will parcel the lands into lordships; and destroy our republican institutions. The Clergy wish that such a change may be averted. They are friendly to the civil liberties of the country. They are pleased with that equality of condition which is enjoyed in New-England, especially in those places where agriculture is the principal employment. They wish that the far-

mer, who by patient industry is enabled to support his family and defray his ordinary expenses, may be enabled to keep his farm, and not have to cringe to some haughty lordling. But they have serious apprehensions, that if this unexampled, expensive system, is allowed to continue long, the farmer will not be able long to call that inheritance his own, which descended to him from his ancestors.

Let those persons, whose fears were excited, under a former administration, that the country would be loaded with insupportable burdens, compare the expense of those days with the present waste and prodigality of the property of the nation. Let them inquire what all this expense is for. Is it to conquer the frozen region of the Canadas? a country that can do us no good if we have it, and the loss of which will do our enemy little or no harm.—Or is it to create an unnatural Presidential power, and satisfy the cupidity of that host who have been waiting for profitable offices?—Let people inquire if it is not time to avert this expensive, this wasteful policy, and place the administration in the hands of other men.

The Clergy have great reason to believe, that the degree of rage for war, which exists, is kept up by those who have either obtained, or live in the expectation of obtaining, offices of profit. By far the largest part of those who expect to live by honest and steady industry, it is believed, do reprobate the war, and the manner in which it is conducted. It is believed, that the time is coming, when, perhaps too late, it will be seen, that the Clergy, in disapproving of this war, have taken a part which is favorable to the civil liberties of the community.

COMMUNICATION.

MR. EDITOR,

I HAVE occasionally seen some Essays of a late writer, who has undertaken to vilify the Clergy in the insidious form of an address to them. I consider this as one of the numerous efforts of the present times, to destroy the religious institutions and habits of New-England; and on this account it merits a momentary attention.

The first thing that I shall notice in that writer is the singularity of his conclusions. He says, that because the Jewish prophets boldly exposed the wickedness of the Jewish rulers, is no reason why Christian ministers should say any thing evil of our rulers--or to this effect. He gives the following reason for this conclusion:--The Jewish government was a Theocracy; and the Jewish prophets were inspired men.—— Now I cannot clearly discern how his conclusion results from his premises. The Jewish government was a Theocracy, and ours is a Republic. A Theocracy, if there is any meaning in the word, is a government of which GOD is the Supreme Head, and the subordinate rulers are immediately appointed by Him. In a Republic, the rulers are chosen by the people. Now comes the extraordinary conclusion: it might be lawful to expose the faults of rulers who receive their authority immediately from GOD; but not to expose the wickedness of those who derive their authority immediately from the people. But how does this conclusion follow? Are such rulers as GOD appoints, and who hold immediately under Him, more liable to do wrong, than those

whom the people choose? Is civil government less an ordinance of GOD in the form of Theocracy, in which GOD is the Supreme Head, than it is in the form of a Republic, where rulers are all chosen by the people?

Again—The Jewish prophets were inspired men. What then? Why, Christian ministers must not follow their example! Inspired men might expose the wickedness of their rulers, but uninspired men must not do this. I confess, that I should draw a conclusion directly the reverse of this writer, in both cases. I should suppose, that if in a Theocracy, a government of GOD's immediate appointment, rulers had faults which should be publicly exposed, they might also in a Republic have faults; and that it would be altogether as proper and necessary to expose their faults in the latter as in the former case. And if inspired prophets did denounce some Jewish rulers for their wickedness, I should suppose that a humble minister of the New Testament, though not inspired, might follow the example of inspired men, and shew unto all people their transgressions, rulers as well as subjects.

But the absurdity of his conclusions is of small consequence. The principles which he has assumed, I apprehend, will one day be of serious consequence to himself. It is in any case very unfair for a man to institute and pursue a course of reasoning from a principle which is false; but when one undertakes to vilify a class of men, by imputing a fault to them of which they are not guilty, it is not only unfair and uncandid, but extremely malicious and wicked. Almost the whole of that writer's remarks are founded on the supposition, that the Clergy have laid aside the Gospel, to preach politics, and vilify the national rulers. This, I say, is a false accusation: it is notoriously false. He has indeed named *Doctors Cogood and Parish*, who preached some political ser-

mons. I could name two others, Messrs. *Aiken*, of Dracutt, and *Stevens*, of Stoneham, who have preached such political sermons as I suppose suit the writer. These are four men in the great body of New-England Clergy. So far as these men, on either side, have used the language of invective, I have understood that the Clergy have generally expressed their disapprobation. In this State, Mr. *Elias Smith*, and some of his stamp, I understand, frequently preach political discourses, especially a little before the annual elections. But that those Clergymen, who are called the standing order, have left the work of preaching the Gospel, to preach political discourses, and vilify rulers, is a palpable falsehood. They say nothing about our rulers in their public ministrations, other than to pray for them, that they may be good men. Thousands of witnesses may be produced, to prove the accusation is false. Hence even democrats, who live in towns where there are regular settled ministers, will say, that *their* minister does not preach politics; but they believe that others do, because they have either read or heard so; and candid men, who are on that side in politics, in every town through the State, will give their testimony as it respects their *own* minister. What are we to think of a writer, who assumes a FALSEHOOD for the basis of all his reasonings and remarks!

But there is no excuse for the writer. If he ever attends public worship, it is probable that he does think the minister preaches politics, and means to expose the national rulers, in some of his discourses. A Clergyman, who is set for the defence of the Gospel, thinks that it necessarily belongs to his work to expose infidelity and disorganizing sentiments in all their disguised as well as open forms of operation, and to warn his people against the influence of an infidel spirit. Many, and perhaps the writer above-mention-

ed is of this class, verily believe, that when a minister preaches so, he meddles with politics. I have heard of a number of instances where a minister has discussed on the evil and danger of a spirit of infidelity and disorganization, and some of his hearers have gone home angry, because they said he preached politics, and reproached the rulers of the nation. If the writer is of this class, there is some excuse for him; otherwise he is inexcusable for imputing that to the whole body of the Clergy which is not true. Must the Clergy be so confined in their preaching? Must they say nothing against infidelity and disorganizing sentiments—lest they should be thought to speak evil of the rulers? Surely the Author of the religion which they preach, has not confined them to such a narrow circle of preaching.

DEFENCE

OF THE

CLERGY OF NEW-ENGLAND,

AGAINST

THE CHARGES OF INTERFERING IN
OUR POLITICAL AFFAIRS,

AND

CONDEMNING THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT WAR.

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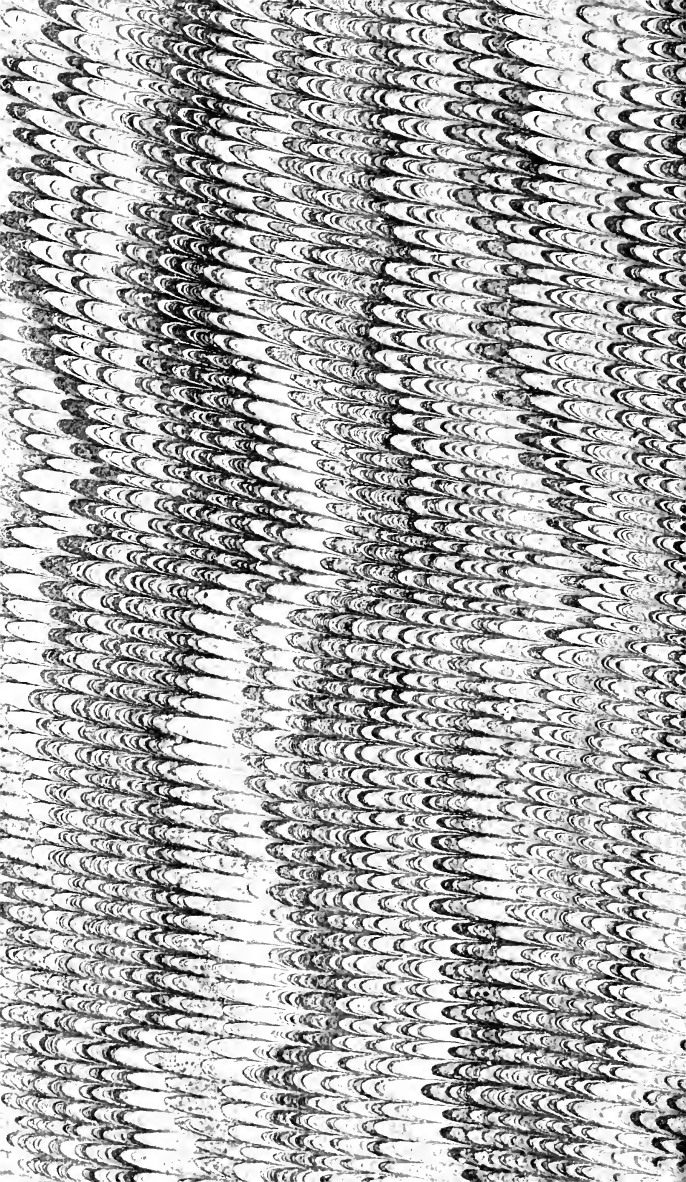
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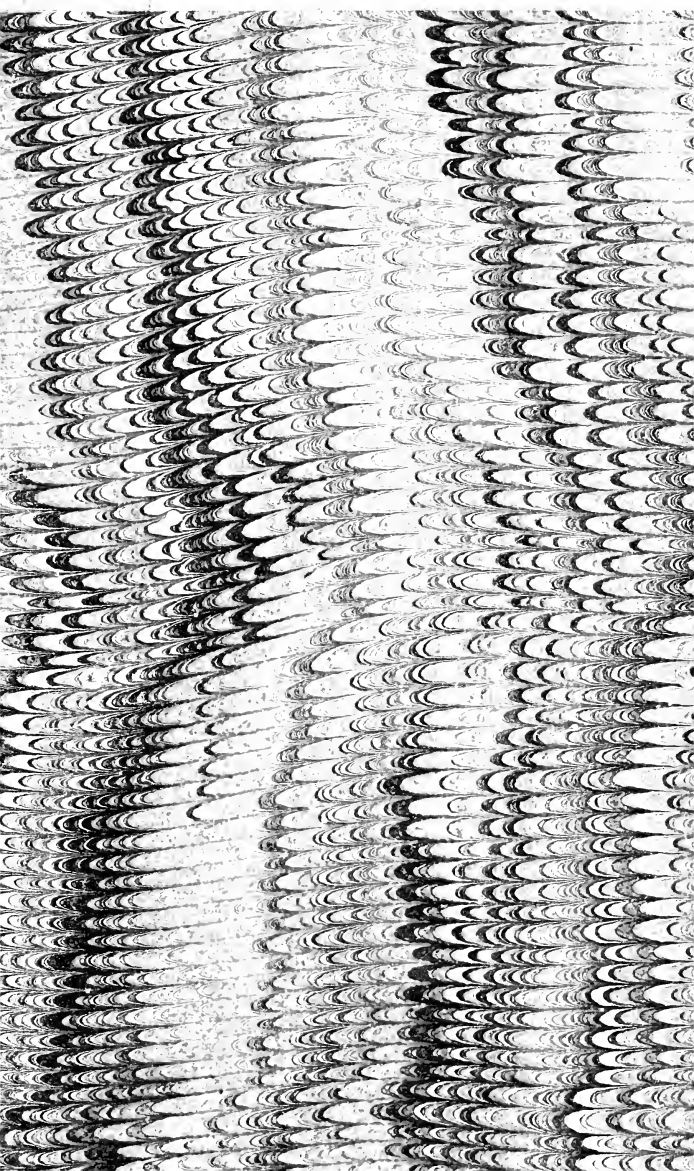
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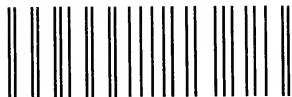
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