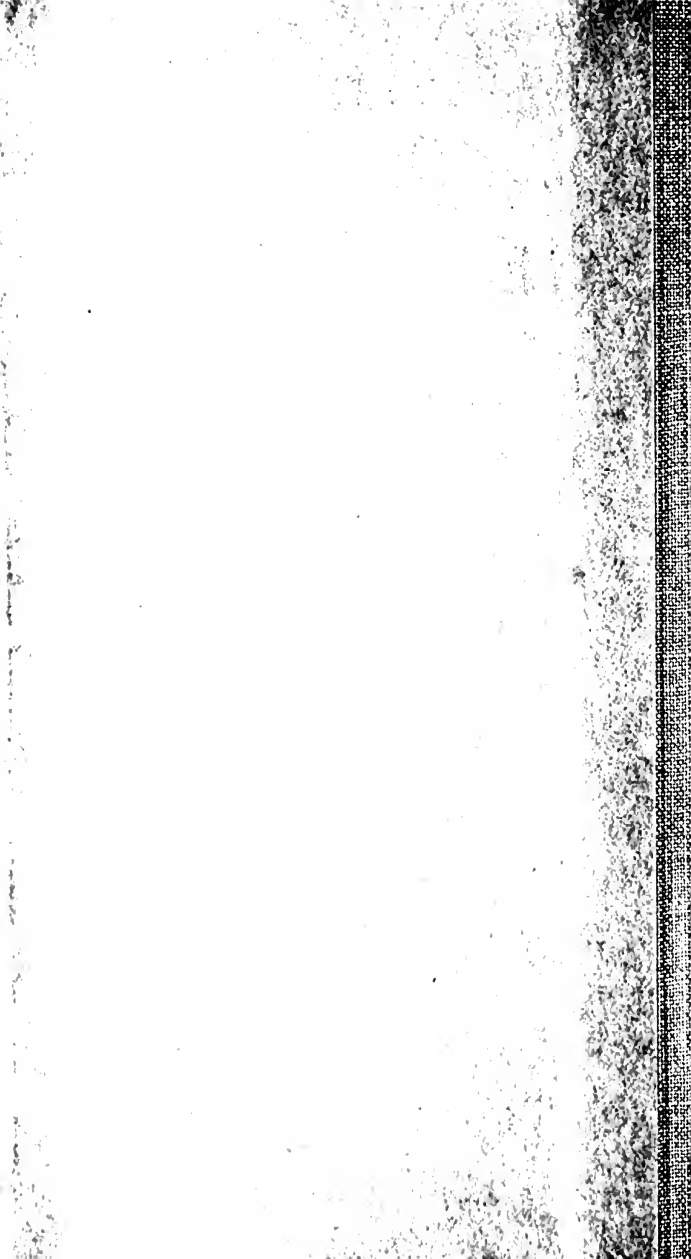


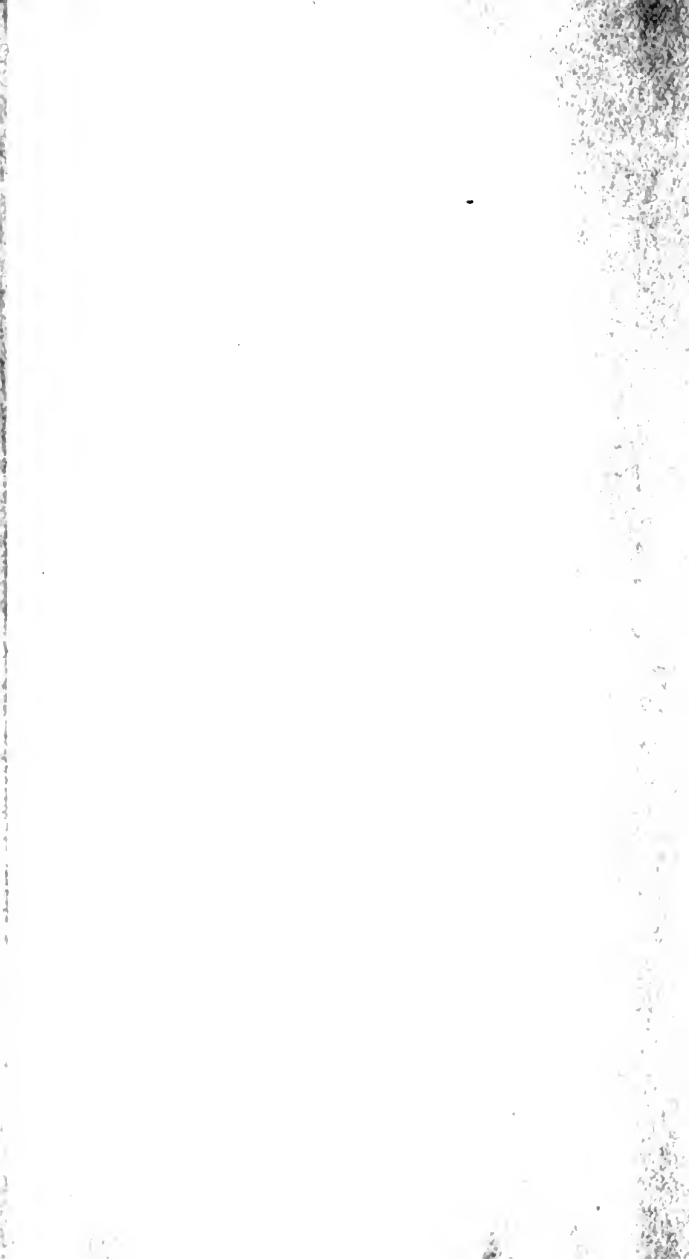


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LAW AND GOVERNMENT:

THE

ORIGIN, NATURE, EXTENT, AND NECESSITY

OF

DIVINE AND HUMAN GOVERNMENT,

AND OF

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY

HARMON KINGSBURY.

"Thy Commandment is exceeding broad"—Ps. 119 : 96.

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P R E F A C E .

TWENTY years ago, or more, a distinguished clergyman remarked, that "moral suasion," meaning good advice, was sufficiently efficacious, in regard to all matters connected with the first table of the Decalogue, to banish irreligion and immorality from the world, without the aid of human legislation. Such a remark, coming from such a source, arrested our attention at the time, and gave direction to much subsequent study of the principles of law and government, the results, mainly, of which, were embodied in this work years ago.

In the mean time, the public mind has been occupied, more and more, with discussions on topics here embraced ; much has been said which seemed calculated to weaken the obligations consequent on human government and the respect for law ; until it has been thought that good might be done by an effort to direct attention to the subject of **LAW AND GOVERNMENT**, in respect to their origin, nature, extent, and necessity, and to the nature and extent of **RELIGIOUS LIBERTY**.

In these disquisitions no claim is set up for originality, or profundity of research. The Author will feel it to be a sufficient compensation for his toil if he has succeeded in collecting and arranging, for the consideration of the well-disposed of this generation, those *old truths*, by which our Pilgrim Fathers were guided, rather, which God has revealed to us, as he did to them and other ages, in his blessed Word.

In attempting to set forth the necessity and the obligation of LAW, it is by no means intended to undervalue the power of good advice, remonstrance, and entreaty. These means do in fact restrain multitudes from vice and irreligion. Yet there are other characters upon which their influence is hardly perceptible. Those who neither fear God nor regard man must be restrained by a power which can be both *seen* and *felt*, in the present life. Let good moral influences be multiplied as much as possible, but let the civil arm be at hand when these fail. Indeed, the existence of Law, with its penalty, is so manifestly right, and commends itself so to men's consciences, that it becomes, strictly speaking, moral influence, and may be termed an essential element of moral suasion.

It is wholly unreasonable to pretend that the views here presented, of the union of Law and good advice, in supporting good morals tends to a "union of Church and State;" on the contrary, neither government nor persuasion can fully perform its part, except

as it is free and independent of the other. The supporters of the strictest morals, are the best friends of the faithful administration of Law, and are the men who have ever resisted most strenuously and successfully the "union of Church and State."

If the common carpers about Church and State mean by their clamor to charge the friends of Law with a wish to give to the secular arm the right of controlling the conscience, or to give to any Church or ecclesiastical organization the power of controlling the government, or the right of *any* interference in the administration of the Law, the charge is false and slanderous.

But it by no means follows that civil government has nothing to do with religion, or religion nothing to do with government. Our Constitution recognizes religion as its basis:—not Paganism nor Mohammedanism, not Romanism nor sectarianism of any other sort, nor any organized form of human power, but *Christianity*—GENERAL CHRISTIANITY, as revealed to us in the sacred Scriptures.

The following discussion will show, beyond a rational doubt, that *the Bible is the fundamental Law of this nation*—THE GREAT FOUNTAIN OF COMMON LAW. By its principles all questions should be tried and settled.

To ascertain how far the present moral character of this nation, its laws and received opinions, are con-

formed to this STANDARD, and to recall it to its original profession and high destiny, is the great object of the subsequent pages.

In preparing most of these thoughts the Author has been greatly aided, especially as to *Part First*, by an esteemed and able jurist, and other literary gentlemen, whose services have contributed largely to its interest and value :—also he has made use of thoughts, and sometimes of words and sentences, in Sec. 3, Part I. :—from Rees' New Cyclopædia—Whewell's Astronomy and General Physics—Buck's Theological Dictionary ; and Combe on the Constitution of Man.

New York, Jan., 1849.

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PART I.
LAW AND GOVERNMENT.

SECTION I.

General Principles and Definitions.

IN all the departments of science, we find many hindrances to the development of truth, which have their origin in a misapplication of terms. Whenever the exact meaning of a proposition is obscured, either by the indefinite use of words which have various significations, or by employing a style of expression that is too diffuse, it is nearly impossible for any one rightly to apprehend the true nature of the argument. This is especially true, when terms are applied descriptively to objects whose natures are generically dissimilar. A very striking instance of this kind may be found in the use of the term *Law*. It is employed indiscriminately, as well to describe the mode by which God governs his intelligent creatures, being free moral agents, as to denote the method by which He secures the results of brutal instinct; and also as descriptive of the various principles of his administration in regard to the whole universe of matter. We are taught to speak of the laws of matter in the same manner as we speak of the laws by which God governs his moral kingdom. But God acts, in the control of matter, by the immediate exertion of his power; and, although his own plans, as well as his actions, are certain and uniform, it

by no means follows that He has imparted to matter either the power of volition, or of activity. Action is the result of volition. Free and intelligent moral agents, on the other hand, are endowed with the power of action, and with the power of choice. While the movements in the material universe result from the immediate action of the Deity, the conduct of rational intelligences is controlled by their own volitions influenced only by motives. It is true that God controls everything after the counsel of his own will. Yet it is equally true that He can control matter only by force; and that mind alone is susceptible of being controlled by law. In fixing our elementary notions of law, we should be careful, therefore, to give to that term an application both definite and exclusive.

Law, in its *strict* sense, is a RULE OF ACTION prescribed by some being having a right to control the conduct of his subjects; which is designed for their government, and which they are bound to obey. In a *looser* sense, law denotes the tendency of matter to act in a certain manner; as the tendency of heavy bodies to fall to the earth, and the magnetic needle to point to the pole. But law, in both senses, proceeds from God, the Creator, Proprietor, and Sovereign Disposer of all things. In the latter sense, we shall use the term law, when speaking of inanimate matter.

From this definition it is evident, that inasmuch as God is the only being in the universe having a perfect right, as Creator, to control other beings, his will must, of necessity, constitute their only infallible rule of action. His RIGHT OF CONTROL is incident to the act of creation or preservation, and his greater competence to govern. Being the absolute Author and Proprietor of all other beings, they are necessarily and rightfully subject to His unlimited dominion. THE OBLIGATION which results from being placed under law is based, therefore, on the will of

God ; or, in other words, upon the constitution of things of which He is undeniably the Author.

It is impossible for an infinite mind to err. But a being whose capacities are finite, it is equally obvious, could never apprehend, so perfectly, the plans of Infinite Wisdom, or even the remote consequences of his own actions, as to secure him from the possibility of mistake. There is a very evident necessity, therefore, that ALL RATIONAL, FINITE BEINGS SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER THE OPERATION OF LAW. They might otherwise, through ignorance, act without any evil intention, if free to act according to their own impulses, entirely derange the plans of the Deity, and upset the whole constitution of things. God has placed all his intelligent creatures, then, under law. He gave them rules of actions, which, had they been perfectly obeyed, would have secured the perpetuity of happiness, and the entire stability of the material universe.

We know nothing of the celestial intelligences, except what we derive from the Bible ; and we there learn little more concerning them than that they were under law, and that a portion of them, having rebelled, are now suffering the consequences of their sin. But in reference to our own race, our knowledge is much more definite. Each individual is brought into existence in a state of helpless infancy, and under an economy by which it is designed that he should acquire, under the parental roof, habits of unwavering obedience to parental law, so that when he takes his station in society, his early habits may aid him in conforming to the regulations of the social system. Experience has shown that men take advantage of the fact that the penalty of the divine law is not "speedily executed," and harden themselves in iniquity ; and also that they need the restraints of a law whose penalty shall be inflicted in this life. Hence has arisen THE NECESSITY OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT, and of human law. God has

consequently authorized and instituted the system of human government, and enjoined obedience upon all its subjects. The authority of all such governments, however, is *wholly derived* from the law of God ; for without such a license, every restraint exercised by one individual over another, or by communities over individuals, would be a direct infringement of the Divine prerogative.

LAWS ARE EITHER DIVINE OR HUMAN.

The DIVINE LAW embraces all those rules of action which God has prescribed for the government of human conduct. Some of these rules are discoverable by the light of nature, and others are specifically revealed in the Word of God. The former are generally classified under the head of NATURAL LAW, and the latter, under that of REVEALED LAW.

NATURAL LAW embraces those rules of God's moral government which are discoverable by human reason, without the aid of a written revelation. The precepts of Natural Law are written in the constitution of things, and placed there by the finger of God. They have the same force as those which are contained in the revealed law. For the manner in which a law is promulgated can neither increase nor diminish the weight of its sanctions.

The REVEALED LAW embraces all those precepts which are recorded in the Bible. It is sometimes wholly *positive*, at others, of a mixed character, as in the law of the Sabbath, etc. These precepts are divided, by most writers, into three classes :—*Ceremonial* or *Ritual*, *Judicial*, and *Moral*.

The Mosaic CEREMONIAL LAW was temporary, and prescribed the forms and ceremonies of the Jewish Church, anterior to the advent of the Savior.

The JUDICIAL LAW embraced all those municipal and

political precepts which were designed to control the public and internal policy of the Jewish nation.

The MORAL LAW, on the other hand, relates to the entire race, and contains the whole code of Religion and morals.

It cannot be supposed that the Judicial Law was instituted for the purpose of supplying any defect in the moral code; for if the latter were obeyed perfectly, there could be little or no necessity for the former. The same is true of human law. Its necessity results from the fact that men in the pursuit of temporal objects lose sight of the rewards and punishments of a spiritual life, and will not be restrained without the aid of a law whose inflictions are more immediate and visible. The moral code, then, is not only perfect in itself, but it affords the only solid foundation for the civil code. The latter can neither prescribe any rule of action prohibited by the former, nor excuse the performance of any duty which it enjoins. Human law is designed simply to meet the difficulty which results to society from the fact that men do not, and will not uniformly regulate their actions by a more perfect and higher standard. It is the office of human law, then, to restrain those violations of the moral code, which are calculated to interrupt or defeat the social economy, and to encourage those actions which tend to the general welfare. As all human governments derive their right to govern solely from the license and authority of Jehovah, it is plain that such of their enactments as run counter to his will, are, and ought to be, absolutely inoperative and void. Hence it is a maxim of judicial interpretation, in all Christian nations, that no human command shall be enforced which is at variance with the Divine law.

HUMAN LAW, therefore, is a rule of action prescribed by human government, commanding its subjects to do what is right, and to abstain from doing what is wrong.

Laws of this description may be more properly divided into *three classes*: *Remedial, Penal, and Criminal*.

A REMEDIAL LAW is designed to repair the consequences of wrong action. It is wrong for an individual to refuse to pay his debts; and the law which comes in and enforces their collection is strictly remedial. So it is wrong for a man to injure the character or property of his neighbor; and the law which, when he has done so, compels him to repair the injury, partakes of the same nature.

A law is said to be PENAL, when any equivalent forfeiture is annexed to its command, which, in case of transgression, requires the payment of a specific sum of money, or exacts some equally certain pecuniary forfeiture. All the laws of God are, in this sense, penal.

CRIMINAL LAWS, on the other hand, which, although sometimes including a pecuniary penalty, always relate to actions involving a flagrant violation of the law of morals; and which necessarily disturb the safety and happiness of the entire community.

The law of God is as applicable to nations as it is to individuals. The supposition that twenty individuals, banded together in a distinct community, have any other or greater right collectively, than they have individually, either to cheat, steal, rob, or murder, denotes a degree of stupidity and folly but little short of absolute madness. It is true that an independent nation stands in a position which frees it from the supervision of any earthly tribunal; yet, so long as God continues to wield the sceptre of universal empire, it can never be emancipated from one particle of its obligations to render a perfect obedience to his law. INTERNATIONAL *law*, then, is nothing more than the law of God applied to nations, as to individuals. Yet, to avoid circumlocution, it has been usual to embrace under the head of *the Law of Nations*, all those rules for the administration of justice between nations which have received the sanction of general usage.

SECTION II.

Nature and Design of Government and Law.

It has already been observed that no finite intelligence could so fully comprehend the plans of the Deity, or even the remote consequences of his own conduct, as to secure him, without the aid of law, from the possibility of mistake. If God had seen fit to control men by force, or by instinct, they could never have become free agents. They would have acted, in that case, as simple machines, without the power of volition or choice. It was, therefore, one of the most essential features of the original constitution, that all finite intelligences should be governed, and yet be permitted to act freely: and it is impossible to conceive of a plan by which such a purpose could be accomplished, except through the operation of law. We cannot doubt, then, that the necessity of government has resulted from the divine constitution; nor can we hesitate to believe that it originated in the mind of Jehovah.

The right which is vested in a society to govern its individual constituents, is undoubtedly *derivative*. For men, irrespective of their relations to God, stand upon a perfect equality. No one can have a natural right to control the conduct of his equal. Nor can a community of equals, assume, with propriety, any right which might not with equal justice be assumed by each individual member. So that there is nothing in the fact of association which can be construed as conferring such a right.

The supposition that there is such a right, has led some minds, deeply impressed with the necessity of human governments, to derive their authority from the consent of the governed. If the equality of men were the only fea-

ture of their relationship, we might say, with great propriety, that an individual who has consented to yield up any of his natural rights, could not afterwards complain, although he might in consequence be subjected to personal inconvenience. Yet in a community of twenty, the consent of eleven could not confer the right to govern the other nine. Every individual on this hypothesis, who has not freely and personally consented thus to be governed, is absolutely free from all allegiance to human authority. But an actual and universal consent is not pretended. The argument is based upon a mere fiction. The fact that a man was born in a state of society, furnishes no evidence that such a condition was voluntary. He was not self-created. The argument is wholly delusive.

Our social relations are altogether *inferior* to those which subsist between us and our God. "In him we live, and move, and have our being." Having created us for Himself, He is our proprietor, and has an unlimited right to control every action and every desire of our hearts. He has a right to accomplish, by our voluntary agency, the ultimate design of our creation; and we have no right to interpose any obstacles calculated to defeat his purposes. We have no greater right to destroy ourselves, than we have to destroy others. Self-destruction involves a direct violation of the Divine prerogative. An individual who has committed murder, may deserve death, but he has no right to become his own executioner; he has no right to avenge one crime by the commission of another. How, then, can he delegate to others a right which he does not himself possess? If human governments have no other authority than that which is derived from their constituents, it follows that all capital punishments are murders; and every imprisonment a most palpable invasion of the authority of God—they have become a public nuisance, and ought to be abated.

THE AUTHORITY OF HUMAN GOVERNMENTS IS DERIVED
ONLY FROM GOD.

1. We have already shown that they are necessary ; and as that necessity forms a part of the original constitution, the inference is irresistible, that they have their foundation in the will of God.

2. As a further evidence of the truth of this position, we may cite the fact, that God has exhibited and illustrated the operation of human governments, and demonstrated their importance, as well as their necessity, by the establishment of a DOMESTIC CONSTITUTION, in which all their essential elements are distinctly involved. He has delegated to parents a right to control the conduct of their children, and commanded that they should be instructed and guided in the way in which they should go. He has also commanded children to obey their parents. In the earliest ages of the world, civil government was wholly parental. The head of every family was both king and priest ; and as the line of descent was drawn out through successive generations, he became the head or patriarch of a tribe—the prince or king of a nation. We learn from the Bible, that during the continuance of this species of government, it was frequently recognized and sanctioned by God. Some of these kings he punished for their crimes, and others he commended for their virtues. He raised up judges for his people Israel—gave them prophets and leaders, and ultimately gratified them by the appointment of a king.

3. But we have abundant evidence in the Bible, that God is the author and originator of human government, which is still more explicit. Immediately after the deluge, God gave to Noah, then patriarch of the race, the command that “Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” Other declarations are equally spe-

cific. "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom : I am understanding : I have strength. By me, kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me, princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." "Fear God : honor the king." "I exhort, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men ; for kings, and for all that are in authority ; that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty." God himself, as Chief Executive, administered this government, up to the time of Saul, by national *compact* at Sinai, so far as related to the Hebrews. Some contend that the above texts prove only that God acceded to an existing usage. But the apostle Paul, in writing to the Romans, as if fearing the prevalence of false notions in regard to the true basis of human governments, has entered into the subject with some degree of minuteness, and placed it entirely beyond the reach of cavil :

"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power, but of God ; the powers that be, are *ordained* of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the *minister of God* to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for *conscience*' sake. For, for this cause, pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues ; tribute to

whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honor to whom honor.”

Although it is unquestionably true, that human governments are “ ordained of God,” it does not follow that He has authoritatively determined either their forms, or their manner of organization. We find that many of the laws and maxims contained in the Bible, relating to this subject, were originally addressed to the entire race ; and that the commands enjoining obedience, are couched in very general terms. Human governments are described as “ Rulers” —“ The powers that be ”—“ Judges ”—“ Nobles ”—“ Princes ”—“ Kings.” From these circumstances, it is quite evident that God never intended to dictate any particular form of Constitution. Each nation has been left free to form its own government ; and that is undoubtedly best, which emanates directly from the people, provided they are intelligent and moral. But when a government is once constituted, its authority rests upon the immutable will of Jehovah, and the whole nation becomes responsible for its character and efficiency.

Another feature of human government consists in the fact alluded to, by an apostle, that they are “ ministers of God for good ”—“ revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.” If this be true, the very perfections of the Divine character demand that He should hold them to a strict and impartial account. That this has been the uniform course of his providence, in every age of the world, may be made abundantly manifest by a reference to the pages of history. But more of this hereafter.

There are five **ELEMENTARY MODELS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT**, from some one or more of which all others have been formed.

1. A **THEOCRACY**, in which God is recognized as the immediate and only Sovereign. This form of government was peculiar to the Jews.

2. A PATRIARCHY. This form of government undoubtedly grew out of the relationship subsisting between parent and child ; and is only a slight modification of that which is termed domestic—the oldest male ancestor, or some other venerable individual, adopted as a chief, constituting the supreme director of the tribe.

3. A MONARCHY. A form in which all the powers of the State are vested in a single individual, not based on parentage ; for the essence of the Patriarchy is Monarchical.

4. AN ARISTOCRACY. This term is applied as descriptive of a government vested in a class of nobility, by virtue of their rank.

5. A DEMOCRACY. In a simple Democracy, the power is exercised by the people at large, convened in general council, or by representatives, publicly chosen for that purpose.

All other forms of government are termed MIXED.

If men had not become depraved, there would have been no necessity for the institution of civil governments, to be administered by men ; the law of God direct would have secured obedience and universal happiness. But when sin had once gained a footing in the human heart, it was found that men had become supremely selfish, and could not be restrained from violating the Divine law, or from improper and brutal indulgences. Experience has shown that a large proportion of the human race seek, as their supreme and ultimate good, those pleasures which are immediate and transitory, to the almost entire neglect of those higher, nobler, and future enjoyments which God has prepared for those who love and obey him. A similar propensity exhibits itself in reference to the apprehension of evil. Those evils which are near and visible, strike us forcibly ; while those which are distant and future, exert an influence which is comparatively trifling. Nothing can

be more certain than that neither the rewards nor punishments of the eternal world, are found to afford a sufficient protection for the present life. These circumstances will help as well to teach us the design of human government, as to demonstrate their necessity.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT, then, is an institution rendered necessary by the moral condition, and the depravity of the race, or by the constitution and relation of things; and designed to act subordinately, and in accordance with the Divine law, in a sphere limited to the control of those actions which relate to the social and moral condition of its subjects. While the Divine administration direct is adapted more particularly to the spiritual necessities of men, designed to prepare them for a higher state of existence; human governments are adapted to the prevention of all such acts as are calculated to derange the immediate and healthful operation of the social economy, and to secure that course of action in each individual, which is calculated to promote the general welfare. They are not designed to have the cognizance of matters purely spiritual; they can neither control the heart nor regulate the conscience. But inasmuch as the spiritual interests of men are far more important than those which are merely temporal, it is obviously the duty of the civil arm to *protect* them, as well from the operation of irreligious influences, as from the consequences of open assault.

It is the office of human legislation to carry out, define, and enforce the objects of civil government. In repairing the consequences of wrong action, it acts remedially; but in securing right action, it operates by the administration of rewards or punishments. When a government is desirous of securing the aid of individual enterprise, in reference to some particular emergency, it may very properly hold out the expectation of some definite reward, and this is by no means uncommon. On the other hand, the principal

means of preventing wrong action, consists in the appropriate use of punishment. All human government within the limit which God has given it, is bound to be, in all its departments, legislative, judicial, and executive, a mere miniature of the Divine ; and in whatever respect it is not so, is null. “ All authority in human governments, or at least, their right to be, and to act, comes as a trust directly from God, and corresponding to the several departments ; and the true model of human governments is, 1st, elective—a trust committed to the people, or rather, it is believed, to the head of each family—thus organizing the State, as well as the Church around the domestic constitution, and making citizenship in either a premium to induce an entrance into its relations, as the grand preventive of unlawful indulgence—this elective sovereignty, giving the right, and imposing the responsibility of designating merely to office, not clothing office with authority.—2d. Legislative sovereignty, or the right and duty to make laws, coming to the legislator as a sacred trust, as direct from God, as elective sovereignty does to the people.—And 3d. Executive—including judicial sovereignty, giving the right, and imposing the duty of executing law—coming, like the others, direct to the ruler from God, for the right exercise of which he is directly responsible to God. The Magistrate, whether legislative or executive, is in his place *as God*—“ called gods,” in the Old Testament,—and is bound to be and do just what God himself would, were He personally in his place ; and aught contrary to this is treason to the supreme Governor and his government.

The PUNITIVE ACTION of every well-regulated government, naturally embraces three distinct objects :

1. To reclaim individual transgressors, by the infliction of pecuniary fines or temporary imprisonments.

2. To take away the power of injuring others ; either by the imprisonment or death of the transgressor.

3. To deter men from pursuing wrong courses of action by examples of vindictive suffering.

Another prominent object of human legislation should always be to secure to the entire community, appropriate means of *instruction*. This is one object, doubtless, of the preceptive part of every law ; but this is not enough. The means of general education should be made cheap and abundant, so that every citizen might have the opportunity, not simply of learning the abstract rules of action, prescribed by specific laws ; but also of acquiring that general knowledge of the nature of things, and of the Divine government, which is calculated to impress him with correct views of his individual responsibility.

SECTION III.

The Plan of God's Government embraces the Control of all Things.

WE have already seen that all finite intelligences are, of necessity, placed under law, and that God could not otherwise control them, without destroying their free agency. Without law, there could be no system—no virtue—no vice. It is equally necessary that the brute creation, and even matter itself, should be made subservient to the plans of Infinite Wisdom. Hence we find, that while the brute creation is controlled by instinct, every particle of matter is classified, and acted upon, according to fixed and certain rules.

Everything, therefore, animate and inanimate, in the

above sense, is under law ; as well the tallest seraph, as the humblest saint—the arch-apostate, as the most diminutive spirit of the pit—the mightiest monarch, as the crouching serf—the elements, as the changing seasons—the great leviathan of the deep, as the insignificant coral, the base of whose wonderful works is the bed of the ocean, the top, the region of the clouds ; and as well the sturdy oak, as the tinted flower, which lives and flourishes beneath its spreading branches. Even God himself, the Maker and Governor of them all, is under law : that is to say, his very nature impels him to do right, and prevents him from doing wrong. “He cannot lie”—nor can he be indifferent to truth.

The efficacy of God's PHYSICAL LAWS is seen in their terrible Penalties. Intemperance and debauchery are speedily followed by disease, pain, and death. The unhappy victim loses his reputation and enjoyment in this world, and blasts all his hopes for eternity. If, then, all nature, animate and inanimate, is under law—if the physical constitution of man is under laws which he cannot violate with impunity, why should it ever be doubted that, as an intellectual, sentient, and moral being, he must forever act under a system of laws giving him the full scope of a free agent, sanctioned by penalties still more terrific. He is endowed with capacities for loving and serving God—he can foresee the evil, and flee from it—he can understand and apply the physical laws of his animal nature ; and he can seek and secure the favor, and enjoy the friendship of his Creator. Yet, he is the only being in the universe, except the fallen angels, who has dared to resist the will of God ; and it is to his rebellion, that we are compelled to attribute all the evils which curse the world.

The LAW OF GRAVITATION reaches, not only to all bodies and substances on this globe, but equally to all heavenly bodies, so far as our science has been able to reach, even

to distances compared with which the distance of Saturn sinks into a point. By this law the planets revolve perpetually, and nearly on the same track. Had the force followed any other law, or no law, new tracks would have been making, which, for aught we know, would have been as numerous as the times of their revolutions, and as destructive to the planetary system as it is possible to conceive. If we take three points or planets of the solar system, the distances of which, from the sun, are in the proportion of one, two, and three, the attractive force which the sun, at these distances, exerts, is as one, one-fourth, and one-ninth respectively. In the smaller variations of distance which occur in the elliptical motion of the planets, the variations of the force follow the same law. The sun attracts the planets, and they attract each other, according to the same law. The tendency to the earth which makes bodies heavy, is one of the effects resulting from the same cause. The law of the gravity which acts to the Earth and to Jupiter, is the same ; but the intensity of the force at the surface of the two planets is different. If the intensity of gravity were to be double to what it is now, all substances would be twice as heavy. If diminished one-half, then only half as heavy as they are now. If the force of gravity were increased at the surface of the earth to eleven times of what it now is, man, with his present muscular strength, could not move with less labor, or more rapidity than the sloth. The density of the air would render animal life improbable, if not impossible. If diminished eleven times, the air would be too thin to sustain life, and man could almost, or quite, fly like the eagle.

The LAW OF FRICTION, though active on the earth, is unknown among the heavenly bodies. It operates when it is wanted, and is absent when it would be prejudicial. Terrestrial objects, for man's convenience and the stability of

things around him, should be fixed by friction—celestial should not be. The surface of the earth is covered with loose masses, which, if the power of friction were abolished, would rush from their place hither and thither, in confusion the most wild and terrific. Were it not for this law, man could neither walk nor stand. Should he attempt it, it would be quite as difficult as if he were to attempt to ascend an inclined plane of smooth ice. By this law, men are now able, at their option, to walk or stand still: when the farmer or mechanic lays down his tools, he knows where to find them again.

THE LAW OF MOTION is apparent in the rotation of the earth. Each day measured by the passage of the stars, is so precisely of the same length, that according to La Place's calculation, it is impossible that a difference of a hundredth of a second of time should have obtained between the length of the day in the earliest ages, and at the present time. If her motion were retarded by the establishment of any other law, she would wheel nearer and nearer to the sun at every revolution, and at last reach the centre like a falling hoop. The same would happen to the other planets, and the whole solar system would in the course of time, be gathered into a vast heap of matter, without life or motion.

THE LAW OF INSTINCT, in inferior animals, manifests itself in the love of offspring, of home, of companions, no less than it does in providential care for food, self-preservation, and the gratification of the senses.

“THE LAW OF HEAT AND COLD, *respecting water*, is remarkable. Water in cooling, contracts till its temperature is within eight degrees of the freezing point. It then expands till it becomes ice. The consequence is, that in large bodies of water, the surface only becomes frozen; whereas, had the general law of temperature in this case” prevailed, the waters of our lakes and rivers would have

become frozen first at the *bottom*, and then *upward*, till the whole would, long ere this, have become a solid body of ice :—the heat from the sun being not sufficiently intense to melt the layers first formed at the bottom. But by the law which now governs, we have ice bridges in winter, and boat and ship navigation in summer.

THE LAWS OF ELECTRICITY, MAGNETISM, VEGETATION, SOUND, ATMOSPHERE, LIGHT, ETHER, etc., are discoverable, wherever we go.

Our knowledge of the HEAVENLY BODIES is more complete, exact, thorough, and satisfactory, than it is with respect to any department of Natural Philosophy. Our acquaintance with the SOLAR SYSTEM is such, that we can calculate the precise plan and motion of most of its parts, at any period, past or future, however remote ; and we can refer the changes which take place in these circumstances to their proximate cause, the attraction of one mass of matter to another, acting between all the parts of the universe. A man in the old world makes the discovery of a new planet or satellite, and gives a description of it in a book, which is sent three or four thousand miles, and comes into the hands of an astronomer in the western hemisphere. The next evening, if he can have a cloudless sky, he takes his lamp, goes into the Observatory, adjusts his instruments agreeably to the directions laid down in the book, looks at his clock, and when the moment arrives for the object to pass before the telescope, he says to the bystanders, “ Now look, and see how exact and perfect is the science of Astronomy.” That very moment the object is passing—the eye gazes upon it, but in a second, it is gone !

The regularity of the Solar System excludes the notion of accident in the arrangement of the orbits of the planets. Nor can the stability of the ocean be attributed to chance.

To-day, its waters, running mountain high in one direction, as if about to overleap its bound, and produce another deluge, are suddenly checked, and sent back again, to fill the vacuum which their precipitate flight had just occasioned.

EVERY PARTICLE OF MATTER possesses an almost endless train of properties, each acting according to its peculiar and fixed laws. For every atom of the same kind of matter, these laws are invariably and perpetually the same, while for the different kinds of matter, the difference of these properties is equally constant. In *providing for the sustenance of animal life* and comfort, it became necessary that God should weigh, and take account of every one of the particles of which this earth is composed, the *density of the air*, the *drops of the ocean*, the *climate*, the succession and alternation, at any given place, of *heat and cold*, *rain and sunshine*, *wind and calms*, and other atmospheric changes, giving a variety in the laws of vegetable organization adapted to the variety of climate, by means of which the globe can be clothed with vegetation, and peopled with animals, almost from pole to pole.

MAN, IN HIS ORGANIC STRUCTURE, is a wonderful machine—a compound of mind and matter. He is subject to three distinct systems of law—MORAL, PHYSICAL, and CIVIL OR MUNICIPAL; the first two emanating directly from God, and the other indirectly arising out of the necessity of his position as a member of society. Whoever violates the moral law pours contempt upon the Lawgiver, and as a consequence, is often subjected to the immediate penalties inflicted for a breach of the physical law of his being. A man violates, for instance, the seventh command of the moral code—“Thou shalt not commit adultery.” Should this act become frequent, he violates also the physical law of his being, and becomes debased and

imbecile, both in body and mind, incurring thus the penalty of physical law. Let a man get drunk, or poison his system with alcohol, or with any other substance—let him run into the fire, or throw himself over a precipice; in either of these cases he violates physical law, and he must immediately suffer its penalty. So if he should open an artery, he would violate another of these physical laws, and the penalty is immediate death, unless avoided by the skill of a surgeon. A violation of the civil code is also followed with appropriate penalties.

It cannot be too much insisted on, that the Creator has bestowed definite constitutions on physical nature, and on man and animals; and that they are regulated by fixed laws. There are no exceptions to the laws of nature; for the Creator is too wise and too powerful, to make imperfect or inconvenient arrangements. For example, it is a physical law that boiling water destroys the muscular and nervous systems of man. This is the result purely of the constitution of the body, and the relation between it and heat, and man cannot alter or suspend the law. Physical laws embrace all the phenomena of mere matter; as, for instance, a heavy body unsupported, falls to the ground. ORGANIZED SUBSTANCES, or beings, stand higher in the scale of creation. They act, and are acted upon, and are termed *organic*. These laws are superior to the mere physical; for instance, a living man, or animal—organic beings—may be placed in an oven with the carcass of a dead animal, and remain exposed to a heat which will completely bake the dead flesh, and yet come out alive, and not seriously injured, the dead flesh being mere physical matter. Intelligent beings stand yet higher in the scale. The two great divisions of this class, are INTELLIGENT AND ANIMAL, and INTELLIGENT AND MORAL creatures. The dog, horse, and elephant, belong to the

former, and man to the latter. The various senses have received a definite constitution, and stand in a determinable relationship to external objects; for example, to a healthy palate wormwood cannot seem sweet, nor sugar bitter. Those who observe the *organic* laws reap the rewards of health, vigor of body, and buoyancy of mind; while those who violate them, are punished by sickness, feebleness, languor, and pain. No man whatever enjoys self-approbation, and the esteem and love of others, who yields no obedience to the moral code, but gives himself up to the dominion of brutal propensities.

NATURAL LAWS ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE WHOLE CONSTITUTION OF MAN.

Staunch, strong ships, skillfully managed, float, and so harmonize with man's intellectual law. Had they always sunk, the reverse would have been true. So those who riot in debauchery and drunkenness, are sickly, and just what we might expect. Such conduct is not only repugnant to the physical constitution of man, but it is in direct hostility to his intellectual and moral perception; the opposite result would have created an eternal jar in these arrangements. When sickness and pain follows a debauch, the object of the suffering may be to urge a more scrupulous obedience to the organic laws, that the individual may escape premature death, which is the inevitable consequence of too great and continued disobedience of these laws. Bishop Butler says, that from the idea of the system, or constitution of human nature, it will as fully appear that our own nature, *i. e.*, constitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the idea of a watch, it appears that *its* nature, *i. e.*, constitution or system, is adapted to measure time. Mankind have various instincts

and principles of action, says Combe, as brute creatures have ; and they have several which are not possessed by brutes. The latter obey their instincts, or principles of action, according to certain rules, when their bodily constitution and circumstances act *suitably to their whole nature*. THE HUMAN BODY consists of bones, muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels, besides organs of nutrition, of reproduction, of respiration, of feeling, and of thought ; all of which are composed of physical elements, and, to a certain extent, are subjected to the physical laws of creation. By the law of gravitation, the body falls to the ground ; by a chemical law, excessive cold freezes, and excessive heat dissipates its fluids.

THE EXTERNAL WORLD appears to be wisely and benevolently adapted to the organic system of man, *i. e.*, to his nutrition, and to the development and exercise of his corporeal organs. The *natural law* appears to be, that every one who desires to enjoy the pleasures of health, must spend in labor the energy which the Creator has infused into his limbs. The penalty for neglecting this law, is imperfect digestion and disturbed sleep, debility, bodily and mental lassitude, and, if carried to a certain length, confirmed bad health, and early death.

For a breach of the moral law, the penalty is not always so apparent as it is for a breach of the physical. In the former case, the penalty is mainly reserved as a means of future retribution, while in the latter, it is inflicted more immediately in the present life. Yet the infliction of physical penalties is often so gradual, as well as common, that their efficacy as punishments, is, in many cases, almost entirely annihilated. The injurious consequences of excessive eating or drinking, or even labor, do not, for instance, uniformly exhibit themselves in their clearest light, until long after the mind of the transgressor has been

directed from the violated law ; and hence, he will not be very likely to regard them as specific penalties.

But there are innumerable varieties of *physical* and *organic* law, which, as yet, have never been explained. Others, though known, are very imperfectly understood ; and others still, when known, fill the mind with wonder and astonishment. In the animal constitution, for instance, how wonderful is it that the BLOOD can be thrown in such exact quantities, and with such velocity and precision, as to reach, in so short a time, and with such rapid pulsations, through the larger portions of the body, to the minutest extremities. The circulation of the SAP, *in the vegetable kingdom*, is equally astonishing. Large quantities of it, at different seasons of the year, are pumped from the roots of the plant or tree, and forced upward, with great rapidity, through the stem or trunk, to the tallest branches, and even through the fibres to the tip of every twig and blossom. How the FLY or BEE can walk or sleep on the smooth surface of the ceiling, is a great mystery to us, until we are informed, that by means of small cavities in their feet, from which they can expel the air at pleasure, they avail themselves of the external pressure of the atmosphere, to ensure the necessary adhesion. FISHES have air-bladders, “ by the dilation and contraction of which they can accommodate themselves with perfect precision, to the law of gravitation.” So wonderful and minute are the laws which regulate and govern the kingdoms of nature, that, when examined, we are compelled to feel the importance and absolute necessity of the Divine control.

That God should exercise an unceasing CONTROL OVER EVERY PARTICLE OF MATTER which he has created, as well as over all other beings, whether intelligent or otherwise, is as necessary as it is that they should answer the purposes for which He designed them. In the absence of such

a control, there would be no rule of duty, no distinction between virtue and vice, or between right and wrong ; confidence among social and moral beings would be annihilated ; and the highest excellence would be on a level with the blackest turpitude. The food we eat might poison us, and the air we breathe might be charged with deadly pestilence ; and every object addressed to our senses or appetites, instead of affording us pleasure, might produce incessant pain. The brutes would rebel against us, and exert their superior strength for our annoyance, and probably for our destruction. We could never learn their natures, or reduce them to any fixed habits. The sun might then be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood ; the elements might wrap us in chilling frost or in scorching flames ; and the earth itself, among other crazy and disorderly planets, might fly from its orbit, and alarm and ruin would overwhelm every inhabitant of every planet, until the entire universe should be reduced to absolute chaos. If consequences like these must inevitably follow the abrogation of physical and organic laws, what ought we to expect from an abrogation of the moral and civil codes ? There would be an endless succession of war and violence ; and the malignant and vindictive passions of the human race would rage and burn with unquenchable fury, until the earth itself would be swept as with " the besom of destruction."

In the administration of physical and organic laws, God acts with entire uniformity ; none of their penalties are waived or diminished. Were it not for this feature of the Divine administration, our confidence in his skill and wisdom, as well as in all things around us, would be totally subverted, and we should become the subjects of incessant alarms. But so long as we see that the original constitution or plan of the Deity is maintained with inflexible integrity, we are led to the irresistible conclusion, that He

will ultimately accomplish all his purposes. If the penalties of physical and organic law are in all circumstances executed with absolute and undeviating precision, it is impossible to believe that we shall find him less rigid in regard to the moral code. However long He may see fit to suspend the execution of its penalty, out of a desire to save men, through mercy, from the consequences of their own transgressions, the unpardoned sinner will ultimately find, that God is too wise and too good to trifle with the everlasting interests of his moral kingdom. He will find that the purposes of Jehovah to execute the penalties of the moral law, are not less immutable than they have been found to be in reference to that which is organic or physical.

SECTION IV.

Moral Suasion.

IF the term *Moral Suasion* mean that process of influencing the mind and conduct in favor of virtue, which consists in the exhibition of truth, enforced by argument and entreaty—*good advice* and *good example* merely, which perhaps is the more common acceptation of the term—it is not, and never can be, among probationers, a substitute for government. Though the phrase is so often in the mouths of the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, there is doubtless little definite and intelligible understanding of its true import. We propose, therefore, to show what is legitimately implied by the phrase, *Moral Suasion*: that it is, when rightly understood, and faithfully applied, adequate to every emergency relating to human thought, word, and act; since it comprises *all* the

instrumentalities furnished by God, which are intelligibly intended and adapted to influence the will of a moral, accountable being—to persuade, to move him. And it will be seen, as we proceed, that God governs His creatures according to this last definition; and it is the only means given to man by which He can prevent evil, and incite to good action. But in promoting great and benevolent reforms, such as Sabbath observance, Temperance, Anti-Slavery, and the like, all those who adopt the former definition repudiate appeals to civil law, or the fears of men, and prefer to throw themselves only and entirely upon the influence of reasoning, advice, entreaty, in contradistinction to all resort to penalty. Their doctrine is, persuade the vicious to reform, but never threaten: do not hurt them. But this is not God's plan.

1st. Let us, then, for a few moments, dwell upon *that part* of MORAL SUASION which, for convenience sake, will be denominated GOOD ADVICE.

It is unquestionably true, that the line of distinction between virtue and vice may be drawn so closely, and enforced by such weighty arguments, that no unbiassed mind can easily resist the conviction that, while the one is worthy of universal admiration, the other, being opposed to happiness, is absolutely detestable. Yet it must be remembered, that *any* degree of moral suasion which fails to produce entire conviction, and corresponding action, is insufficient. Now, as men are depraved by sin, it is quite certain that their minds, as well as their conduct, will be greatly influenced by their perverted appetites and passions. No exhibition of truth, however strongly enforced by argument, can be relied upon as furnishing a uniform means of control; its efficacy must often be counteracted, if not entirely paralyzed by the perversity of their desires. Yet, as men are easily led, in view of truth, to the performance of many duties which do not particularly conflict

with their prejudices or passions, it cannot be denied that good advice and instruction are a most important auxiliary in the business of controlling their conduct. And it gives us pleasure to add that most men, in a civilized, christian community, can be influenced and controlled by these means. Yet, who does not know, that there, even, many are found caring for the interests neither of God nor man, as there were in the days of Moses, who need and must have the *other* elements of moral suasion applied in their case, or control is absolutely impossible?

God has uniformly treated the human race as free moral agents—has regarded them as capable of appreciating truth—of discerning between good and evil, and of choosing the one and refusing the other. This very capacity constitutes one of their most peculiar characteristics. Brutes may be allured, or terrified, in view of sensible objects; but they can neither appreciate truth, nor feel the force of argumentation. So also of the man who will neither listen to truth, nor be influenced by good advice to right action; and hence the necessity of law and government—sensible objects, by which he may be deterred from depredations on society. Had God left us with only the former instrumentality, wherewith to guard his and our interests, there would be no safety in this world.

God has placed the human family under the influence of *good advice* in every age of the world, and its efficacy as a means of restraint has been fully tested. He has revealed to us a perfect rule of action, which constitutes the only legitimate standard of right and wrong; and we find in the SACRED VOLUME the most touching appeals in favor of virtue, as well as the most alarming descriptions of the consequences of vice. It is filled with exhortations, expostulations, threatenings, and entreaties, designed to lead us in the way of righteousness and truth; and Jesus Christ himself has besought us, by his own agonies and

death, to become virtuous and holy. For the same purpose, God has given us a Sabbath, a gospel ministry, and various institutions of benevolence, whose operations are exclusively directed to the moral and religious improvement of the race.

If these means *alone* are ever to be relied upon, as affording a *sufficient* means of regulating human conduct, how does it happen that men, placed under such a combination of influences, are still found, not only self-willed and rebellious, but often positively vicious? If the rewards of virtue, resulting from the constitution of things—if the expostulations of Paul, the terrors of future retribution, and the entreaties of God, cannot restrain them, how stupid must be that folly which can insist that men will ever be sufficiently restrained by good advice, expostulation, entreaty, merely? Have these influences, even when aided by the sword of the civil magistrate, been found sufficient to protect the community from theft, robbery, and murder? Have we no suicides? Has the tongue of slander been silenced? Have the fires of licentiousness been quenched? Has the intoxicating bowl been broken? If the day should ever arrive when these questions can be honestly answered in the affirmative, when crime in all its varieties shall cease, and when the entire race shall be restored to their heavenly allegiance, it will then be soon enough to blot out our statutes, annihilate civil governments, and unbar our prisons. But the day has not yet arrived when it will be safe to “unchain the tiger.”

From these remarks, is it not evident that where good advice shall have exerted its utmost influence, there will still remain an ample field of effort for the civil magistrate, for which he was especially commissioned? Civil law was instituted by God to meet this very emergency. A large portion of the human race will not come within the

reach of truth. They refuse to search for it ; and if forced upon their attention, they will either refuse to examine it, or else reject its motives. Good advice, then, can never be regarded as a substitute for government, until men shall cease to be selfish, and universally and voluntarily act from the principle that they will do that to others which they, in like circumstances, would wish to have done to themselves. The sword of avenging justice can never, with safety, be sheathed, until the whole race are converted to God, and made pure by the blood of the Lamb.

2nd. MORAL SUASION.—*What it does comprise.*

We have said that moral suasion comprises all the instrumentalities furnished by God which are intelligibly intended and adapted to influence the will of a moral, accountable being—to persuade—to move him ;—as well those to whose knowledge they may come, in earth and heaven, as those to whom they are more immediately applied, or on whom punishment is inflicted. Even *penalties* inflicted upon the culprit, as well as precepts, partake largely of this character—especially in their influence upon community. To the culprit, they may not always sustain, strictly speaking, this character ; but to the free and unconvicted, they always do. Consequently human governments cannot safely be dispensed with, but their aid is and always will be necessary, in all moral reforms. To the unhumiliated and unsubdued in *this* life, though they cannot be when probation is ended, penalties are often moral suasion, whose design is to reform the offender, as well as to protect the defenceless, and deter the innocent. That penalty which *terminates* this probation, partakes not of this character, so far as the culprit is concerned. To him, then, it is only physical, while to others it is moral.

Moral suasion is not, therefore, as many good, as well as bad men vainly imagine, mere advice, good counsel—

argument and entreaty,—a divorcement from the influence pertaining to governments and law ; but, on the contrary, it embraces, or comprises, all those means calculated to deter from wrong, and incite to right action, coming either from God or man, and operating upon all probations in this life, if not upon *all* moral agents who are not “ suffering the vengeance of eternal fire,” in the life which is to come.

Hence all those who fear to adopt and sustain good and wholesome law, lest they should overleap the bounds of moral suasion, greatly mistake their duty, and lose an invaluable coadjutor in the work of reform. Civil law and governments are of God, and a most important element in his *moral* administration, relating to every moral agent, and all that pertains to their conduct,—not his *physical* administration, relating to inanimate and senseless objects. And when we hear an individual, or a convention of individuals, prefacing their opinions or proceedings with resolutions repudiating all intention to seek the aid of the law, in any and all moral enterprises, but to confine themselves to the influence of “ moral suasion alone,” (meaning good advice), we cannot avoid the conviction that they do not understand their duties touching this matter, or greatly restrict the meaning of the term ; and are not aware of the amount of evil they are doing, nor of the contempt cast upon laws so essential to the perpetuity of our most valued institutions. What more effectual way could be devised to bring such laws into disrepute, than to induce clergymen, and distinguished laymen, in solemn convention, to resolve that they do not intend to call for the aid of law in their attempts to influence and govern men. As though they were wiser than all their forefathers, these many centuries—the makers of the law not only, but wiser than God himself, who was the first to institute human governments because

of the impotency of all other means to deter and keep a certain class of men, in all communities, and in all times, from destroying themselves and others. And what will so dishearten good and virtuous legislators, in their efforts hereafter to protect the interests of community, as such declarations, coming from such high authority? Most men admit that our laws against profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and the like, are good and salutary. If so, why may not *individuals*—for it is not, and no one supposes it is, the province of *conventions as a body* to complain—seek that aid from such laws which they were intended to furnish? If not, why have laws? And if they are good, as is generally admitted even by those conventions, why cast such contempt upon them? If we would not have them become a dead letter, who, if such men will not, will help to sustain them? If worthy of regard, why be ashamed to own and help to defend them?

But let us analyze the phrase *Moral Suasion*, that it may be better understood what the term, philosophically, *does* mean, not what it has been, without examination, *supposed* to mean.

“*Moral*, relating to the practice of men toward each other, as it may be virtuous or vicious, good or bad.” If the practice or act be good, the man is said to be of good moral character; if bad, of bad moral character.

Suasion, from “persuasion, to persuade, to bring to any particular opinion,—persuasion seems rather applicable to the passions, and argument to the reason”—(Walker’s Dictionary)—to convert, or bring over to a particular opinion which will lead to corresponding action. Is not a man persuaded by motives?—and what is a motive, but that which determines the choice which incites to action? Motive may be drawn from three worlds; to incite to action, which must imply more than good advice; for Solomon says, “Withhold not the rod;” and why? because it

helps to determine the will, incite to action : it is a powerful motive. Mercies and judgments in this world are motives,—promises of heavenly blessings, are motives,—the fires and pains of the pit, are motives, incentives to action. “Incentives, that which provokes or encourages.” “Provoke, to rouse, to excite by something, (the rod, for instance) to cause, to promote, to move,”—something evidently more than good advice. Is moral suasion then, or the means of it, anything more or less than good or bad influence, exerted upon a moral, accountable agent, to determine the choice in a proper or improper direction?—“than that which moves the mind, or passions, or inclines the will to a determination?” Is moral suasion different from and independent of social or national suasion?—from civil, political, municipal, judicial, physical, philosophical, philanthropic, benevolent, mercenary, or religious suasion, &c., &c. ? Or rather, is it not an embodiment of them all, in some one or more of its aspects? If not, then moral suasionists go much too far ; moral will cover but little ; but it will be found no one of the other branches can be touched without trespassing upon “morals or manners.” Hence, moral suasion covers them all.

God is the great moral Governor. He has numberless accountable intelligences, whom He would incite to holy purposes and acts, and deter from those of a contrary nature ; because such conduct is right, and productive of the most happiness. Now, how shall this result be secured? *Man must be controlled—governed.* And what are the means He uses? Physical or brute force alone, would not be means adapted to free moral agents ; for man has reason, and that must be addressed. When he will not suffer his reason, judgment, nor conscience to influence or control his conduct, through the influence of truth, good advice, and the like—other instrumentalities, such as penalties, stripes, imprisonments, are called to their task, be-

ing the only remaining ingredient in God's or man's administration, which can control vicious practices, (though not vicious thoughts) directly, if indirectly. Both of these means can, and will, when combined and appropriately used, effect the object ; consequently, God has combined them ; and through the agency of his servants, has instituted family, state, national, and ecclesiastical governments. Political, municipal, and judicial regulations, and all the terrible engines in the physical or moral world, whether of disease or death, consequent upon violated physical law, or more direct manifestations of God's displeasure at sin, are but part and parcel of the means employed to produce the same result,—all of which are but so many lessons of moral suasion, certainly upon all the living, if not the dying. And what are all our Bibles, religious teachings, laws, officers, courts of justice, jails, penitentiaries, gallows, &c., but incitements—motives to choose the right and turn from the wrong ?

All that *God* does to restrain men from wrong-doing, certainly, must be nothing more nor less than moral suasion, judging from his Word and acts. Drowning the Antediluvians, as well as the warnings and expostulations of Noah—destroying Sodom and Gomorrah, no less than the example and good advice of Abraham and Lot—the plagues of Egypt, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts, as well as the words and acts of Moses,—were moral suasion to all the living, if not the dying, because all these means were but varied motives to obedience, calculated to exert a healthful influence in that and through all time. All the dispensations of God—judgments and mercies, threatenings and punishments, intended as disciplinary, partake of the same character. Penalties inflicted upon the lost, are moral suasion to probationers, if only to them. In a word, all law and government,—all moral influences, whether of church or state, tend to

the same end—to influence the will, and change the character for better or for worse—for weal or for woe. Consequently, moral suasion, pertaining to the practice or the duties of men, covers the whole ground of influences, coming from whatever source they may.

When God cast the rebel angels from Heaven, that act would not come under this head, to the offenders, but it would to the rest of the intelligent universe, and is so to the present day. So, also, are the inflictions of every just, human penalty. While they are warnings, incentives to right action—moral suasion in *many* instances to the delinquent, they are in *every* instance to the innocent, and go to help determine the will, and make up the character of accountable moral agents.

So long as probation lasts, are labors put forth to bring the subject under the control of righteous principles. To secure an object so desirable, his fears, his judgment, his conscience, his reason, his sympathy, his interest, his philanthropy, his benevolence, his gratitude,—*his entire being*, physical, intellectual, and moral, are intelligibly addressed, both by God and man. And during all this process, moral suasion, means intended and calculated to incite to proper thoughts and action, and deter from all that would prejudice the interests of God or his creatures, here or hereafter, are the only instruments used. Suppose we exclude all these, except such as good advice, what would those other influences be denominated? In what do governments and law consist, but in precept and penalty? Where there is *mere precept* or *advice*, there is neither law nor government. Such cannot be found in all the civilized nations of the earth, much less in the government of God. From him, we have *penalty* and *precept*. What, we ask again, shall those influences, pertaining to law and governments, be denominated, if not moral suasion or persuasion? Shall they be called compulsory?—compelling a

man to read the law, to think of, and obey it, whether he will or not ; or mere incitements to read, consider, and, in view of all the premises,—the amazing consequences,—decide whether he will obey and live, or disobey and die ? And what shall those *incitements* be called ? As yet, no physical means have been brought to bear upon him, unless human and Divine law and governments are wholly physical, which is not the case. Then they are moral. Are the *Ten Commandments* physical in their moral aspect ? Is all the government of God so ? Well, are *our* laws and statutes any more physical in their character, than the Divine ? And who but the infidel, the grossly licentious, claim that God had not a right to enact such laws, and institute such governments as the Bible recommends, penalties and all ; for, it should ever be remembered, where there is no penalty there is no law. And penalty, though entirely physical in its *operations*, has no power to annihilate law and governments, but is a necessary ingredient of them, and is only thus far physical, as it respects the subject enduring it. Often to him, as has already been shown, it has been moral suasion, or its means, while to others it has been, is, and will be, only such, which we think no sound, unbiassed mind will deny. How then can there be a separation ? What else than moral suasion, or its means, can the influences and operations of law and governments be called ? The fact that stripes, jails, and penitentiaries partake of physical action, deprives them not of their persuasive character, both of which are legitimate elements of all good governments, having for their object the proper action and highest happiness of their subjects, and their own honor, stability, and glory. And do not human governments, patterned after the Divine, lead to that result ?

We have been thus particular for the following reasons, viz. :—there are four classes of men interested in this ex-

amination. First, those opposed to *all* law and governments, human and Divine. Second, those opposed to all *human* law and government. Third, those who would have laws, both of God and man, as well as governments; but they must never conflict, in a single instance, with a man's will or inclination, touching his conduct toward God, or his *merals* toward men. Fourth,—those who believe that law and government, both Divine and human, are not only necessary, but admirably adapted to influence and control men in relation to *all* their acts, of every name and description. With regard to the first two we have had little to say touching this matter; for it is reasonable, sane, and reverential minds we wish to address. It is mainly on account of the third class that we have taken up our pen. For the third and fourth classes are, *in fact*, for one and the same thing,—law, government, order, and religion; as the two former are for misrule, anarchy, and infidelity. The third class would obtain their object by law and government, applied mainly to practices growing out of violated principles contained in the *second* table of the Decalogue, relating to property and moral suasion, as they understand or use the term—good advice only, applied to restrain offenders against the *first* table—man's duties, more especially toward his God. They dare not so much as *allude* to civil law in connection with religious enterprises, such as Temperance, Moral Purity, Human Liberty, Sabbath observance, Profanity, and the like—oh! no; these are subjects too holy to be polluted by the coöperation of civil enactments, though corresponding with the Word of God. As though *they* were not sacred, coming as they do originally from the same source, as the *moral* code. Did God authorize the Jews to consider and treat his *civil* code as too secular to be associated in their influence, to control the actions of men with the moral code; or that it was not to aid in a reli-

gious point of view? Did He say, the moral code is for moral and religious men to use, but they have nothing to do with the civil? A *religious* man must not appeal to *that*, it is only for irreligious men to handle, and to apply to irreligious subjects only! Nay, verily, no such thing. Those two codes emanated from the same pure, heavenly source, plainly marked with the Divine impress; intended for and adapted to the government of man, both in his moral and political character—inseparable in their application, from the very nature of the case; and committed to the hands of the same individuals for use, as the nature of the work to be performed, and time, place, and circumstances of the case, might seem to require. Like twin brothers, they stand shoulder to shoulder, opposing every infringement upon themselves, by their terrible denunciations and sanctions—efficient helps alike valuable and necessary in the hands of human administration, organized to wield them by the great Lawgiver of the universe. They were not to be, and could not be, safely separated. And their characters were alike sacred, both having in view one and the same object, the glory of God, and the good of man. And both the third and fourth classes above alluded to, are seeking the same object, but seeking it in different ways. But who is ready to say *their* way is better than God's?—the example given us as the only rational and successful one by which man can be governed? Or who will call that too secular and profane which God has sanctified and set apart for a particular object—to be a co-worker in the hands of the best of men, with his moral and holy law?

Now, the definition of moral suasion which limits it to good advice, is altogether too contracted—too limited; for the aid of civil government, with adequate penalties, is never to be dispensed with in curbing the passions and controlling the conduct of fallen man. But if they are too

secular and profane to aid in moral and religious enterprises—those subjects pertaining more particularly to the soul, God, and heaven—too secular to be used by good, holy, and most devout men, in all that pertains to human action, so far as man can take cognizance of it; then they are too secular and profane to protect *any* of *man's* interests—his property, reputation, and life,—too secular and profane to be in the hands of any man, or set of men. Yes, so secular and profane as to disgrace its Author, being unfit and unsafe for the purposes intended;—too secular and profane to be in the world, and the sooner they can be abandoned the better. O how Satan laughs when he hears civil government denounced! But we are for law and government, Divine and human,—for moral suasion in its most comprehensive sense. And there is no subject so sacred as to exclude *any* of God's laws. And if man's laws are necessarily too secular for them, they ought to be abolished. But just civil laws and governments desecrate no good cause, only as we first desecrate them by prostituting them to unholy purposes. All law and governments valuable to men are holy and good; and no better adapted to guard *our dollars* and *cents* than other temporal and even spiritual interests. Money is no more secular than an apple; and no more dangerous, only as we idolize it—make it our god. All things, then, coming from God, are holy, while consecrated to his service and the good of his creatures; and proper to be used on all occasions to which they are adapted by law or governments.

Since writing the above we have been favored, by special request, with the following views—"a few tops of thoughts"—from those who stand high in the religious and classical world,—One says:

"SUASION might, with great propriety, be employed to denote all influence exerted upon the mind of a moral

being, to *persuade* him. This, of course, differs radically from the kind of power requisite to roll a log, or move a planet, and may differ in many of its points, or at least, parts, from the influence one might use to move a horse. It would include both appeals to reason and to the passions."

In answer to the assertion, "that in all the great moral reforms, good advice, reason, and argument alone are the instruments to be used—moralists may write, talk and preach, but should divorce themselves and all their influence in this department of human action, entirely and for ever, from law and government;" he asks, "Is this doctrine sound or hollow, true or false?"

"1. The moral government of God eschews it utterly. While in this government there is no lack of appeals to reason and to conscience—to the hope of reward; also, there is at the same time no lack of appeals to fear. There is ample use of *penalty*. God has written it on earth and sky—has spread it out on the blazing page of history—has caused it to stand forth before the moral universe in everlasting remembrance, in 'the smoke of their torments ascending up for ever and ever;' that He regards punishment as one of the appropriate means of moral influence. *His* system of moral suasion discards not *penalty*.

"2. In every instance in which the Lord has condescended to sketch a scheme of moral influence for us to use, as a check upon vice, He has included *penalty* as one of the elements. See the government He instituted for the Hebrews. His endorsement of the sword-bearing power, for 'a terror to the evil,' as in Rom. 13: 1-5, and in family governments.

"3. It is plainly assumed by the Deity, that the hope of reforming or restraining human depravity without *penalty*, is vain. Surely no tender-hearted reformer was

ever more benevolent and compassionate than our Heavenly Father.

“4. It is matter of actual observation, that the practice of sin, especially in its more daring and outrageous forms, hardens and infatuates the mind, till it tramples on reasoning, scorns advice, and repels entreaty. At this stage, all motives fail, except the appeal to fear.

“5. It is plain that God does, and that we wisely may go on the principle of resorting to every possible variety of motive, combining them all, and trying their varied and concentrated power, to bear on the mind. Some minds may be reached by one class of appeals, and some by another. In some cases, all *combined* will produce an effect that no *one*, simply, could produce. Why, then, discard the aid of civil law, with its heaven-commissioned penalties?” From another we have,

“MORAL SUASION.

I. *What it is.* II. *Means of Suasion.*

“I. *What it is.* *Moral* is from *Mos*, manners, or morals, that is, the manners or morals of a moral agent.

“*Suasion* from *persuasion*, latin *persuasio*. “The act of persuading, to influence the mind by argument or reason offered, or by anything that moves the mind or passions, or inclines the will to a determination.” (Webster.) Moral suasion implies moral agency, and moral law; and consists in using means to influence moral agents. Moral suasion is opposed to physical force in this, to wit: moral suasion is a means to induce choice. Physical force is a power that necessitates action, irrespective of, or against choice. Moral action is responsible action; action related to moral law, and may be either in accordance with, or opposed to moral law. Moral suasion is whatever serves to in-

duce responsible action, or willing, whether right or wrong.

“II. *Means of Moral Suasion.* 1 Entreaty—2 Argument—3 Expostulation—4 Promises—5 Threatenings—6 Warning—7 Teaching—8 Example—9 Exhortation—10 Admonition—11 Reproof—12 Rebuke—13 Chastisement—14 Afflictions—15 Mercies—16 Judgments—17 Discipline—

18 GOVERNMENTS.

“1 Family—2 School—3 Town—4 State—5 National—6 *Divine*, Providential and Moral. To wit:—law, precept, penalty, courts, writs, sheriffs, jails, penitentiaries, gallows—execution of capital punishment, both by human and Divine governments, designed to make a public impression, and is to the public, moral suasion. Death is warning to the living, and to *them*, moral suasion. Pestilence, earthquake, fire, sword, flood, in short, every mercy and every judgment in the providence of God are only means of moral government, or moral suasion—the moral law, gospel, means of grace, Holy Spirit. Whatever can present a consideration and induce choice in a moral agent, is a means of moral suasion.”

In conclusion, we would add, if the phrase *moral suasion* does not legitimately imply, and comprehend all these instrumentalities of control, or government, then it is wholly inadequate to accomplish the things most to be desired—the prevention of evil, and the introduction and promotion of the greatest amount of good to the race. Whoever would divorce it from law and governments, penalties, etc., strip it of those elements indispensable to the accomplishment of the greatest good; and however much we differ in our definition of the term, most suasionists are seeking the same things for which we contend; the control of man, the subordination of individual and associated inte-

rests, to the greatest good of the whole, and the glory of God. Moral suasion, defined to mean only good advice, entreaty, argumentation, may answer, for aught we can tell (but so far as we recollect, it has never been tried in any safe example, designed for our imitation), for the control of by far the greater proportion of men in civilized life. But even there will always be found individuals who will care for none of these things. God had civil enactments and penalties, so must we have them; they are both as necessary in our day as when given to the Hebrews.

SECTION V.

Of the Constitution and Rights of Civil Governments.

THE nature and general objects of *civil governments* have been already explained; and we are now to speak more particularly of their organization, and of the principles which regulate their action.

Every independent nation has a right, as between itself and all other nations, to adopt such a form of government as its citizens shall choose. Yet, in forming a civil constitution, it is obviously the duty of every community to adopt such a one as will best secure the virtue and happiness of its individual constituents. The Divine right of individuals is to be guarded, so that they cannot be oppressed, or deprived of these rights, either by a party or a government. Man has a right to himself, and all other blessings of this life, in common with his fellows, until forfeited by misconduct, and to infringe those rights is rebellion against God.

1. The powers of civil government are divided into three general classes—*legislative, judicial, and executive.*

In modern governments, each of these classes of powers is committed to a distinct and separate department, having in some respects a negative influence over the other two. It is of the first importance, then, that every constitution should contain a specific enumeration of the powers and duties of each department; and that each should be so organized as to secure their united efficiency in promoting the general welfare, and in opposing the introduction of vice and crime.

2. Each of these powers should be limited by the law of God, and by the wants of the community. Civil liberty should be well defined, and carefully protected. If the freedom of the citizen, in regard to any of those matters which are not opposed to the law of God, and which are not at variance with the general welfare, is restrained, it is an encroachment upon individual rights, and an infringement of the Divine prerogative. Government should not attempt that to which it is clearly inadequate. The province of civil government is the *social* state, rather than individual character.

3. If laws should be enacted requiring men to love God, to repent of their sins, or to believe in a Savior, it is quite obvious that they could never be executed; no human government could ever determine when they had been violated. The power of human legislation ought, therefore, to be so restricted as to prevent any such enactments. It cannot control the affections, and all such services are worse than useless, unless they spring from the heart. The duties of spiritual religion cannot be enforced by the civil magistrate. Religious tests are beyond the purview of human authority, and any attempt to enforce them is downright usurpation.

4. But it does not follow, that the civil power has no right to prohibit the performance of any act which is opposed to God: for every such act must, necessarily, in-

volve the general welfare. No government can with any sort of propriety be thus restricted. The grand principle of civil administration is to prohibit every thing that is wrong, or that is adverse to the *general* welfare, and to command the performance of all those moral and secular duties which the government has the ability to enforce. The great object of civil government is to protect and encourage the good, and to restrain the vicious. It encircles each member of the community with the restraints of the law ; points to every transgressor on whom its penalty is inflicted, as a warning to deter those from following his example ; and cuts off, or imprisons those who are so malevolent as to endanger the general safety.

SECTION VI.

The Obligation of Communities to carry out and enforce the Principles of the Divine Law.

As all civil governments derive their authority from the will of God, it is evident that His law must be regarded as the sole basis of their power. It is true that human society, in the present age of the world, embraces a variety of artificial relations and peculiarities, which had no existence at the time when the law was given ; yet these, for the most part, are mainly compounded of original elements, instituted by God at the creation. In adapting His law to those fixed and permanent relations, which constitute the chief elements of the moral system, it cannot be supposed that He would overlook any of their possible modifications ; and hence, we find, on examination, that His law is “exceeding broad,” and applicable to the minutest circumstances of human life. Notwithstanding the

rapid changes which have marked the world's history, He has never found it necessary, either to modify or repeal a single general principle ; nor have any of his laws become obsolete. He is the Author of the Jewish code, and of the Abrahamic institutions, and has repealed and altered them as was best.

The Bible constitutes, in fact, the only perfect charter of civil liberty, and standard of social rights and duties ; it is the *Magna Charta* of the world. No human legislator has ever yet been able to devise a single feature of law, possessing any value, either in the moral or municipal departments, that cannot be directly traced to some one or more of the elementary principles made known to us in the Bible. The municipal code of the Jewish Theocracy, when compared with the legislation of modern nations, must be recognized, at once, as the original fountain from whence we have derived nearly all our notions of judicial policy. It has been the chief business of law-makers, in civilized nations, to select, collate, and modify particular features of that code, so as to make them conform to existing relations and habits of those for whom they are designed to be remodeled.

If the authority of civil governments is derived from the will of God, as constituting a distinct feature of his moral administration for the race—if the Bible comprises a full outline of the rights and duties of communities, as well as of individuals, and if it be true, as He has declared it to be, that civil governments are “ His ministers for good,”—“ revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil,”—the conclusion is absolutely irresistible, that they are bound by obligations of the deepest solemnity, to carry out, and enforce, by adequate penalties, the pure and unadulterated law of God concerning the social state, to the full extent of their ability. Yet, as no human government possesses the attribute of omniscience, God has reserved to himself

the right of judging the heart ; and He has left to the civil magistrate the single duty of influencing or restraining the conduct. Take, as an example, the sin of lewdness. The law of God, looking at the heart as the source and fountain of the evil, prohibits, as well the indulgence of an impure desire, as the gratification of lust ; while the civil magistrate is necessarily confined to the prevention, or punishment of impure and injurious action. This is a distinction which results from the incapacity of the civil power ; and it runs through the whole catalogue of sin. Man judges from the external appearance ; but God knoweth the heart.

Although civil government was never designed to exercise its coercive powers in reference to matters that are purely spiritual ; yet, as it is always composed of individuals who are personally accountable to God for all the influences which they exert, and as those influences are greatly increased by the position which they occupy, it is clearly their duty to acknowledge their subordination to the divine appointment, and their obligation to the entire will of Jahovah. “Execute judgment between a man and his neighbor”—“Execute judgment in the morning,”—“Be wise—kiss the Son.”—Ps. 2.

No man should ever be ELECTED TO OFFICE, therefore, who is either immoral,—“Take ye wise men,” etc.—or who does not acknowledge that God is the universal Governor, and that all men are bound, individually, as well as collectively, to obey his will, however manifested, whether in the constitution of things, or by direct revelation. God has said, that when the wicked bare rule, the people mourn. Legislators, in constructing a system of laws for the guidance of the people, and for the direction of the executive and judicial departments, are bound to see that it will not only accord in all its parts with the divine economy, but that it will operate efficient-

ly, so far as is practicable, to compel obedience to the entire will of Jehovah, on all matters that concern the social state. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."—"And they shall rule the people with just judgment." As the will of God can be more perfectly learned from the Bible than any other source, it is equally their duty to see that the people at large enjoy appropriate means of reading the Holy Scriptures, in order that they may accurately understand the measure of their duty, and the nature of their rights. They cannot otherwise discharge the one or protect the other. Religious knowledge is absolutely essential to civil liberty. The intelligently religious, infidelity herself being judge, have proved themselves, in every age of the world, to be the inexorable foes of tyranny, and the most staunch advocates of rational freedom. Nor are the judicial and executive departments exempt from a single responsibility. As the interpreters and executors of law, they are bound to give it that construction which will best accord with the constitution of things, and with the divine requirements of righteousness and truth.

If communities are held responsible by God in their national capacities, for national acts, in the same manner as individuals, it follows, that they are bound, on all suitable occasions, *publicly to recognize* their dependence and accountability, and gratefully to invoke the continuance of his providential care and protection. They have no right, upon any other principle, to exemption from those terrible means of national chastisement, war, pestilence, and famine. The conduct of Benjamin Franklin, in the American Congress, in proposing a solemn and public act of devotion and prayer, when that body was afflicted by the distraction of its councils, was not less philosophical and prudent, than it was needful and appropriate.

While civil governments are administered upon the

principles here indicated, it is obvious that, inasmuch as their acts are commended to the public conscience, they will find little difficulty in securing the respect and confidence of the good, and the fear, if not the obedience, of those who are inclined to be vicious. Such a course of administration will cultivate, in the community, an increasing sense of obligation, and tend to the diminution of crime.

The views which we have thus far presented, may be illustrated and greatly strengthened by a careful examination of THOSE PRINCIPLES OF HIS MORAL ADMINISTRATION, which He has developed and revealed to us in the BIBLE. Such an examination may be profitable, also, as indicating his present purposes in regard to those peculiar obligations which are incident to civil governments. In making this examination, it must be remembered that the moral administration of God is confined to finite intelligences, being free moral agents, and acting under the influence of law. All other beings are necessarily controlled either by instinct or force.

A very slight examination of the Bible will show that God, in conducting his *moral administration*, has chosen to develop its most essential feature separately, and then to test them, as He did the works of creation, at different periods, by actual experiment. It cannot be supposed that this course was adopted by God for the purpose of instructing himself as to their character and results; but rather, it is believed, for the purpose of exhibiting to his unoffending subjects, the wisdom and justice of his measures so clearly, as to secure their approval, as well as to increase their confidence.

1. THE ANGELS.—The first period of which we have any knowledge was devoted to the administration of LAW AMONG THE ANGELS. Our knowledge of the celestial beings is extremely limited; yet the Bible is not entirely

silent concerning them. We there learn that they are exceedingly numerous, and that they are divided into orders or ranks. We know not whether these distinctions are governmental, or merely intellectual: all we know concerning this matter is, that while the entire class is often alluded to under the general name of Angels, some of them are frequently styled Archangels; others Seraphim, and others still, are usually described as Cherubim. In the second epistle of Peter 2: 4, it is said, "If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness unto judgment;" and in Jude 6, "The angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." From these and other passages, we learn several important facts. 1. The celestial beings were created by God, and are therefore finite. 2. Their first estate was that of holiness, and consequently of happiness. 3. Some of them sinned. 4. All who sinned were punished. Now, as no being who is not under law can sin, or be justly punished, we need no other evidence to establish the additional fact, that the government of Angels was a government of law or precept—where penalty might, or might not have been revealed. But we have no specific information as to the nature of that law, nor do we know with certainty, whether they were entrusted with the right of associated self-government; but from what is said in Jude 9, and from the fact that God himself executed the penalty, it may be inferred, perhaps, that they did not, to any great extent, possess that right. The only rule of action to which they were probably amenable, was the law of universal and disinterested benevolence. While living under law in a state of innocence and happiness, Lucifer, "the Son of the morning," high in rank, became uneasy and unwilling to submit to the re-

straints with which God had encircled him. He therefore rebelled, and cut himself loose from his heavenly allegiance. In his rebellion, innumerable other spirits were involved, who became the miserable sharers of his terrible overthrow. Prior to the execution of the sentence denounced upon the transgressor, all the celestial hosts, it may be, were living under the influence of preceptive law; if so, the rebellious Angels demonstrated to the whole universe, in their fall, the solemn truth that precept alone is not sufficient to secure the unwavering obedience of free and finite intelligences. The extent and malignity of the rebellion, on the other hand, manifested with equal distinctness, that the time had now arrived when God must either give up his throne, or else expel from his presence, and punish those who had thus rebelled against him. The rebel spirits were therefore cast out of heaven.

It would seem that as soon as it had been sufficiently demonstrated, that good advice alone was utterly inadequate as a means of controlling free moral agents, whose capacities are finite, God added to his moral administration another element, by introducing and holding up before his spiritual empire a terrible example of continuous and indescribable suffering.

2. OUR FIRST PARENTS.—*Probation of Works.* The next feature of God's moral administration was exhibited in the case of our first parents, while in a state of innocence. Created immortal, and placed in a garden of exquisite beauty, producing spontaneously everything that was necessary for their comfort and happiness, exempt from weariness, disease, and pain, and surrounded by everything that could charm the senses, entertain the mind, or cheer the heart, it might have been expected, by other intelligences, that *they*, at least, would have remained true and faithful to their allegiance. But inasmuch as they were finite, and as the potency of good advice had

been already tried, and proved to be ineffectual, God saw fit, in giving them a rule of action as a test of their obedience, to establish a law that was so perfectly simple and reasonable, as to commend itself, at once, to their consciences. Selecting a single tree of the garden, He directed them not to eat of its fruit. To this command He annexed and published to them the rigorous penalty, "in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die"—death spiritual, and at some future time, temporal. As a further precaution, He may have revealed, and probably did reveal to them, the history of the rebel angels, both of their fall and punishment. We are justified in this assumption by analogy, and it seemed desirable to vindicate Divine goodness.

Adam and Eve, then, were placed in circumstances peculiarly favorable; they had everything to make them happy. They were immortal, had a law which they could have no reasonable inducement to violate, were abundantly warned of the fearful consequences of transgression; and had learned that God, in one instance, at least, had executed a penalty of most terrific import. They sinned, however; and by that act demonstrated the utter inadequacy of suasion, aside from civil law, even when aided by a knowledge of the fact that God had threatened them with death, and once executed, and might again execute the penalty which Infinite Wisdom had shown was the wages of transgression.

3. PROBATION OF FAITH. But as the fall of our first parents seemed to have been influenced by the temptations of an apostate spirit belonging to a higher order of creation, and as the mercy of God had been excited in their behalf, it was deemed a proper occasion for the introduction of a further element of his moral administration. As they were to become the progenitors of a numerous offspring, God could not wisely have abrogated

the penalty of his law, even in favor of such as might voluntarily return to their allegiance ; such a course would have involved an entire surrender of his authority. Nor could He have executed the whole penalty, either by annihilating the wretched pair, or by consigning them to instant and everlasting misery, without seeming to abandon his original design in their creation. Such an event might have been hailed by the rebel angels as an occasion of infernal triumph ; and it might probably have been used, also, as an instrument of still further mischief to his dominion. It was highly important, therefore, that each of these contingencies should be promptly met and arrested, by the development of a new administration, which should give additional influence to the Divine law, and secure the final restoration and salvation of some portion, at least, of the human family, without impairing their freedom.

The added features of the new moral administration consisted chiefly of the following particulars. God immediately announced his determination to provide for the full vindication of his law, while He suspended its penalty—and to FURNISH for the ruined race A SAVIOR who should make such an atonement as would justify the final salvation of all those who would forsake their sins, confide in his mercy, and voluntarily return to the paths of obedience and truth. At the same time He declared that the terrible penalty of his law should be ultimately and fully executed upon all who rejected his mercy. The entire race, as immortal beings, were deposed from their original rank, and made subject to the reign of temporal death. By suspending the execution of his law, He allowed to men a *further day of probation*, and while that period continued, they were constantly warned of their impending danger, and aroused to thought by the infliction of physical and mental suffering. After surrounding them with such an array of influences, God gave them, in the prolongation of their

lives, most ample space for repentance ; and, finding that they were still treading rapidly the downward course, He raised up Enoch and Noah, as preachers of righteousness, to warn them of the wrath to come. He had previously given them the DOMESTIC CONSTITUTION, with its associated government and influences ; but they rushed madly onward, until the earth was polluted with blood and crime, and until its inhabitants had become so extremely wicked as to render it evident that they could not be reclaimed, without so shortening their day of probation, as to quicken their apprehensions of death. God then altered the average duration of human life, and established it at one hundred and twenty years. But this was not enough ; the tide of sin rolled onward with increasing strength ; and God next commissioned Noah to announce that the world was about to be destroyed by THE FLOOD ; yet, still they repented not ; they continued to corrupt themselves until “ the earth was filled with violence.” His forbearance being exhausted, He came out in his fury and swept away the whole human race, except the family of Noah. So far, precept and Divine law, unaccompanied by civil law had not been sufficient to control moral agents ; Noah and his family only were saved that they might re-people the earth.

4. THE FLOOD AND THE LAW. The fourth period of these developments extends from the flood to the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai ; and is distinguished as the period when God began more clearly to reveal his will, and to enforce it by civil penalties. Some of these penalties, as that for murder, Gen. 9 : 6, were to be inflicted by men, and others by himself. Immediately after the deluge, and while its terrible scenes were fresh in the minds of Noah and his family, God appeared to them, and tendered them a covenant of mercy—re-proclaimed his law, and “ set his bow in the cloud,” as a token that He would not again destroy the earth with a flood. But the

old leaven of wickedness very soon began to exhibit itself in the conduct of Ham ; and Noah, then patriarch of the race, being imbued with a spirit of prophecy, pronounced a sentence of degradation upon the descendants of his offending son, which God has ratified, and which to this day remains as a solemn monument of his displeasure and hatred of sin. When the impressions of the flood, subsequently to the death of Noah, had grown somewhat dim, the great mass of mankind again betook themselves to the practice of idolatry. They had at length become so wicked, that when the unwelcome thought was forced upon them that the earth needed another clearing, they were compelled to remember the miserable fate of those who had perished in the deluge, but would not trust in the Divine promise, nor yet were they willing to relinquish their sins. Under these circumstances, they undertook, in the true spirit of infidelity, to declare themselves independent of the Divine control, and united in a grand conspiracy to erect in the Plain of Shinar a tower whose top should reach unto heaven. But God met them in the Plain, and by confounding their language, drove them asunder ; and they soon became divided into distinct and hostile tribes, spending a large portion of their time in predatory warfare.

Hitherto the knowledge of the true God had been mostly traditional, and at this juncture, it had been so much corrupted by the dissolution of the patriarchal system of government, and the practice of idolatry, that it exercised but little influence. There was great danger, therefore, that unless some new measure of administration were introduced, it would soon be driven from the world. To meet and avert so disastrous a crisis, we learn that God immediately set in motion a train of special and semi-miraculous providences calculated not only to chastise the offending nations, but also to secure to himself a peculiar people,

with whom He might safely entrust a written revelation. ABRAHAM, the son of Terah, was selected from among the true worshipers, and set apart to be the progenitor of the FAVORED NATION. He was a man of exemplary piety; and God bore ample testimony to his worth by that remarkable expression, "I know him that he will command his children and his household after him." But while these providences were yet in progress, and immature, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah had become so exceeding vile, that God "rained upon them a horrible tempest of fire and brimstone," and erected over their grave a monument of his wrath, which the tooth of time can never efface. Other nations were chastised for their iniquities by the sword, and by famine. But when the chosen family had become somewhat numerous and corrupt, they were reduced to slavery, and continued so, until they were willing to call upon God for succor. Having chastised and destroyed their oppressors, He brought them forth from the land of bondage, by the hand of Moses, and for the space of forty years kept them in the wilderness, under the instruction and guidance of their leader. During the whole period from the deluge to the exodus, the Deity was constantly exhibiting himself as the Governor of communities and nations, as well as of individuals; and the events of that period have most fully developed the insufficiency of moral law and influences, unaided by civil law and governments.

5. THE JEWISH THEOCRACY. It cannot be expected that we should always be able, as finite beings, fully to comprehend the complexity of the Divine purposes. They relate to the government of mind, and to the control of matter—to time and to eternity—to men and to angels—to heaven and to hell. Yet there is no great difficulty in gathering from God's providential dealings with the human family, such of the more essential features of his moral

administration, as are especially calculated for their instruction. In that portion of the world's history to which our attention is now to be directed, it must be admitted that the purposes of God are exceedingly involved; for while some of them appear to have been fully accomplished, it is quite evident that there were others equally important, perhaps, which are still shrouded in the mystery of coming events. We should not be deterred by this consideration, however, from endeavoring to understand, and to be profited by those lessons which are apparent.

From what has already been said concerning the history of events anterior to the exodus of the children of Israel, it must be perfectly obvious that the great controversy between God and the human race grew out of their inveterate determination not to be governed by *his will*; and it is equally plain that God, during the whole of that period, was endeavoring by his providences ultimately to secure their submission, without impairing their freedom as moral agents. But notwithstanding all his mercies and judgments, his administration, thus far, had secured the voluntary allegiance of a very small portion only of the human family; and as He was about to usher in a new element of moral power, it cannot be questioned that it was designed chiefly for the ultimate attainment of that very object, which had been so often defeated. He had already given them a traditional law, which they had violated—He had offered them a free pardon, upon condition that they would repent, trust in the promised Savior, and obey his will—He had invited them, by patriarchs and prophets, to turn unto him and live. Some of them had been chastised, as by the hand of a benevolent father, and others had been suddenly destroyed by his judgments. Yet those who remained continued to corrupt themselves, and be corrupted by others, until He at length determined to have recourse to an efficient organization of the powers

of CIVIL GOVERNMENT. As might have been expected, then, we shall find in the NEW ECONOMY,

1. A clear, concise, and specific WRITTEN REVELATION of the *Natural*, and *Traditional*, or MORAL LAW—a Law which is binding upon all men, in all places, and under all possible circumstances; and which, when honestly construed, embraces the whole of human duty.

2. A code of CIVIL or MUNICIPAL LAW, devised by Infinite Wisdom, designed mainly to carry out and enforce the moral code—being in fact, a mere extension or interpretation of it, guarded by appropriate sanctions or penalties, for the guidance of the civil magistrate—and showing most conclusively, that God regards the civil power as an important element of his own moral administration.

It is undoubtedly true, that many of the legal enactments under the Jewish Theocracy were of a very special and local character, and it would not be pretended that *they* were ever binding upon other nations. Such were their laws regulating their foreign intercourse, their ritual and temple service, the dress of the priests, their sacrifices, ablutions, circumcision, feasts, the year of jubilee, etc. etc. But their civil or municipal code was altogether distinct from these, and was undoubtedly designed to show what were the proper subjects of human legislation, and to teach coming ages the elementary principles of civil government.

The necessity of a written revelation for the benefit of the whole race, has been sufficiently demonstrated; yet it was committed in the first instance to the Jews only, and the reason doubtless was, that it could not otherwise have been preserved. In the midst of an idolatrous age, they had been singled out, instructed in their duty, and trained to this very service under the special guidance of Heaven.

When the time had arrived for ushering in the new dispensation, the CHILDREN OF ISRAEL were summoned from

the land of bondage to the foot of MOUNT SINAI. Their deliverance from Egypt, indeed their whole journey, was conducted by the direct agency and miraculous power of God. After they had arrived at the Mountain's base, God demanded of them, through Moses, whether they would consent to give up the practice of idolatry, become his people, and obey his law; and in responding to this demand, they entered into a solemn covenant to be the Lord's. Moses was then called up to the top of the Mount, in the sight of all Israel, by an audible voice, and by the sound of a trumpet issuing from the thick darkness which had gathered around its summit; and when he had ascended and entered into the cloud amidst the most awful thunderings and lightnings, he received from the hand of God THE MORAL LAW, WRITTEN UPON TWO TABLES OF STONE. But while Moses was detained upon the Mount, this highly-favored and chosen people became alarmed at his detention, and, notwithstanding their recent covenant, and while these terrible representations of the Divine Majesty were still fresh in their recollection, they again betook themselves, publicly, to the sin of idolatry, and were punished by the execution of three thousand souls. This terrible chastisement, inflicted by Moses, seems to have prepared the way for a renewal of their covenant, and of supplying other Tables in lieu of those which he had broken; while it also demonstrated, in the clearest manner, the necessity of a more vigorous and constant action of the civil power. The law which was thus promulgated, was *the Decalogue or Ten Commandments*. While these were engraven by the finger of God himself, the municipal code was written out for the people by Moses, at the immediate command, and under the explicit dictation of Jehovah. Let us see, then, how far the municipal code was designed to carry out and enforce the moral.

MORAL CODE.

1st Commandment of the Decalogue. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.—Ex. 20 : 3.

2nd Com. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of *anything* that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth ; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them. Ex. 20 : 4, 5.

3rd Com. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.—Ex. 20 : 7.

CIVIL OR MUNICIPAL CODE.

(1) He that sacrificeth unto *any* God, save unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed.—Ex. 22 : 20. This penalty was executed by Moses upon three thousand at one time. See Ex. 32 : 27, 28. Another execution is recorded in Num. 25 : 2-5. Job understood this matter, and shows that very many offences, generally supposed to be beyond the reach of human tribunals, are legitimately within their supervision.—Job 31 : 24-28.

(2) Cursed be the man that maketh *any* graven or molten image.—Deut. 27 : 15. He that sacrificeth unto *any* God save unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed.—Ex. 22 : 20. The civil law is extended to include those who entice others to violate the first and second commandments, and punishes them with death.—Deut. 13 : 1-11. As for instance, the infidel who would turn away others from serving God.

(3) Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp ; and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying,

whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin ; and he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, *and* all the congregation shall certainly stone him ; as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the LORD, shall be put to death.—Lev. 24 : 14-16. This penalty was, then, executed by the express command of God.—Lev. 24 : 23.

4th Com. Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work ; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt not do any work ; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that *is* within thy gates.—Ex. 20 : 8-11.

5th Com. Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.—Ex. 20 : 12.

Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honor thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise).—Eph. 6 : 1, 2.

(4) Ye shall keep the Sabbath, therefore, for it *is* holy unto you ; every one that defileth it, shall surely be put to death : for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from his people.—Ex. 31 : 14. See Ex. 35 : 2, also Lev. 23 : 30. God directed this penalty to be inflicted upon one individual for picking up sticks on the Sabbath, and it was inflicted.—Num. 15 : 32-36.

(5) He that smiteth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death. And he that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death.—Ex. 21 : 15-17. If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and *that* when they have chas-

6th Com. Thou shalt not kill.—Ex. 20 : 13. This law was subsequently expounded, so as to reach the following case. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.—1 Jn. 3 : 15.

7th Com. Thou shalt not commit adultery.—Ex. 20 : 14. This law, also, was subsequently expounded, so as to embrace licentious thoughts.

Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.—Mat. 5 : 28.

But whoremongers and

tened him, will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out with the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place, and they shall say unto the elders of his city: this our son, *is* stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, *he is* a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die.—Deut. 21 : 18–21.

(6) He that killeth any one shall surely be put to death.—Lev. 24 : 17. He that killeth a man he shall be put to death.—Lev. 24 : 21. See also the general law.—Gen. 9 : 6. The same penalty is extended to the owner of an ox, known to be vicious; if he gore a man that he die, the owner shall be put to death.—Ex. 21 : 28, 29. For the modifications of this penalty, See Ex. 21 : 13, 14, 18–23.

(7) The man that committeth adultery with *another* man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbor's wife; the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death.—Lev. 20 : 10. Other laws in the same chapter, extend the same penalty still further; verses 11–21. Adultery was again declared

adulterers, God will judge.
—Heb. 13 : 4.

8th Com. Thou shalt not steal.—Ex. 20 : 15. Ye shall not steal.—Lev. 19 : 11. Let him that stole, steal no more—Eph. 4 : 28.

9th Com. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.—Ex. 20 : 16.

10th Com. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house ; thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's.—Ex. 20 : 17.

to be a capital offence in Deut. 22 : 22. The ravishing of a betrothed female was punished with death.—Deut. 22 : 25–27. But if she was not betrothed, then the man was to pay a fine, and marry her.—Deut. 22 : 28, 29. See an instance of the execution of this penalty recorded in Num. 25 : 8, and its approval in verses 11–13. In Job 31 : 9–12, we see a just commentary on this command.

(8) He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or, if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.—Ex. 21 : 16. If a man shall steal an ox or a sheep, and kill it or sell it, he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.—Ex. 22 : 1. See other provisions in the same chapter, verses 2–8.

(9) Behold *if* the witness *be* a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother : then shall ye do unto him as he hath thought to have done unto his brother.—Deut. 19 : 18, 19.

(10) This command is addressed exclusively to the heart, and was intended to dry up the sources of crime. It cannot be made the subject of direct legislation, in the civil code, any further than to forbid or punish

those acts which flow from a covetous disposition. The civil laws founded upon the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th commandments, are, in this sense, applicable to the 10th. See also, the following references :—Ex. 22 : 24–30 ; Deut. 24 : 14, 15.

After God had fully promulgated his moral code, for the benefit and government of the entire race, we see from the preceding analysis, that each of its separate enactments, as well those that belong to the first table as those in the second, was transformed by him, when acting as the temporal Sovereign of the Jewish nation, to a municipal code, and reënacted with specific penalties to be administered by the civil magistrate ; while He reserved to himself the exclusive right of administering its spiritual sanctions. It is to be remarked, also, that to each of these moral precepts, unless it be the tenth, God affixed, at the time of their adoption into the civil code, the penalty of death. His Jewish subjects had been exceedingly refractory, and even rebellious, and He had instructed and warned them by some of the most alarming judgments, and sought to win their affection and gratitude by his unbounded mercy ; but now, his language to them was, “ obey and live, or disobey and die.” He neither listened to the lamentation of the idolaters, nor gave any heed to the licentious grumblings of infidelity. As the supreme head of the Theocracy, He now determined to wield the arm of the civil magistracy, and by the terrors of speedy and visible punishments to secure the accomplishment of his own design.

But in order to carry out his purposes of furnishing for his people a full and explicit system of civil jurisprudence,

it was necessary that He should embody principles into specific laws, which, although really and substantially implied in the moral code, were found, nevertheless, to afford too much latitude for judicial interpretation. It was needful, too, that the entire system of penalties should be clearly indicated, for the guidance of the civil magistrate. In attempting to exhibit these provisions in their true light, and to show that they are nothing but the elementary expansions of the moral code, with temporal penalties annexed to secure their observance, we shall avoid much difficulty, by adopting the beautiful analysis of our Savior: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—Matt. 22: 37-39.

I. THOU SHALT LOVE THE LORD THY GOD WITH ALL
THY HEART, AND WITH ALL THY SOUL, AND WITH
ALL THY MIND.

As love is a mere passion of the mind, no human tribunal could ever determine whether an individual loved God or not: nor could a witness testify to that point either for or against him. If God had annexed to this law a temporal penalty, to be inflicted upon those who refused to give him their hearts by the civil magistrate, it is easy to see that it could never have been executed; it would have proved a dead letter. We ought not to expect, therefore, that such a provision would ever be inserted in any municipal code. Yet, as many of the actions which spring from opposition to God, such as idol or devil-worship, blasphemy, irreverent conduct in seasons of public worship, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, or promulgating opinions hostile to the claims of God as a moral Governor, are clearly within the reach of the civil magistrate, they are doubtless the proper subjects of civil legislation. So there are some actions equally tangible, on the other

hand, which the love of God will always induce : such as habitual attendance on public worship, contributing to the support of religious institutions, or to the promulgation of Divine truth. Keeping this distinction in mind, let us look at the municipal code of the Jews, and examine the nature of its provisions, calculated to secure the prevalence of love to God.

1. It is specifically commanded : “ Hear, O Israel ; the LORD our God is one LORD ; and thou shalt LOVE THE LORD THY GOD with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.”—Deut. 6 : 4, 5. See also expostulations and entreaties to the performance of this duty.—Deut. 10 : 12, 20, 22 ; 7 : 6-8.

2. The civil code also contained assurances that a faithful PERFORMANCE OF THIS DUTY should be followed by personal and national benefits, temporal as well as spiritual.—Deut. 6 : 17-19 ; 7 : 11-15 ; 30 : 2-16.

3. BLASPHEMY being made a capital crime by the civil code, was punished with death.—Lev. 24 : 14-16.

4. The penalty against IDOLATRY was also death.—Ex. 22 : 20. Deut. 27 : 15 ; 13 : 1-11.

5. So the chief magistrate was required to inflict the penalty of death upon the SABBATH-BREAKER.—Ex. 31 : 14. Lev. 23 : 30. Num. 15 : 32-36.

6. The same punishment was awarded for those who promulgated IDOLATROUS or INFIDEL OPINIONS, or who enticed others to idolatry.—Deut. 13 : 6-10.

7. Men were also required, by the civil code, PUBLICLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND WORSHIP GOD.—Ex. 23 : 17. Deut. 27 : 5-7 ; 12 : 5-7 ; 26 : 1-11 ; 26 : 17, 18. Ex. 24 : 7, 8. Zech. 8 : 22.

8. They were REQUIRED TO BUILD PLACES FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, and to CONTRIBUTE FOR THE SUPPORT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.—Ex. 25 : 2, 8. Ex. 28. Deut. 18 : 1-8.

9. They were required to SUPPORT RELIGIOUS TEACHERS, amounting at the time this law was given to twenty thousand males.—Ex. 28 : 1. Deut. 18 : 1–18. Num. 18 : 21 ; 35 : 2. Josh. 21 : 2, 3. See also, Lev. 7th and 8th chapters.

10. As to THE DUTY OF PROMULGATING TRUTH. See Deut. 11 : 20. Zech. 8 : 16, 21, 22.

11. The civil code required from parents and others, the utmost fidelity in the INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH ; and those instructions were to include religion, as well as morality.—Deut. 11 : 18–21 ; 4 : 9, 10.

12. It required the DESTRUCTION OF PLACES OF INQUITOUS AND IDOLATROUS RESORT, as prejudicial to the interests of vital piety.—Deut. 12 : 1–4.

13. It made all THESE DUTIES PERPETUAL. Deut. 12 : 1.

No one can doubt, after examining these precepts and penalties, that it was a part of God's design in the institution of their civil government, that it should protect, as well the first table of his moral code as the second ; and as well the duties of religion as of morality. And why not extend it to all civil governments ? We are aware that many will not allow this extension ; nevertheless, the position, we doubt not, is tenable.

II.—THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.

Although the principle here laid down, like that which formed the first branch of our Savior's analysis, lies beyond the reach of penalties to be inflicted by the civil magistrate, it may, nevertheless, constitute the basis of a great variety of laws, designed either to secure the performance of such actions as love to our neighbor will uniformly prompt, or prevent such as would be obviously opposed to its dictates. Some of the following provisions seem to look at both sides of this analysis ; but the major-

ity of them flow naturally from that which has been last named. Yet, as a further classification would be wholly unnecessary, we proceed with our examination.

1. We find the command, "Thou shalt LOVE THY NEIGHBOR as thyself," distinctly promulgated as one of the precepts of the civil code.—Lev. 19 : 18. But it has no civil penalty affixed ; it is a mere precept.

2. Among the PROVISIONS RELATING TO LAND, we notice the following :—The Jews held only a possessory interest in their lands : their title was expressly limited by the original Proprietor. "For the land is mine ; for ye were strangers and sojourners with me."—Lev. 25 : 23. It was DIVIDED among the tribes BY LOT, and afterwards subdivided among their families in the same manner.—Num. 32 : 33. Josh. ch. 12 to 23. Num. 26 : 52-56 ; 27 : 7 ; 36 : 9-12 ; Josh. 17 : 3-6. The law prohibited the REMOVAL of "LANDMARKS," or visible boundaries.—Deut. 19 : 14 ; 27 : 17. Every seventh year was to be a SABBATH of "THE LAND unto the Lord"—a year of rest, when the land could not be cultivated.—Lev. 25 : 2-17. They were to number seven Sabbaths of years seven times, making forty-nine years, and the fiftieth was the YEAR OF JUBILEE.—Lev. 25 : 8-13. They could only sell the use of their lands until the jubilee, and the price was to be regulated accordingly ; for in the jubilee it was to revert to the former proprietor.—Lev. 25 : 13-17, 27, 28. Even in case of a sale, there was still a right of redemption before the jubilee.—Lev. 25 : 26-31. Another law provided that if an individual should turn his beasts into his neighbor's field, or vineyard, or "cause them to be eaten, he should make RESTITUTION with the loss of his own."—Ex. 22 : 5. So, if a fire should break out and burn "stacks of corn," or "standing corn," or "the field," he that kindleth the fire, was to make restitution.—Ex. 22 : 6. See a further provision in Deut. 20 : 19, in reference to

the DESTRUCTION OF TREES. In these provisions, we have the origin of four important principles recognized by the common law, and in most of the modern codes of civil legislation. 1st. That the TITLES OF ALL LANDS was originally vested in the civil government, or in the community forming its constituency ; and consequently that when the owner dies, leaving no one to inherit it, it must revert to the original proprietor. 2d. That all wilful, or even unintentional, but careless INJURIES TO PROPERTY, are to be repaired by compelling the wrong-doer to render an equivalent to the injured party. 3d. That TITLE DEEDS and boundaries are to be protected from violence. And 4th. That the debt, or he who is compelled to part with his land at such a price as it may be valued at, ought to have a reasonable time in which to redeem it.

3. The civil code of the Jews contained several provisions for the PROTECTION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY. Stealing was prohibited and punished variously ; but in general, by compelling the thief to make restitution, and to double or quadruple the amount stolen.—Ex. 20 : 15 ; 22 : 1-4, 7, 8, 12. STEALING A MAN was punished with death.—Lev. 24 : 17. Ex. 21 : 16. Deut. 24 : 7. It was also provided that the BORROWER should be responsible for the return of the thing borrowed, and if it were hurt or died, “ the owner being not with it,” the borrower was “ to make it good.”—Ex. 22 : 14. But the rule was not applicable when the thing was *hired* and the owner was present.—Ex. 22 : 15. *The law concerning* PLEDGES was equally beneficent and equitable.—Ex. 22 : 26. Deut. 24 : 6, 10, 13, 17. *For laws against* FRAUD, see Lev. 19 : 11, 13. Ex. 22 : 9-13. Provisions in regard to *injuries to* PERSONAL PROPERTY.—Ex. 21 : 33-36 ; 22 : 9. Lev. 24 : 18. Here we have the origin of our *modern laws*, not only against STEALING, but also against FRAUDS, DECEPTION, and TRESPASS, as well as those regulating BAILMENTS.

4. LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PERSON.—MURDER was prohibited, and punished with death.—EX. 20 : 13. Num. 35 : 16–19. Gen. 9 : 6. Lev. 24 : 17. If an ox known to be dangerous GORED A MAN, so that he died, the owner was to be put to death.—EX. 21 : 28–30 ; or he might in some cases be fined, ver. 30. For rules concerning HOMICIDE, not punishable with death, see EX. 21 : 20–23. Deut. 19 : 5. MAIMING, and other personal injuries were variously punished. When men were striving together, and one was so injured as to keep his bed, if he again arose and walked abroad on his staff, the one who inflicted the injury was to pay for his healing.—EX. 21 : 18, 19. For the injury of a pregnant woman, when death did not ensue, the trespasser was to pay *as the judge should determine*.—EX. 21 : 22. For maiming, except in the case of a SERVANT, the offender was to suffer a similar injury to that which he inflicted, by the operation of the *lex talionis*.—EX. 21 : 23–25. But when a servant was maimed by his master, he became free.—EX. 21 : 26, 27. From these provisions, modern governments have learned to discriminate between murder and culpable or justifiable homicide ; and they are here taught, that while the deliberate murderer is worthy of death, other homicides, resulting from carelessness or malevolence, unaccompanied with an intention to kill, ought also to be punished, but not so severely. The elementary principles of these laws, and of those which relate to personal injuries, where death does not ensue, as maiming, assault, &c., is precisely identical with that which regulates modern legislation. We here find our criminal laws against *murder, homicide, maiming*, and other *violent injuries*, and OUR REMEDIAL STATUTES to repair the consequences of injuries not resulting in death, except that their penalties are not always regulated by the same standard.

5. LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHARACTER.—“ Thou

shalt not bear FALSE WITNESS against thy neighbor.”—EX. 20 : 16. This crime was to be punished by inflicting upon the witness the injury which he intended to inflict upon the one against whom he testified.—Deut. 19 : 18, 19. SLANDER was also prohibited.—Ex. 23 : 1. Lev. 19 : 16. Deut. 25 : 1–3. Modern nations punish the crime of PERJURY as did the Jews, though not in the same manner ; and the simple crime of *slander* is now treated, as it probably was then, as a personal injury to be repaired by the payment of a sum of money.

6. LAWS REGULATING THE DOMESTIC CONSTITUTION.—MARRIAGE was instituted immediately after the creation.—Gen. 2 : 24. The Jewish code treated it as an existing institution, and protected it by a variety of special statutes. ADULTERY was prohibited and punished with death.—Ex. 20 : 14. Lev. 20 : 10–14. Deut. 22 : 22–24. RAPE was punished variously.—Deut. 22 : 25–29. FORNICATION was generally punished by compelling the intermarriage of the offenders ; but when the father of the female objected, this was omitted, and the man was made subject to a fine.—Ex. 22 : 16, 17. He might, in some instances, be punished with death.—Deut. 22 : 21, 22, 29. INCEST was generally punished with death.—Lev. 20 : 14, 17, 19–21 ; 18 : 6. For other provisions concerning LICENTIOUS PRACTICES, see Ex. 22 : 19. Lev. 18 : 19–24 ; 20 : 15–18. Modern legislation on this subject is exceedingly imperfect. A want of chastity is rarely made a criminal offence ; and the only disability which attends it, in most countries, consists in its affording a sufficient ground for divorce, and in its rendering the guilty liable to a civil action for damages. All modern governments unite in punishing *incest, rape, buggery, and Sodomy*, as crimes.

PARENTS were required to GOVERN and INSTRUCT THEIR CHILDREN.—Deut. 8 : 5 ; 6 : 7, 20. Ex. 10 : 2 ; 13 : 8, 14.

7. The SABBATH was recognized by the Jewish code as a Divine institution, and protected by enactments denouncing the penalty of death against those who were guilty of desecrating it.—Ex. 20 : 8, 10 ; 31 : 14. Lev. 23 : 30. Num. 15 : 32–36. Among civilized nations, the Sabbath is still protected by legislation, although, as a general thing, the prescribed penalties are altogether inadequate.

8. The Jewish code forbade the taking of BRIBES.—Ex. 23 : 8. Modern nations have followed the same example, and still punish it as a heinous crime.

9. If a man should meet the OX or ASS of his enemy GOING ASTRAY, he was compelled to take it up and deliver it to him ; and if he found it in a pit, he was required to help it out.—Ex. 23 : 4, 5. From these provisions we derive our modern laws concerning ESTRAYS.

10. The REAPER was forbidden to reap the corners of his field, or to gather THE GLEANINGS of his harvest ; and the TILLER OF VINES was not suffered to glean his vineyard. These gleanings were reserved for the benefit of the poor.—Lev. 19 : 9 ; 23 : 22. Isa. 17 : 6. Here we have the origin of our laws concerning the poor.

11. No stumbling-block might be cast in the way of THE BLIND.—Lev. 19 : 14. See modern laws concerning consequential and malicious injuries to the person, founded upon the same principle.

12. The law prohibited the use and even the possession of FALSE BALANCES, MEASURES, AND WEIGHTS.—Lev. 19 : 35, 36. Deut. 25 : 13–16. Similar provisions exist in all our modern codes ; and our laws against COUNTERFEITING, FORGERY, etc., probably had a similar origin.

13. In the Jewish laws concerning the treatment of lepers, and LEPROUS PERSONS, we find a complete system of QUARANTINE not very dissimilar to our own. See Lev. 13 ch. Compare these provisions with modern laws concerning public nuisances, health, etc.

14. In the law concerning the trial for JEALOUSY in Num. ch. 5, a design is manifested to ferret out and punish the most secret violation of the seventh commandment.

15. The law of the SIN and TRESPASS OFFERING, although partially, and perhaps mainly, *ritual*, was also regarded as a penalty for transgression; and it was doubtless a sufficient civil penalty for minor offences. See Lev. chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

16. In order to provide for omitted cases in the civil code, the magistrate was clothed with discretionary powers to punish those who did wickedly, by STRIPES.—Deut. 25: 1–3. Is not this the origin of our modern laws concerning VAGRANCY? Laws which refer to the cultivation of their social character, such as those relating to the poor, their hirelings, to cruelty to brutes, to widows and orphans, etc., might also have been added.

17. The civil code also contained numerous precepts, exhortations, and entreaties, directed to the point of securing a universal observance of the duties of religion and morality, enforced by promises of future blessedness to the obedient, and by denunciations of wrath, terrible and overwhelming, upon all those who should refuse to comply with the Divine commands.—Ex. 23: 12, 13, 24; 34: 21; 35: 2. Deut. 6: 5; 13: 18; 8: 1, 11, 18–20. Lev. 26: 3–39. Num. 16: 1–35, 41–50. Numerous parallel passages might be quoted, but it cannot be necessary.

From the establishment of the Jewish Theocracy to the commencement of the Christian dispensation, GOD continued to manifest himself to his chosen people as THE SUPREME HEAD OF THE NATION. He communed with and instructed their leaders and prophets; and by the miraculous interposition of his power he often delivered them from the hand of their enemy, and as frequently, perhaps, chastised them severely for their sins. His prophets were

also commissioned to guard the sovereignty of law, and more clearly to announce the plan of salvation, as well as to predict the speedy advent of the promised Savior. Yet they continued to rebel. Notwithstanding the awful judgments which the Hebrews were commissioned to execute upon their idolatrous neighbors, and notwithstanding all the restraints with which God had surrounded them, they still persisted in manifesting a spirit of open disloyalty, and an inveterate love of the abominable rites of idolatry. Although they retained a knowledge of the true God, and generally maintained an outward profession of their allegiance to him, yet, until the close of the prophetic writings, it is very clear that idolatry was their easily besetting sin. But the other nations of the earth seem to have been given up to work out with greediness the abominations of paganism. Here again we find developed a NECESSITY FOR the introduction of SOME FURTHER ELEMENT OF MORAL POWER.

6. GOSPEL DISPENSATION. Hitherto the hope of salvation for a ruined race had rested entirely upon the promise of Jehovah to provide a Savior, and by his Spirit to turn the hearts of the people to himself. But, although THE SAVIOR APPEARED and offered up himself a willing sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and for many years publicly taught the Jews in their streets and in their synagogues, and held up before them his own spotless example of perfect devotion to the will of God, yet He distinctly assured them that He did not come to destroy either the law or the prophets, but to fulfil them. —Matt. 5: 17. The task of proving that the Gospel does not, in any sense, revoke or repeal, either the moral or the civil code, might have been readily dispensed with, in view of the specific declaration we have just quoted, were it not for the fact that a few individuals are now industriously circulating an opposite sentiment. This cir-

cumstance will justify us in devoting a little time to the proof of the proposition that THE GOSPEL not only RE-AFFIRMS BOTH of these codes, but goes still farther, and gives them a much more rigid construction than that which had before prevailed.

When our Savior was questioned, on one occasion, as to the relative merits of the different commandments of the Decalogue, He answered by reducing them to two single elements—love to God and love to man. “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment ; and the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”—Matt. 22 : 35–39. It is quite remarkable, too, that in giving this elementary exposition of the Ten Commandments, He quoted literally from the Jewish civil code.—Deut. 6 : 5. Lev. 19 : 18. We thus find him giving a full ratification to both these codes : and He then adds, speaking of the elementary requirements of love to God and love to man, “On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”—Matt. 22 : 40. He says again, in Matt. 5 : 18—“For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.”

A very considerable portion of Christ’s Sermon on the Mount was devoted to an interpretation of such of the commands of the Decalogue, and of such of the precepts of the civil code, as had been most frequently evaded, or abused by misconstruction. His whole argument was based upon the fact that both codes were still in force. We are there taught that to be angry with a brother without a cause was a violation of the command, “Thou shalt not kill.”—Matt. 5 : 21–23. See also to the same point, 1 John. 3 : 15—“Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer.” In commenting upon the command, “Thou shalt

not commit adultery," our Savior adds, "But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."—Matt. 5: 27, 28. He then proceeds to exhort his hearers to eradicate from their hearts every impure desire.

At the time of the promulgation of the civil code, the sacredness of the marriage-contract was but little regarded, and divorces were frequent; and as God determined to reserve in his own hands the right to deal with those who thus practiced, He barely limited the evil by introducing into that code a provision requiring the man who put away his wife to give to her a bill of divorcement. Now, as the Jews had construed this law of limitation as sanctioning divorces, without any just cause, our Savior next took occasion to refer to God's originally recorded institution, and to quote it from their civil code; and then added, by way of comment, "But I say unto you that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery."—Matt. 5: 31, 32. See also Mark 10: 4, 11.

Referring to the third commandment, and quoting, probably, from some of their judicial or traditional interpretations of the civil code, our Savior continues, "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King; neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil."—Matt. 5: 33-37. It is proper to remark, in this connection, also, that in reference to one sin which necessarily

involves a violation of the third commandment, our Savior has pronounced the fearful judgment that it is absolutely unpardonable, "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."—Matt. 12 : 32. See also Mark 3 : 28, 29. Luke 12 : 10.

From what has been already said, it is perfectly evident that the Savior, in quoting from both codes, indiscriminately regarded them as being in full force ; and that by his comments upon particular precepts, He intended to inculcate a much more rigid rule of construction than that which had previously prevailed. By this it is not meant that nations, other than the Jews, before their peculiar dispensation was done away, have been, and will continue to be, subject to the peculiarities of the Jewish civil code.

But this is not all. We shall find on examination, that the Gospel, equally with the Decalogue and the Jewish civil code, prohibits everything that is wrong, and commands everything that is right. "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets."—Matt. 7 : 12. This is the "GOLDEN RULE ;" and if men would fully conform to it, they would "cease to do evil, and learn to do well"—*it requires active obedience*. We are taught also, specifically, to keep the commandments.—Matt. 19 : 16–19. The duty of knowing, serving, and fearing God, is fully enjoined by the Gospel.—Matt. 26 : 41. Luke 18 : 1. Matt. 6 : 9, 15. James 2 : 10. Thess. 5 : 17. Matt. 5 : 44, 48 ; 10 : 28. Luke 12 : 5.

The Gospel also enjoins upon all men the duty of submission and obedience to civil government. "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers ; to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work."—Tit. 3 : 1. "Obey them that have the rule over you."—Heb. 13 : 7. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of

man, for the Lord's sake ; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."—1 Pet. 2 : 13, 14. " Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God ; the powers that be, are ordained of God."—Rom. 13 : 1-7. " For this, thou shalt not commit adultery—thou shalt not kill—thou shalt not steal—thou shalt not bear false witness—thou shalt not covet ; and if there be *any* other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor ; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."—Rom. 13 : 9, 10. The command to love our neighbor, not only requires us to do him all the good we consistently can, but it clearly forbids that we should do him any injury—" love worketh no ill." What we owe to one of our neighbors, we owe to all ; and hence, we are taught by the Apostle, that no one has a right to do any act, or to omit the performance of any duty, which can be prejudicial to the general welfare.

Another element of moral power, therefore, that was introduced by the GOSPEL dispensation is, that it REAFFIRMS THE MORAL CODE, AND ALSO THE CIVIL, which is based upon it. It teaches us to construe the elementary principles which had been previously promulgated with great strictness, and to regard the institution of civil governments as a part of the Divine economy, subjecting us to the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate.

The next element was THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT—the establishment of the GOSPEL MINISTRY—and the GATHERING OF A VISIBLE CHURCH, commissioned and required to publish to every creature that the work of man's redemption was now complete. Salvation is now seen to be possible, and freely offered to every member of the human

family. Yet the great mass of mankind still reject its gracious overtures, and its progress in converting the world is both slow and difficult. Infidelity and vice are not yet subdued ; but are, even now, contending earnestly for the complete mastery of the race. We have, however, the assurance of God that the Savior will return—that righteousness and truth, peace, joy, and eternal blessedness, will then prevail.

7. Whether God designs to introduce ANY FURTHER ELEMENT of moral power under this economy, or whether that glorious result is to be accomplished by a more copious effusion of his Spirit, or by both together ; or whether the Millennial state is to be ushered in by the introduction of another dispensation or economy, is a question about which there is much dispute. Though the moral administration of God in reference to the human family has been characterized by the gradual exhibition of successive and cumulative elements of moral power, it must be remembered that this feature of the Divine economy furnishes no evidence of his want of foresight, nor does it at all impeach his wisdom.

A careful REVIEW OF THE PRECEDING DISCUSSION will force upon the mind of every unprejudiced reader several most important conclusions.

I. In the moral government of God, no distinction is recognized between moral and civil law, except in regard to penalty. That is, the object of both seems to be, to secure and perpetuate universal obedience to the will of the Lawgiver, obedience to those great principles, applicable to the race—civil and religious. Such there were in the codes of the Hebrews. In each of these codes, there is a spiritual penalty ; but in the latter there is also always a temporal or physical, and frequently in the former. As the Supreme Governor of the universe, God has reserved to himself the exclusive right of administer-

ing the one (spiritual), and delegated to the civil power the right, and imposed the duty of administering the other. The spiritual penalty annexed to every species of sin is eternal death ; but the temporal or physical must of necessity be of such a nature as to come within the ability of the civil magistrate to inflict. Neither of these penalties, however, can be regarded as a substitute for the other. A man who has violated the civil law by the crime of murder, subjects himself to its penalty, which is temporal death ; but, inasmuch as he has by the same act, violated also the moral code, he is liable, notwithstanding the infliction of the civil penalty, to suffer the pains of death eternal.

It is not pretended that the Jewish municipal code is binding upon other nations in any other sense than as a system of preceptive or political morality. It was devised by the Supreme Lawgiver ; and its penalties were adapted to the peculiar circumstances and character of the Jews. Many of these penalties were extremely rigorous, while others were comparatively trivial ; yet they were all wisely adapted to the accomplishment of the peculiar purposes of their national existence and position. It could not have been designed, therefore, that other nations should confine their legislation rigidly to the letter of the Jewish code, either as to its precepts or penalties. Yet it was undoubtedly intended to teach all nations the true principles and objects of civil legislation, and the necessity of suitable and adequate penalties, to secure the due observance of the precepts to which they are annexed.

II. ALL THE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL LEGISLATION which have ever been adopted by human governments possessing any value, have been DERIVED, more or less directly, FROM DIVINE REVELATION.

The PENTATEUCH is certainly the most ancient book of which we have any knowledge, in which can be found

anything that is definite relating either to the right or to the duties of civil government. Still, this is no evidence that social, civil, and even religious regulations were not, to some extent, enjoyed before the flood; nor that God had not communicated to them all that was necessary to their obedience and happiness. Some few allusions to this subject may be found, perhaps, in other ancient works that are uninspired; yet they belong to a subsequent age, and are evidently traditional. Whatever is contained in the Pentateuch, then, must be regarded as the most authentic, as well as the earliest source of our judicial knowledge. From the preceding examination of the Jewish municipal code, we find that it embraces all the essential elements of modern legislation, whether criminal or civil. Like our modern codes, it prohibits and punishes, as crimes, Murder, Homicide—whether arising from malice or negligence, unaccompanied with an intention to kill—Maiming, Wilful injuries to the person or to property, real or personal, Stealing, Frauds—whether through the use of false measures, balances, or weights—Perjury, Slander, Rape, Incest, Buggery, Sodomy, Unseemly and Licentious exhibitions or practices, Bribery, the tyrannical abuse of official authority, violations of the Sabbath, Blasphemy, and Idolatry. To these may be added some others which are not recognized at the present day, by *all* civil governments, as crimes against the State—such as Profanity, Adultery, Fornication, Disobedience to parents, &c. The remedial statutes of the Jews are equally full and instructive. They not only protected the rights of person, of property, and of character, by a code that was strictly penal, but they undertook also to repair the consequences of wrong action, by awarding to the party injured a full and adequate compensation. Although the general feature of these provisions was to compel a specific restitution, yet the modern principle of pecuniary recom-

pense was fully recognized and enforced. We find in this code, laws also for the relief of the poor, and for the protection of the public health, religion, and morals. The man who, in the face of all these provisions, is unwilling to admit that we are indebted to the Bible for all our knowledge of the rights and duties of civil government, must confess himself to be either destitute of common honesty, or else grossly deficient in mental capacity.

III. CIVIL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTES ONE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN GOD'S MORAL ADMINISTRATION, and was devised by him as an efficient instrument in promoting the due observance of his law. This was its chief design; and it now constitutes the full measure of its duty.

Although this conclusion has been already anticipated in the preceding pages, its very great importance will justify a recapitulation of the arguments upon which it is based. We are well aware that its bare announcement will be sufficient to awaken the jealousy of many readers, and to induce them, perhaps, to condemn our reasoning without even looking at its force. The clamor of demagogues should not deter us, however, from an honest and faithful advocacy of the truth. If we should be accused of an attempt to bring about "a union of Church and State," we can only say that we have no such desire; and we refer our readers, for a refutation of all such accusations, to what we intend to say under the head of "*Religious Liberty*." Our present business is with the simple question, Is our conclusion just? We have shown that the necessity of human governments was laid in the constitution of things—that the history of our race, from the creation of our first progenitor to the present time, demonstrated this necessity beyond the possibility of cavil—that God has, at one period of the world, under the Jewish Theocracy, exhibited its necessity and practical utility, and revealed for its guidance the elements of an entire

system of jurisprudence, which the wisdom of ages has not essentially enlarged—that this system was based upon his moral code, and pointed exclusively to the enforcement of its provisions—that the authority of human government is derived from him, and based upon his prerogative—that He commands communities as well as individuals “to obey the powers that be”—and that He has expressly declared that civil governments were ordained by him—are his ministers for good, and revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.

IV. God holds COMMUNITIES AND NATIONS COLLECTIVELY, AS WELL AS THEIR CONSTITUENTS INDIVIDUALLY, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DUE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENTS, upon those eternal principles of right which He has made known to us in his Word.

If governors are indeed HIS MINISTERS, his character as a moral governor demands that He should hold them to a strict account for every departure from his will. The uniformity with which He controls the animal kingdom and the material universe, exhibits an unalterable determination to control everything “after the counsel of his own will;” and can it be supposed, for a single moment, that He would suffer so terrible an engine of moral power, as that of civil government, to swing out of its place in this moral system, without exhibiting his displeasure? He has taught us the accuracy of this conclusion also, by the general course of his providence. When the antediluvian nations had given themselves up to idolatry, He swept them from the earth as “with the besom of destruction;” and when the Canaanites had corrupted their way before him, he gave them to fire and the sword. He desolated Egypt with his plagues, and afterwards engulfed their armies in the sea. For nearly eighteen hundred years He has held up before the nations of the earth the entire race of the Jews, as a living monument of his executed wrath for na-

tional sins. At one time He sent forth the "*black death*," and destroyed nearly one-half of the entire race. Among the idolatrous nations of the eastern world, the pestilence has been commissioned, year after year, "to walk in darkness," and the destruction to "waste at noon-day."

When the polished inhabitants of France had trampled upon his authority, and declared themselves independent of his control, by a national decree, he caused them to drink, to its very dregs, the cup of national and individual suffering, until the land was deluged in blood.

So uniform have been the dealings of God's providence with nations which have "corrupted their way before him," that infidelity herself has been compelled to acknowledge, and she still acknowledges, that no nation can long prosper without an adherence to virtue.

But God has taught us the same lesson in his Word. Speaking to the Church of the obligation of *nations* to carry out and enforce his law—Isa. 60 : 12—He says : "For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish ; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." "He doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth ; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou ?"—Dan. 4 : 35. "Son of man, when the land sinneth against me, by transgressing grievously, then will I stretch out my hand upon it, and will break the staff of the bread thereof, and will send famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from it."—Ezek. 14 : 13.

PART II.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

MANY of the opinions which are prevalent in the community, in regard to Religious Liberty, are not only crude and indefinable, but absolutely unsound and dangerous. A large proportion of those writers who have devoted their attention to the social and moral interests of mankind, have been led, from some cause or other, to shrink from the duty of basing their arguments upon the will of God as exhibited in the nature and relations of man. A respect for the squeamishness of Infidels or Deists affords but a very lame apology for so gross a departure from the principles of true philosophy. The man who believes that God is the Creator and Governor of all things, is without excuse, certainly, if he does not also believe that the happiness of the human family must depend entirely upon their conformity to his requirements. If civil governments were instituted by God for the promotion of human happiness—and if their result cannot be expected without a real and substantial conformity to his will—how preposterous is that delicacy which would bury up the only true source of obligation in the dreamy and fictitious abstractions of “social compacts,” and “surrendered or delegated rights.” In the following pages it will be our design to disinter some of the more important principles of personal and social responsibility ; and, though in a very desultory and somewhat repetitious manner, which the circumstances of the case, not necessary to detail here,

seem to justify, to lay them open for the inspection of all who really desire to promote the happiness of the communities in which they dwell.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY consists in the unrestricted power of saying and doing whatever will conduce to the glory of God, and to the temporal and spiritual welfare of man. It does not, nor will it ever, consist in the power of saying or doing *any* thing which tends to the injury of man in any of his relations, social, moral, or religious, or to the dishonor of God.

POLITICAL LIBERTY is said to consist in the power of doing whatever does not injure another.*

CIVIL OR MUNICIPAL LIBERTY is said to consist in the unrestricted power of doing whatever is not prohibited by laws imposed by the civil government. But it must be remembered, that the mere omission of the civil government to prohibit an act that is in itself wrong, or opposed to the Law of God, cannot confer upon the subject the right of performing it. We are required by the Divine Law, to "deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God;" and the fact that we live under a government that neglects to hold the same language, cannot surely be regarded as absolving us from the obligations which it imposes. Every man sustains certain fixed relations to God and to society, from which he cannot escape; and his consequent obligations are such that he can never have any right, either natural, moral, or religious, to do or to say anything which will injure himself or his fellow-men, or which is opposed to the will of his Creator.

The human race consists of a single species, and hence we derive the universality of natural jurisprudence. What are known to us of the natural duties and rights of man, form the basis of all laws. When applied exclusively to his relations to God, they form the subject of *Natural Law*

* See the Constitutional Charter of France.

or the *Law of Nature*, which is the law of God; when they are applied to his relations to various and independent communities, they constitute the subject of *National Law* or the *Law of Nations*; and when applied to his relations to some particular community, of which he is a constituent part, they become the subject of MUNICIPAL LAW.

Man is a religious being, a free agent. Society, government, religion, and knowledge, are congenial to him, and essential to his happiness.

All men stand upon a natural equality of duty and of right: and hence, no one has a natural right to coerce or control his fellow. But as God, who is the absolute proprietor of the race, has established, by virtue of his prerogative, the rights involved in civil government, each individual is necessarily subjected to such a degree of restraint as is, on the whole, wisely adapted to his condition and character. In every respect, however, the equality of men is fixed and inalienable.

RIGHT is the power of doing an action or possessing a thing consistently with law. *Natural Right* is the power of doing and having, consistently with *Natural Law*, or the *Law of God*: and *Civil Right* is the power of doing and having, consistently with the *Civil Law*.

Rights are divided into two kinds, *perfect* and *imperfect*. An imperfect right is one the exercise of which is prohibited. Rutherford says, "where no law restrains a man from carrying his rights into execution, it is called a *perfect right*." The propriety of this division is doubted by some. They are by others divided into *primary* and *secondary*; or, *determinate* and *indeterminate*. OBLIGATION and Right are correlative terms.

Rights are NATURAL or ADVENTITIOUS. Natural Rights are those which belong to man by the gift of God, and which pertain to him as an individual related only to his

God. Adventitious rights are such as arise from civil or political association, or from any state of society in which agreements would be made. Aristotle calls them ORIGINAL and VOLUNTARY; Blackstone, ABSOLUTE and RELATIVE.

The very basis of government and law is founded in our natural rights. Adventitious rights, as acquired consistently with the Law of Nature, are as much our own, and as inviolable as if they had been distinctly and originally given by the Law of Nature.

LIBERTY is subject by Natural Law to three species of restraints, which result, first, from our duty to God—secondly, from our duty to mankind—thirdly, from our duty to ourselves.* It is very easy to see from this definition of *Liberty*, that men have no right to contemn God, ridicule his word, or in any way to transgress his law. Such conduct would be injurious to themselves and to the community.

“FRENCHMEN,” says their Constitutional Charter—and surely no one will accuse the French of indulging too great a partiality for puritanism—“have a right to publish and print their opinions, on conforming themselves to the laws which ought to repress the abuses of this liberty.” The laws of Nature, of Religion, and of our country, all combine to forbid our doing or saying anything against God or his government, or what is calculated to operate against the interests of his subjects even in the present life. If we were to adopt the French definition of RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, quoted above, we should find ourselves under the necessity of prohibiting all blasphemy and contumelious reproaches of the name and character of the Supreme Being, or of his holy word, as well as every species of immoral conduct, whether in word or in act. “The law,” says the same Charter, “ought to prohibit

* For some of the preceding thoughts, we are indebted to Hoffman's “Legal Outlines.”

only actions hurtful to society.” It has been supposed by all wise and good legislators, both in this country and in England, that all skeptical or blasphemous words and actions, defaming Christianity or bringing it into contempt or disrepute, ought to be prohibited by statute, as it is already prohibited by the Common Law. Thomas Jefferson was of the opinion that no man in this country was at liberty to write or speak against the Bible; although he thought it would be unwise to prosecute any one for doing so. Why then have a law if it be unwise to enforce it? As a contradiction to this statement, the enemies of Christianity quote him as saying, on another occasion, “that errors of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.” “No man,” says the French Declaration of Rights, “ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by Law.” Infidels, Deists, and Atheists would have no right in this country, according to the French definition of Religious Liberty, to promulgate their sentiments, because it would disturb public order and unhinge all our political institutions, for Christianity constitutes their only permanent basis.

Much has been said, within the last half century about *religious* liberty, liberty of *conscience*, liberty of *speech*, and liberty of the *press*. We have also heard much concerning the right which it is said every man has to act, or do with his own, as he pleases, and to embrace and propagate the sentiments of Christianity, or of Infidelity, Deism, Atheism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, or Paganism, just as may suit his inclinations, irrespective of the laws of his country and of God, and without any regard to the welfare of others. So bold and clamorous have been the demands of the enemies of our religion, that even the Church itself has begun to think them reasonable, and to

shrink from the responsibility of "contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." Some of her most distinguished champions, as well among the clergy as laity, have already gone so far as to yield up the whole ground. They seem to have forgotten that the God of Heaven still sits upon the throne of universal empire—that CIVIL GOVERNMENTS ARE "HIS MINISTERS FOR GOOD," and that they are held responsible by him as constituting an important link in his moral administration. "For rules are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; for he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil; for this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing." It is high time that Christians should understand this subject, and plant themselves, immovably, upon the rock of eternal truth. Sentiments like the following, are sometimes seen to emanate, not only from the skeptic, and from the most virulent opposers of Christianity, but also from some of its acknowledged champions—Trinitarians, as well as Unitarians, and Theologians as well as Civilians.

PROFESSOR'S OPINION.—"We mean," said a distinguished and Evangelical Professor, in 1830, as quoted by an infidel, "that the Mohammedan even, and the Jew, and the Deist, as well as the Christian, should have the liberty of worshiping in his own way among us, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and do not invade the rights of others." But is not the idolatry of the one, and the rejection of Christianity by the others, always injurious to the community? "We know of no exception to participation in civil and social rights, and the right of worshiping in our own way, or of even not worshiping in any way, under a government that is free in the sense that we would have it; and all this without any abridgement of the rights of citizens, without any civil disabili-

ties." It is true that civil governments cannot compel men to worship God ; but does it thence follow, that they have a right, publicly, to set up and worship idols ? Can civil governments license men to neglect the worship of the true God ? Can they overrule the Most High ? Suppose Abner Kneeland had set up, as was done in France, the goddess of human reason, and publicly worshiped at her shrine : would it have been right ? Would not its influence have been injurious ?

"We not only believe," continues the same writer, "that all men should be left free to form their religious opinions, without any civil penalties or disabilities ; but we maintain, most fully, that when the religious sentiments of any one are formed, he has a right to propagate them, to defend them, and to support them, by his efforts, his pen, his property, or his influence." There have been pagans who believed it to be their duty to offer human sacrifices to their idols. If we tolerate their religion, and suffer them to promulgate it, we must also tolerate its rites and ceremonies. Must we then stand quietly by, and witness the immolation of human victims, in sacrifice to devils ? Or, must we quietly listen to the defence of such a practice ? But it may be said that we can prevent it by punishing them for murder. Suppose, then, that they should slaughter their victims in some other country, in Canada, for instance—that would be a crime for which we could not punish. Must we suffer them, in such a case, to come here, and consummate their horrible rite ? Shall *they* have the liberty, publicly, to justify and defend it ?

"In all this," he adds, "we understand, of course, that in so doing, he does not slander or abuse his neighbor, nor deny him any civil or social right as a member of the community, nor hinder him in the lawful exercise of it. Of the former of these faults the civil law justly may take

cognizance. Against the latter, the law of love and of doing as we would be done by, protests." Is it of no consequence that a man should slander God ?

Again,—“ We believe most fully, that men have a right to propagate their religious sentiments, if they confine themselves to argument and persuasion, and do not appeal to abuse, which is a crime in the eye of the civil law, it being manifestly against the peace of the community. We are well aware, indeed, of the mischiefs which may result from a free right to propagate religious, or rather irreligious sentiments of any kind. We know, too well, what incalculable evil the publication of such books as the *Age of Reason*, the works of Bowlinger, of Voltaire, and of La Mettrie have occasioned. We shudder at it, as one of the most dreadful of evils, inasmuch as it takes hold on eternity, and not merely on time. But dreadful as it is, we regard, as a still greater evil, the power of civil government, or of any ecclesiastical tribunal, to suppress the publication of books at its option. To-day it may choose, as Frederick the Great did, and the French Directory after him, to circulate widely Voltaire, and De Alembert, and Rousseau ; or to-morrow, it may spread wide the poison of some heresy lurking under a Christian name ; while, at the same time, it inhibits all antidotes to these tremendous evils. The liberty of the press, *the unrestrained liberty of it*, is, in our view, fundamental to religious liberty.” There is a very wide difference between the free use of the press, for the discussion of the claims and doctrines of the Bible and its religion, and its use for the purpose of ridiculing or denying it. But we proceed with our extracts :—“ If the press be, as it doubtless sometimes is, a most terrible instrument of doing evil : it is also one of the most efficient of all instruments in doing good. We would for ever leave it open and free to do good ; and if the liberty to do evil must come along with

this (and we do not see how it is possible to prevent it), why, then, the friends of truth must trust to argument, to reason, to conscience, and to God, for triumph over the powers of darkness. And this they may do, without peril to the cause in which they are engaged. If I have not liberty to propagate my religious sentiments, provided I do it by reason, and argument, and persuasion, and with decorum, then I am not free. Liberty, in its highest and most precious sense, is denied me." Has any man a moral right to adopt a false opinion : and having done so, has he then a right to propagate it? Did God destroy the freedom of the Jews when he directed the punishment of death to be inflicted upon all such as should entice others to the worship of idols? "The friends of truth must trust to argument, to reason, to conscience, and to God." But will the faith of the Church justify the civil government in neglecting its duty. Did faith save Abel, Noah from the flood, and the possessions of Lot? and will it save us while we neglect the means of preservation which God has provided?

We have a high veneration for the talents and for the moral worth of the Author of these extracts; and we confess, that the sentiments here expressed by him, were as unexpected as they are unsafe and fallacious. His errors seem to have originated in a spirit of undue timidity. Has he not suffered his mind to dwell, too intensely and exclusively, upon those abuses of governmental power which grew up under the papacy, and which, to some extent, were adopted also by those, even, who had partially emerged from the darkness of mental tyranny? Who does not know that every species of civil or ecclesiastical power has been perverted, at some age of the world, to the very worst purposes of human oppression? But is that a sufficient reason, why the powers that "are ordained of God," should be ruthlessly annihilated? Because we

fear the powers of a despot, shall we therefore run heedlessly into the whirlpool of anarchy? We have already alluded to those sentiments contained in these extracts to which we cannot subscribe; but they are altogether too important to be passed by with so slight a notice.

In the first place he claims that men have a right to worship anything or nothing—and to embrace and propagate falsehood as well as truth, provided they do it decently and without slandering their neighbors. If “the power of doing an action, or possessing a thing consistently with law,” be a true definition of the term *right*, it becomes necessary, in order to test the accuracy of these opinions, to enquire whether the acts, here referred to, have been prohibited. What says the Law of God on this subject? “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.”—Matt. 4: 10. “Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbor.”—Zech. 8: 16. No man has the power, therefore, to perform those actions consistently with the law of God. Will it be contended, then, that the law or nature authorizes any such thing? Will the Law of Nature suffer men to break away from their allegiance to nature’s God? What is nature? It is a mere abstraction of Atheism. But let her ascend the throne:—and what will she then say? Will she permit herself to be vilified? Will she suffer men to slander her character and pervert her designs? The truth of this matter is perfectly plain. Men have no right, either natural or moral, to worship anything but the living God, or to believe or propagate anything but the truth. Even if there were no God, the influence of immoral conduct and atheistic opinions upon the virtue and happiness of the community is such, that they would have a right, and it would be their duty, on the principle of self-preservation, to insist that they should be abandoned. When the infidels of France first began to promulgate their blasphemous and licentious

opinions, by the publication and circulation of tracts at an annual expense of £900,000, and to vote away her Sabbaths and burn her Bibles, can any one doubt, in view of the tremendous scenes which immediately followed, that it was the duty of that government to suppress those efforts by the strong arm of physical power? Dare any one insult our common sense so far, as gravely to insist that those infidels had a right thus to deluge that unhappy land of their nativity in the blood of its slaughtered citizens? But it is said that every man has a right to abstain from worshiping God. Who then can doubt, if this be so, that "the fool," who has said in his heart "there is no God," was, in that act, rendering as acceptable service to his Maker as Thomas was, when he exclaimed, "My Lord and my God?" If such rights are suitable to finite intelligences, what right had God to punish Lucifer, either for his rebellion or for seducing our first parents?

It may be said, however, that the learned Author of these extracts did not intend to concede the question of either natural or moral right, and we should certainly be very glad to believe it. But his language has been frequently quoted by the enemies of religion, in the sense in which we have hitherto treated it; and it must be very obvious that it is justly liable to that construction. For, if we are correctly informed, the enemies of truth, in his immediate vicinity, have already erected the standard of moral independence, and declared with unblushing effrontery, that all law is useless, government tyrannical, and good advice omnipotent. Suppose we should admit that he merely intended to claim that men had a *civil right* thus to do; it would still appear that even in this use of the term *right*, he has exposed himself among common readers who understand terms in their ordinary, rather than in the learned sense, to an interpretation which is equally unfortunate. They might very naturally infer,

from his language, that the civil government had actually conferred on men a power, the exercise of which was alike prohibited by Nature and by God ; whereas he could only have meant that, in the absence of civil legislation, men had the power thus to do, without violating any civil law. But in this also, he is equally mistaken ; the civil law does prohibit the publication of all opinions that are calculated to endanger the public morals ; and it also prohibits blasphemy, obscenity, and idolatry. The true questions, then, are,—Ought these laws to be continued ? or, in the language of Jefferson,—“ Is it wise to execute them ? ” On these questions the writer, quoted above, is understood to stand distinctly in the negative. Our answer to these questions will be given under a subsequent and general head.

In the next place, we are presented by the same writer with the still further question,—Ought the press to be left as free to do evil as it is to do good ? Here he takes his stand in the affirmative. Our answer must be postponed, however, until we have permitted some of his coadjutors to speak.

JUDICIAL CHARGE.—Our next quotation is from a distinguished civilian, being PART OF A JUDGE'S CIVIL CHARGE delivered to a Grand Jury, as copied by an Infidel :

“ The preamble of our State Constitution declares, WE, THE PEOPLE of the State of New York, do establish this constitution. The constitution thus established, ordains that ‘ every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right ; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. ’ The constitution explains what it means by the citizens being *responsible* for the abuse of this most inestimable right, by providing that no man shall be convicted by a Jury for a libel in thus speaking, writing, and publishing his sentiments on any subject, provided the Jury shall be satisfied

that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends. It is, therefore, evident that a citizen of New York is responsible for speaking, writing, and publishing his sentiments only to a jury of his country, and to no other man under heaven. This guarantee of freedom of discussion, which the people of this State have given to every citizen, extends equally to Religious and Political topics ; and it is impossible to conceive of any subject which we may not constitutionally discuss. The right is sacred, and no individual, whether magistrate or others, can interfere to prevent its exercise. Hence Infidels, and Christians, and politicians of every name and character, have an equal and undoubted right to publish their sentiments, and to endeavor to make converts to them. Of the abuse of this right, Grand Juries are, in the first instance, the only judges, and courts and juries are the only persons to whom the people have delegated the power of punishing it. Even the legislature cannot meddle with this right, and any law that might be passed to abridge, in the slightest degree, the freedom of speech or of the press, or to shield any one subject from discussion, would be utterly null and void ; and it would be the duty of every genuine Republican to resist, with energy and decision, so palpable a violation of the constitution, so audacious an outrage on the declared will of the people.”

This extract presents the same difficulty in reference to the use of the word *right*, as that which we have already noticed in the one that precedes it. The *People* do not confer the *right* of free discussion : they merely pledge themselves not to punish certain things. They cannot confer the right of violating the law of God. Another objectionable feature of the Judge’s opinion is, that his text does not bear out his commentary. The Constitution simply recognizes the natural right of free discussion ; and

while it prohibits any abridgement of that right by legislation, it expressly declares that men shall be held responsible for its abuse. But as there might be some contrariety of opinion, as to what should constitute an abuse of that right, it goes on to declare that no man should be convicted for publishing the truth with good motives, and for a justifiable end. It is manifest that this does not prohibit the punishment of men for the abuse of their natural rights in publishing that which is false, or even in publishing that which is true, provided the motives are malevolent. It could not have been the intention of this provision to justify a man in publishing scandalous falsehoods, merely because he believed them ;—no jury could possibly determine either as to the sincerity or honesty of that belief. It was intended to qualify the character of the publication, and not the sincerity or honesty of the publisher. When the Judge claimed that Infidels and Atheists have the same right to publish their opinions, and to endeavor to make converts to them, that Christians have, he was guilty of a great omission, therefore, in not adding, that either of them might, nevertheless, be punished for the publication of that which is false and licentious. The people do not pledge themselves to permit the publication of infidelity and atheism, unless it is true ; and as no unprejudiced mind can doubt that they are both false and licentious, it is evident that this claim is absolutely preposterous. Men have no natural right either to slander God, or to disobey his law.

ANOTHER JUDGE.—Infidels have also quoted another Judge, for a similar purpose, whose language, as reported by them, is still more inaccurate, and absolutely licentious :

“The Constitution says to all men who come here—behave civilly and decently—worship as you please, and when you please—or stay at home, and not worship at

all—argue—disprove the doctrines of others—be as zealous as you please in your own cause ; all we ask is, that you should not hold up to ridicule and reproach the religion we have been taught, and which we desire our children to reverence. You may advance your sentiments and say what you please, but do it decently ; do not reproach us, and make an obscene jest of religious faith. I admit that the Atheist, as well as any other man, has a right to hold and promulgate his opinions, and to make others believe them, if he can do so by decent discussion ; but he has no right to hold up the God we worship to contempt and ridicule.”

This language is not the language of a constitution : it is a mere commentary, and like some other commentaries, it is an entire departure from the text. The great object of all constitutions is, to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural and moral rights, and not to enlarge the field, either of natural or moral liberty. But no men in their senses would ever say, in framing such an instrument, that men have a natural or moral right to do wrong ; it would carry an absurdity on its very face ; and surely no civil constitution ever yet undertook to endorse the doctrines of atheism, as either natural or holy. It may not prohibit atheism ; but does it therefore license it ? If so, then all who were privy to its formation, and all who voluntarily live under it, are practically answerable for the consequences of downright personal atheism. A pledge that the freedom of speech and of the press should be preserved, is, in fact, nothing more than a simple declaration that no man should be disturbed or punished, for uttering, in any way, what he had a natural and moral right to speak and publish.

A DISTINGUISHED CLERGYMAN.—The following is from a distinguished Clergyman, and although it relates particularly to the Sabbath, it may have been intended as a

comment on the rights or duties of civil governments, to compel an observance of the laws of morality:—

“ We had no power, nor did we desire it, to compel a steam-boat to stop. But the power of principle must do it ; or we might as well employ a million of grave-diggers to bury our nation’s hopes, as the army of laborers on our lines of public conveyance, exiled from the conservative influence of the Sabbath, and the knowledge of the Word of God.”

This writer, if we understand him, takes the ground, either that civil governments have not the right to arrest the evils of Sabbath-breaking, by compelling their subjects, on that day, to abstain from secular labor ; or, else that, having the power, it is not expedient that they should exert it. He adopts, it would seem, substantially the same principle that was adopted by those from whom we have previously quoted, with the single exception that he has not, like them, set up the claim that men have a right to do wrong. They all unite in sanctioning the claim that it forms no part of the duty of civil governments to enforce the precepts of morality. To us it is a matter of astonishment, that men of intelligence and piety should so far forget themselves, as to sanction a principle of this nature. Human society, at best, embraces a most melancholy admixture of evil elements ; and even while God is binding down these elements with the chains of moral precept and physical restraint, we still have occasion to weep over its multiplying corruptions, with unceasing sorrow. Alas ! while infidelity is attempting to serve the one, and atheism the other, some of our friends—the friends of purity and virtue even—are seen to stand with uplifted hatchet, proffering their aid to the latter. With such auxiliaries, we need not the gift of prophecy to determine, that they must ultimately succeed. Nothing has tended so much to strengthen the hopes of infidelity, as

the prevalence of the doctrine, that good advice is the only instrument to be used, either in restraining men from the indulgence of their unsanctified passions and appetites, or in the conversion of the world. Nothing is so well calculated to sustain the lawless spirit of mobocracy and anarchy. When Christians begin to acknowledge that men have a right to adopt and propagate infidel sentiments—to worship God or idols—and to deny the Holy Scriptures, or believe in the Koran, it cannot be surprising that their adversaries should triumph. Nor is it at all surprising that men in the immediate vicinity of such writers have sprung up and formed associations, denying, as well the rights of civil government as the supremacy of law, whether human or Divine, and protesting against the Sabbath, and other religious institutions, as the relics of the dark ages. If God had taught such a doctrine, when He spoke from Mount Sinai, is it possible to believe that the children of Israel would have retained their allegiance for a single year? Would they have given the Word of Life to other nations? Certainly not. They would have blotted out the Bible; and the name, and attributes, and designs of Jehovah would have been for ever banished from the world.

THE TRUE GROUND.—But let us look at the other side of the question:—

DR. LYMAN BEECHER.—“They [the Washingtonians] were for doing everything by moral suasion. But the devil has never been driven out of the world by moral suasion. Mere moral suasion scares him but little. * * I give you this as my legacy.—*There must be law on this subject. I mean to say that those who will not stop selling [alcohol], must be compelled, by law, to give it up.*” These are truthful sayings.

We next quote from

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S.—“Congress shall

make no law respecting an establishment of Religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of Speech, or of the press." The obvious meaning of this clause, is, to guard against any attempt to erect a spiritual power in alliance with that of the state, like the Church Establishment of Great Britain. It secures to all the *Christian* denominations a *perfect* equality of rights, both civil and religious. No powers are given to Congress to meddle with the subjects of morality or Religion, or with the Freedom of Speech, or with the press; and as that body is purely a representative one, all power over these subjects is necessarily reserved in the hands of the State Governments, except so far as may relate to the District of Columbia, or other ceded Territories.

ARTICLE X.—“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the People.” It contains no provision limiting the rights of the State Governments; but they are perfectly free to legislate on these subjects according to their own discretion. “The United States shall guaranty to every State of this Union a Republican Form of Government; and shall protect,” &c.—(Sect. 4, Art. 4.) By this clause the several States are secured all the powers of independent Sovereignties, except in those matters which are expressly yielded to Congress; and among these reserved powers, are the right of controlling their own affairs, whether political, moral, or religious.

MASSACHUSETTS BILL OF RIGHTS.—“It is the right, as well as the duty of all men, in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the SUPREME BEING, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshiping God, in the manner and sea-

son most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or of his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.”—Art. 2.

JUDGE WILD, in commenting upon this passage, says, “It is manifest that the denial of the existence of God is not a religious profession or sentiment, but is wholly irreligious and impious. The foundation of all religious sentiments, is the belief in the existence of a Deity, or some Controlling Power over human affairs, and the destinies of men.” He might also have added, that a belief that God is a moral Governor, and that men are accountable to him for their conduct is equally essential; without such a belief there could be no such thing as a religious or moral sentiment. This article relates to the “Supreme Being,” and declares it to be the duty of men to worship the God of the Bible, and not the Pagan’s god.

THE CONSTITUTION OF OHIO, Sect. 3, says, “That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of conscience; that no human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience,” &c. The right is limited to the worship of “Almighty God,” and does not extend to an *idol*. It must be, too, “according to the dictates of conscience.” Conscience uncontaminated never dictates the worship of an idol, nor that it is immaterial whether we worship at all. If “no human authority can in any case interfere with the rights of conscience,” which is almost a self-evident proposition, let no disbeliever in the Scriptures attempt to interfere with that right in those who desire to worship their Divine Creator. It cannot be too often repeated, that a pure, enlightened conscience is always on the side of the true God, and of the Bible. It is never on the side of idolatry, infidelity, or immorality. It is a heavenly monitor which God has placed in every

man's bosom, to urge him to do right, and to deter him from doing wrong. It is the voice of God in man, and unless hushed by prejudice or passion, is ever reiterating the command, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

Sect. 6. . . .—"Every Citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write, or print, upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty." Some of the abuses of that "liberty," as defined by statutes, are, the writing or speaking against God, and his word, and licentious language and prints, which tend to corrupt the public morals.

Judge Wild, speaking of the Bill of Rights of Massachusetts, says, "It does prohibit blasphemous libels, denying the existence of the Deity, his creation, government, and final judging of the world; and the exposing the Holy Scriptures to contempt and ridicule, which cannot fail to shock all pious, well-disposed Christians, and to poison the minds and corrupt the morals of the young, the ignorant, and the thoughtless. And what reasonable man will say that such prohibition is unreasonable, unconstitutional, or unnecessary."

CHANCELLOR KENT, of New York, speaking of the Constitution of that State, says, that "contumelious reproaches and profane ridicule of Christ, and the Sacred Scriptures, (which are treated as blasphemy), are offences punishable at common law. . . . And to scandalize the Author of the doctrines of Christianity is not only, in a religious point of view, extremely impious, but even, in respect to the obligation due to society, is a gross violation of decency and good order. . . . The Constitution does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality, . . . but they are punishable, because they strike at the root of moral obligation, and weaken the security of social ties. . . . Are we not a Christian

people? Do not ninety-nine hundredths of our fellow-citizens hold the general truths of the Bible to be dear and sacred? To attack them with ribaldry and malice, in the presence of those very believers, must, and ought to be, a serious public offence. It disturbs, and annoys, and offends, and shocks, and corrupts the public taste. The common law, as applied to correct such profanity, is the application of common reason and natural justice to the security of the peace and good order of society. The Court of King's Bench said that Christianity was part and parcel of the law, and to cast contumelious reproaches upon it, tended to weaken the foundation of moral obligation and the efficacy of oaths. And in the case of Wolston, the Court would not suffer it to be debated whether defaming Christianity in general, was not an offence at common law, for whatever strikes at the root of Christianity, tends manifestly to the dissolution of civil governments. But the Court were careful to say, that they did not intend to include disputes between learned men upon particular controverted points. The same doctrine was laid down in the case of the King *vs.* Williams, for the publishing of Paine's *Age of Reason*."

The argument of the Chancellor is this, why do we not need the application of this rule in this country as much as it was needed in England? Since all such conduct tends to corrupt the morals of the community, and to shake the basis of our institutions, why is not this rule as necessary *now*, as it ever was? Such conduct, he says, if allowed, "would go to confound all distinction between things sacred and profane; for to use the words of one of the greatest oracles of human wisdom, 'profane scoffing doth by little deface the reverence for religion. . . . Two principal causes have I ever known of atheism—curious controversies and profane scoffing.' Things which corrupt moral sentiment . . . have upon the same principle

been held indictable, and shall we form an exception in these particulars to the rest of the civilized world? No government among any of the polished nations of antiquity, and none of the institutions of modern Europe (a single and monitory case excepted), ever hazarded such a bold experiment upon the solidity of the public morals, as to permit with impunity, and under the sanction of their tribunals, the general religion of the community to be openly insulted and defamed. [And it might have been added, even Heathen, Pagan, and Mohammedan countries have never allowed it.] The very idea of jurisprudence, with the ancient lawgivers and philosophers, embraced the religion of the country. We are a Christian people, and the majority of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity. . . . Though the Constitution has discarded religious establishments, it does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality which have no reference to such establishments, but are punishable, because they strike at the root of moral obligation, and weaken the security of the social ties." *The liberty of the conscience*, as in the Constitution, he says, "should not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of this State. . . . The *statute for preventing immorality* consecrates the first day of the week as holy time, and considers the violation of it as immoral. This was only the continuation, in substance, of a law of the colony, which declares that the profanation of the Lord's day, was 'the great scandal of the Christian faith.'"

THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA, in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Updegraff, says, "Christianity, general Christianity is, and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania. . . . No society can tolerate a wilful and spiteful attempt to subvert its religion, any more than it would to break down its laws;" that is,

“ a general, malicious, and deliberate intent to overthrow Christianity, general Christianity.” . . . “ The species of offences may be classed under the following heads : 1st, denying the being and providence of God ; 2nd, contumelious reproaches of Jesus Christ, profane and malevolent scoffing at the Scriptures, or exposing any part of them to contempt and ridicule ; 3rd, certain immoralities tending to subvert all religion and morality, which are the foundation of all governments. Without these restraints, no free government could long exist. It is liberty run mad, to declaim against the punishment of these offences, or to assert that the punishment is hostile to the spirit and genius of our government. They are far from being the friends of liberty, who support this doctrine, and the promulgation of such opinions, and general receipt of them among the people, would be the sure forerunner of anarchy, and finally of despotism. No free government now exists unless it be where Christianity is acknowledged, and is the religion of the country. It is impossible to administer the laws without taking the religion which the defendant in error has scoffed at, that Scripture which he has reviled, as their basis. An oath in the common form on a discredited book, would be a most idle ceremony. It is only the malicious reviler of Christianity who is punished.”

JUDGE THATCHER, of Massachusetts, is equally explicit. “ If an individual may be severely punished for publishing a base and injurious slander against a fellow-citizen, it would seem to be a great defect in the law of a well-regulated State, if there were no punishment for him who should maliciously slander Almighty God. There is nothing in the Constitution or laws of this Commonwealth which permits any one, with impunity, to publish an obscene and impious libel, reflecting on the Supreme Being and the Christian Religion. To tolerate the free

circulation of such productions, would prove that they [those who formed such laws,] were not sincere men." And who would not say the same? If we believe our religion to be true, we cannot tolerate such things any more than we would similar attacks upon our laws relating to fornication, obscenity in any of its forms, or theft, or robbery, or perjury. Do we know our religion to be true? Why, then, should we suffer Infidels, Atheists, and scoffers to pervert, and labor to bring it into disrepute? Truth cannot be made *more true* by uttering falsehoods against it; nor can silver be made brighter by covering it with filth and smoke. The course of infidelity, like that of the locust, is marked with ruin, and followed by death.

"To reproach the Christian Religion, is to speak in subversion of the law." (CHIEF JUSTICE HALE.)

"Christianity in general, is part of the common law." (LORD RAYMOND.)

"Prior to the statutes, blasphemy was an offence at common law." (LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.)

JUDGE PARKER, of Massachusetts, says, "Religion is part of the common law. Whatever is against Religion is against the common law. . . . Blasphemy is punishable by common law. . . . Christianity as well as the law of nature have ever been considered as parts of the common law."*

Since our Constitution and government are based upon general Christianity, it is obvious that every attempt to loosen its hold upon the public conscience may be justly characterized as an attempt to undermine and revolutionize the State. It is a species of High Treason, and ought to be prohibited. No man has a right, either natural or moral, to publish any opinions or arguments that are calculated to unsettle the public faith or to weaken the moral power of the Gospel: and having no right thus to do, he

* For further authorities to these points, see "Kingsbury on the Sabbath."

has no reason to complain when government bars up the way of transgression with appropriate penalties. The right of free discussion and liberty of conscience cannot be involved by any such prohibition, for in reference to the thing prohibited, they never had any existence. That civil governments have a right to prohibit any publication or action which would endanger the peace, happiness, purity, safety, or prosperity of the community, is a proposition which has never been disproved. It is a right that is founded in natural justice, and is perfectly analogous to the natural right of self-preservation.

No man with half an eye can avoid seeing, at the present day, that the circulation of infidel or scurrilous and licentious books and pamphlets, infidel lectures, and profane scoffing, are the very primest instruments of anarchy and confusion; and that whenever they are tolerated, they become the immediate precursors of intestine war, domestic pollution, and political assassination. What were their effects in France? What was it that deluged that beautiful kingdom with moral corruption and human blood? By whom was produced her unprecedented licentiousness in manners and in morals, and her disregard of human rights and of human life? There is but one answer to these questions; it was infidelity—her 100,000,000 of tracts published and circulated annually. To her sneering and scoffing pamphlets, and infidel lectures, we are compelled to ascribe the entire work of the French Revolution. Infidelity has claimed the honor of its triumphs; and she must ultimately reap the fearful reward of its crimes. If the eye of cool philosophy, in the person of the sagacious Franklin, could discover the dangers of these terrible engines before their history was written in the blood of their victims, and extort from him the exclamation, “don’t unchain the Tiger:” how strange is that effrontery which can now demand the liberty of re-

viving their influence, and of wrapping the entire race again in sackcloth and mourning! Shall such influences be tolerated by law? Reason, conscience, humanity, self-respect, self-preservation, the Law of Nature, of God, all unite in pronouncing the emphatic No.

Will it be published to the universe in the day of final adjudication, that Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, Robespierre, Diderot, D'Alembert, and others, their coadjutors, were doing what they had a right to do when they undermined, by their unchristian sentiments, the public morals and religious belief of their countrymen—or that it was right in them to do what resulted in the exile or utter extinguishment of the pious and law-abiding—to declare that it was right to say there is no God but reason—that death was an eternal sleep, and in burning the Bible, abrogating the Sabbath, and enthroning the goddess of reason, they violated no law? Can they plead with the hope of success in that day, that they were merely exercising a right—the liberty of speech or of the press? Will it not be proved rather, that they were justly chargeable with all the evils felt by themselves or others, which have resulted from their unholy and inhuman conduct?

Had God a right to institute civil governments? and when He had done so, had He a right to require them, as He did the Jews, to punish men, with physical penalties, for the breach of either of the commands contained in the first table of his law? Had He a right to place every member of the human family under the commands, “Thou shalt have no other God before me. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy?” If God possessed the right to make these laws, it is certainly wrong for any one to violate them. They are associated with our relations to him as individuals, and as long as the relationship con-

tinues, so long will these laws continue to be in force and binding upon the conscience. God has done all that He can consistently do, by the exhibition of motives, by declaring the consequences of their violation, and by the institution of civil governments—to secure their entire observance; and if civil governments are, indeed, “*his ministers for good,*” it is unquestionably their duty to do all *they* can for the accomplishment of the same end. The sword of civil justice under the Jewish Theocracy, was wielded by men who acted under his immediate authority, as the temporal as well as spiritual Head of their nation, in pursuance of Law which He had enacted; and when any case arose involving any doubt as to the appropriate penalty, the Jewish leaders were in the habit of appealing to him for specific instructions, which were uniformly imparted. Since that period, the sword of temporal magistracy has been committed to communities acting through their representatives, but under the license and authority of God, and under laws of their own creation—founded upon the legislation of the Bible, and upon the examples which it exhibits. Its chief design at the present day is precisely what it was under the Jewish dispensation—to influence men to do right and prevent them from doing wrong. If civil governments have no right, at the present day, to prevent men from profaning the name of God, or from contemning him or his word, why did He set us the example of so doing, by causing it to be done under laws of his own enactment, by the Jews? Was He then unjust? Are we under a slighter degree of obligation to him than that under which they lived? Nearly all the States of the Union have laws already which relate to the first table of the Decalogue, and which prohibit blasphemy, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, etc., but if God had no right to require the Jews to set us the example, it may be true that these laws are oppressive and wrong;

and that we have no right to punish many immoralities which are declared to be such both by God and man. But if men have a *right* to become Infidels, and worship idols, and blaspheme the God of heaven, and contemn his word and ordinances, what right has God to enact the law "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, etc." ? This doctrine if carried out would upset the whole of moral government, whether human or Divine: and we should have nothing left but *good advice*. But why should we be troubled with advice even? Is not the thing which men have a right to do, right in itself?

Are not the actions of which we are speaking injurious to the best interests of society? Is it not injurious to public morals for a man to say and teach publicly, that he does not believe in God, or in the Bible, or in Christ? Does it not tend to lessen the weight of personal obligation? Influences of this kind are expressly prohibited by God, and they are theoretically prohibited by all men. All nations have had laws protecting their religion and their sacred books. Does the Mohammedan ever complain of the laws which protect the Koran? Complaints of this nature come only from those who desire to do that which they know to be wrong, and to escape from their responsibility as subjects of God's moral government. God has, therefore, held up the Jewish municipal code to the world, as an example, from which other nations, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, have already gathered all they know of legislation, whether civil or criminal. In that code there were various enactments, designed, as well for the protection of the first table of the Decalogue as the second—as well to prevent men from openly violating their duty to God, as to keep them from trespassing upon the rights of their fellow-men. It had been fully demonstrated by the previous history of the world, that *unbelief* and consequent idolatry were the grand progenitors of all

other crimes ; that men who would not believe in the spiritual sanctions of a future world, could not be restrained by the influence of good advice merely—and that so long men were permitted to violate with temporal impunity their duty to God, they could not be kept from being corrupted, and corrupting each other, with regard to all their obligations connected with social life. All the precepts of the Decalogue were, therefore, incorporated with the civil code, and the Jews were required to inflict the penalty of death upon those who would not submit themselves to the external observance of the first table of that code, as well as upon those who violated the second. God had a right to enact these laws ; and He has a right to require the universal observance of them. “ His *Dominion*,” says Buck, “ is his absolute right and authority over all his creatures, to do with them as He pleases. It is distinguished from his *power*, thus : his *dominion* is a right of making what He pleases, and possessing what He makes, and of disposing of what He doth possess ; whereas his *power* is an ability to make what He hath a right to create, to hold what He doth possess, and to execute what He hath purposed or resolved. His sovereignty is his power and right of dominion over his creatures, to dispose and determine them as seemeth him good.” Now, since God created men, intelligent, moral, and accountable, and placed them here in a state of trial, the perfections of his nature and attributes impelled him to do all He could, without destroying or impairing their free agency—to secure them from those courses of action that are opposed to the relations of his moral government. If He had left them immediately after their creation without law, and without his watchful supervision, the entire universe must have at once felt that He had manifested a reckless indifference to their happiness, and a most strange disregard for the stability of his kingdom. But He gave them

a law, which is the only perfect rule of right ; and when they refused to yield to its requirements, He instituted the physical penalties of municipal law, that He might, as far as possible, counteract the influence of unbelief, and arrest the progress of its accumulating seductions.

DOMESTIC CONSTITUTION.—God has secured, by means of the Domestic Constitution, the administration of a system of parental government, employing the preceptive instructions of law, enforced by physical penalties ; and He requires parents by the use of both these influences to restrain their children from all violations of moral or social duty. Civil governments, not less than parental, seem to stand as his representatives for the purpose of enforcing so much of his law as relates to all those actions which are calculated to promote the prevalence of “general Christianity,” and to hinder and obstruct the progress or perpetuation of sin ; and they are required, of course, in some shape, to take cognizance of every evil influence, whether developed in actual crime, or consisting simply of inducements to unbelief, or to vice. They are bound, not less than parents (for they seem to stand in relation to communities somewhat similar to them), to restrain that liberty, falsely so called, which tends to the destruction of good morals, or to impair the influence of our holy religion ; and they may employ for that purpose, both good advice and preceptive law ; but they cannot decline the use of appropriate, physical penalties, without placing themselves in the attitude of denying their allegiance and obligations to God. The necessity of civil governments resulted from human depravity. Suppose they were abandoned, and God should undertake to govern the world without them, what would be the consequence ? If there were no other punishments than those which are reserved for the great day of final account, it is needless to say that the world would give itself up to work out all

manner of abominations. This experiment has been sufficiently illustrated in the history of the antediluvians; and they became so unmanageable and vile, that God found it necessary to come out in his fury, and "cast them down to Hell." But suppose that He should now follow up every transgression of his law with the infliction, by his own hand, of immediate death. The earth would be as effectually depopulated as it was by the flood; for "there is none that doeth good, no, not one." But if this infliction were only occasional, or were reserved for particular transgressions, how clearly certain it is, from past experience, that men in their unbelief, would refuse to recognize the hand of God. They would account for these things as they now do, by hiding themselves in the mysterious labyrinths of physical causation. God was therefore under a moral necessity of calling to his aid some other element of moral power; and having selected that of civil government, it is perfectly clear that the "powers that be," are "his ministers;" and that they were designed to act as his coadjutors in carrying out the grand purposes of his moral administration.

CIVIL GOVERNMENTS, then, were designed to coöperate with and aid the Divine Administrator to keep wicked men, and moral outlaws, from destroying themselves and others, and to make them happy and useful here, and happy hereafter. No one of the ten commandments can be violated, without involving injury to the transgressor and to others, nor without counteracting in some degree the chief design of civil government.

BUT INFIDELS SAY that the people have no right to make laws, in reference to religion, binding upon those who do not believe in it. "The authority of your religion, and the morality which you acknowledge," say they, "forbid idolatry, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, etc. But we have a right to worship a thousand gods, or none at all, to use

what language we please, to have as many wives, and cohabit with as many women as we please ; and to keep or break the Sabbath, for none of these things are inconsistent with *our* religion. We have as good a right to our religion, as you have to yours ; and our morality is as good as your morality." But all wise legislators and God himself are against such sentiments. The principle of benevolence alone indicates the necessity that these evils should be prevented ; and if good advice will not do it, He then demands the application of physical force. It is not pretended that civil governments can take cognizance of the heart : they cannot compel men to believe in God, or his word, or to exercise faith in the Savior. Neither can they force men to love God, or holy things, or to hate, or repent of sin. These things are spiritual, and they must be spiritually discerned. We cannot control mind by physical force ; as well might we undertake to control the planets by persuasion, or by the terrors of a future judgment. Mind is moved by motive : and hence moral influence is the only means which we are permitted to use, in order to bring it into a state of reconciliation with God. Yet, when this influence does not *keep* men from *doing* and *saying* things against Christ and his Gospel, or from blaspheming or perverting its truths, we are bound to resort to the civil law and its penalties as the only remaining means of preventing the consequences which naturally result from such conduct. The government of the heart must be left to God ; yet we are to endeavor to purify it by the influence of truth, and preceptive law and motive. But in reference to the utterance of false and dangerous opinions, and in reference to all external conduct whose tendency is evil, we have a right to resort to the power of civil legislation sanctioned by civil penalties. In the latter case, both are to be employed. Thus a father

cannot force his child to love God, but he can and should prevent him from committing overt acts of wickedness.

If men were in a state of innocence, and had no particular propensities inciting them to sin, they might still need a preceptive law; for they are finite, and no finite mind can fully comprehend the remote consequences of its own volitions. But the penalties of law would be inoperative except as instruments of moral suasion. The New Testament dispensation as much requires the aid of civil law, as did the Old. Neither the nature, nor relations, nor obligations of men, have been changed by it; nor has it changed any of our inclinations or propensities. It has shed around our pathway, through time, a clearer and brighter light to guide us in the way to heaven; yet, as most men still refuse to "come to the light lest their deeds should be reprov'd," it cannot with any degree of propriety be pretended that it has done away the necessity of law.

God has set up a kingdom in the world, which must and will prevail. He has given the laws and examples by which it is to be governed, and communities are to see that they are properly enforced and obeyed. If they neglect those means which He has put into their hands for the express purpose of curbing and controlling the wicked passions of men, and of bringing them into subjection to his will, they do it at their peril. He will hold them responsible, not only for all the evils which may result from their neglect, but also for the loss of all the happiness and virtue which would have resulted from their faithfulness. Sin, in all its varieties and aggravations is equally the enemy of God and man, and must be driven from the world. So long as there is a being on earth that has sinned, and that can be influenced to turn away from his sins, so long must he be warned and exhorted to flee from the wrath to come, both by precept and example; and while

there remains one who refuses to turn, the interests of the whole world unite in demanding that there should be no exemption from the restraints of civil governments. The entire human family were ruined by the seductions of a single fallen spirit, and on the same principle the conduct of a single human sinner, if unrestrained, might clothe the world anew in sackcloth.

Some may argue, perhaps, that inasmuch as God has condescended to expostulate and entreat, He intends, therefore, to cease to command. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." "Come let us reason together." "Testify against me," etc., are mere expostulations addressed to men as *free agents*. If a father should say to a rebellious child, "my son, your conduct is ungrateful. Have I done anything to deserve this at your hand? Come testify against me, and then disown me;" no one but a madman or a fool could think of accusing him of surrendering his lawful right to control the conduct of his child. So although God sometimes addresses men, as free agents, in the language of expostulation, yet He never loses sight of the fact, that they are under law, and are justly amenable to its penalty. He allows them a freedom of choice, but when they have chosen, and chosen wrongly, and will not return to their allegiance, He pours upon them the full measure of punishment which their iniquities have deserved.

All men who believe in the Bible have a natural and moral right, which should be secured to them, reverently and freely to discuss its doctrines and precepts, with a view of arriving at a legitimate interpretation of its contents. So unbelievers even may honestly state objections, with the view of having their minds enlightened, and of being convinced of the truth. Among the most intelligent readers of the Bible, who have settled the all-important fact in their own minds, that it is a REVELATION FROM

God, there is often a considerable diversity of opinion in regard to some of its less important features, and hence the Christian Church, even, is divided into sects. It is obvious, then, that in regard to all such matters, it is proper that men should have the liberty of speaking, writing, and publishing their sentiments, and by all honest and proper means of proselyting others to their peculiar belief; for in this there is not, when properly conducted, any tendency to immorality. But as to the great facts and doctrines of general Christianity, the case is very different. There never has been any difficulty, and never can be any, in regard to the true meaning of the leading principles of Bible religion, any more than there is about Bible morality. Even infidelity herself has never attempted to deny that they are taught by the Bible, in the same sense, in which they are received by all Christian denominations. They do not deny that the Bible teaches, for instance, that God is the moral Governor of the Universe—that He requires men to love, fear, serve, and obey him, in spirit and in truth—nor that it professes to be a rule of action for our government. No man, whether a professed Christian, Infidel, Deist, or Atheist, has a right in any way to blaspheme the name, attributes, or character of God, or publicly to call in question or attempt to disprove the inspiration of his Word; or ridicule or make light of it, or to attempt by any mode of reasoning whatever, to disseminate or promulgate opinions that are opposed to the great fact of man's accountability to God as a moral Governor, or that are calculated to loosen the moral basis of our free institutions. All such conduct is hostile both to general Christianity and morality, as well as to the well-being of human society; and it should be prohibited by the strong arm of physical restraint. Men will form their own opinions and we cannot prevent it. But we can and should prevent

the dissemination of opinions and principles which would involve us in ruin.

Some very good people have feared, that if laws were constructed and carried into effect upon the principles here suggested, we should create such a state of things as would result in a persecution of the Christian Church. "If we set the example," say they, "of imposing such restraints, when Infidels and Atheists become so numerous as to constitute a numerical majority, they will make laws depriving *us* of our dearest privileges." To this we have several answers. In the first place, if the day ever arrives when these men have the power in their own hands, they will never stop to look for examples. Persecution is the very highest element of their creed. They never yet had the ascendancy in any country, without showing the bitterest hostility to the religion of the Bible, and they probably, never will; we might as well say of a roaming, hungry tiger, that we will not chain him, lest he should by and by, get loose and devour us. In the next place, we are in search of duty; and whatever God requires of us, we must do, and leave with him the consequences. But we insist that those fears are altogether idle. Yet if they were real, we might still ask, under what instrumentality should we be most likely to avoid so calamitous a result? Would it be when in the use of every means which God has put into our hands for the very purpose of preventing it, or when we sit down inactively, and suffer them to go on with their work without impediment?

We have said that learned and good men differ in regard to many of the minor points of Theology, although they all agree upon the general principles, both of Religion and morality; and that the different sects of Christians are built upon some of those points that are the subjects of honest, though often of trifling controversy. No one of these different denominations of Christians then, should

have any rights or privileges that are not common to them all. Our arguments point only to "general Christianity," and the *secular arm can never be entrusted with sectarian interests without incurring the danger of Spiritual Despotism*. But by leaving these sects entirely and equally free to disseminate their peculiar sentiments, every such danger will be avoided.

All men should have the unrestrained liberty of doing and saying, whatever God has either commanded or permitted; and any greater degree of liberty than that is "liberty run mad"—it is the liberty of licentiousness. We cannot prevent men from *believing* whatever they please, any more than we could prevent the heart of the fool from concluding "there is no God," although *he durst not*, for the life of him, *express* it with his lips. Yet we can restrain those practices which necessarily flow from a wrong belief, and this is our duty. We might just about as well permit lewdness, and blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking, and gambling, and robbery, and murder, as to suffer Infidels and Atheists, by publishing their sentiments, to undermine the only principles by which these vices can be kept in check. No greater liberty than what we have here advocated will ever be claimed by any reasonable man, unless he has already deeply partaken of the bitter waters of infidelity or vice. No one can wish for any other liberty, unless it is the liberty of sinning.

The principles which we have here advanced have been already adopted by all civil governments in regard to many departments of human conduct; but it may be profitable that they should be more minutely examined and illustrated. In doing this, we shall give the sentiments of some other writers as well as our own.

LICENSE LAW.—We quote the following from the writings of REV. JUSTIN EDWARDS, D. D., relating to the License Laws of Massachusetts :

“The first argument is, that every man, if he can make money by it, has a right to sell as much ardent spirits, to be used as a drink, as he pleases; and of course that all laws which prohibit persons from doing this, when and where they please, are unconstitutional.

“The premise, in this case is an error, and of course, the conclusion which is drawn from it is false. The argument takes it for granted, that a man has a right to sell anything by which he can make money; or else, that his selling ardent spirits, to be used as a drink, is not injurious to the public; neither of which is true. Has a man a right to sell LICENTIOUS PICTURES, if he can make money by it? Has he a right to sell LOTTERY TICKETS, if he can make money by it? Has he a right to sell COUNTERFEIT COIN, if he can make money by it? Has he a right to sell CONTAGION and DEATH, and increase, all around him, nuisances to the community, if he can make money by it? No more has he a right to sell, indiscriminately, ardent spirit, to be used as a drink, if his doing it is injurious to the public. Every man is bound, by obligations which no legislation can cancel, ‘so to use his own as not to injure others.’ The indiscriminate sale of ardent spirits, to be used as a drink, does injure the community. All present and all past legislation on this subject admits the position; and all the facts with regard to it prove that the position is true. The indiscriminate selling of ardent spirit, to be used as drink, by all persons who choose to do it, is injurious to the community; and of course, persons, for the sake of money, or for any other reasons have no right to pursue it. The public good forbids it, and it is not unconstitutional for the laws of the land to forbid it. The preamble to your supposed repeal of all laws on this subject, Mr. Editor, admits, and strongly asserts, the truth that the public good forbids this traffic. This may be a reason and a good reason, why the law should not license it: but is it any

good reason why it should not forbid it? Numerous legislatures, in view of facts, have come to the conclusion that the sale of lottery tickets is injurious to the community; and that the licensing of the traffic in them is wrong. But did they repeal all laws, and say, 'public opinion will regulate the trade?' Or did they say, as it is wrong, and highly injurious to the community, &c., &c., therefore 'all laws are repealed?' No, Sir, they acted more as if they were guardians of the public welfare; and as if, when wicked men, for the sake of money, would in violation of all right injure the community, they, as good men and faithful to their trust, would defend that community. And may they not and ought they not to defend it from the still greater evils of the indiscriminate traffic in ardent spirit, when the facts show that this traffic is vastly more injurious than the other to the great interests of men? And may we not suppose that an enlightened public sentiment, and a due regard to the good of their constituents, will lead all legislators to this result?"

After enumerating many of the evils which result to the community from this traffic, the same writer continues as follows:

"All this is so much injury done to the community. Of course no man has a moral right to pursue the business which produces it, and no one can do this without violating that fundamental principle of common law, to which I referred; and so using his own as tends to injure the community. Nor is the injury lessened or the guilt of it diminished, by the consideration that this injury is not effected without the voluntary agency of other persons. This is true when a man sells *lottery tickets*, keeps a *gambling house*, or a *brothel*; or when he manufactures *counterfeit money* for the purpose of getting others knowingly to circulate it. But this does not lessen the injury or diminish the guilt. When a man offers a sum of money

for the purpose of procuring a ROBBERY to be committed, the evil to the person or to the community will not be effected without the voluntary agency of another ; but that does not diminish the injury or lessen the guilt of him who is instrumental in producing it. But it is said that the RUM-SELLER does not mean to injure the buyer, but only to get his money. So it may be said of the highway robber in many cases, that he does not mean to injure the person whom he robs, but only to get his money. But the fact is, that it is an injury, both to them and the community. The difference in the cases is this : in one case it is gotten according to human laws ; in the other case, in violation of law. But in both cases the injury is done. And in both, it is done in violation of the laws of God. And in one respect the rum-seller does a greater injury than the robber. The robber leaves unharmed the character of his victim, and the rum-seller is often instrumental in destroying it, and in bringing upon the family and connections of his victim woes from which the highway robber leaves them free. * * *

“ It exceedingly deteriorates the morals of the community, and counteracts to a great extent the influence of all means for the intellectual elevation, the moral purity and the social, civil, and religious benefits of men ; and is the cause of a great portion of all the sin and misery which afflict society. Of course, the traffic in ardent spirit to be used as a drink ought *never* to be licensed ; nor ought the community to be left unprotected by legislation, from the numerous and aggravated evils which this IMMORAL traffic is adapted to bring, and if continued, inevitably will bring upon it. And it is respectfully and earnestly commended to the serious and candid consideration of all, whether those persons who still continue to prosecute it, and thus to injure the community, ought not, in justice, to remunerate that community for the evils which they are

instrumental in bringing upon it. And also whether, should those evils be continued, the community are not justly entitled to legislative protection and defence.

“In asking the abolition of this traffic, we do not propose to introduce any new principle into legislation. We ask only for the application of a principle, long acted upon and universally acknowledged, to a new case. We only ask that the government would protect its citizens against the evils which they suffer from the traffic in question, as it already protects them against other evils of far inferior magnitude. We ask, in short, only that the action of the government shall be in accordance with its principles.

“Principles are, sometimes, best illustrated by examples. Suffer me to refer to a few.

“A man has a stream of water upon his own land. He ERECTS A DAM which stagnates it, and occasions a pestilential atmosphere. This is a criminal offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

“Again—a man exercises, in a city or populous town, a lawful trade (*tanning or slaughtering* animals), which occasions an effluvia disagreeable to his neighbor. This is a misdemeanor indictable and punishable as a public offence. Now, whence in this case arises the guilt? The trade itself is lawful—it may indeed be beneficial to the community—and injures nobody. Yet because it is simply offensive to the senses of those who live within the atmosphere affected by it, the law does not tolerate it, but punishes it criminally.”

Let us here add a few cases of governmental restraint which this writer has omitted, but which have received the sanction, nevertheless, of universal usage. QUARANTINE LAWS may be cited as directly in point. They had their origin in the provisions of the Jewish code, relating to Leprosy.—See Lev. : 13. Whenever a vessel arrives

from any part of the world, where a pestilential disease is prevailing, it is the uniform practice of all governments to arrest it while yet off their coast, and to prevent all communication between it and the shore. They send on board a vigilant health officer who, in case of any danger to the public health, subjects all on board to a rigid quarantine, perhaps of months, before they are permitted to have access to any person on shore. He also compels a general purification of the ship and cargo.

Take another case. A man under ordinary circumstances, when traveling, has a right to use any part of a public road ; but if he meet the vehicle of another traveler, the law compels him to TURN TO THE RIGHT, and yield up at least one half of the highway. The law also prohibits men from RUNNING CARRIAGES OR HORSES in our cities and villages, or on any public road. They are also prevented by severe penalties from RIDING OR DRIVING upon SIDEWALKS, even when necessary to personal comfort. So a man is prohibited from riding or driving rapidly over PUBLIC BRIDGES. He is often compelled, too, to pay TOLL for the right of passing on particular roads and bridges. These provisions are adopted, simply because the public good requires it. Dr. Edwards continues as follows :

“ Take another case. A man keeps a large quantity of GUNPOWDER situated in a city or village. This is also a misdemeanor punishable by our laws ; not that there is anything abstractly immoral in a traffic in gunpowder—not that the making of it a subject of merchandise is contrary to any rule of public policy—not that it is criminal to keep it in small quantities in his shop or store, even in the most public or populous places—but because the accumulation of it in large quantities, in localities of much resort, exposes the public to danger ; and disquiets the public mind by exciting apprehensions. This is the reason why our law has given it the character of a public offence.

“Again—a SHAMELESS FELLOW, disregarding public manners, runs naked through our streets. This act of indecency is a criminal offence, punishable by our common law. The laws do not, indeed, assume to prescribe the particular form or color of his garments; their material, or the fineness of their texture. But they do require that he shall be decently dressed. They do not assume to control him in this respect, when beyond the range of human observation; but they rightfully claim to protect the public morals from corruption, by punishing an act which outrages the common decencies of life. The act, in this case, it will be observed, works no physical injury to any one. It injures no man’s health; it affects no man’s property, it touches no man’s liberty. It is a case in which the law exercises a pure moral censorship over the actions of men; a case in which it acts simply as the guardian and protector of moral virtue; and where, to accomplish its purpose, it restrains the natural liberty of the citizen. It is a case in which I offer as a proof, that legislation, with the sole view to preserve the purity of public morals, is one of the legitimate functions of the law-making power; and that it is sometimes expedient to abridge the natural liberty of men to effect that important and salutary end.

“The keeping of HOUSES FOR VICIOUS PRACTICES, are high misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Offences against mere morality constitute, indeed, a numerous class; and the infliction of punishment for them serves to illustrate, in the most satisfactory manner, the supervisory and conservatory power of the government over the public morals.

“Take another example. An individual sells UNSOUND PROVISIONS, knowing them to be such.

“Though this is strictly a private injury, and the laws therefore have provided for it a private remedy by a civil action, yet it is also an indictable offence. In this in-

stance, the law asserts the power of guardianship over the public health; and punishes, as a misdemeanor, the act which has a tendency to injure it. If it be then the appropriate office of the laws, to protect the public health; why should not protection be extended to every case in which that health is seriously injured? I appeal to the candor of all, if the traffic in ardent spirits be not a more prolific cause of injury to health, than the selling of unsound provisions—an act so seldom done, because so easily detected? Whence, then, the propriety of the distinction between the causes which produce it? Why make one a misdemeanor and not the other also?

“The HEALTH LAWS afford another example of the same power exercised for the protection of the public health. And it is remarkable with what vigor these laws are required to be enforced. The business—the property—and even the health of individuals are absolutely sacrificed to the public security. Yet no one objects to the propriety and expediency of those laws. No one complains that the legislature has exceeded its powers, and unconstitutionally invaded the rights of the citizen. Individual rights, in all such cases, must necessarily yield to the paramount rights of the public. The public good must be promoted, though in doing it individuals may suffer. * * *

“I will mention but one case more—that of LOTTERIES. The lottery system was not a new evil. Like the traffic in ardent spirits it had existed for a long period. Like that traffic, also, it existed under the authority and countenance of law. The traffic to which it gave rise, like the traffic in spirituous liquors, amounted annually to several millions of dollars in this State alone. The community in general had long looked upon this traffic, as they have looked upon that in ardent spirits, as a lawful and virtuous employment. They viewed it, however, as

they were accustomed to view the business of rum-selling, only in one aspect, and that the most favorable. They viewed it, not so much in its relation to morals as in its relation to business. But its evils, at last, became manifest, and awakened public solicitude. It withdrew men from regular employment; it induced idleness and the vices consequent upon it; and it promoted a spirit of gambling. And the Legislature, with a noble and patriotic firmness, resolved to protect community against these evils by making a signal example of the whole system. They did not undertake to regulate. They saw that its evils, like the evils of rum-selling, could not be obviated by regulation. They abolished—they abolished the whole system, and all the commerce which the lapse of years had superinduced upon it. They laid the axe at the root of the tree, and extirpated both root and branch for ever. * * *

“By this act the Legislature asserts, as distinctly and emphatically as if it had declared it in so many words, that public morals and public prosperity, as they are the chief sources of public and private happiness, so they are the legitimate objects of legislative care and protection. It asserts the lawfulness of its control over the causes which injure them; and it declares that it is equally its right and its duty, to prohibit whatever conduct or business may, in its consequences, injuriously affect either. * * *

“The traffic in ardent spirits is almost the only evil which our laws have not repressed and punished; and yet, of all that I have mentioned, it is the most fruitful source of vice and crime. * * *

“Is it objected that every man ought to have the liberty of engaging in such business enterprises as shall be agreeable to his choice; and that prohibiting him from doing this, is an invasion of that liberty? This objection, also,

might have been urged against the prohibition of the lottery traffic. A numerous class of men were engaged in it; yet it was decided by the highest authority in the land—decided, too, with almost universal approbation, that this was no objection to the abolition of the whole lottery system. No one has any right to carry on any business or employment which is injurious to the public. Private right terminates where public injury begins. This principle is fully illustrated and sustained by the cases which I have already brought forward. It is on this principle, alone, that legislation can be justified to punish highway robbery. The business of a highwayman is unlawful only because it is injurious.

“All our laws constitute but a SYSTEM OF RESTRAINTS. These restraints are the means by which government promotes the prosperity and moral welfare of the people. And these results are obtained by restraints imposed upon the business and conduct of men, which serve to protect the citizen in his property, health, and morals. If government could not do this, it would be without its most useful and efficient powers; it would be shorn of its best energies; its highest and most valuable prerogatives. No exercise of power is more benignant, none more salutary, none more unquestionable, than that which is employed in defending public morals. That by which a State repels an invasion of her soil by hostile armies, may be more grand and striking to the senses; but it is not more necessary, more legitimate, or more useful.”

THE OX DISCOURSE.—The following extracts are from a *Temperance Sermon*, by the REV. SAMUEL T. SPEAR:

“But if the ox was wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned and his owner also shall be put to death.”—Exodus, chap. 21. verse 29.

“ The text is one of the statutes which composed the civil jurisprudence of the Jewish nation. It came to them from God by the mediation of Moses. By the rule of estimating crime from the penalty affixed to it, a man is here adjudged a *murderer*, and therefore punishable with death, upon four conditions :

“ The *first* is, that he is the owner of an ox that hath been accustomed in time past, to push or hook with his horns ; that he has in his possession a dangerous animal.

“ The *second* is, that he hath been duly informed of this fact, either by his own observation or the testimony of others. A knowledge of this general habit of the animal must be traced home to the mind of the owner.

“ The *third* condition is, that having this knowledge, he has omitted to secure the animal, ‘ he hath not kept him in.’ You will observe, it is not that he hath turned the animal out, with the design or desire that he may kill some specific person. There is implied no *malice prepense*, as the lawyers say. It is not that he hath turned the ox out with the knowledge, probable or certain, that he would, *in fact*, kill any one. It is not that he hath turned him loose, at all. It is simply an omission to secure the animal, with a knowledge of his general habits.

“ The *last* condition is, that the ox not thus secured hath in fact killed a human being. Upon these four conditions, the owner was deemed a *murderer* on the ground of negligence, and was punishable with death. These are the features of this law which God gave to Moses, for the government of the Jewish people. Its Author is an ample pledge for its equity.

“ What I propose on the present occasion is, to appropriate the principles of this text, to the purposes of a temperance discussion.

“ 1. In the first place, I observe that intoxicating liquor has been wont to destroy in time past ; it hath been a

most destructive instrument. It is a poison. It is too late in the day, to doubt whether alcoholic liquor has been wont to destroy. * * * Then the point is conclusively clear to all. It destroys everything in man on which the hand of death can be fixed—*health, happiness, reputation, conscience, intellect, moral and social feelings, life itself*—and the *soul* after death. The eloquent Robert Hall appropriately styled it ‘*distilled death and liquid damnation.*’ The title of the untutored Indian is not less significant—*e.g., fire-water*—it hath a liquid form, but it is a fiery element.

“II. In the second place, I observe, then, that this character of alcoholic liquor, hath been duly testified to mankind. * * *

“III. In the third place, we are prepared to inquire—hath intoxicating liquor been kept in ; or hath it been permitted to roam abroad and do its work of death among men ?

“Here also the necessity of discussion is superseded by the obviousness of truth.

“What mean those SMOKING BREWERIES, out of which issue thousands of gallons of this deadly poison every year ? What mean the DISTILLERIES that are scattered like pest-houses, over this land ? What mean the WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS in this article, whose very business it is to spread it far and wide over this nation ? What mean the OPENING GRAVES AND TOLLING BELLS of the 30,000 drunkards every year ? What mean the bacchanalian cries, the staggering movements, the palsied limbs, the blotched countenances, the ruined reputation and prostrated hopes of the 300,000, from whom these unhappy victims are selected ? What mean our SYSTEM AND BOARDS OF EXCISE, to give the support and protection of law to this work of death ? No ! hearer, this animal hath not been kept in.—Not a chain is upon it ; not a bolt or bar

has been driven against it. It crouches in the parlor of fashion; it leaps on its victims in the public halls of intemperance; it sits on the consecrated lids of the ballot-box; it lingers in the hovels of squalid poverty; it reclines upon the thrones of kings; it pollutes the sacred *ermine* of human justice; it stands at the door, yea, it enters the sanctuary of the mighty God. It is an untamed animal, wilder than the leopard of the forest. Hecatombs of human victims satiate not its hunger—its thirst is not quenched by the flowing blood of 30,000 every year.

“These positions settle the abstract question, and show conclusively, that every instance of death occasioned by drunkenness is a *case of murder*. It is exactly parallel to the case of the person killed by the unrestrained and dangerous ox. Alcohol hath been wont to destroy—the fact is known—yet it hath not been kept in. We have discovered the dead body; its death is one of violence, violence both to body and soul; violence rendered under such circumstances, as to make the case an instance of *felonious homicide* by the rules of the text.

“With this fact in view, I propose to you this question:—*Who are involved in the guilt of the drunkard's ruin?* The man is killed—30,000 are in this way ruined for time and eternity with every rolling year. Now where lies the responsibility? Who will be found more or less guilty in the great day of judgment? This is a solemn question, and we must meet it here or hereafter. To this point I now ask your serious attention.

“1st. In the first place, the DRUNKARD himself is guilty of the high crime of *self-murder*.

“When he stands before the tribunal of his Judge, he will appear as a man that hath destroyed his body in time, and ruined his soul for eternity. Here he may palliate his guilt, and soothe his conscience; but hereafter the awful truth will flash upon him, ‘O! drunkard! thou

hast destroyed thyself.' He knew that death was in the cup—with this knowledge he drank—by drinking he died—his children became orphans and his wife a widow, at an early period. Of what crime is he then guilty? *Of protracted, yet fatal self-murder.* On his marble monument write, "he killed himself; he fell by the violence of his own hand." Ask not about his soul! Insulted and abused, it retires from these mortal shores: eternity blazes upon it; the pains of the second death become its doleful portion. A voice that might have charmed seraphic ears, helps to swell the dismal monotony of hell.

"2. In the second place, the MANUFACTURER AND VENDER are directly accessory to this ruin of the drunkard, and equally guilty. The drunkard does the deed, these accomplices aid, or assent to it, and are guilty before God on account of it. * * *

"But let us be silent for a moment and hear others speak. CHANCELLOR WALWORTH says, 'The time will come, when reflecting men would no more think of making and vending ardent spirits, or of erecting and renting grog-shops as a means of gain, than they would now think of *poisoning a well*, from which a neighbor obtains water for his family; or of arming a maniac to destroy his own life, or the lives of others.' JUDGE DAGGET says—'To make or sell ardent spirits for common use, is as wicked as to make or sell poisons for the same purpose.' Speaking of those who make or sell, he says,—'The blood of murdered souls and bodies will be required at their hands.' 'Over every grog-shop should be written in great capitals, *The way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.* JUDGE CRANCH says—'I know that the cup is poisoned. I know that it may cause death—that it may cause more than death—that it may lead to crime, to sin, to the tortures of everlasting remorse. Am I not, then, if I deal in it, a murderer? worse than a murderer? as much worse as the soul

is better than the body ?' DR. BEECHER says—' I challenge any man who understands the nature of ardent spirits, and yet for the sake of gain continues to be engaged in the traffic, to show that he is not involved in the guilt of murder.' The REV. JOHN WESLEY said—' That the men who traffic in ardent spirits and sell to all who will buy, are *poisoners-general*—that they *murder* his majesty's subjects by the wholesale ; neither does their eye pity or spare.'

“ This is the testimony of others. To some, these expressions may seem harsh and censorious. But let me ask two questions. Do not these men put the community in possession of that which kills 30,000 human beings in this land every year ? Do they not know the certain result of their business ? These questions admit of but one answer ; that answer places blood-guiltiness upon them. It cannot be otherwise. * * *

“ 4. In the fourth place, those who *legalize* and LICENSE THE TRAFFIC are involved in this guilt.

“ It is not my intention to examine the *excise system* ; but I cannot omit to say, that a greater fallacy never was committed in any system of human legislation. What ! give the countenance of law to that which is without a parallel in its production of evil ! Acknowledge with one breath that the use of intoxicating liquor is an evil, and then in the next, make the sale of it lawful ! Hang a man for murder, when we license another to prepare him to do this deed of death ! How absurd ! A trembling convict exclaimed, when just ready to expiate his crime by death ; ‘ I should not have done it but for rum.’

“ But with the nature of this system I have nothing to do ; my present concern is with those who *create and execute it*. These are our *legislators* and the *officers* of the excise board. Here we ask—what is truth on this point ?—What do they say to the vender ? They say to him, ‘ *sell*, where and to whom you can—sell as much as you

please.' Conscience may upbraid you—'sell.' Thirty thousand men may fall around you every year—'sell.' Widows and orphans may mourn at your feet, yet 'sell.' The land may groan under the crimes consequent upon intemperance ; heavy taxes may be levied to support its victims ; they may rage in the mad-house, or be hurled into hell—yet 'sell.' Drunken husbands and fathers may murder their wives and children—'yet continue to sell ; you have a legal right to do so.' This is the language they speak. They legalize drunkenness with all its woes. I need not say that they cover the vender's conscience with an almost impenetrable coat of mail.

“ Now, are they altogether innocent of the drunkard's ruin ? Do they cease to be moral and responsible beings, because they are entrusted with certain functions by their constituents ? Are they not still responsible to him who is the King of kings ? What then do they do ? They make and execute a law, every feature of which is sanguinary and marked with death. They know the ruin to which it will give birth, and over which it will extend its protection. If it be asked, *what shall the legislator do ?* I reply ; make the traffic a crime, as is done in the case of gambling, horse-racing, or the sale of lottery tickets. He is constitutionally competent to do this, as really as to grant a charter for a railroad.

“ In respect to the *officer of an excise board*, I would say ; if the law requires you to grant a license, then refuse to fill the office. This you can do, and by doing it you escape a most fearful responsibility. Wash your hands clean of the evil—have no participation in it—if it must exist, let the guilt lie at the door of other hearts. As a Christian or an accountable being, you cannot say to the vender, 'go on, you have the law on your side, sell to all who may wish to buy :' you cannot be ignorant of the

consequences ; you cannot therefore say this and be guiltless.

“ 5. Finally, I observe that THE WHOLE COMMUNITY IS INVOLVED, to a greater or less extent, in the guilt of the drunkard’s ruin.

“ I wish to qualify this proposition by a single exception ; *e.g.*, those who do not contribute to the causes of drunkenness, but seek to remove them, are exceptions to this general statement. All others are more or less involved in this sin.”

LORD CHESTERFIELD.—We will now introduce the remarks of Lord Chesterfield on the celebrated Gin Act, made in the British House of Lords, a century ago. They will not, of course, be subject to the charge of emanating from a source too puritanic :

“ Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited. Let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will—would you lay a tax upon the breach of the ten commandments ? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous ? because it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax. Vice, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but suppressed, and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be obtained. Luxury, my lords, or the excess of that which is only pernicious by its excess, may be very properly taxed, that such excess, though not strictly unlawful, may be made more difficult. But the use of those things which are simply hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree, is to be prohibited. None, my lords, ever heard in any nation, of a tax upon theft or adultery ; because a tax implies a license granted for the use of that which is taxed to all who will be willing to pay it.

“ Drunkenness, my lords, is universally and in all circumstances an evil, and therefore ought not to be taxed but punished.

“The noble lord (he went on to remark) has been kindly pleased to inform us, that the trade of distilling is very extensive; that it employs great numbers, and that they have arrived at exquisite skill, and therefore—note well the consequence—the trade of distilling is not to be discouraged. Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me, since the spirits which the distillers produce are allowed to enfeeble the limbs, and vitiate the blood, to pervert the heart, and obscure the intellect, that the number of distillers should be no argument in their favor, for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed because thieves were numerous. It appears to me, my lords, that if so formidable a body are confederated against the virtue or the lives of their fellow-citizens, it is time to put an end to the havoc, and to interpose, while it is yet in our power, to stop the destruction. So little, my lords, am I affected with the merits of the wonderful skill which the distillers are said to have attained, that it is in my opinion no facility of great use to mankind, to prepare palatable poison, nor shall I ever contribute my interest for the reprieve of a murderer, because he has by long practice obtained great dexterity in his trade. If their liquors are so delicious that the people are tempted to their own ruin, let us at length, my lords, secure them from this fatal draught, by bursting the vials that contain them. Let us crush at once these artists in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pit-falls of debauchery such baits as cannot be resisted. I am very far, my lords, from thinking that there are this year any peculiar reasons for tolerating murder—nor can I conceive why the manufactory should be held sacred now, if it is to be destroyed hereafter.”

MAN NOT HIS OWN.—Irreligious and unprincipled men

have been, hitherto, uniformly opposed to all civil laws relating to human conduct as connected with the relations which men sustain to God, and with the obligations which He has imposed upon them; and many of them have denounced with equal bitterness, all those laws which constitute the chief basis of society. They are heard proclaiming in every grog-shop, at every gambling table, and in every brothel, that Man has a right to do with his own, as he pleases. His time, his talents, his property, his influence, his reputation, his health, mental and physical, and even his life, are absolutely his own. He has a right, in a single word, to dispose of himself and everything that pertains to him according to his own pleasure, regardless of the rights of the community, or of the will of his Maker. From what has been already said, it is perfectly evident that this claim is entirely unfounded. Whatever we are, and whatever we possess, are held by us, subject to two distinct modifications: we can never rightfully employ ourselves or our property, talents, or influence, contrary to the will of God, or in opposition to the general well-being of others. They are held also upon the condition affixed by God in his original grant, that we should in all things obey his will, even in doing many things affirmatively to promote the best interests of society; and these things are as much our duty as is self-preservation. We have no right to neglect them, even for an hour. All that we are, and have, belong absolutely to God, and He has given society a distinct claim upon us, that all should be used, subordinately to his will, for promoting the welfare and happiness of the community and nation in which we dwell. Man is not his own. Whether he acknowledges it or not, he has been "bought with a price." Jesus Christ has paid for him the price of his own blood, and by this act, as well as by creation, he and everything that pertains to him became, and still is the

absolute property of God his Savior. He has no right, therefore, either to injure the one or waste the other, or to withhold from God or the community his best services.

That a man has no right to commit suicide, is as evident from his relation to society as it is from his relation to God. Society has a claim to his support and protection. On the same principle, he has no right to waste what has been committed to him as a steward. He may not rightfully expend his property in buying and drinking alcohol as a beverage, though in ever so small a quantity; for that would be robbing his family, his friends, and his country, of that which constitutes, in part at least, their wealth. It might also be depriving them of his affections, reason, judgment, his providential care, his time, his influence, his sympathy, his reputation, and his physical powers. He could not, while thus expending his money, and debilitating his powers, render his best services either to his country or to his God. His various capacities and acquirements, and the capacities and acquirements of others, constitute the health, the wealth, the influence, the strength, and the wisdom of the nation; and every man, woman, and child owes to the common treasury a full and adequate proportion of each, that it may be filled to overflowing.

The man who employs his time in labor or amusement on the Sabbath withholds from the community his quota of moral and religious influence, and everything valuable which pertains to him; and throws it all into the scale of immorality. Such conduct not only disqualifies him from performing those devotional services to the Lord of the Sabbath, which are his due, but also from the performance of those relative duties which are due to his fellow-men.

A man cannot violate a single law of the Decalogue without, in some way, withholding from the community a

vested right, or inflicting upon his fellows a prohibited injury; and for doing either of which he may be justly called to answer at the bar of civil justice as well as at the bar of God. Why should a man be permitted—no matter whether he be an outlaw or a madman—to bring upon himself or his country ignorance, or disgrace, or want, or misery, or chains, or death? Shall a man, merely because he delights in mischief, or is insensible to the claims of duty, be permitted, without rebuke, to scatter a pestilence, to tear down our dwellings, or sport with innocence, betray confidence, calumniate his neighbor, or wallow in drunkenness? By no means. The community have a right to expect, and require that every man should do his whole duty. Hence every government has a right to pass all such needful laws as are best adapted to secure the prevalence of order, peace, sobriety, temperance, morality, and virtue among its subjects, by restraining all from following injurious courses of action, and by commanding them to do that which is right, and best calculated to promote the welfare of men and the glory of God. If the constituents of a nation, or even its rulers, cease to live morally, usefully, and obediently to law, “by a well-ordered life and conversation,” they forfeit all just claims to protection. Since wicked men do nothing but what is calculated to make others unhappy, and fill the world with weeping and misery, they may be justly deprived of their power to do evil, even though it may occasion them, in some instances, the loss of property, liberty, and life. Every drunkard, every habitual Sabbath-breaker, every libertine, and every scoffer and reviler of serious things, is laboring most effectually to uproot his own and his country’s happiness; and were they to have the unrestrained liberty of pursuing these courses, they would speedily bring over the community the pall of universal and endless mourning. Dr. Edwards gives it as his opinion that

“the whiskey-maker and seller and the drunkard will not yield to the influence of good advice.” Men that will not be influenced by the tears of famishing wives and children, or by a weeping country, cannot, in ordinary circumstances, be influenced by anything that is good or holy; and they ought to be dealt with either as lunatics or outlaws. The community could not save itself in any other way, and they are bound, in self-defence, to resort in such cases to the power of the civil arm. The man whose heart is bound in the avaricious pursuit of wealth, and who has impiously abstracted the Sabbath from the Decalogue, will not suffer either his workmen or his beasts to enjoy the rest which that day was designed to afford them, even though he knows that by so doing he is actually inflicting upon them a slow and lingering death. Such men care more for the gratification of a low and grovelling love of money, than they do for the lives of their fellow-men, or for the welfare of the community, or for the kingdom of Christ in the world, or for Heaven or Hell. So long as the LOCKS UPON OUR CANALS are permitted to be opened on the Sabbath, and other violations of that day are allowed, we must expect the work of death to go on with increasing violence until the wrath of an offending God shall be revealed in desolating judgments.

Can such men be restrained by argument or entreaty? The idea is perfectly absurd. As well might we expect to dam up the Nile with a cob-web. So long as Christians can be beguiled with the foolish notion that men cannot be restrained by the civil arm from the outward violation of THE FIRST TABLE of the Decalogue, we may be perfectly sure that the devil, while he laughs at their timidity, will find no great difficulty in convincing the rest of the world that there is no sin in violating THE SECOND. But these outward violations of the first table

are as much a sin against society, as are the sins of stealing or murder ; and as men will not be restrained from such sins by a law whose penalties relate mainly to a future world, they must be met by one that can be both seen and felt in the present life. Let it not be said that we claim that civil governments have a right to control the *conscience* : we say no such thing. We cannot compel men to love God, or to hate sin : and we must therefore leave them as free as God has left them, either to love him, and go to Heaven, or hate him, and go to Hell. All we say is, that men who choose to hate God and encounter his eternal vengeance, must be restrained from dragging others with them. We must prevent them from all such open violations of Christian and public duty as are calculated to injure others, either as to their temporal rights and duties, or as to those things that are purely spiritual. Without this, the civil arm is comparatively worthless.

COPARTNERSHIP.—THE SOCIAL SYSTEM is, in some respects, a kind of involuntary copartnership. For although not based on contract, it is, nevertheless, a system of mutuality of right and interest. Each of its members constitutes an important element of the whole, and contributes to the full extent of his influence to the formation of its character and institutions. The interests of all are, of course, greater than the interests of one ; and the general rights are obviously superior to those which are merely personal. When personal rights or interests are found to conflict with those which belong collectively to the whole, the former are required to yield to the latter. Partnerships are based, it is true, entirely upon contract ; yet when once formed they compose a social relationship in which the rights and interests of the firm are regarded as altogether superior to those of its individual constituents. When a number of individuals are about to unite in a partnership

for some particular purpose, the very first thing which they undertake to accomplish is to define specifically the rules by which it is to be conducted. They provide in their contract or articles of association for stocking a certain degree of individual right and interest, and for the mode of ascertaining the precise character of the associated rights and interests which are to control those that are merely individual and personal. The next essential elements of such associations are, that each of the individuals composing it must contribute to the general stock his appropriate share; and that the individual benefits of each are to be exactly apportioned to his original contributions as compared with the contributions of his fellows. Suppose that one of the partners had money, another goods, another skill, and another the power to labor: if the partnership was to be equal, then the man who had money must contribute so much as would be a fair equivalent for the goods, or skill, or labor of the others. So he that has the goods must contribute thereof sufficient to balance the money, skill, and labor of his fellows; and those that have only skill or labor must each devote so much thereof as to constitute a like equivalent. The contract or article of association constitutes the rule of action for each member of the firm, and is in fact a mere expression on that subject of the united or aggregate will of all the members. When the arrangements are fully completed, the business commences under the expectation that each of the partners will do as he has agreed, or in other words, that he will obey the general will of all that are associated with him, as expressed in the articles of association. Now suppose that one had already contributed his money, another his goods, and another his skill, and that the one who agreed to give to the common stock his time and his labor should spend a part of that time in gambling, drinking, revelling, or debauchery, so as to unfit him for the

performance of the duties which had been assigned to him, have not the injured members a right to remonstrate with and rebuke him? But suppose that he should persist in his course until he had wasted not only *his time*, but also much of the property of the company, could he be regarded as a profitable partner? Have not the other partners a right to call him to an account for his stewardship? If he will not instantly reform, does not the self-respect and interest of his associates unite with the voice of natural justice in pronouncing the condemnatory sentence, "let him be no longer steward"? If either of the partners should habitually violate the laws of the company to which he had assented, and which form, of course, the very basis of the association, or if he should disqualify himself by a violation of the moral or physical laws of his being from a faithful discharge of his stipulated duties, he could no longer be an acceptable or profitable member of the firm. If he should habitually transgress the laws of God, and pour contempt upon the very source of obligation, how can his associates believe, that he will not be dishonest with them? They can have no guaranty that he will not live regardless of their best interests, and become neglectful of business, presumptuous, effeminate, and self-willed; nor that he will not by his misconduct subject them to the loss of his best services, or of their common property, or of their reputation. Who would deny them the right, in view of such consequences, to insist upon an immediate reformation, or to proceed at once and discard him from their fellowship by casting him out of the firm? Justice to others as well as to themselves demands that they should thus do; and to deny them that right would be as ridiculous as it would be unnatural and cruel.

Now, *every* individual in the land stands in the same relationship, in a most important sense, to his fellow-citizens as that in which a single partner stands to the individual

members of a copartnership. No matter whether it be the land of his adoption or of his nativity, he has the same mutuality of right, of interest, and of responsibility. He is bound to contribute to the general stock a virtuous character, a healthful, moral, and religious influence—useful industry, economy, frugality, and an appropriate share of wealth. He is also bound to aid in the support and defence of civil government and of a rational civil liberty. Although there may be great inequalities of character and capacity among the citizens, and although it cannot be expected, in such circumstances, that the contributions of all should be precisely equal, yet they are all bound to contribute something to the moral well-being and happiness of the whole, and what they do contribute should be of the best quality—all they have. Every individual must of necessity do something, whether willingly or unwillingly, toward the formation of national character. The profane scoffer helps to form a national character for Atheism. The Sabbath-breaker, the drunkard, the libertine, and the debauchee do all they can to stamp their own impurities upon the character of the nation, and to call down upon it the vengeance of heaven. Our institutions are CHRISTIAN as well as REPUBLICAN; and all who live under them are bound to protect and cherish them as the safeguard of civil and religious freedom. If no partner can honestly withhold from the firm of which he is a member, his stipulated quota of capital, influence, or labor, how can that man be honest who refuses to do anything which he can do for the promotion of the interests of that larger firm—*his country*? A man who enjoys the protection and benefits of our free institutions, and does nothing to promote their permanence and purity, and nothing to enlarge the general welfare, is no less guilty than a partner would be who rioted upon the common stock of a firm to which he has not contributed. But the man who, while neglecting

these duties, is laboring, either by his pen, his words, or his example, to impede the progress of truth and virtue, is positively dishonest and highly criminal. He could not complain, therefore, even though he were entirely cut off from all social privileges. What we claim, and above all what God claims, of every citizen, then, is precisely similar in principle to what every successful business-man claims of *his* partners when he exacts of them an entire conformity to the general will of the firm: and the right which we claim for civil governments is precisely analogous to that which every intelligent business-man would resort to for the protection of himself and his property, and his character, from the depredations of an unfaithful or vicious partner.

If it be asked, how the DRUNKARD WOULD TRANSGRESS the laws of such a compact, or so affect the interests of his associates as to justify them in demanding of him, on pain of his expulsion, that he should neither drink, manufacture, nor sell intoxicating drinks as a beverage—we reply that his offence consists as well in withholding from his firm his time, his hand, his intellect, his influence, and his heart, as in wasting their money, disturbing their peace, blasting their reputations, and endangering the virtue and happiness of their families by the weight and power of his example. The same effects and consequences are seen and felt in the community at large. Such conduct is an immorality, and all immorality is injurious to the community and ought to be punished. An inebriate will not labor to promote that which is good. Whatever may be the character of his impulses, he can neither reason clearly nor judge wisely. The money which he spends for alcohol is not given for an equivalent received, but is absolutely thrown away and squandered. His boisterous cries are like the midnight war-whoops of infuriated barbarians, startling the ear of slumbering innocence with

sounds of terror and alarm—and disturbing a whole neighborhood of quiet and peaceable citizens. Should a whole community become intemperate, it would be a fit emblem of hell. It would involve an utter destruction of health, intelligence, character, property, morality, religion, and ultimately of itself. Drunkenness is a voluntary madness; and were it to become general, the whole world would be converted into a lunatic asylum, attended by lunatic parsons, lunatic physicians, and lunatic grave-diggers; and every woman and child would become an incarnate fiend. The man, then, who makes or sells alcohol for a beverage, is engaged in the business of manufacturing devils, and if he escapes with impunity, it must be because their grand prince, who is also “the Prince of the power of the air,” has thrown around him such a scorching shield of fire and brimstone that no one but a kindred spirit could approach him.

THE SUICIDE.—A man in a neighboring village has just completed his course of suicidal inebriation, at the period of middle life. He began life in poverty—became rich—and died a bankrupt. The community and his family have been deprived of his services for many years: and now, at his death, many of his acquaintances are compelled to lose a large amount of money which he owed them; but which they cannot recover because it had been spent for alcohol. It was but yesterday, comparatively, that we saw him respected, prosperous, and happy; but, to-day, he is to fill the dishonored grave of a drunkard. The community in which he lived knew his habits and were aware of his danger; but alas, they would not or did not restrain him. Some sold him liquor, and some drank it with him. Now the question will come up at the final Judgment, Who slew him? What must be the answer? It was himself. But the further question must be propounded, Who were his abettors and accomplices? Let those answer it who

neglected to warn him ; those who administered or sold to him the poison of which he died ; and those who tolerated the practice of vending it ; and, above all, let the cruel and the death-dealing distiller come forth and witness another trophy of *his* wondrous skill. Have men a right to produce such results ? Can such men be restrained from so doing by entreaty ? We might as well undertake to chain the lightnings, or stay a volcano.

The manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks is a NATIONAL CURSE. It converts what God designed as food for both man and beast, into the most deadly poison. It eats up the public health like a canker. It awakens lust, and stimulates rapine and murder—it annihilates wealth—engenders famine, and pestilence—builds our penitentiaries and gibbets, and peoples the realms of darkness. For whose benefit is all this national and moral waste ? It only benefits the man who ought not to be benefitted. The man who cares so little for the rights and happiness of others, as to suffer his unholy love of money to enkindle in them an unquenchable thirst for intoxicating liquors, is himself the man who ought to suffer all the evils which flow from it. Do we permit the highway robber, after gratifying his love of gain, to retain his booty ? Shall the midnight assassin be rewarded by the peaceable possession of the lands, and houses, and wealth of his victim ? Neither should we suffer the distiller nor the rum-seller, to reap those rewards of iniquity, which were designed as the rewards of industry, temperance, and virtue.

LICENSE.—But, says the rum-seller, I have a *license* : this is my business ; it is my living, and the living of my family. Then you have a license to rob, murder, and destroy the souls and bodies of men, both for time and eternity, have you ? But look again. Did God ever commission the civil government to license such things ? Has He taught that men may pamper vice ? When you

arrive at the bar of God, you will find that your license is utterly worthless. He does not license men to do wrong—and your trade is a trade of blood. The living of which you boast will then appear in its true light. It is feeding upon the carcasses of the slain. It is a species of cannibalism which neither God nor man will justify. It is the duty of the government at once to arrest your traffic, by laws with such severe penalties that you will not dare to encounter them.

SELLING A PESTILENCE.—Suppose that a physician, becoming impoverished by want of business, and dissatisfied at the universal prevalence of health among his neighbors and friends, should undertake to help himself to a better living by the introduction and propagation of some deadly pestilence, such as the small pox or the plague: would such a course be tolerated by the community? Certainly not. But if, when interrogated as to the reasons of his conduct, he should reply that he was destitute of money, and as his only means of living consisted in the rewards of his industry in attending and healing the sick, he could not live unless somebody was sick enough to demand his services; that it was a time of general health, and that in order to get business and to relieve himself from want, he had hired an infected man to come into the neighborhood for the purpose of infecting others. His countrymen would indignantly hurl him from their presence as a cold-hearted and villainous assassin. But suppose he should go to the public authorities and procure a *license* for so doing, would that improve the matter? Would the community recognize the right of its rulers to scatter pestilence, firebrands, arrows, and death? But, says the Doctor, I have paid for my license a large amount of money which has gone into the public treasury. Would such an excuse be accepted? Would not the whole community unite, rather, in the indignant rebuke, Let those who sold the license, and the man that bought

it, be alike condemned ; they all deserve a place either in the mad-house or in the penitentiary ? Not a solitary voice would be heard to dissent from the righteous sentence. But why would such a course be wrong ? It is because such men violate the mutuality of interest and of right, and disturb the peace and happiness of community. The one has as good a right to his health as the other has to his living ; and the man who sets up an extensive and selfish interest at the expense of the general welfare, has broken entirely loose from the chain of social obligation, and is utterly unworthy of personal freedom. He is more dangerous than a madman, and must be confined by the civil power, in a position where he can do no mischief. Yet the Doctor has as good a right to generate diseases in this way, for his own support, as the manufacturer or vender of alcohol has, for his support or for the support of his family. Nor has either of them a better right than the other to the privilege of a public license.

GRATUITOUS EXHIBITION.—Let us make another supposition. A number of individuals, actuated by a love of mischief, have erected a magnificent amphitheatre, capable of containing the entire community ; and after procuring a large number of rare and curious animals, they publicly advertise a gratuitous exhibition of them at the amphitheatre, and invite the citizens to attend. On the day appointed, thousands of men, women, and children are seen to throng the place of exhibition, filled with the expectation of anticipated pleasure. But the gates are suddenly closed and barred to prevent all escape, when these unfeeling monsters let loose upon the unsuspecting and defenceless multitude a large number of starving tigers, lions, panthers, wolves, venomous reptiles, etc., to bite and devour them. Would the suggestion, that these wretched murderers were simply doing as they pleased with their own, arrest the terrible death-pangs of the dying multi-

tude, and hush them into a calm and submissive acquiescence in the diabolical act? But why is it not right? These men erected their amphitheatre and procured the animals at their own expense, and they only let them loose because they pleased to do so; and Infidels, scoffers, and blasphemers, hold that every man has a right to do what he will with his own. But these professed showmen have done an act which has clothed the nation in mourning, outraged the right and happiness of their fellow-citizens, and violated the laws of God and man. The whole universe would gladly unite in executing upon them the fearful sentence, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." These men owed to the community their best efforts for its preservation and welfare, and the community had a right to demand that they should put forth those efforts with untiring vigilance. Instead of complying with this demand, however, they have chosen to violate the fundamental laws of social intercourse, and are justly obnoxious to the severest penalties. Yet the Atheist, the blasphemer, the scoffer, and the reviler of God, are doing infinitely worse. They are murdering souls. So the maker and vender of alcohol, when tried by the same rule, will be found to hold among these classes a very lofty preëminence. It is by them that the work of temporal and eternal death receive their chiefest impulse. Here, in all these cases, the aid of civil government is absolutely indispensable; and the man who would hinder its application is an enemy of both God and man.

LICENTIOUSNESS.—Again, if one of the members of a copartnership should contract habits of *licentiousness*, and waste his time, and health, and money, in the gratification of his lusts, common prudence and self-protection would require that he should be at once ejected from the firm. The same is true in regard to the rights of communities and nations. The course of licentiousness is

like that of some mighty torrent. Small and silent in its beginnings, it rapidly increases in fury and strength until it bears away on its polluted current everything with which it comes in contact, to the ocean of endless ruin. The licentious man does all he can to injure the peace and happiness of community. He withholds from them the influence of a pure character, and the aid of his individual resources. He wastes his substance, debilitates his moral, intellectual, and physical capacities, and finally sinks himself to a premature grave. He disturbs the peace of families, blunts the edge of their affections, uproots their government, and introduces in their place personal pollution, incest, and lust. He introduces into society the most loathsome of all diseases that flesh is heir to, lacerates her bosom with anguish, and degrades her character. He destroys valuable lives—generates penury, want, and beggary—and caps the climax of his rapacity by becoming the progenitor of robbery and murder. The influence of a licentious man is not confined within the limits of his personal associations. Each of his victims becomes the seducer of others, and they, again, of others still, until the gathering wave of pollution seems sweeping away every vestige of purity. But this is not all. Licentiousness, as well as drunkenness, is an insufferable tax upon the whole community. Their victims are impoverished, and thrown upon the virtuous part of community as objects of distress and charity. In polluting the youth, it is calculated to break up the chief foundations of civil order and rational liberty. Without civil law we can have no remedy for such abuses. Such men would go on from step to step until the whole land would be deluged with pollution, pauperism, and crime; and until its inhabitants, becoming unable to govern themselves, would be compelled to seek a refuge in the arms of a despot. Let us have laws, then, before these waves of

death break upon us and defile the fountains of morality, that will arrest such men in their mad career, and dry up their widely diffused streams of influence. Our country, as well as the voice of God, demands it of us, and unless we obey, the time is not distant when our national history will also be written in blood.

THE SABBATH, also, needs the protection of civil law. It is altogether too late in the day for men to deny that the necessity of a Sabbath is laid in the constitution of things—that it is essential to the well-being of both man and beasts of burden. While labor is exhausting to the physical constitution, *rest* is refreshing and invigorating; and it has been already demonstrated, by actual experiment, that both will accomplish more labor by observing the rest of one day in seven, than they could by laboring incessantly; and also, that by disregarding this principle, the Sabbath-breaker is absolutely abbreviating the period of human life. It is also essential to moral and intellectual development. No man who habitually neglects the cultivation of his intellectual and moral powers, can either be a good citizen or a judicious man of business. A disregard of the Sabbath tends to debase the moral faculties and to stifle the sense of obligation. Even in a common partnership, then, the firm have a right to require of its members, on pain of expulsion, that they should reverence this sacred day; and if any one of their number should habitually violate it, his associates would have a right, on the clearest principles of equity and prudence, to eject him. A similar right is necessarily lodged in the hands of the civil government. Has any man a right to abbreviate human life? Suppose a physician should discover an article of food of such exquisite flavor that most men would use it whenever it could be procured, would he have a right, knowing it to be a SLOW POISON, and calculated to shorten the life of every one

who partook of it, to enter upon the business of preparing and vending it? The whole community would denounce him as a murderer. But the man who habitually requires labor upon the Sabbath is doing still worse; for he does not even extend to them the momentary gratification of a luxurious appetite. He perverts and debases the minds of his laborers, depraves their hearts, and withdraws them from their allegiance to God. As a civil institution, the Sabbath is absolutely essential to temporal prosperity, and the French Atheists manifested a perfect consciousness of it when they established their Decade; but as a moral and religious institution it constitutes the very corner-stone of civil and religious liberty. Our political institutions are based upon and derive their chief support from the principles of the Christian religion. In the language of CHANCELLOR KENT, "we are a Christian people;" and it is essential to our prosperity as a nation that we should nourish the sentiments which have hitherto proved to be the only basis of rational freedom. But Christianity without the Sabbath would become a dead letter, without either beauty or life. We have already recognized the Sabbath in nearly all of the States of the Union by law, as a religious institution, and prohibited its violation. All our citizens, then, including *all* our public officers, are pledged to its observance; and every man who neglects this duty, whether he be a private citizen or a public officer, is casting his influence into the scale of immorality and vice, and ought to be regarded as neither a friend to God nor man. He is doing all he can to blast the tree of civil liberty, and should be declared a public enemy. Should the nation exhibit less wisdom in this respect, than is exhibited by all judicious business men? What should we think of men professing to seek happiness, and life, and health, in those very places where they are sure to encounter a decrease of wealth, and certain misery, and

death. But unless our State governments maintain their integrity in regard to the Sabbath, we need not the gift of prophecy to determine that the day of their dissolution is fixed and unavoidable. "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy—in it thou shalt do no work—six days shalt thou labor."

PROFANE SWEARING is another vice whose tendency is altogether adverse to the general welfare. As God is the only source of obligation, it is obvious that every attempt to destroy our sense of accountability to him, is a direct attack upon our virtue and integrity. Can any man retain a conscientious sense of his obligations, while he is hourly profaning and outraging the rights and defying the power of the God who imposed them? Surely not. Profaneness is as much a violation of social duty, as it is of duty to God; and civil governments have as much right to restrain it as they have to restrain stealing, or robbery, or murder. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain"—"Swear not at all."

THE PUBLICATION OF INFIDEL, IRRELIGIOUS, OR ATHEISTIC SENTIMENTS is likewise an offence against public morals, of a very heinous and dangerous tendency. Like profanity, it insults the Fountain of obligation. If the God of the Bible be the true God, and if his religion be the true religion, men have no natural or moral right to become infidel, or irreligious, or atheistical; they are bound, on the contrary, to cherish, and love, and obey the truth. We are aware that some good men entertain false notions of the rights of conscience, and claim for men the right to adopt and cherish falsehood as well as truth. And many are often misled by an over-estimate of the difficulties which attend the belief of the truth, and look with undue compassion upon the frailty of unbelief: and, as one step in the paths of sin or error always leads to another, they then contend that men have

an undoubted right to publish their real sentiments, whether true or false. But the day of *honest* infidelity, of *honest* irreligion, and *honest* atheism has fled away, never to return. It is a libel upon the Bible, and a libel upon God, to say that any *honest*, and industrious, and persevering inquirer after the truth will not be able to find it. The man who adopts sentiments adverse to the Bible, at the present day, is dishonest to himself, to his country, and to his God. If he is deceived in these matters, his very deception springs from a corrupted heart, and a neglect of duty. Yet there is much less sincerity in the world on this point than is generally supposed. A man whose house is in flames will gain but little sympathy, if, when informed of the fact by his neighbors, he spend the precious time for preserving it in an idle contention about the possible falsity of their testimony; but the man who would turn away his ear from such a report without *any* attention, would be sent to the madhouse. So the man who becomes an infidel, or an atheist, without an honest and persevering effort to discover the real truth, is, to all intents and purposes, both mad and foolish. Away, then, with the preposterous notion, that men have a right to stultify themselves, or to drink in madness as they would drink water.

But if these men were admitted to be honest and sincere in their sentiments, still it would not follow that they had a right to publish them. We might then say, here is a man who thinks that it is right for men to commit murder, or steal, or rob; and we must, therefore, permit him to teach his children and neighbors the same principle, and thus encourage them to commit the crimes which naturally flow from it. The truth is, that no man has a right to disseminate any principle, however sincere he may be in the belief of it, that is calculated to diminish the weight of moral obligation. An act of this kind is really more

injurious to the community than almost any other ; for the influence of an insulated crime is far less extensive, than its public justification would be, and a destruction of the public conscience would result in a universal license for the commission of every species of crime.

ENEMIES OF THE LAW.—Moral obligation results from our being placed under the restraining influence of moral law, which is THE LAW OF GOD. Now if that law were to be repealed, it is clear that there could be no such thing as obligation. So if Infidels and Atheists are permitted to persuade men to believe that it has been repealed, or that it never existed, it is equally clear that the restraints of law would be entirely abrogated ; and hence it has always been the chief handiwork of infidelity and atheism, in every age of the world, to spread over the face of the community the plague-spots of vice and crime. They have ever been true to their profession ; and they are now, as they ever have been, the prolific progenitors of all the abominations which afflict and disgrace the world. Shall we then license these abominations ? If God has never said “Thou shalt not commit adultery,” and were not an outrage upon community, then *men* have no right to say so ; and we may at once, and with perfect propriety license public brothels, invite the seducer into our houses, and abandon our wives and our daughters to the shameless and open practice of every species of lewd abominations. But God understood this matter differently. He permitted infidelity and atheism, in the early ages of the world, to exhibit their true nature and influence under a milder dispensation ; and when it was seen that “because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil,” He called to his aid the powers of civil government, and directed that the precepts of his law should have the additional sanction of penalties, that

should be, in this life, both seen and felt. In reference to some of the precepts of natural law, which is a part of the moral law, there is also a physical penalty. Thus God has enacted a law that requires industry: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Now although the community has a direct interest in the labor of every one of its constituents, yet the evils which flow directly to the individual who violates this law are, perhaps, greater than those which relate to the general welfare. For a violation of this law, a man is made to suffer physical evils, growing out of his animal constitution; and if he should cut off his hands and his feet, in order to disqualify him from labor, while he alone must suffer the constitutional penalty, the whole community is defrauded. They have a right, then, to prohibit all acts which would disqualify men from doing their whole duty. It cannot be pretended for a single moment, that the state of mind and motives of action peculiar to infidelity and atheism, are not hostile to individual happiness. The lives of these men give the lie to all such pretences. Yet the injury which results to the community is still greater; and hence, they are bound, on the principles of self-defence, to relieve themselves from the actual suffering, as well as moral degradation, which these men occasion. The civil penalties which are inflicted upon transgressors are not in any sense a substitute for those spiritual penalties, the administration of which belongs exclusively to God.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.—The clamor which wicked men have raised about the freedom of the press and the freedom of conscience is altogether idle, as will be shown more clearly hereafter. We would concede to them just as much liberty as God has left them, and no more; and the man who asks for more than this, convicts himself of indulging purposes of mischief; for no one who does not intend to do evil, will ever complain of the restraint which

good and wholesome law imposes to prevent him from doing it.

HUMAN CHATTELS.—SLAVERY also strikes at the root of society, and is an offence against both God and man. It is a system that injures both the master and the slave. To the master it brings indolence, sloth, and a disregard of the rights of others ; and these, in their turn, beget effeminacy and licentiousness of morals. Now if one of a number of partners should introduce such a system, he would obviously bring himself within the rule heretofore laid down, that if by any practice he should disqualify himself from rendering to his firm the best of his services, they would have a right to eject him. But it is not the master and his associates alone who suffer. The slave is the principal sufferer, and through him the entire community. He is denied rights which were bestowed upon him by his Creator—defrauded of his liberty—degraded, both physically and morally—debased by ignorance—sundered from the domestic constitution, compelled to act the part of a mere automaton, and controled by the arbitrary volitions of his master, he is soon taught to feel that if he is more than brute, he still is less than man. Wherever Slavery is tolerated, we always find a community possessing but little enterprise. They are luxurious, extravagant, licentious, profane, and regardless of the Sabbath. We say not that every individual is thus polluted ; but these are the legitimate results of the system, and to a great extent they will ever adhere to it. The whole system rests upon violated relations, and nothing good can come of it. Nor is it at all consistent with the law of love. Being opposed to the law of God and to the rights of man, it is the duty of every community to prohibit it. It is a moral nuisance, and every government is responsible for its abolition, whenever and under whatever circumstances it may exist.

From what has been here said, it cannot but be seen

that the law of God is reasonable ; and that civil governments are vested with the right, and charged with the duty of adopting it. This would be doing nothing more than what every judicious business man claims the right to have done in his business relations, and why should he object to carry out his own chosen principles ? If he would not tolerate among the partners of the firm of which he is a member, either *drunkenness*, the *making or vending of alcohol*, *licentiousness*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *profane swearing*, *the inculcation of irreligious, infidel, or atheistic sentiments*, or the *introduction and propagation of Slavery*, why should communities, which are in one sense only a still larger firm, tolerate them among their constituents ? The cases are precisely parallel. When judicious men will confide their private affairs to the drunkard, the debauchee, the scoffer, and the licentious, they may then ask, and not till then, that the happiness and rights of the community shall be entrusted to them without the restraints of civil law. Until that day arrives, then, let the law, with well-devised and efficient penalties annexed, be put into the hands of every man in the community, warning him of the consequences of transgression ; and let the man who violates it be always punished according to the nature of his offence without reserve or discrimination. In this way, and in this alone, can we hope to secure either ourselves or our children from the all-devouring tide of iniquity which threatens to overwhelm us and them in irretrievable ruin.

ELECTING RULERS.—Every nation is responsible for the character of its rulers. The truth of this position is evidenced by facts. When SAUL, the first King of Israel, had refused to execute the command of God relating to the Amalekites, it was announced to him by the Prophet Samuel, that he was rejected, and that his kingdom was to be given to another. While the sentence still remained

unexecuted, becoming envious of the character of the man who was to succeed him, he continued yet the more to rebel against God, until, as a punishment for his sins, his people met with a most signal overthrow upon the mountains of Gilboa. His army was routed in battle, and the flower of the nation was destroyed. Saul and his sons perished with them. On another occasion, seventy thousand men were destroyed by pestilence for the sin which David had committed in numbering the people. The entire history of the kingdom of Israel, after the death of Solomon, may be cited as furnishing indubitable evidence that, whenever the wicked bore rule, the people mourned under the pressure of the heaviest calamities ; but under their *pious* kings, they were generally prosperous and happy. This feature of God's moral administration has not been confined, however, to the Jews ; it has been extended to all the nations of the earth, both ancient and modern. If God deals in this manner with hereditary governments, what should we expect him to do with a nation like our own, where the power of selecting its rulers is lodged in the hands of the people ? Will He abandon the plan of his government in the very case in which its justice would be most clearly vindicated ? Most assuredly He would not.

If this principle be correct, it is evidently the duty of all who have a voice in the selection of public officers to select such men as fear God. "Take ye wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribe, and I will make them rulers over you."—Deut. 1 : 13. "Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness ; and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."—Ex. 18 : 21. Nothing can be more specific than these declarations ; and nothing can be more certain than that the rights of suffrage in the United States has been, in this respect,

most sadly abused. If the people are to be held responsible for the character of their rulers, and if God commands them to elect *wise men, able men, such as fear him, men of truth, hating covetousness*, how certain is it that every man who casts his vote in favor of a man whom he knows to be immoral and lawless, is guilty of direct rebellion against God, and of deliberately exposing himself and his country to the curse of Heaven. This is a principle that is too often overlooked by professing Christians even ; and it may not be amiss to be a little more specific.

No man has a right to vote for the elevation to office of a gambler, a Sabbath-breaker, a drunkard, a profane swearer, a scoffer at serious things, an idolator, an adulterer, a fornicator, a duelist, an oppressor, a murderer, or even of a dishonest man in any other particular. The elevation of such men to office not only involves a direct violation of the Divine command, but it tends also to diminish, in the public mind, the turpitude of their crimes, and to render their iniquitous courses, in the estimation of many—especially of the young—both popular and harmless. It places them in a situation which greatly increases their power to do mischief. But it is not enough that we should withhold from such men our vote ; we should remonstrate against their vices, and endeavor by every suitable means, to dissuade them from pursuing a line of conduct that renders them unworthy members of society, and objects of the Divine displeasure. But if they refuse to reform, we are bound to see that they are brought to justice and appropriately punished, and if need be, that they are discarded and imprisoned so as to prevent all injuries that might otherwise result from their example. The public welfare requires it.

Wicked, sensual, and worldly men may object to this course very clamorously ; but as they adopt the same principle in matters of private business, they have no right

to find fault with it. They will not trust their private fortunes to the management of the dissolute and the immoral. We do not say, that we are to let the different christian tenets of men control our votes ; we cannot judge the heart. But when a man openly *professes* to reject the Holy Scriptures, we know that his influence will be decidedly irreligious and immoral ; and we cannot vote for him without a sacrifice of moral principle, nor without endangering the general welfare. We must, at least, be as consistent as men of business are. A man who would make an unfit partner in business transactions, is certainly unfit for public office. No judicious man would select, as partners, the irreligious, the immoral, the dissolute, the unprincipled, the idle, or the untrustworthy. From such associations he would expect nothing better than bankruptcy and ruin. He would not place or retain at the head of his affairs, a man that he knew would be unprofitable to him. How, then, can he vote for a man that he knows would be neither profitable nor safe ? Yet men have been frequently elevated to office, in this country, and retained there for a long time, by the aid of Christians, whose chief recommendations consisted in a heartless abandonment of religious principle, a warm advocacy of some popular vice and party predilections. " Oh ! shame, where is thy blush ? " Every business-man would put away an unprofitable partner at once ; and shall a Christian patriot be less prudent and wise, and that, too, in reference to questions which involve the moral purity and happiness of his country ? Can he aid, without sin, in the justification of Sabbath-breaking, and atheism, and debauchery ? But if he vote for men who are Sabbath-breakers, atheists, or debauchees, he tenders to the community an endorsement of their crimes. We may preach against such things to the end of our days ; but if we continue to *vote* thus, our practice becomes a libel upon our profession, and affects

the integrity of our principles. We have no right to vote for the *least* vicious or least exceptionable of any two candidates. That we may, in reference to physical evils, choose that which is least, will not be denied; but when the evils have a bearing upon the religion or morals of men, our only alternative is, "touch not, taste not, handle not." Let every citizen remember, then, that in casting his vote for an elective officer, he is performing an act that involves a very high degree of responsibility. Let no individual be elected to any office, however unimportant, who is not both "wise" and "able," and "who does not fear God" and "hate covetousness." Shall the dissolute, the immoral, or the licentious, be entrusted with the right of making laws for the government of Christians? God forbid. We would not trust them in the most insignificant affairs of every-day life; and shall we elevate them to stations of honor and profit? If we do, we are morally responsible for their conduct; and if, in such matters, we prefer the vicious to the good and virtuous, we may be perfectly sure of reaping our appropriate reward, in the deep degradation and ruin of our country.

If it be true, as we have shown it to be, in a previous chapter, that "rulers" are "God's ministers," "revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," it follows conclusively that they are bound to fear and obey God. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."—2 Sam. 23: 3. "They shall judge the people with just judgment."—Deut. 16: 18. Men in office have an extended influence, and their moral responsibility is fearful. If God visits the people in wrath for the sins of their rulers, such men may well tremble in view of their personal accountability. A vicious or immoral ruler is a curse to any people; but where most things are controlled by the force of public

opinion, as they are in this country, he is doubly a curse. He not only exhibits the seductions of his individual example, but he opens wide the door of pollution and profligacy, and invites the whole community to enter. He "drinks in iniquity like water." "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope."

HUMAN GOVERNMENTS ARE EITHER CIVIL OR ECCLESIASTICAL.—Formerly the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical polity of a State was not well defined; and hence, in many countries, they still have a union between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which is altogether adverse to the general welfare. All the evils which have resulted from this connection may be traced to a neglect of the true principles of church government which are contained in the New Testament. Our Savior has taught us that his "kingdom is not of this world;" and that He never designed to give to the Christian Church any power over its members other than that of admonition, and the right of excluding those who had proved themselves to be unworthy of Christian fellowship. When the Church undertakes to exert any higher power, as it sometimes does, it is a mere usurpation; and, if tolerated, its tendency is to spiritual despotism. It is not to be supposed, then, that it can derive any moral benefit from being connected with the State, as a coördinate branch of the government; but it is obvious that all such associations must be extremely prejudicial to its spiritual welfare. Both civil and church governments, of any value, are based upon the broad principles of Christianity: but while the former was designed to aid the moral administration of God, by the introduction of a system of immediate and sensible penalties for the restraint of men from open acts of transgression, the latter was intended only for the moral and religious protection of the associated body of

true believers, by the introduction among them of a system of influences peculiarly adapted to their spiritual relations, and not intended, in any event, to extend beyond the limits of the visible Church. From this difference in their design, it is easy to see that they have nothing in common to serve, either as a bond of union, or as a means of attaining their separate objects. They should never be united, then, in any circumstances whatever; but the one should always be left entirely free and independent of the other. The results of each are designed, through different means, and distinct and separate channels of influence, to promote the peace and happiness of the race: yet this cannot be effected when they are united under the same or kindred principles of administration. While the civil government is bound to control the external conduct, and make it subservient to the peace, virtue, and happiness of the community, the other is to seek a higher end, having a similar influence upon the community, that is, the purity and benevolence of those who come out from the rest of the world by profession, as a distinct and peculiar people, engaged in the business of persuading all men to turn unto God, and believe in the Gospel of his Son. While they are each left entirely free of the other, they may prove *indirectly* mutual helps; but if united, they would lose their distinctive features, and end in civil or spiritual tyranny. When they are distinct and correctly administered, there will be no room for encroachment or jealousy; they may travel on as mutual friends, and as occasional co-laborers for the general good; and severally answer the ends of their separate organizations. When God was the direct administrator of the Jewish Theocracy, they were in a certain sense united; and so long as they were both within the immediate control of Infinite Wisdom, no injury resulted from such union. But such union of church and state as exists in

some parts of Europe is dangerous, and decidedly adverse to human happiness, and the peace and purity of the Gospel. Let it not be said, then, that Christians in this country are in favor of a "union of church and state." *It is not true; they are utterly opposed to it, and the charge is both unjust and slanderous.*

CIVIL LEGISLATION.—The question now presents itself, what is the extent and limit of the right of civil legislation? We have already alluded to the fact that all Christian nations have punished, by civil penalties, particular infractions of the law of God. Each of these United States, and the English common law, have provided for the punishment of blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, and some of the grosser kinds of licentiousness, as well as stealing, perjury, maiming, murder, etc. But as many individuals have contended that civil legislation has nothing to do with the *first* table of the Decalogue, the question has been raised, hitherto, whether existing laws on that subject should be retained and executed, or repealed. In answering these questions, we shall take a still wider range, and endeavor to show that, in some respects at least, no civil government of a modern date has yet gone far enough. In the former chapter, we have shown conclusively, unless we are deceived as to the force of our own reasoning, that civil governments were instituted by God, as a part of his moral administration, and designed chiefly, by the aid of temporal penalties, to restrain men from those external violations of the law of God, which are calculated to injure the community, either physically or morally; and to compel men to perform those external duties which are designed to promote the general welfare. No dispute has ever existed as to the right and duty of civil government to compel its subjects to support the public institutions of the country—to build roads and bridges—to feed and educate the poor—to erect jails and prisons,

and to contribute for the support of every branch of the government, and of those measures which are needed for the general defence. Nor has it ever been questioned that they have a right to prohibit certain violations of natural justice, specified in the *second* table of the Decalogue, which involve a direct injury to themselves or to others. The whole dispute relates to this single point, whether they have a right to take cognizance of those acts, which are considered immoral *mainly* on account of being a violation of duty to God. Now we venture to affirm that God requires the performance of no duty, from any man, in the faithful discharge of which the community has not an immediate and direct interest. Even the duty of love to God is an obligation involving the interests of the whole race; for every action that is inconsistent with it, necessarily exerts a corrupting influence upon others, and is calculated to mar the general happiness. The limitation of the right of civil legislation is not founded in the nature of obligations, but in the nature, ability, and design of civil government, and in the law of God. If civil governments were designed to aid the moral administration of God, it follows that they are to aid it to the utmost of their ability, unless they are restrained from so doing by the power that ordained them. They have no ability to determine whether a man loves God or not—whether he hates sin, or loves holiness; or whether he loves or hates his neighbor; for love and hatred may exist in the breast even while they may not at *all* times be so developed in the conduct as to be discoverable by any intelligence except by One that is Infinite. Here then we have a limitation of the right of civil legislation resulting from the want of adequate capacity in the tribunals which are designed to administer it; but we know of no limitation other than that which the law of God imposes. But let us be a little more specific.

The *first two commandments* of the Decalogue relate to the sin of idolatry, and prohibit the worship of anything but the true God, and the making of any graven image for the purpose of worshipping it. Now although a man may love and secretly worship a thousand false gods without exposing himself directly to the detection of any other human being—and although civil governments have not the ability to reach sins which they cannot detect, yet it is obvious that they can prohibit public acts of idol-worship. They can prohibit the erection of idol-temples, and the making of idols; and they can punish for these acts. The prohibition of these things by the civil magistrate is not limited by the law of God; but He has taught, on the other hand, that it is the duty of civil governments thus to do, by directing that it should be done among the Jews. He has set them an example of punishing for these sins, by causing the law forbidding them to be adopted into the civil code of the Theocracy, and by annexing thereto the penalty of death. The *third command* relates to the irreverent use of the name of God. Civil governments have the ability to prohibit public blasphemy, and profane swearing and cursing; and for so doing they have the direct example of God in the Jewish Code where He placed these sins among the list of capital offences. So there is no want of power to enforce the external observance of the *fourth commandment*, relating to the Sabbath; nor has God withheld from us the sanction of his example. Sabbath-breaking under the Theocracy was also punished with death. It is very evident, then, that civil governments have the ability and the right to prohibit the performance of *every external act* that is opposed to the command of God.

Human legislatures have no right to make any law that is repugnant to the law of God. Laws of this kind have sometimes been enacted even in Christian nations; but

hitherto the courts of England and of the United States have not hesitated to pronounce them to be utterly void. Every such law is not only a violation of the rights of conscience, and injurious to community, but a public and most daring and insulting infringement of the Divine Prerogative. Civil legislation must always be based upon the Divine ; and everything opposed, either to the *natural* or *revealed law*, is worse than useless—it is sin. Neither the Ten Commandments, recorded in Exodus, nor the law of nature, is in any respect defective ; they are in themselves certain, perfect, and unimprovable. Whenever they are fully obeyed there will be perfect and unalloyed happiness ; and every opposing influence is always injurious and hurtful.

We have already seen the estimate which God set upon the Ten Commandments, in the penalties which He affixed to them. Every individual of the camp of Israel who violated openly any of these holy precepts, was punished with temporal death. But besides this punishment, which related only to the present life, there was another, still greater, to be inflicted upon the transgressor who died impenitent, in another and spiritual world ; he was to be subjected to the gnawings of the undying worm, and the burning of the unquenchable fire. Every violation of these commands is an offence against both worlds, the present and the future—against man, angels, and God. Civil governments were, therefore, directed to punish them in this life ; and God reserved to himself the exclusive right of punishing them in the world to come. Men are sometimes punished by God for the transgression of his Law in the present life, but in the world to come they are always punished in an endless hell, unless they have previously secured his pardon by repentance, and faith in his Son. Whenever we transgress the physical laws of our being, we uniformly experience their penalties in the pre-

sent life. They seem to be, in fact, a part of our constitution. A man who habitually violates the seventh commandment, transgresses one of the physical laws of his constitution, and becomes debauched and infected, perhaps, with a loathsome and painful disease, undermining his health and hurrying him to a premature grave. So the drunkard and the Sabbath-breaker, by sinning against the physical laws of their animal nature, are compelled to endure the penalty of mental and bodily suffering, and of consequent imbecility. These penalties are immediate, and to some extent, uniform; the delinquent neither experiences lenity nor forbearance. The parts injured, or the injured function, demands an immediate reparation. It seizes upon the body and spirit of its victim, and levies an inexorable tax, which must be paid *forthwith*, of pains, and groans, and blood: it exacts weakness, trembling, paleness, time, money, and disgrace. It is an exorbitant tax gathered by a most summary process. But this is not all. The culprit is not yet released. The civil government next puts in its claim in behalf of its injured laws. And what are the claims of the civil magistrate? A punishment severe enough to awaken in the community a fear to commit the like offence, and to coerce the delinquent into a resolution to become an obedient subject. It is because there are some individuals in every community who neither fear the threatenings of future retribution or the penalties which *naturally* result from the violations of physical law, that civil laws are found to be indispensably necessary to the general welfare. Civil laws were designed for the restraint of those who, rather than forego a momentary gratification of their unhallowed and lustful propensities, will run the risk of the former, and rashly encounter the latter. Such men cannot be controled without the aid of civil law; and the sword of civil magistracy should always be sus-

pended, therefore, in readiness to meet any emergency created by their misconduct. We say then, without hesitation, that civil governments are bound to restrain their subjects from the public violation of the law of God to the utmost extent of their ability. And finally, the claim of the Divine law upon the delinquent has been sufficiently explained.

But a still further question has been reserved, which we are yet to answer: "Ought the press to be left as free to do evil as it is to do good?"

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is another thing of which most men are exceedingly tenacious; and it is well that they are so. The power which the press may in some circumstances exert would be well nigh omnipotent, were it not for counteracting influences. Were it left without any restrictions, "as free to do evil as it is to do good," it must be clear to every reflecting mind that it would prove in the end a curse rather than a blessing; for it is quite too late to contend that men can be led in the paths of purity and virtue by the mere exhibition of truth. God has poured upon the world a flood of truth, and enough, it would seem, to chase every lie and every "refuge of lies" back to the pit from whence they came. Yet infidelity, even within the last century, has gathered into her infernal charnel-house more victims than at any former period of the world's history. What is meant by the "*freedom of the press*?" Is it that it must be permitted to utter any and everything which the vilest and most abandoned of the race would wish to have spoken or believed? Is it that any man may employ it in uprooting and destroying those pure and wholesome regulations of the social economy which bind society together; and give permanence to the institutions without which we should be driven back to anarchy and barbarism. Such would seem to be the true import of the language of some

distinguished men ; but we will hope that they meant otherwise ; for such a liberty would be the very climax of absurdity. One man can accomplish *more evil* through the influence of a licentious press, than one hundred others, backed by the civil government itself, can counteract. No man has a right to employ the press as an instrument of evil. No government should permit it to be employed in spreading the blasphemies of men, and the contumely of Infidels, against the Author of our being and the Giver of all our mercies. Our religion is not only true, but it conduces also to temporal and eternal happiness ; and every attack upon it inflicts a wound upon the community of deep malignancy. Its Author is worthy of all our love and reverence, and of our best services of obedience. Rather than allow such a license to the use of the press, it would be far better for us, and infinitely better for the world, to license every physician to increase his business at his pleasure, by scattering among the community the seeds of pestilence and death. The ravages of the small-pox, the cholera, or the plague, compared with the results of blasphemy, infidelity, and atheism, would prove to be absolute blessings. The victims of the former are less numerous, and suffer less than those of the latter. Witness the sufferings of the three millions of Frenchmen who offered up their heart's blood upon the altar of French infidelity. The truth is, that a man has no right, and should never be permitted to do any act, whose tendency is to injure the souls or bodies of his fellow-men. Nor may he do anything calculated to injure any of the interests of community. The law of nature, the Bible, and the law of our country, clearly indicate what actions being of an injurious tendency ought to be prevented by the strong hand of the magistracy.

The Infidel may well be prohibited from slandering the Christian religion, for it is the RELIGION OF THE COUNTRY ;

it is the foundation of the Republic, and the basis of all our institutions and laws. Nine-tenths of all its inhabitants have adopted it, *nominally, at least, as their religion*. More than this: its salutary influence upon individuals and communities affords demonstrative evidence of its superiority over all other systems of ethics: it proves that it was from Heaven, and that it should not be left to the felonious and suicidal hand of those who wish to destroy it, and to bring its Author into contempt and ridicule. It contains the best system of morals, and the most wise, just, and equal system of laws for the government of human conduct that has ever been presented for human inspection; and, in truth, human reason has never yet discovered a single principle of law or morality of any value, that has not been derived directly from the Bible, or its Author. It contains the only chart of Heaven, and the only charter of eternal life. Shall it, then, be given up to ridicule? In the 13th chapter of Deuteronomy, before referred to, we may see the views of God on this subject, and we can then judge whether He meant that Christian nations should tolerate such things. The prophet, and the teacher, and the propagator of idolatry, those who spoke to turn away the people from the service and fear of the true God, were to be instantly put to death. No one might conceal such an offence. No eye might pity, or spare. The wife might not pity or spare the husband of her youth, nor the husband the wife of his bosom, nor the father his son, nor the mother her daughter—all, all must be put to death. Does the Infidel ask why? We answer: Because such offenders were considered, as they really are, unsafe and dangerous members of society; and in the judgment of the God of all the earth, it was better that they should be put to death than that they should live to destroy others. The law which we thus quote was one of the municipal laws of the Theocracy. It was then found, as it now is,

that there are men in every community who will not believe in God, and who will try to seduce others from their allegiance to the God who made them. It was therefore treated as HIGH TREASON. Now, although we do not contend that we are required to punish, capitally, every man who undertakes to seduce others from the belief of the truth, yet we say firmly and conscientiously, that every attempt to seduce others from their allegiance to the God of Heaven is downright high treason against the moral government of Jehovah and against the happiness of the human race. God says to civil governments concerning such men, "Do not suffer them to lead my people astray—suffer them not to trample upon my Word and ordinances. Stop their mouths and their pens by adequate laws and penalties. If they are deaf to the voice of reason and persuasion, try the arm of the civil magistrate; *that* can and *must* prevent them from seducing others. No people have ever suffered their religion to be ridiculed and blasphemed, but those who were professedly Christian. Have Infidels ever been so liberal? Look again at the butcheries of France. No such thing. Let the right of private judgment remain inviolate; but let not infidelity have license any longer to wield the weapons of her infernal warfare. Let her be disarmed, as you would disarm a madman. What do Infidels want? Do they propose any better system, or any good and useful result? Do they ask the liberty of promoting their own happiness or the happiness of their fellow-men? Do they ask for the privilege of relieving the sick or of comforting the afflicted? By no means. They ask for the liberty of adding to the cup of human misery, by mingling with it the ingredient of hopeless despair. They ask for the privilege of letting loose lust, rapine, and murder. They beg for the liberty of playing with "fire-brands, arrows, and death," and of setting the world on fire. Are not such

men mad? Verily, "madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead." Shall such men be heard because they cry up the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE? The very first step in infidelity is aiming a dagger at the vitals of that faculty. As well might the robber, the murderer, the assassin, and the common maniac, preach to us that their consciences are violated by the laws which confine or destroy them. Infidelity never had *any* sound conscience, and never can have any. The whole system is at war with it. Away, then, with the indulgence of false sympathy, and of calling things by false names. If a man is left of God "to believe a lie that he may be damned," the civil government cannot disturb him for his belief; but let him beware how he trifles with the faith of others.

FREE DISCUSSION.—We here much also at the present day concerning the right of *free discussion*. Infidels and Atheists not only claim the right of free discussion, in reference to all the rights and duties of men toward each other and to the community, but also the unrestrained liberty of adopting the most revolutionary, absurd, and irreligious sentiments; and of endeavoring, by any means they may choose, to convert others to their opinions and practices. In the view of such men there is nothing settled—nothing free from doubt; and, beginning at this point, they are prepared to call in question with equal indifference the existence of a God, the authenticity of his Word, the immortality of the soul, and even the existence of sin and holiness. Nothing is too sacred to be disputed, and nothing too important to be pulled down. They have no affirmative belief, but live wholly in the regions of doubt and contention. The whole system of human knowledge is frittered down to the mere experience of the senses; and the man that would believe or trust in the God that made him, is pitied and shunned by them as a

poor and deluded fanatic. There is no progression of knowledge or science ; each generation must begin at the point of absolute nothingness, and leave the world under the impenetrable veil of universal disbelief. If such men could convert the world to their opinions, they would banish hope, and joy, and happiness, and introduce in their place gloom, despair, and death.

We cheerfully admit that all candid inquiries after truth should be left free to the entire range of human thought and study ; and that there should be no abridgment of the right of free discussion, calculated in any way to hinder or impede the rational investigation of truth. But when a man has deliberately stultified himself with the doctrines of atheism, or even of infidelity, it cannot be necessary that he should be permitted to stultify others. He has no natural or moral right to believe anything that is not true ; yet, inasmuch as civil governments have not the ability of regulating the belief of their constituents, they are obliged to let every man believe as he will, and to leave him in this respect accountable only to God. This surely is liberty enough for any reasonable man to enjoy. It can neither be expedient nor right that a man who rejects the government of God, should be permitted, from a mere love of mischief, to seduce others from their allegiance. His object in so doing cannot be either benevolent or honest ; for he does not propose to accomplish by it any beneficial purpose whatever. Why, then, should he be permitted to do that which, while it cannot possibly do any good, is sure to generate the very worst evils that have ever afflicted the race ? God holds every man to an individual responsibility for the accuracy of his belief ; but He has directed that no one should be permitted to corrupt others. How then can atheists and infidels be permitted to ridicule and contemn God ? Will it do them any good ? Will it not, rather, plunge them and others into the gulf

of endless darkness? Nothing can be safely allowed that tends to undermine and bring into disrepute the doctrines and writings of the Prophets and Apostles. Is it safe to let men preach and print what we know to be false and injurious, and what we would not for the world have our children either believe or hear? If the doctrine, that Infidels and Atheists have a right to undermine and overthrow our religion, if they can, either by scorn, blasphemy, falsehood, or argument, be correct, then is it evident that God was unrighteous in punishing men for such things in the days of Moses and Joshua. Unless it can be shown that such offences are injurious to society, there can be no principle of justice that will authorize their punishment by the civil magistrate. Sins against God that are not at all prejudicial to society, if there are any such, can be known only unto God who searches the heart; and, of course, He alone can punish them. But all offences against the law of God which tend to the injury or unhappiness of community are properly cognizable at the bar of human legislation. But the fact, that God directed the government of the Jewish nation to inflict temporal penalties upon those who violated any one of the Ten Commandments, as well as those in the first as those in the second table, shows conclusively, that such sins were regarded by him as injurious to the community; and that He considered them as proper subjects for the chastisements of the civil magistrate. "Why should we punish here for those sins that are exclusively sins against God? He cannot be injured by any such transgressions." But any sin that is calculated to injure his kingdom among men, or to defeat his revealed plans and purposes, with reference to the human race, or any portion of them, are necessarily injurious to men and are properly cognizable by human authority. Civil governments cannot, therefore, tolerate the practice of seducing men into a rebellion against the moral govern-

ment of God. Every child of Adam has a deep interest in that government, and must be more or less directly affected by every act which tends to its derangement. Men ought, then, to be punished in this life for every overt act of transgression, publicly committed against the government of God. It is plain that the promulgation of infidel and atheistic sentiments is calculated to scatter wide the seeds of rebellion against God, and bitter hostility to his government : and it should of course be prevented by the interference of the civil magistrate.

SWORD OF THE SPIRIT.—Some good men have claimed that we need no civil laws against any acts touching the *first* table of the Decalogue, because in their opinion our religion does not need any *such props*. “The sword of the Spirit,” in Gospel days, they think to be quite sufficient. But let it be remembered that statutes prohibiting such offences are not created to sustain or prop up religion. They are designed to prevent men from injuring others by adopting any course of action at war with it, and calculated to impair the general welfare ; and it has been already shown that such laws, notwithstanding the influences of our religion, and notwithstanding the influences of the Holy Spirit, are as necessary even now as are the laws against theft, robbery, and murder. Both classes of these laws are found in the same code ; yet no one has ever dared to say that, because religion does not need any prop, no laws are necessary against the latter class of offences. The fact is that God has given us laws and penalties to prevent all those acts which are calculated to loosen in the public mind the bonds of morality and religion, as well as to prevent those which tend to injure our civil rights ; and who will dare to contemn the gift of God as unnecessary and valueless ? Whatever tends to weaken the force of obligation must also tend in the present state of society directly and efficiently to the destruction of indi-

vidual and social rights. God ordained that both should be preserved inviolate; and if we neglect to use the means which He has pointed out for their preservation, we shall prove ourselves guilty of infidelity to his interests and purposes, and destitute of good-will to our neighbor. Without the one we have no right to expect the security of the other.

When God had brought the Children of Israel out of the land of bondage, and given them a clear revelation of his moral law, He did not, as a civil Governor, leave it optional with them whether they would serve him or not. But He immediately ordered the making an altar of earth, and *required* that they *should* offer him sacrifices thereon. He not only forbade that they should make and serve false gods, but He commanded that they *should serve him, and him only*. In all places where He recorded His name, He waited to bless; and those who, from disregard of His command, were not habitually found "waiting before him," He regarded and treated as guilty of offering to him the greatest possible indignity. He was not satisfied by the mere non-resistance of his subjects—He required active and diligent service. He entered into a minute detail of all the principles of civil administration, by which, as in Ex. chap. 21 and 22, and onward, it will be seen that all who insulted him were to be punished with death, or with lighter penalties, as well as those who trespassed upon the rights of their neighbor. In passing along, we may see also that God, their temporal as well as their spiritual Ruler, their Legislator as well as the Administrator of their laws, commanded and expected of the children of Israel, obedience in all things; He did not leave them even *civilly* free to neglect his service. They were required to serve and obey him, not only because it was right in itself, but because his honor and glory in the eyes of the heathen, as well as their own peace, comfort,

and prosperity, required it. God punished as severely for the sin of rebellion against *him*, as he did for sins against a fellow-creature—proving conclusively that He had a right, as civil Governor, to require of his subjects those moral and religious services which were due to his moral administration.

Infidels and Atheists claim not only the right to *withhold* their services from God, but also the right to ridicule and abuse him and his word, and to set him and his people at open defiance. Wherever this claim has been allowed, they have uniformly overturned everything that was pure and holy, and of good report. *This does not prove that error is more powerful than truth.* It only shows that it has many advocates, is always dangerous, and more agreeable to our corrupt propensities; and that it urges men to embrace it in despite of truth, and of all the obligations which they owe one to another, or to God. It is from this cause, that these debasing and damning principles which hurry men on to perdition, receive their chief impulse; and hence, if tolerated, they are always found to increase with great rapidity. In view of all such consequences, He, as the civil Legislator of the Jews, prohibited the promulgation of all irreligious sentiments, and punished with death, all who attempted to draw away others from the worship of the true God. He could not otherwise have secured the prevalence of the true worship, even among his own people. Although He was himself their Instructor, their Lawgiver, and their civil and moral Governor, and although He was almost daily exhibiting to them his miraculous power and his omniscience, yet He found that He could not, while tolerating the free promulgation of infidel and idolatrous opinions and practices, secure his own peculiar people even from openly disowning his word and ordinances, or from direct and open rebellion against his authority. Has God ever taught that Christian nations must tolerate, out of respect

to the right of free discussion, the practice and promulgation of infidel or atheistic opinions? Has He taught, that in order that the potency of truth, in opposing infidelity, may be apparent, we must give to the licentious creed of infidels, deists, and atheists, the same freedom to do mischief, which the Christian has to do good? Did He leave it for THOMAS JEFFERSON to discover that it would be safe to tolerate error, so long as truth was left free to combat it? Oh! how fallacious are all such reasonings, the opinions of Jefferson, to the contrary notwithstanding. As well might we say to the LICENTIOUS MAN; violate, as often as you please, the precept of the seventh commandment—exhort all you meet with, both publicly and privately, to do the same—collect all the obscene prints that have been invented since the flood, and put them into the secret chamber, and into the hands of every child, into every family drawing-room, every public hall, and place of resort—proclaim constantly, from the house-top, and in the ear of every man, woman, and child, that the seventh commandment is a cruel, unkind, and superstitious restriction of one of their natural, innocent, and dearest rights. Yes, let him proclaim that if there were a God He would never have given a command so oppressive and tyrannical. Now, who does not know that such proclamations and exhibitions, even though *met by the truth* at every corner, would unavoidably pollute the public conscience and debase the public morals? The very first effect of such influences, is, to shut the public ear against the truth; and if she had a thousand tongues, and to every tongue a trumpet louder than ten thousand thunders, she could never awake the dead or slumbering conscience, or quench the fires of lust. If such a system could not be tolerated, how then can we tolerate breaking up the chief fountain of obligation protected by the first table of the Decalogue? It would not only open the door of lust, but

it would fan the very flames which would end in the unquenchable fires.

Who can believe that God either was willing, or expected, when He uttered amidst the thunderings of Sinai, the command "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me," that Infidels and Atheists should have the liberty of rising up and proclaiming in his very face and in the face of the world, "There is no God—there are a thousand Gods—all the world is God—and no one thing *alone*, is God; that command, purporting to come from one as Supreme, is arbitrary, selfish, and unreasonable, and I will have nothing to do with it—it ought to be scouted from the world?" Or after declaring, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," etc., would God be pleased with, or allow the grossest idolatry, simply because he could preach his truth against it? Even admitting that his truth could be brought to bear upon the offender, and upon community, is it probable that God would suffer the Infidel, satan-like, to rise up among his sincere and faithful worshipers, and proclaim that the God they worshiped was a selfish, cruel, tyrant? Would He suffer himself to be slandered, with impunity, in the midst of his friends, in the very house "where his honor dwelleth?" Would it be easier to root out and destroy error, after it had long been sown by a thousand hands, and been nourished for ages by the genial soil of unbelief and rebellion, than to pluck it up when it first began to germinate, or to stifle it in infancy, and thus exclude it from all places where it could take root and revive? Or will it be claimed that the power and goodness of God will be more clearly manifested in suffering the Infidel to destroy himself and others, by publishing his blasphemies and then be defeated, than they would be by the infliction of instant death, or by calling in the aid of the civil govern-

ment, to arrest the current of madness, at its very outbreak ?

What would be thought of the man who should undertake to write, or print down the command, "Thou shalt not kill," or "Thou shalt not steal," either by disproving its genuineness, or ridiculing its Author ? Do the community allow such things ? Would they endure such conduct ? By no means. Not a voice can be heard in defence of it. When infidelity is seen to grasp the murderous knife, or the incendiary's torch, or the felon's bag—when she puts forth her hand to touch our life, or the life of our neighbor, or even our property, we are sufficiently sensitive : we can then denounce her as the enemy of both God and man. But so long as she contents herself with abusing God, his reputation, and his word, although we know perfectly well that she is at the same time, doing all she can for our injury, we are comparatively dumb and motionless. There happens to be in the latter case, an unaccountable willingness, if not desire, to witness her blasphemies, as though we expected some mysterious interposition of the Almighty, for the vindication of his honor and justice, or for the destruction of all who oppose him. We say then to every man who loves his country, or his country's God, beware, lest, at the day of final account, you be found guilty, by your false sympathy or timidity, of strengthening the hands of the wicked against the Most High, and of conniving at the bitter abominations which spring from a heart of unbelief, excited to frenzy by the doctrines of infidelity and atheism. Infidels can only be controlled by civil law. They acknowledge no other, either human or Divine. Neither do they care for the rewards or threatenings of a future life. They are deaf to the voice of entreaty, and deaf to the voice of God. See to it, then, that they are made to fear the voice of man, else must we ere long, experience their loving-kindness which

is cruel, and their tender mercy, which is temporal and eternal death.

It should be ever remembered that MORAL "SUASION" (meaning good advice merely), will never keep the highway-robber from our purse, or the incendiary's torch from our dwellings, or the druekard's bowl from poisoning our comforts, wasting our goods, and endangering our lives. It will not make the avaricious man give to his servants the physical rest and moral training of the Sabbath. It will not create a sober, quiet, and happy community, any more than it will preserve in them a reverence and respect for the attributes and character of God; and since we find men as they are, prone to wickedness "as the sparks to fly upward," we should throw around them all those restraints both civil and religious, which we have a right to use, else many of them will not only go down to the pit themselves, but they will in all probability drag thousands and millions along with them. Civil laws, as we have before remarked, that are designed to secure such an end, do not force the *conscience* of any man. Has the Infidel a conscience which prompts him to destroy his soul, or to drag the unwary and the unsuspecting down to the chambers of the second death? Is it the conscience of the highwayman that prompts him to rob? Does a pure conscience ever incite to lewdness, profanity, or murder? The supposition is preposterous. The conscience of an infidel, if such he has left, is always on the side of truth and of God. All the force which we ask for is, to aid the conscience and the Holy Spirit in pulling wicked men "out of the fire." We know that this ground has been abandoned by some good men to the common enemy; yet we believe it to be tenable, and according to the word and mind of God. We should hasten to the help of the wicked man's conscience; we should neither listen to the doctrine that good advice is the only

instrument which we have a right to use, in preventing men from acting and speaking against God and his holy religion, nor to the cry of "Church and State," which has become the watchword of infidelity and licentiousness, but proclaim with all boldness, that all men, as well Infidels and Atheists, as Christians, are bound to love, worship, and obey God—to attend upon his ordinances, and "walk in the way of his statutes."

We have seen already, that Infidels and Atheists by denying the only true source of obligation, have undertaken to cut themselves loose from duty and from God, and that we have no means of restraining them left, but that of force. So long as they retain their principles of disbelief, so long, whether in this world, or in the next, they can only be kept from open and vigorous hostility to all that is called good, by direct force, or by a system of law whose penalties are direct and irrefragable. These are the only influences which can reach them. If we would keep them from mischief in the present life, if we would prevent them from dragging to perdition all with whom they come in contact, we must arrest their mad purposes of disseminating their poisonous sentiments, by laws whose penalties relate to their present state of existence, and which are severe enough to excite their apprehensions and their fear. When a nation has become so corrupt that it will not make or execute such laws, and also laws to prohibit all outward violations of the Divine law, it stands upon the very brink of destruction. These men, as well as others, are, in a most important sense, the property of the nation; and they have no right, either social, political, civil or moral, to lessen the value of that property, by corrupting themselves, or by polluting the public conscience. They are not their own, and they should not be permitted to say and do whatever they please, irrespective of the rights of their fellow-men; but those

who are entrusted with the business of making and executing civil laws, are bound to see that they are kept within the rule of doing whatever the general happiness and interests of community require. They must not be permitted, outwardly, to disobey God. No good citizen will object to any such restraint.

It would seem, from what has been said relating to the character and conduct of the antediluvians, that God could not control the influences of infidel and irreligious principles, until after He had introduced the method of inflicting the most severe penalties in the present life, as well upon those who sinned against *himself*, as upon those who sinned against their *fellow-men*. The antediluvians, for aught we know, for the want of such restraints, persisted in corrupting themselves, until they became too wicked to live ; and, then, by an act of terrible and vindictive justice, they were swept from the earth and “ cast down to hell.” Like many of later times, they were guilty of destroying themselves. “ Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself.” Had not the arm of civil government been called to the aid of God’s moral administration, we have no reason to doubt that generation after generation would have followed in their footsteps, until the entire race would have been swallowed up in one common ruin. We see, then, that there is a necessity for laws whose penalties, relating to the present life, can be both SEEN AND FELT.

WAS IT RIGHT IN GOD TO CREATE THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE, and to subject all its parts to certain fixed and immutable PHYSICAL LAWS ? Was it right that He should give to the brute creation a law of instinct, which would prove equally certain and equally efficient ? A wise, benevolent, and Omniscient Being could not do otherwise. God has thus done ; and since the time of their creation, they have all moved along in their order in perfect obedience to his will. Suppose, now, that the sun should break loose from its

orbit—that the planets and comets should become unruly, and fly hither and thither throughout the realms of space—that the earth we inhabit should become irregular in its revolutions, so as to give us by turns, day for night, and night for day, summer for winter, and winter for summer, so that no calculations could be made as to the seasons—that the tides should become irregular like the winds, so that the *flood* should at any moment be liable to take the place of the *ebb*—that the elements should at irregular intervals change their natures, so that the air at one moment should suffocate, and at another exhilarate; that the fire should freeze when it was expected to give warmth, or that water should burn. Would not the animal and vegetable kingdoms be deranged? They would be driven to utter annihilation. Since God is able to control these things, and since He has created men and placed them in a world of probation where they must come in immediate contact with them, has He not voluntarily assumed an obligation to see that they do not render life intolerable? While He permits us to live in a state of probation, is it not morally certain that all these things will be so far controlled, as not to interfere with our free agency, or with our rational enjoyments when obedient? All must see that if He would retain the confidence of his intelligent universe, and at the same time give to men a space for repentance, He could not do otherwise. We accordingly find that everything which He has created—men and devils only excepted—answers perfectly to its original design, and is entirely obedient to the will of God. Men and devils were also created in equal wisdom, and if they had been guided by the law of force, they would have continued to act out the purposes of God. But as mind can be no more controlled by force, than matter can by motive, they were left to act as free, moral, and accountable agents; and they fell from their state of rectitude,

became the enemies of God, and have been laboring, ever since their fall, to thwart his purposes and overturn his government. A moral agent is governed, so far as his heart or service to God is concerned, only by motive ; force, strictly speaking, has nothing to do with it. If such an agent does not wish to love God, there is nothing in the universe that can compel him to do it. If it were otherwise, he could not be a free agent.

What, then, was to be done with man ? Should he be left, not only to withhold his heart, and his affections from God, but to do everything he pleased for the purpose of misleading and debasing others ? Ought he to be left free not only to destroy himself, but also, to call down the judgments of heaven upon others, as well as upon himself ? While he is left entirely free, to love or hate whichever he pleases, no law which afflicts him for his misconduct can be regarded as changing his position as a free agent, or as infringing his liberty in any proper sense of that term ; he is a free agent under law, and it would be very strange, when he had violated the law, if he had been left free to choose whether he would suffer its penalty. His choice is made in the act of transgression. By the institution of human governments, God designed to place him under a system of law, by which the penalty due to a wrong choice, should immediately follow its exhibition in his conduct, and by which he might be deterred from doing those things that were calculated to injure others. The administration of civil governments was designed to concur with, and aid the Divine administration.

We have already seen that God could not control the external conduct of wicked men by persuasion alone, but only through a system of laws having civil or physical penalties addressed to their senses, to be administered by human tribunals and not by a tribunal that is invisible. He could not, in view of the perversity of their unbelief,

rely either upon the retributions of eternity or upon any penalty which was to be inflicted by an unseen hand. Since God cannot, for this reason, control wicked men or prevent them from injuring and polluting their fellow-beings, without either destroying their freedom or resorting to the agency of human government, and since He has chosen the latter alternative, it is as much the duty of civil legislatures and communities to lend their aid, as it is the self-imposed duty of God to regulate and keep in their courses the otherwise unruly objects and agents of his material system: for wicked men, unless they were influenced and controlled by human instrumentality in the manner here pointed out, would introduce as much confusion and disorder into the moral world, as the things in nature, when out of place, would in the natural. Such men may be made to fear the arm of power that is seen, although less potent than the one that is unseen; while they would unhesitatingly abuse and defy every species of power that was invisible. It is true that God can inflict penalties of a physical nature upon the transgressors of his law without human assistance; He can both kill and make alive. But if He were to strike dead every murderer by a thunderbolt or by any hidden means, or if He were to lay every felon upon a sick-bed or hide him in some deep cavern of the earth, it is not difficult to see that they would deny his hand in all these inflictions. They would all be attributed, as they ever have been, to some occult process of nature, and be supposed to have no connection with the crime which provoked them. But this is not a state of retribution for individuals, and such a system would, therefore, seem to offer some excuse for attributing results of this kind to anything else, or to chance even, rather than to him.

EFFECTS OF INFIDEL LECTURES.—But it may not be unfitting to look at some of the effects of Infidel opinions and

lectures. It has fallen to our lot to witness some of these effects in the newly gathered and beautiful village of ——. It was settled by intelligent, industrious, enterprising, and moral immigrants from New England, and contained, at the time of which we speak, several churches and other public buildings, with a population of about one thousand souls, enjoying peculiar advantages. For many years after its settlement was commenced, its inhabitants were unusually prosperous and happy. They were not less distinguished for their morality and religion than for their industry and enterprise. Neither Sabbath-breaking, profanity, nor intemperance had, to any great extent, as yet, appeared among them; and open and avowed infidelity was absolutely unknown. But before many years had elapsed, an apostate from Christianity visited the place, and like the great leader of all apostates, commenced an exterminating war against the Christian religion and religious institutions, both in private conversations and by public lectures. His general manners and address were easy and prepossessing, and he had that peculiar tact which enables some men, at a single bound, to dive into the bosom of any society which they may happen to chose. He was a professional man, a popular and highly gifted speaker, and intelligent in conversation. Possessing a good degree of refinement, he could not, at first, descend to the low and vulgar habits so common to men of his life; but he was well fitted to arrest the attention, gain the ear, and pervert the conscience of an educated and quiet community. His first efforts were rather noiseless, and before the community were really aware of his true character, he had gained many admirers, and the leaven of his pestilential influence had so poisoned the mass, that great numbers gathered to listen to his insinuating discourses, and to hear what he had to say against the religion of the bible and its Divine Author. As soon as his true character and

designs were fully developed, the friends of virtue and of good order became alarmed at what he was doing, and especially so in view of the reception with which his doctrines had been met by many from whom they had expected better things. The friends of truth began immediately to ply the only weapon of *their* warfare—good advice, the very weapon which is so loudly extolled for its omnipotence at the present day. They resorted to public preaching, to the press, to private arguments and persuasion, and to personal remonstrances, as the only means of rolling back the tide of corruption which was breaking in upon them at every point. But the more they trembled, remonstrated, and warned, the more determined and fierce was their antagonist, until at length his party became so strong that he fixed among them his residence. Many of the villagers embraced his sentiments. He drew full houses, crowds gathered in from the surrounding country, and drank deeply of the gilded poison, as the very essence of human bliss, and every effort seemed to result in deeper and broader influences, until it had pervaded every portion of the community, and even the sanctuary of his own domestic fireside. The seed thus sown has since been springing up and maturing the appropriate fruits of infidelity; for the friends of morality opposed error, in *practice* as well as in principle, *only* by good advice.

Among the immediate and obvious results of this state of things, was the fact, that many of the class who had been thus corrupted, became idle and neglected their business and their families. This led to the establishment of groceries and the multiplication of taverns; and *these*, to drunkenness, to profane swearing, to gambling, to Sabbath-breaking to quarrelling, and to pauperism; and pauperism led to the exposure of the property of the village and county for sale at public auction; for the county had

become well nigh bankrupt, in consequence of the mismanagement of individuals belonging to this very class.

In some of their taverns may still be seen, night after night, the GAMBLING TABLE surrounded by some of their lawyers, grocers, mechanics, and other young men of the village, burning the midnight lamp, drinking from the intoxicating bowl, and by their oaths, and curses, and quarrels, disturbing the quiet and peaceable traveler at a season when all nature seems to be inviting to repose. At the same table you may also see THE YOUNG MAN of excellent talents, of respectable PROFESSION, and of good parentage, who, in a distant city not long before, wept as he knelt with a pious brother and sisters before the altar of prayer, while they poured forth their united supplications to the God of heaven for his salvation. Whilst kneeling in that holy place he seemed to be in the very gateway of heaven, and high hopes were entertained that his future life would be both honorable and useful. It was then hoped also that he had been truly converted to God, but, alas! having been hurried onward by the rapid and deceitful currents of skepticism, he is sinking into the vortex of that maelstrom of death.

ANOTHER YOUNG MAN may be seen as a daily visitant of these houses, who "IS THE SON OF A WIDOW," and for aught we know, the "only son of his mother." He often calls for admittance into these gateways of death in the coldest mornings of a northern winter, long before day-break, from whence, on the previous evening, perhaps, he had been turned away, drunken, quarrelsome, and in disgrace, to lodge in the streets, or to stagger home to the miserable abode of his disconsolate and broken-hearted mother, whom his extravagance and dissipation had reduced almost to beggary. At night, whilst reveling amid the fumes of alcohol, and joining in the chorus of drunken revelry, he is visited with withering frowns and scorching

anathemas, and plunged headlong from the door by the very man who will be ready, on his return in the morning, to greet him with smiles, invite him to be seated as an honorable and liberal guest, and extend to him the best that his house affords, not forgetting even the bowl of madness and of death. He still has a little money, and although it is supposed to have been stolen, it is current and as good as any with the complacent landlord, who, vampyre-like, stands in his bar and smilingly deals out to the young man his morning dose of "distilled damnation," and then seats him at his table, half drunk as he is, to insult those who are sober, by his awkward attempts to force into his loathing stomach the food which it needs, but rarely obtains. Has this young man, according to the rule laid down, Deut. 21 : 18-21, a right to be a drunkard or a glutton? No, he should be restrained. His mother is bound to inform against him, and it is the duty of the public authorities to take care of him.

We also find at these *groggeries* A CONSTANT VISITANT, who is past the meridian of life, and whose appetite for strong drink has been so often enticed and flattered by these rum-selling gamblers in human misery, that he is no longer able to control it. Like the young man whom we last mentioned, he too is daily led like an ox to the slaughter and is rapidly hastening to a drunkard's grave. He was once a man of wealth and a respected member of society. His family is quite large; and some of his children are still young. But he is now embarrassed with an accumulating debt, for the payment of which he has been compelled to pledge his property; yet he has been daily spending the money for grog which might have been applied to its redemption, until the day of payment has passed; his engagements have not been met, and he has not the ability to meet them. His money has gone into the hands of the mercenary grog vender, and his estate is now forfeited and lies at the mercy of his creditors, while his

health, his industry, and his economy, have all been sacrificed for the gratification of his debased appetite. By these and other means, equally nefarious, these death-dealing scions of infidelity, are constantly destroying the property, and health, and happiness of their neighbors, plundering their families, and robbing their creditors, as well as country, State, and our whole world, of their morality and their wealth. Nay, more : they are laboring incessantly to murder the souls and bodies of all who come within their reach.

A MIDDLE-AGED MAN traveling WITH HIS WIFE and children, on foot, to the far west, lately spent a day in this same village, in labor, for the purpose of procuring money to defray their expenses onward. His appearance was such as to indicate respectability and intelligence ; but no sooner was his money earned than he was enticed into one of these houses for the purpose of drinking. Before sunset he had become drunk and noisy ; and separated from his wife and children, they knew not where to find him, nor what was his condition. As soon as it grew dark, these breeders of mischief, after draining his pockets and his purse, and after brutalizing his intellect, and drying up the sources of domestic affection, turned him into the streets where he was soon discovered by the writer in a state of beastly intoxication. He was lying upon his back on the side-walk, surrounded by some fifteen or twenty boys who were preparing to give him what they called "a training." After besmearing him with mud, and snow, and water, and while he was muttering in their ears the half-articulated oaths and curses of drunken impotence and revenge, they dragged him off into the mud, and there left him to dream away the joys of inebriation. Whether he lived until morning the writer cannot state ; but if he was again permitted to meet his wife and children, how bitter and humiliating must have been their tears !—how articu-

late their groans!—how bright the prospect of starvation and death!

But it is also the practice at these houses to sell intoxicating drink on the Sabbath, contrary to law, as well to the people of the village as to travelers; and one of these vendors, who is thus violating the laws of his country and of his God, is a professor of religion and a member of a Christian Church. He was received into the Church, strange as it may seem, while actually engaged in the business; and producing scenes, and partaking of guilt, similar to what we have just described.

PROFANITY.—The traveler or boarder, staying at these public-houses and seated in his room, is compelled, week after week, to listen to hundreds of profane oaths and blasphemies per day, exuding alike from the palsied lip of polluted old age, from men in their prime, from young men, and boys not exceeding the age of four or five years, from landlords, citizens, and strangers. Some of these blaspheming men have become so bold and shameless, that there is not a secret chamber or nursery in the whole village where their terrible voice is not heard; and, as might have been expected in such circumstances, the children of the place exhibit among themselves a most horrible familiarity with the dialect of hell; which is taught even to the tongue of lisping infancy. No individual, whether male or female, whether citizen or stranger, can avoid hearing the name of his God blasphemed in terms of the most vulgar abuse; and, if the voice of Christian faithfulness is ever raised in private or public remonstrance, it is instantly silenced by the clamor of remorseless impiety and insolent bravado. The whole atmosphere seems to be filled with echoing curses. Such men do not regard the retributions of eternity; and the civil law against their offences has become, in this community, a dead letter—worse than useless, because it

teaches them to expect impunity for other offences. Nothing can hinder such men from polluting the ear of purity, unless it be death—the arm of civil magistracy—or the power of Divine Grace ; but against the latter influence, they have encased themselves in the mantle of bitter scoffing. If the doors of the everlasting pit should be unbarred, would they not gather up the wailings and blasphemies of damned spirits, and hurl them with infuriate zeal at the very throne of God? And as the light of the Sabbath dawns upon this once beautiful and quiet village, inviting its inhabitants to the house of God, we are compelled to hear the rumbling of carriages, and stages, the blowing of horns ; and see the gathering in taverns and dram-shops, of drunkards and scoffers. The post office is opened and thronged with citizens, many of whom are Church members ; and even county officers have been seen going there directly from the house of God, and from their seats in the choir. Some of this people may be seen on the Sabbath, riding from town to town in parties of pleasure ; and others, roaming in the fields and forests ; but few are in the habit of attending upon the ordinances of Jehovah. There are four or five Christian denominations in the village, two of which have recently dismissed their ministers, on the alleged ground, that they are unable to support them. As a general thing, the church members seem to be twice dead and plucked up by the roots. Some of them, it is said, make and attend large fashionable parties, play cards among themselves and with persons out of the church, drink wine, and break the Sabbath.

Now, why is all this listless apathy and sloth in the Church, and why so much open infidelity and immorality without? It cannot be in consequence of not having a sufficient number of convenient houses for public worship ; for these are already provided. Neither is it because there are few who profess to be followers of Christ. Nor

can it be for the want of Ministers, for there are settled pastors, schools, and reverend gentlemen teaching, editing, pleading at the bar, and others superannuated. But the descriptions which we have given are not fiction; they are sober and living realities—we can give both names and dates. Nor are the results of infidelity, as here exhibited, in any respect peculiar to this village. Wherever infidelity is thus propagated and received, its influence must prove equally demoralizing and injurious.

In view of this short history, we ask, whether it is best to let such things alone? Must we suffer Infidels to publish their sentiments however and wherever they choose? Suppose we should put these questions to the very man who produced the results of which we have just been speaking. He still survives, and we hope is a converted man; and he cannot have forgotten the success of his lectures. What would be his answer? He probably would tell us that it would be neither safe nor right to suffer Infidels to do as he has done; that it would have been far better for that county, and for himself and family, too, if he had been shut up in the county jail, and kept there at the public expense. He might go still farther, and confess that it would have been better if he had been sunk to the bottom of the lake.

In the village just described, this thing was let alone, except so far as it may have been checked by the influence of good advice, and that alone, in such cases, has rarely effected anything worth mentioning. What has been the result? Within the last six or eight years, iniquity has increased in that place at least a thousand-fold; and if it should increase as rapidly for a quarter of a century to come, it would be as unsafe and uncomfortable a residence for a Christian, as was Sodom or Gomorrah in the days of Lot. Shall this community go on as they have begun? Let them go on but a little longer in this course,

and their destruction, and the destruction of all around them, will be sure. They occupy an important place. Many others will copy their example : and that example is both seen and felt, wherever these men are permitted to lodge, even for a night. No ; they should not be suffered thus to go on ; these influences should be checked. The citizens of that place have no right to keep among themselves, much less to suffer to go abroad, among other communities, men who habitually curse, and swear, and get drunk, and profane the Sabbath—contemn and blaspheme the God of Heaven, and ridicule his Word and ordinances. Every family is under obligation, so to train its members that they shall neither pollute themselves nor their neighbors ; and on the same principle, the *community* of which we are now speaking, are bound to prevent their immoralities, and put a stop to the contaminating influence which is spreading widely around them. The traveler who spends in their village a day or a week, or a month, has a right to be protected from the insulting and demoralizing conduct of these wicked men, and from the rudeness, incivility, and blackguardism of these rowdies and boys. Other communities have a right also to claim protection from the effect of their polluting example ; and this claim should be promptly recognized and met. What right have this people to suffer any of their number so to conduct, that when they go to Buffalo, Columbus, New York, or Boston, the law-abiding inhabitants of those cities will be disturbed and polluted by their horrid blasphemies and vices ? If they have such a right, then any wicked man may so train, or suffer “to come up,” his child that, when he crosses the threshold of his neighbor, he will, both by example and precept, teach his children to blaspheme their God, and abuse his Word and ordinances. This community has a common interest with every other community in the nation ; and like the differ-

ent partners of a firm, they are bound to adopt a line of conduct which will conduce to the general welfare.

These rum and whisky sellers, too, are a part of the same community; and instead of laboring to destroy and curse their neighbors, they should be compelled, if they will not do it willingly, to render such services as will prove mutually beneficial. If they will not do so, it would be better for them, and better for the world, if they were made to pay the forfeit of their liberty. They, together with the gambler, the profane swearer, and the scoffer, are doing more hurt than could be done by an equal number of incarnate devils. Have these profane and impious men a right to murder their own souls? Have they a right to destroy the souls of their children, and of the children of their neighbors, by teaching them to scoff at and blaspheme the name of God? Have they a right to set such examples before them, and lead them into such practices as shall make them bad members of society? Have they a right to withhold their services from co-operating with others in building up and sustaining our national welfare—or in promoting the interests and happiness of the community in which they dwell—or in efforts to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom throughout the earth? Had these dealers in alcohol a right to take away from that poor widow the money, the services, and the friendship of that unhappy son whom they have ruined? Had they a right to intoxicate that husband, cheat him of his wages, rob his wife and child of necessary food, and then, turning him out of doors, fill their hearts with bitter anguish by exposing him, in a helpless moment, to the "peltings of a pitiless storm," and of the still more pitiless boys? Had they a right to ruin that man of wealth, his family, and his creditors, by selling him poison, or depriving him of the means of redeeming his estate? Had those Infidels a right to seduce that young

professional man from the path of virtuous ambition, and from the ways of rectitude and peace? Had they a right by his seduction to place a thorn in the breasts of his friends and relatives, which can never be extracted until he is reclaimed? O what a curse are such men to society! It would be better for community if they were entirely excised. If such men will not cease to pervert others, is it not better that *they* should suffer, than that others should be corrupted and suffer in their stead? If God had directed us to punish, capitally, all who should be guilty of enticing others to infidelity or to vice, would not the justice of that direction be more distinctly apparent than it was in the sentence inflicted on the man who gathered sticks upon the Sabbath? Every community ought to know and feel, that so long as they have laws that are sufficient, and neglect or refuse to execute them, for the extermination of influences of this nature, God will curse them more and more, until their cup of iniquity is full, and then destroy them.

SUNDAY MAILS.—But the community of which we have been speaking is not the only one in our nation, by many thousands, that is thus afflicted: nor is it the only one in which Infidels are deliberately planning to undermine the Christian religion. Their plans are extensive and well-digested, and they extend to every portion of our country. One of their most terrible engines is that of Sunday mails; yet there are but few of the friends of religion that seem to care much about it. It carries with it an influence, however, which, unless speedily checked, must deluge the whole land with vice and crime. It should be known and felt, not only that men have no right to become Infidels, but that they are bound to yield their hearts to the holy influences of the Gospel, and to embrace the hopes of salvation which Jesus Christ hath purchased with his blood. No immoral or irreligious man can be as good a

citizen as is the consistent Christian ; and every community has therefore a right to claim, that each of its constituents should become a consistent follower of the blessed Savior.

Why are not civil laws just as necessary now as they were in the days of Moses ? Are not profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and scoffing, as ruinous to the temporal and eternal interests of men now, as they were then ? Since men cannot be restrained from embracing infidelity, from profane swearing, scoffing, licentiousness, intemperance, and Sabbath-breaking, unless by the force of civil governments administering penalties addressed to their senses—why should we not have adequate laws for the prevention of these and other vices, and rigidly enforce them ? We have no doubt that such a course of legislation would be highly offensive both to wicked men and to devils. They have, for a long time, taken it for granted, that the ground which we have here taken, has been quietly surrendered ; and if, when an attempt is made to recover it, the devil should rage, and excite the passions of his servants, even to a loud and clamorous tumult, we need not be either surprised or disheartened. But these are rights which never have been surrendered ; and, as they involve direct and positive duty, they cannot be yielded or relinquished without an open abandonment of the cause of virtue and of God. Some will say, perhaps, in answer to all this, that the course which we recommend is fraught with danger. But is it not still more dangerous to let it alone ? Why should we not follow the dictates of duty, then, and leave the consequences with God ? Our only safety in this life consists in the protection of Divine Providence ; and hence we shall always find that our real happiness, as well as our temporal interests, are best promoted by a rigid adherence to the rules of duty. But the

danger of this course is mostly imaginary. Let us look at a few facts :—

IN A SMALL VILLAGE, situated in the heart of a rich and populous country, and containing about seven hundred inhabitants, mostly enterprising and moral, there were, many years ago, about twenty individual residents, whose habits, principles, and character were altogether adverse to the general welfare. They were, more or less, intemperate, profane, and strongly addicted to GAMBLING. About half of them were well educated, and, as they thought, stood at the head of society, constituting its aristocracy of wealth and gentility, and regarding themselves as a *select* band of exclusives. They constituted a club of fashionable gamblers and fashionable drinkers, who looked down with profound contempt upon their more humble imitators, swore at their crimes, and despised their meanness. The other club were scarcely below them in point of intelligence, but they were noisy, and had added to their common stock of vices, the business of COUNTERFEITING. Each of these clubs had numerous associates from the surrounding country, who made a practice of visiting them on the Sabbath and other days, and of spending their time in gambling, drinking, and revelry. Although the former class did not partake with the others in their extended system of swindling and counterfeiting, there seemed to be among them all a community of effort in rolling onward the wave of blasphemy, scoffing, and drunkenness, as well as gambling, until not only the whole village, but the country around, to the extent of many leagues, gave fearful evidence that the work of moral and spiritual death had well nigh become universal.

At length, both of these gambling fraternities became so noisy, bold, and profane, so dishonest and dissolute, that their existence was intolerable. At this stage of the business, some of the county officers undertook their pro-

secution. But it was found that the unhallowed heaven had so affected both courts and juries that nothing could be done with them, and although frequently arrested, they were always discharged. Their success in evading the penalties of the civil law served to render them still more daring and reckless; and they gave themselves up to work out every abomination with greediness. While the great mass of the community were either indifferent to this terrible state of things, or paralyzed by fear, some six or eight resolute men determined to resort anew to the arm of civil justice, and to persevere in their efforts, until these depredators upon the public welfare should be brought to the punishment which their crimes had merited. When complaints were entered before the grand jury against some of the members of the second club, for swindling and counterfeiting, the whole brotherhood of both clubs united in a solid phalanx for their mutual defence, and for the prostration and destruction of their determined opponents. They poured upon their devoted heads the waves of slander and detraction, interfered with their business, called to their aid the demons of ridicule, abuse, and malice, and at length convened a public meeting, which was attended by men from the village and from the country to the number of four or five hundred, nearly all of whom united in adopting and publishing to the world a series of resolutions, denouncing their opponents as disturbers of the public peace, and claiming the protection of their sympathizing countrymen. These resolutions, to the eternal disgrace of all who had anything to do with them, were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, and for a time it seemed as if these fearless champions of law and justice would be entirely annihilated. But mark the results. When these men had done their whole duty, and seemed to be deprived of every human succor, the arm of God was stretched out

for the deliverance of his people, and this gang of desperadoes was punished and routed. Nearly all of the members of both clubs, and more especially of the first, have been called into eternity, to render up their accounts to God; while nearly all of those that remain have been stripped of their property, and driven from the place. Some went to the penitentiary, some died of drunkenness, some of consumption, and others by sudden judgments from heaven. A few still remain—they are the very dregs of society. Yet, so far as we can learn, not a single individual of those who combined together under the wing of the civil law for the purpose of abating these evils, has either failed in business or in character; nor has any one of them, that we know of, died. The path of duty is the path of safety.* Facts like these are calculated to encourage the lovers of purity and good order in their efforts to promote the general welfare, and they should encourage all wise men to restore the civil power to its original office of preventing the lawless from perverting and seducing the obedient. True, there was a mighty conflict, but righteousness prevailed. Had human governments uniformly acted upon this principle, we cannot doubt that many who have gone down to a dishonored grave, might have been saved, and lived to adorn, by their virtues, the very community which were compelled to cast out their names as evil.

SINS PROVOKE NATIONAL JUDGMENTS.—National sins and the sins of individuals are often the occasion of national judgments. While they always serve to loosen the bonds of society, and to deprive it of the chief sources of

* Will the reader turn to the facts in the report of the National Sabbath Convention, recently held at Baltimore, Md., published 1845—presented by Judge Hall, of Delaware. In all the cases cited by him, to suppress Sabbath desecration, the law gloriously triumphed, and the community justified its enforcement.

happiness, it is equally certain, that they always provoke the displeasure of God. "Did not thy father eat and drink, and DO JUSTICE? Then it was well with him." As God can only manifest that displeasure against national sins, in the present life, it must be obvious to every one, that He will rebuke them by national chastisements, or by the infliction of national suffering. Has a partner a right, by his misconduct, to wreck the hopes and destroy the happiness and prosperity of his associates? Certainly not. What right, then, has an individual, or any number of individuals by any acts of transgression, to expose the community in which he lives to the judgments of God?

NOAH was a good man, and, previously to the flood, he doubtless had large possessions. The world was at that period full of inhabitants, and much more populous, it is supposed, than it ever has been since. Yet, as "all flesh had corrupted his way before the Lord," and become exceedingly idolatrous and vile, God came out upon them in his wrath, and swept them all away, with the exception of Noah and his family; burying them, with all their possessions, in one common grave. Had these antediluvians a right so to conduct themselves toward the family of Noah and toward God, as to render it necessary for him, as moral Governor, to destroy them? In consequence of their sins, Noah was obliged to suspend his usual occupations, give up all his earthly plans, and commence the building of an ark. When the flood came, he and his family were rescued that they might re-people the earth; but we do not learn that any of his possessions were preserved to him, except the ark itself, and that, after the drying up of the waters, must have been entirely useless. Was not the wickedness of that generation a direct infringement of the rights of Noah? Had he not a right, while he was preaching righteousness to them, to require that they should so live, as that neither himself nor his family should, in *any*

respect, be involved in the consequences of their transgressions? If he had possessed the ability, would it not have been right for him to have restrained them by physical force, from doing those things which called down the vengeance of Heaven?

LOT was also a good man; and he had a right to expect and *require* of the Sodomites, among whom he had dwelt and become distinguished for his piety, such a course of conduct as should ensure his and their present and future happiness. They had no greater right, *indirectly*, to destroy his property and his domestic comfort, by provoking God to rain fire and brimstone upon them, than they would have had, *directly*, to accomplish the same end with their own hands. Yet this servant of God was compelled, in consequence of their sins, to leave his possessions and a part of his kindred, and, aged as he was, and penniless, to flee to the mountains for safety. There ought to have been ten righteous persons in the cities of the Plain to save him from such losses and privations, and from the death of his wife, as well as from the shame which was brought upon him by so great a change in the circumstances of himself and family. Yes, there ought to have been not only ten, fifty, a hundred, or a thousand righteous persons among them, but thousands. Every inhabitant of these cities was under as solemn obligation to be righteous as was Lot: and in the day of judgment they will be called to an account for their injustice to him, as well as for their blasphemies against God. The same principle will hold true in all cases where wicked men sin against God, by disregarding his claims and the claims of their fellow-men. Had the polluted inhabitants of these cities been properly restrained by a judicious and well-administered system of civil law, they might have been saved from their terrible overthrow, and many of them might have been saved from eternal death. Every man in this nation has a right to

claim of each of its citizens such a course of virtuous conduct as will secure the favor of our nation's God, and exempt us from the infliction of national judgments. We have a right to demand that our government should restrain all those outbreaking sins which are calculated to excite the displeasure of God, in order that we may long enjoy that peace, comfort, and prosperity which result from a faithful discharge of our duty to God and man.

PHARAOH, although a great king, had no right to hold the children of Israel in bondage. While thus doing, he was not only violating his duty to God and contemning his authority, but defrauding a large portion of his subjects of their dearest rights, and training up another portion in idleness and effeminacy. By this course of conduct he hardened his heart against God, and provoked him to bring upon Egypt the plagues of blood instead of water, of frogs, lice, flies, murrain, boils, hail, locusts, darkness, and the death of all the first-born in the nation. The Egyptians, as well as the Hebrews, will testify, in the judgment, that, it was on his account mainly that the former were so grievously afflicted; and the blood of all their slain may yet be found in his skirts. Let the rulers of other nations take warning by his example, and see that they do not, by their sins, call down upon the heads of their subjects the judgments of an offended God. Has any man a right to oppress and tantalize his fellow-men? Let every man, who has any doubt on this point, carefully read the history of these occurrences, and learn to respect and guard the rights and interests of his fellow-men not less than he does his own. God has always punished slave-holding by temporal judgments, and from the very nature of the case it is certain that he always will do so.

AARON had no right to violate the second precept of the Decalogue, although he was strongly urged to do so by

the people. He should have rebuked the people for their request, and then refused to comply with it. If this course had been adopted, the three thousand whom God caused to be put to death on that account might have been spared. The fact that the people solicit their rulers to sin, cannot justify them in yielding to it. They are "the ministers of God for good," and they are bound to rebuke and discountenance every species of sin, whether in themselves or in the people.

DAVID had no right to disregard the claims of Jehovah, and the rights of *his* subjects, as he did when he numbered his people, and in the matter of Uriah. The blood of the seventy thousand and of Uriah might be justly required at his hand; and were it not for his deep repentance, he would have been sent to "the perdition of ungodly men," as a just reward for his crimes. Good men have no greater license to sin than have the wicked. Both are equally responsible to God for their conduct, and equally responsible to the community.

IS SABBATH-BREAKING A CRIME?—No one can deny it to be criminal, except the Infidel or the lawless: the necessity of such an institution has been written in the constitution of things, and the law which protects it was written by the finger of God. It is not a law for individuals merely, but a law for the race. Neither individuals nor nations can violate it, without an open defiance of the Universal Governor. It cannot be right, therefore, that the United States' Government should encourage its MAILS to be carried on the Sabbath, or that it should compel its POST-MASTERS to open on that day their offices, either for facilitating the transmission of letters and papers, or for their reception or delivery. Such a course of conduct is as sinful as it would be for an individual to engage openly in the pursuit of his secular business—to pervert entirely the Sabbath from a sacred to a secular use; and

in some respects the sin is still greater, for the example of men in power is much more efficacious than that of individuals. For this, and other sins, it is evident that God has already begun to deal in judgment with this nation, and it becomes every individual solemnly to pause and inquire, What hath God wrought? What mean those revulsions in trade, and that derangement in the finances of this great nation, which have paralyzed her industry and dried up her resources? What means the fact that the Post-Office department has become bankrupt, and has incurred a debt of half-a-million of dollars? Why has it been forced to go a-begging? Why has the spirit of discord been so long permitted to reign in our national Capital? Why are we disgraced by the violence of faction even in the halls of legislation? Why are we thus frequently threatened with war? What mean the sudden and unexpected deaths, within a period of six months, of three of the highest officers of the government? Such things do not spring out of the ground: they come from the hand of God, and if we refuse to give heed to these solemn warnings, we may rest assured that the day is not distant when, as a nation, we shall be compelled to reap a still more bitter harvest of national judgments.

What right has the POST-MASTER-GENERAL, OR THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, to pour contempt upon the Law of God? When reminded of their sin, what right have they to make the matter still worse by claiming that they may justly dispense with the commands of Jehovah, whenever *they* believe that they can, by so doing, secure an advantage that is merely temporary? What right have these high functionaries to endanger the national prosperity and happiness, by adopting and continuing a system of national policy that involves a flagrant violation of the Divine law, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy?" What right have they to call down

upon the nation the judgments of God? When God comes out in his anger to chastise a nation for national sins, is it not evident that the righteous must necessarily suffer with the wicked? The friends of the Sabbath have a right to claim, therefore, that the policy of the government in this respect should be changed. Our rulers are bound to keep the Sabbath-day holy, and to see that they do not, by an ungodly example, contaminate the morals of the nation, and call down upon their constituents the judgments of Heaven. If this be the duty of our rulers, how clearly is it the duty of every citizen to employ his utmost influence for the purpose of securing a *general* observance of the Law of God? Every individual has some influence, and it should be directed to the immediate purpose of securing the stoppage of the Sunday mails. For, so long as these are continued, the sin of Sabbath-breaking will roll onward, like a mighty torrent, until it shall finally engulf our civil and religious liberties, and leave us as an enduring monument of the righteous indignation of Jehovah.

When the Law of God shall be recognized as the only basis of human government—when the great office of the civil code shall be to enforce, as far as practicable, the whole of the *moral*—and when civil governments shall recognize, and live up to the obligations resulting from their position as constituting a branch of the moral administration of God, we may be prepared to expect that all men will be led, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to worship and obey the living God. When such systems of government are established and *obeyed* throughout the world, the intelligent universe will be bound together in a golden chain of prosperity, benevolence, and peace. But whenever these principles of government are neglected, and wherever the people are suffered habitually to disregard any of the laws of Jehovah, there we shall always find ignorance, wretchedness, anarchy, and

crime. For proof of this position, we need only to turn our eye upon those nations who do not recognize these high responsibilities. Look at THE HINDOOS worshipping their millions of gods—at the inhabitants of BORNEO and NEW ZEALAND feeding on human flesh, and out of mere sport, or from the desire of acquiring fame, absolutely murdering their helpless infants, and their aged and infirm friends and neighbors—at the WHOLE PAGAN WORLD, even, groping its way through darkness that may well nigh be felt, and given up to the bloody rites of superstition and devil-worship. In these lands “no church-going bell is heard,” exclaiming:—

“The living to the Church I call,
And to the grave I summon all.”

They have no golden rule of benevolence; and the law from Mount Sinai is altogether unknown. Among such nations we do not look for filial affection, for conjugal fidelity, for rational and virtuous love, or for philanthropic action. But all is ignorance, confusion, and crime.

WAR.—Out of the one hundred and forty-five thousand millions of human beings which, it is supposed, have existed on the earth since the “Mosaic creation,” FOURTEEN THOUSAND MILLIONS (Burke says thirty-five billions), in violation of the command, “Thou shalt not kill,” have been SLAUGHTERED IN WAR—and who can calculate the number of men, women, and children, who have, during these sixty centuries, been sacrificed in heathen lands to the rights of paganism, or to honor the birth or death of kings? Who can number the multitudes that have perished by the hands of Nero and other blood-thirsty monsters, who have filled the land of their nativity with lamentation and bitter mourning? No nation, whose government either respects the moral law of God, or refuses to enforce its precepts by civil legislation and

civil penalties, can expect exemption from the dire calamities of violence, rapine, and murder ; or from the sundering of every social tie. Licentiousness, encouraged by pampered appetites, and strengthened by indulgence, has always built, in such circumstances, her brothels ; and she will ever have her gateways of death, her chambers of hell, and her implements of temporal and eternal ruin, unless restrained by the civil power.

Let any one read the histories of MUNGO PARK, of M. D. BRISSON, and other travelers among the Arabs and other heathen tribes ; and especially the history of Missions among the islands of the sea, and he will readily discover what are the natural effects of *legalized plunder*, of *covetousness*, and of *falsehood*. But let us come nearer home. Look at our multitudinous dram-shops, whose men, under the sanction and protection of law, are dealing out poisons, “ fire-brands, arrows, and death ”—bringing to a premature and dishonored grave innumerable victims, drawn from every rank in life, dashing the mightiest intellects, and desolating everything that is fair and beautiful. Is not this the forbidden fruit of which, if a man eat, he shall die ? Like France we have voted away our Sabbaths ; and we, too, are rapidly becoming like her an infidel people, preparing to act over in this land of freedom the scenes which filled her houses with weeping—her streets with blood—and her grave-yards with the mangled bodies of the good and the virtuous. The evidence of the truth of this remark may be seen in the prevalent contempt of serious things, opposition to the Sabbath, and to the sacred ministry, in mobs, riots, and dissensions, both civil and religious, and in the fearful increase of crime. Who can doubt that such things ought to be prohibited ?

LAWS REQUIRING RIGHT ACTION.—But what objection can there be to laws COMPELLING MEN TO DO GOOD, as well as prohibiting them from doing evil ? God has said,

“ Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is,” and “ Fear God and keep his commandments,” and why may not our civil legislatures say the same? We have seen that it would be for the best, if all men would do so; and that no man who withholds such service, can be as good a partner, or as good a citizen as he would be, if he were in this respect conscientious and faithful. Is it not clear that, inasmuch as God has commanded all men to serve him in acts of beneficence, and as such services are calculated to make them better citizens, and better husbands and fathers, they are bound to enter upon a course of universal benevolence? It is not enough that men should refrain from doing wrong that is merely a negative duty; they are required to do right. A state of passivity is a state of idleness; but God requires virtuous action. Civil governments claim the right to IMPOSE TAXES; and this is one way of compelling individuals, indirectly, to aid in the accomplishment of some particular duty, of which the general welfare demands the performance. Yet this right is almost universally conceded. Now, suppose the man of vicious propensities, or an actual CULPRIT, should set up a claim for exemption. “ What,” says the culprit, “ take *my* property to build court-houses where I may be tried for my liberty, or even my life—to erect jails, where I may be incarcerated to await my trial—penitentiaries, where I may be punished for my sins against the public? What! tax me to pay for the services of the sheriff who is to arrest me—of the judge and jurors who are to try and sentence me—of the jailor who is to bolt the doors of the prison-house upon me—or of the hangman who is to execute upon me the penalty of violated law? What arrogant intolerance.” But all this *is* done, notwithstanding these objections, because the public safety and the public good require it. If all this be right—and who will dispute it?—

then it is certainly right, on the same principle, to compel men to aid each other in the erection of school-houses, academies, and churches, and in the support of appropriate ministers and teachers, for these things are absolutely essential to the general welfare. This course of legislation would not involve a violation of the rights of conscience, so long as each individual was left entirely free to attach himself to any Christian denomination which appeared to him to be the right one; and so long as he was not compelled to aid a different sect from that which he has thus preferred. We say *Christian* denominations, because this is a Christian nation, and because no other religion is adapted to our institutions. Men ought to be willing to do these things—both because the public safety requires it, and because it is for the glory of God. Every government, whether Theocratical, Patriarchal, Monarchical, Aristocratic, Democratic, or mixed, is based on some religion; which, though unjust and corrupt in some instances, its subjects are nevertheless required to respect and obey. And why should we, whose religion is from above, be allowed to repudiate and condemn it?

A REFRACTORY HORSE.—If God is our Creator and knows what is best for us, and if He is omnipotent, and merciful, and good, then He has surely a right to our best services. Our eye has just been attracted by a *bad horse*. Harnessed, to a not unreasonable load, and treated kindly, yet he obstinately refuses to draw. When left to himself, without any urging or coaxing, he remains perfectly quiet, but the moment his owner attempts to induce him to go forward, he begins to rear, and plunge, and go backwards, as if determined to break away from all possible restraint. He is perfectly contented to stand still, but rather than work, he casts himself upon the ground, or against anything that happens to be within his reach, to the immi-

nent danger of his own life, and the life and property of his master. He will not do good. Now what ought to be done with such an animal? Must his owner quietly submit to his waywardness, take him out of the harness, and for the rest of his life, place him in the stall, and feed him highly as if he had merited such treatment by a long and useful life? Certainly not; and every one is ready to exclaim, COMPEL HIM TO WORK. If kind treatment will not answer the purpose, use *force*—apply the whip and *make* him work. In this judgment, wicked man, you condemn yourself. You are the creature, and the property of God, and you are also so related to the community to which you belong that while you owe him your best services, you are bound to do all you can, to promote the happiness of your associates—and the community have a right to expect it of you. In passing this sentence, you admit the right of the community not only to prevent you from doing wrong, but require you to do right. It is not true, however, that while you abstain from the performance of prohibited actions, you are doing no hurt—yet if it were true, the community would have no right to be satisfied with negative service. You belong to a kind of universal copartnership, each of whose members is deeply interested in your conduct and in your influence, and each and every of your associates demand that you should do all you can for the general welfare. If you neglect these duties, they have the further right to demand that you should suffer such an infliction, as will deter others from following your pernicious example.

Let it be repeated, then, that men are not only required to abstain from doing and saying anything that is wrong; they have no right to be idle, but must say and do much good. This is a duty which they owe to themselves, to their country, and to God. This is God's testimony, and who can give a better? No man would be taken into co-

partnership simply because he might agree to do no hurt to his firm. So God did not create men and place them in society merely that they should do no hurt : He requires them to accomplish much that is good. We must not only "cease to do evil," but we are to "learn to do well." If good advice, and good example, and kind treatment, cannot induce men to take a course that is in itself so reasonable, it is time to resort to the civil law, and to adequate civil penalties. Let it be distinctly understood and remembered, then, that no man has a right to injure the body, intellect, soul, reputation, influence, property, comfort, peace, and happiness of any other individual, or of the community in which he dwells. No man has a right to speak or write against God, his works, his Word, or his friends ; or to drink alcohol, to curse and swear, to violate the Sabbath, or to do anything which tends, in the least, to injure either himself or others, or to *oppose* anything that is good. A man has no right to stand idle in the vineyard of the Lord. He has many duties owing to himself, his country, and to God, which he is not at liberty to put off or neglect. They should be done *well* and *promptly*, and the interests of the community require that the man who will not act thus, after suitable instruction and admonition, should be excised, or placed in circumstances where he cannot pervert others by his example. General Christianity, as distinguished from all other forms of religion, is the acknowledged religion of our country ; and whatever is said against the Bible, or against the God, and Christ, and Spirit of the Bible, or against Christian institutions, is injurious to public morals and against the Common Law. Such actions ought, therefore, to be prohibited by statute ; and they should be visited with appropriate physical penalties. The standard of morality, and consequently the morality itself, of a pagan is altogether different from that of a Christian ; and this is owing to the difference in their reli-

gion. In every nation the standard of religion, not less than that of morals, is intimately connected with national happiness ; they are, in truth, altogether inseparable.

Those who claim that we ought to repeal our civil laws against Sabbath-breaking, profanity, and blasphemy, might as well go one step further and demand that we should give up the whole Decalogue. For it is not easy to see why a man may not, with as much propriety, be prevented from blaspheming or slandering his God, as from slandering or murdering his neighbor, who bears the image and is the property of God. Is the relationship which subsists between a man and his Creator less important than that which exists between him and his brother ? Some pretend that it is not only unnecessary, but wrong, for a parent to whip a STUBBORN AND REBELLIOUS CHILD. They seem to have become more wise than even the *Wise man himself*. He declares that, "he that spareth the rod, hateth his son." "Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." "Withhold not correction from the child, for if thou beatest him with the rod he shall not die." "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell."

Whatever course of human conduct is best calculated to promote the happiness and purity of the race, will most directly tend to promote the glory of God. For that which secures human happiness will best accord with the objects of the Divine administration. God being perfectly wise and benevolent must necessarily have given to his intelligent and accountable subjects a most perfect rule of right action for their government, as well in reference to their duties, one to another, as in reference to the duties which they owe to him, as their Creator and Moral Governor ; and as that rule has been clearly revealed to us in his Word, no one can err in adopting it, either as a rule of individual conduct, or as a rule of government for com-

munities and nations. That rule is contained in the moral law revealed on Mount Sinai, and it is as suitable and necessary now as it was four thousand years ago, and as needful to the present generation as it was to the Hebrews. To worship and obey the God of the Bible will most essentially contribute to individual and national prosperity. But to worship many gods, or no god, is to throw aside the instructions of Infinite Wisdom, to defy the power of Omnipotence, and to enthrone the goddess of human reason. That such conduct will ever be attended by unhappiness, and by individual and national calamities, is so evident that the "way-faring man, though a fool," cannot misjudge in the premises.

PEOPLE SUFFERING FROM UNJUST LAWS.—The people of the United States are now suffering under the operation of *several laws* that are *unjust*, and whose tendencies are decidedly *immoral*. Such are the laws which relate to the *distributing* of the *mails* on Sunday, the licensing the sale of intoxicating drinks, and to the rights and condition of OUR COLORED BRETHERN. All such laws, and all others, if any there be, that are repugnant to the Law of God, ought forthwith to be repealed. God will never suffer any nation long to prosper, that coerces its subjects to disregard his law. Nor can that people prosper who tolerate impiety and irreligion; or who refuse to acknowledge their obligations to God, as the Supreme Governor. The enemies to our religion and to our liberties are already coming in upon us like a flood. They are both numerous and strong; and they seem very nearly to have escaped from the vigilance of our spiritual Watchmen. Many individuals, who have both seen and felt our danger, have become timid and disheartened, until scarcely any one dares contend openly, that laws should be enacted to prevent the covetous and the unfeeling from selling alcoholic poisons, or from breaking the Sabbath, or from profanity, or from blasphemy. Why do not wicked men cry out

proscription, coercion, intolerance, fanaticism, and spiritual despotism, as well while reading the second table of the Divine law, as they do while reading the first? Why do they not complain as loudly of the civil laws which protect the second table, as they do of those which prohibit blasphemy, profanity, or Sabbath-breaking? The reason may be found in the fact, that they are compelled to see that unless the second table of the Decalogue is enforced by civil penalties, there would be nothing to protect *their* temporal rights and interests. On this point their mouths are shut by the dictates of selfishness. But whoever claims that men should not be restrained by the civil law from contemning God; or from slandering his Son, and his Holy Word; or from disturbing, by their immorality, the public peace; or from entailing upon themselves and others bankruptcy and want; or from blotting out the last hope of liberty and of national prosperity, will laugh at our timidity and hold us up to derision, while yielding to their demands. For they know that their conduct, when unchecked, is binding the community in chains of ignorance, ignominy, and moral death. They are not willing to do those things, even here, that are essential to *present* happiness and to individual and national prosperity.

If we, by appealing to human laws, modeled after the laws of God, are guilty of forcing men's consciences or of using coercive measures to make men do right, that they may be happy here and hereafter, then is it not evident that God himself is also tyrannical? We claim that the civil government should say that men shall not break the laws of God but obey them, and that for two reasons: *first*, that all men may be more happy here and hereafter; and, *second*, that God may be honored and glorified. These were, doubtless, the reasons why He revealed to us his moral and civil codes; and who will dare to object to their own happiness and the happiness of others, or to the glory

of the immutable Jehovah? Not the virtuous or the benevolent: not those who love either God or man. The enforcing of such laws does no injury to any one; it neither violates the conscience nor restrains, unjustly, personal liberty. It may wound the feelings of the highway robber and the gambler, who covet their neighbor's purse, or of the rum-seller thirsting for gold, or of the Infidel who wishes to drive God from his dominions and to destroy morality and religion; and also of the debauchee, the drunkard, and the profane swearer. Hence, we may always expect to find such men uniting in the cry of "Church and State," "intolerance, proscription, and tyranny," to the very top of their voice. But the man who would do as he wishes to be done by, is always willing to be kept under good and wholesome restraint, and he is never desirous of uniting in any such unreasonable clamor. The wicked man's conscience, if not wholly perverted, is equally submissive; it makes no complaint of any such law. It takes a firm stand on the side of God and of good order, of peace, benevolence, and purity; and even scourges the transgressor with a whip of scorpions, if allowed to act at all. God intended that these disturbers of the public tranquillity should be restrained; and hence, has given us as well the voice of conscience as the example of civil legislation. Let the civil government demand, therefore, of moral outlaws, all that God demands of them. Let them be required to do just what He has commanded, and no more. While this course was pursued by our puritan ancestors, everything was prosperous—men did not then dare to contemn God, or publicly to disobey his laws; but since wicked men have found their way into our councils, there has been a sad falling away. We have courted Infidels and wicked men, and have availed ourselves of their services in stations of honor and profit, even while we knew that the whole force of their influence and example was leveled against almost everything that was

either "lovely or of good report." But, in this thing, we have been guilty of a gross mistake and of positive crime. What fellowship has light with darkness, or Christ with Belial? We have no right to make any such compromise with infidelity or vice. We have no right to advance a single step in that direction: we are required to separate ourselves from sin, and to avoid the very appearance of evil. But wicked men and Infidels are to be compelled to take many steps, outwardly at least, toward the way of truth and righteousness: they are to approach and acknowledge the standard of morality and religion taught us in the Word of God. They must be told that here is the truth of God, and in view of a "Thus saith the Lord," they must be made to feel that whosoever will not adopt it as a standard of his life and of his conduct, is altogether unworthy of the confidence or respect of his fellow-men, and a bad member of society. His conduct is in such cases directly opposed to the general welfare. Christians may fear God with greater intensity; but they must not be deterred from the performance of any duty by the fear of man. They should adopt much more frequently than they now do, the prayer, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" They have no right to inquire what will be popular, or what will please wicked men. While they resort more frequently to the civil government for the protection of religion and morality, they must be careful to use FAR MORE ABUNDANTLY GOOD ADVICE. We must seek more earnestly the influences of the Holy Spirit, and then we may hope that God will appear and bless us, and that our labor will not be in vain in the Lord.

It may be thought by some readers, perhaps, that in claiming for the civil government the right, and charging it with the duty, of prohibiting the publication of infidel and atheistic opinions, we have gone too far. It may be urged by them, that if what we have said on this subject is true, we must abandon the right of going among the

heathen to convert them to God: for we cannot do so without overturning their institutions. To this, we have two answers. *First*, All laws, or rather precepts, contrary to the Law of God ought to be opposed, and the right which we claim is not either wholly or principally deduced from the fact that we are a Christian nation: but mainly from the fact that the Christian Religion is true, while all others are false. Infidelity and atheism are therefore sins against the only true God, as well as injurious to men. *Secondly*, If it were false, it is still—infidelity herself being judge—more conducive to human happiness than any other system yet discovered; and the law of benevolence requires that we should endeavor to persuade all men to embrace it. In our efforts to dissuade the heathen from pursuing a system that is injurious and false, we do not propose to leave them without *any* religion, but to give them a *better*. Infidels and atheists, however, direct their efforts solely to the breaking up of existing systems without even offering a substitute. The analogy between the two cases is altogether delusive. The objection is groundless.

Let wicked and lawless men remember that, while they madly persist in their wicked courses, all the attributes of Jehovah, and all that is in earth, in heaven, and hell, conspire to make them wretched. Such men are engaged in a bitter warfare against themselves, against community, and against God. By his moral administration, God is doing all He consistently can to make the universe of mind happy, by making it holy; but the individual who will not obey God, is doing what *he* can, by making himself and others sinful, to make it miserable both here and hereafter. Will God suffer such men to prevail against him? Will He regard, as sinless, a public sentiment which can look upon men who thus “rob God,” or community, with any degree of complacency? Will He not rather chastise such people with his judgments?



