

may borrow an expression from the schools) is to the community as well as to the sufferer an evil: And since, in the moral nature of the thing, it is an evil from which the individual cannot be extricated by any efforts of his own, policy, no less than humanity, enjoins that the community relieve him.

Nor will the argument from political expedience fail, if in some instances of poverty the evil to the public must remain when the individual is relieved. This is indeed the case when the calamity arises from causes which go beyond the obstruction of the political activity of the citizen to the extinction of the natural powers of the animal; as when the limbs are lost or rendered useless by disease, or when the bodily strength or the mental faculties are exhausted by old age. To deny relief in such instances, upon a pretence that the political reason for it vanishes because the public can receive no immediate benefit from the alleviation of the evil, would be to act in contradiction to the very first principles of justice: for the first idea of all civil association; which is that of a union of the powers of the many to supply the wants and help the infirmities of the solitary animal.

Thus it appears, that the providential appointment of poverty as a means of public good brings an obligation upon men in civil society to exert themselves for the effectual relief of those on whom the mischief falls.

THE CHURCH.

COBOURG, FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1844.

CONTENTS OF THE OUTSIDE.

First Page. Poetry—The Rev. Dr. Thos. Sherlock, Bishop of Exeter. A Dissertation from Schism. Diversity of Ideas and Fortunes.

Fourth Page. Christian Citizenship—Expanded in the life of the Rev. Thos. Fuller. Garner—Rev. J. G. Dowling. Rev. Thos. Scott. Dr. Ogden. Rev. Thos. Butler.

Let any mistake or misapprehension should exist in reference to what we proposed in our paper of the 29th December last, in consequence of the new Post Office arrangements, we conceive it best to state this substantially again.

From and after the 5th of January, instant, the postage of one half penny, now chargeable upon each newspaper, is to be defrayed by the subscribers as they receive their papers from their respective post-offices, and the amount thus paid, which will be at the rate of 2s. 2d. each paper per annum,—may be deducted, in all cases where it is desired, from the amount of the annual subscription. We expressed our hope, at the same time, that as a general rule, this sum would be assumed by the subscribers in addition to the established subscription; because, though small individually to them, it would, upon a large number of papers, prove very burdensome to us, and because the paper at present is furnished at a lower rate, independent of postage, than really can be afforded. We also drew attention to the fact, since the establishment of this journal in 1837, it has been three times successively enlarged, so as at this moment to present double the quantity of reading matter which it did at its first starting,—and that these successive enlargements have been made without any addition to the original cost of subscription. Still where this deduction on account of the postage is desired, it shall, in such cases, most cheerfully be made.

We also stated that to all new subscribers from and after the 5th of January, instant, the terms should be Fifteen Shillings per annum, exclusive of postage.

To Post Masters and others, who have hitherto received this journal at the rate of Ten shillings per annum, it will still be transmitted on the same terms,—they defraying the expense of postage with which it is chargeable. At the same time, we are happy to express our sense of the kindness which we have uniformly experienced from them, in employing their franking privilege, where it could legally be done, for our benefit.

On the subject of the postage upon letters, frequent inquiries are made, and we beg to propose the following as an equitable rule by which, as respects all parties, to be guided:—

Letters containing remittances of subscriptions in advance,—that is, in accordance with the terms of the paper,—need not be pre-paid.

Letters containing remittances of arrears, or subscriptions past due, ought to be post-paid.

Letters announcing change of residence, discontinuance, &c. should, in all cases, be pre-paid.

Letters communicating the names of new subscribers, unless when accompanied with a year's subscription in advance, should be post-paid.

Communications, in all cases, should be post-paid. The above, we feel assured, will be considered fair and equitable rules by which to be guided; and in order that as few mistakes as possible, in these respects, may henceforward occur, we have been explicit in giving them in detail.

While upon this subject, we must add,—what we formerly hinted at,—that it would be absolutely necessary for us to diminish the number of our exchange-papers, now that they also are chargeable with postage. We regret sincerely any diminution, to which we feel ourselves compelled, of this wanted courtesy; but our exchange list, at all times inconveniently large, would, under present circumstances, prove oppressive.

It happens, unfortunately, that each paper we now receive in exchange from the United States,—reckoning the pre-payment of our own journal,—costs us 3d. per week, or nearly three dollars per annum. Of course we shall be obliged very materially to abridge ourselves in the luxury we have heretofore enjoyed in perusing them.

We extract from the Quebec Mercury, of the 6th instant, the following Ecclesiastical Intelligence:—

On Monday, the 1st instant, being the festival of the Circumcision of the Servant of God, a solemn service was performed at the Cathedral Church of this city, by Mr. James Augustus Devine, M.A., who was admitted to the holy order of Deacons.

Mr. Devine has been licensed by the Bishop to act as Curate to the Rev. Joseph Barthelemy, A. B. Rector of Chamblay.

We have made some enquiries respecting the present state of the Church of England in this section of the Province, and find that there are seventy-four clergymen in the Diocese of Quebec. Of this number there are three who do not hold any pastoral charge, being engaged in the instruction of youth. Of the remaining seventy-one, fifty-four are supported in whole or in part by the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

We further learn that since the 28th Dec. 1842, ten Theological Students have been admitted Deacons, and four Deacons advanced to the order of Priesthood; that four clergymen from England have been received into the Diocese; that one has been removed with letters dismisory; and that all who were then alive have been mercifully spared in the good Providence of God.

During the same period about two thousand persons had received the Apostolic rite of Confirmation. We may observe that in the year 1801, there was only one Bishop with scarcely a dozen clergymen, in two Canada, and that there are now two Bishops, with one hundred and eighty clergymen; thus the supply of ministers has more than kept pace with the increase of the population, but it is still lamentably insufficient, owing to the vast extent of country, over which the population is scattered. Let us hope that in this Diocese the new College Lennoxville, for which a charter of incorporation has been obtained, and the Church Society which has been organized on a permanent and satisfactory footing, may together tend to raise up from among ourselves, a greater number of men for the work and a larger amount of means for their support.

We omitted, we believe, to mention that Mr. Joseph Scott, M.A., was ordained Deacon in the Cathedral of Quebec, on the 19th November last, and was appointed to exercise his Ministry in Bromes, in the Eastern Townships, from which Mission the Rev. E. Cusack, M.A., has recently retired, being under the necessity of leaving the country on account of his health.

We are instructed to add, that several single and detached Ordinations may be observed to have taken place in the Diocese of Quebec, within the last year or two, but that this has been owing to the existence

of exigencies in the Church which the Bishop of Montreal found it necessary to supply the moment that he had the means at command; and that, apart from any accidental pressure of this nature in a particular point, it is the practice of the Diocesan to hold the Ordinations as nearly as possible at the appointed seasons, and to ordain collectively the gentlemen who are prepared to present themselves.

The facts we have adduced as attesting the existence of Episcopacy in the Apostolic age, coupled with the admission of our opponents that it did universally prevail in the Church about the middle of the second century, ought to be decisive of the whole argument; and with ingenious and unprejudiced minds we do not fear the result even of the brief exposition of the case which we have felt ourselves called upon in our recent remarks to offer. It were, as we have shown, a species of invention of which no precedent is to be found in universal history, if Episcopacy should have been a mere human device; and a more marvellous circumstance than any that history records, that it should so suddenly and so universally have prevailed, without a record or a hint to be found of the author of the innovation,—without a word of protest any where to be met with, in ancient christian writers, against a change so serious and unscriptural as its opponents allege it to be.

If, therefore, in the few writings that are extant of the Christians who lived in the period intervening between the Apostles' times and the middle of the second century, we should find no decided testimony in favour of Episcopacy,—nothing positively or formally asserted in direct correspondence with that form of Church polity,—the mere silence of such writers would amount to nothing. We should be bound, in common fairness, to admit any excuse or reason for such silence, rather than argue that those writers necessarily condemn or discontinue that about which they happen to have said nothing. So long as we discover nothing in such writings that opposes what the Church embraced subsequently,—and which we have shown it had practised antecedently,—we are bound, in common justice, to construe their silence upon these topics into an assent to them.

And to show that such silence can be satisfactorily accounted for, we may quote the words of an able living writer, the Rev. J. J. Blunt:—"In the first place, the writings of numbers of the early Fathers have perished, as we learn from the fragments of their works, which we find quoted by Eusebius, and elsewhere,—a fact indeed which gives that historian an authority beyond his own. Then the Fathers who remain in whole or in part, nearly all were engaged in other matters than Church government. They had to force the strong holds of the heathen; and at the follies and absurdities of the heathen worship their chief batteries were directed. They had to rebut the slender charges with which the Christians were assailed. They had to make their appeal to kings for a fair and impartial hearing of their high cause. They had to produce the grounds upon which the superiority of the Gospel was asserted. They had to put forth evidence. They had to convince the Jew out of the Scriptures he denied; to establish the Gospel through the law. They had to explore and refute the heresies of their own converts themselves, almost endless in number, and comprising every manner of device which the most capricious exercise of the human imagination, fed by vain philosophy, could invent. They had to apply the precepts of the Gospel in minute detail to all the practical duties of life, for this new covenant touched them all. They had to develop the character of the genuine Christian, as he gradually advanced toward perfect knowledge, reaching on from faith to faith, and striving to conform himself more and more unto the likeness of Christ. These were matters that called imperatively for attention at their hands; that would wonder therefore that, in the midst of them, the question of ecclesiastical polity should escape."

The following remark, too, of St. Augustine is strongly in point:—"Many things lay concealed or unquestioned in the Scriptures, which, when heretics came to be excommunicated, agitated with questions the Church of God. Then those things which lay hid were set before men, and the will of God was understood. For there was never any full discussion of the Trinity, until the Arians attacked it; never of Penance, until the Novatians resisted it; never of Baptism, until re-baptizers, who had been put out, spoke against it;—nor of the Unity of the Church of Christ, until that separation began to affect weak brethren."

This will sufficiently explain the comparative silence of early Christian writers upon these points; they were so obvious, so established, so undisputed, that the insisting upon them was unnecessary. But let us look to this testimony such as we find it,—beginning with CLEMENS ROMANUS; of whom Mr. Richey, quoting substantially from Mr. Powell, says, "that he (Clement) knew no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter; that the appellations Bishop and Presbyter are uniformly employed by him as equivalent; that he accordingly appropriates them indifferently to the same officers in the Church; and that the only other sacred order recognized by him is that of Deacons." This assertion appears to be founded upon the following passage in Clement, (sect. 42) which we find is cited by Mr. Powell:—"The Apostles having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the word of God, with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad, publishing that the Kingdom of God was at hand. And thus, preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits of their conversions to be bishops and deacons over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit."

We can scarcely understand upon what grounds our opponents advance this quotation in favour of their system, for we should scarcely desire a better one from an apostolical father in support of our own.—Clement, let it be remembered, was speaking of a state of things not specially pertaining to his own day, but to the Apostles' earliest acts in the constitution of the Church. They appointed "bishops and deacons"; in other words, overseers of flocks, and ministers under them; and why the former were called "overscers"—the same word as "bishops"—we fully explained in our remarks upon this subject last week. Here then we have the Apostles, the first order; the overseers of flocks, also named elders, the second order; and the deacons, the third order. We also fully explained the manner and the reason of the slight variation in the names of these orders, which took place after the decease of the Apostles; it being quite apparent that such variation of title never, in the slightest degree, affected the principle of their order and distinctiveness. But in the commencement of his epistle, Clement is speaking of an existing state of things, and not referring to past, or apostolic, times when he says,— "Ye acted in all things without respect of persons. Ye yielded in God's laws, obeying those who had the rule over you, and having due honour to your presbyters;" and further on, he says, "Let us reverence our prelates (episcopos) and honour our presbyters;" with words following, in both cases, in reference both to men and women who,—the latter according to a known usage in the primitive church,—exercised subordinate ministrations in their ecclesiastical body. As the object of Clement was to allay contentions that had arisen affecting the peace and order of the Church, and to promote that subjection and authority of spiritual superiors which would avert the evils of the divisions he was deploring, it is unreasonable to suppose that, in the passages above quoted, he could have meant any other than ecclesiastical superiors. To suppose that his language has reference to individuals in a secular capacity merely, would be to destroy the whole consistency and pertinency of his epistle. In the passages, therefore, which we have adduced, we have a marked distinction drawn between rulers or

prelates, and presbyters; and although the notice is but incidental, it is sufficiently expressive.

We may here quote a passage in point from Sclater's Draught of the Primitive Church:—"When St. Clemens tells us the Apostles ordained bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons, to take care of the respective flocks, which either were or should be further provided for them; he very well knew the Apostles who ordained them were a superior order to them; and therefore his words have no respect to the number of orders in the Church, for which they are here produced; nor indeed did the argument he was upon, require they should; his only business was to awe the mutinous Corinthians from rebelling against the presbyters of the Church, because they were of Apostolical institution, and upon that account as much of God's appointment, as the tribe of Levi were for the sacred ministry of the Jewish Church, which is therefore so particularly described in all the orders and offices of it, and so closely applied to the Christian dispensation immediately upon it, that an impartial reader would rather infer that three orders might rightly be concluded, as well in one as the other, than imagine that Sclater had the least thought of no more than two orders in either." Mr. Sclater is here alluding to the following passage, which occurs in this Father:—"To the high-priest his peculiar functions are assigned; to the priests their proper station is appointed; appropriate ministrations are incumbent on the levites; a layman is bound by precepts affecting the laity. Let every one of you, brethren, in his proper order, render thanks to God in a good conscience, not transgressing the defined rule of his ministry." The application in the latter part of this quotation would scarcely harmonize with the statement in the first part, unless there was a reference made, and which the application alone would suit. Moreover it was an analogical illustration very frequently employed by the Fathers in general; for instance, Tertullian calls the bishop of his time "the high priest," and Jerome affirms, that "what Aaron was in Israel, that was the bishop of the New Testament." When Mr. Richey says that Clement in the words we have cited, and others which follow having reference to Jewish customs, is speaking not of the Christian ministry, but of the Jewish priesthood, he appears to have forgotten that Jerusalem, specially named by St. Clement in this illustration,—was then destroyed, and that no means existed for maintaining there the sacrifices and peace-offerings which this Father mentions as being only lawful at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, evident that Clement is speaking of things that he had been, not as they then were amongst the Jews, and that he bids Christians take pattern from the order and discipline that had been enjoined in their case, to preserve the subordination, union, and harmony which is now insisted upon in Christians.

The Epistle of Clemens Romanus, valuable and interesting as it is, is confessedly brief, and a part of it is lost; moreover, we can only gather from internal evidence the purport of that epistle, and the motives which led him to compose it. Yet what these were, it will be no difficult matter to judge; it seems quite apparent, from the strain and tenor of the epistle, that the Corinthians were remiss in the reverence and obedience which they owed to their presbyters, the overseers of the flocks or congregations of which their church was composed; that a conspiracy, in short, appears to have existed to degrade them from their proper dignity and authority; and that his interposition was employed, not so much to assert the prerogatives of the Episcopal office, which probably were not assailed, as to maintain amongst the factious Corinthians the honours and obedience which the presbyters claimed at their hands.

But if a doubt exist in the mind of Mr. Richey or Mr. Powell, as to the manner of Church Government at Corinth, at the period when St. Clement composed his epistle, it might be in some degree cleared away by a reference to what was the constituted ecclesiastical polity at that period in Rome, from whence this epistle was sent. Persons must have a mean opinion of patristic testimony as a whole, if they can doubt that Clement was, in the distinctive and prelate sense, Bishop of Rome. For instance, Tertullian says, "The first bishop of an apostolic church had always an apostle or apostolic man for his predecessor."—"Thus the Church of Rome had Clement ordained by Peter." Irenæus, speaking of the Church at Rome, says, "Clement, who saw the apostles, obtained the bishopric." Eusebius affirms, that "Clement was appointed third bishop of the Roman Church."—Jerome, in referring to the Epistle to the Hebrews as being said by some to be the work of Clement, states that he was "afterwards bishop of the Church of Rome." "If," says Augustine, "the order of bishops in succession to him is to be considered, how much more certainly may we reckon from Peter himself, whose successor was Linus, whose successor was Clement." It will, therefore, hardly be credited, even in this credulous age, that Clement, while exhibiting a practical evidence of the episcopal polity at Rome, should have advocated the presbyterial discipline at Corinth! This living contrariety between his practice and his exhortations, would have been a strange kind of commentary upon the admonitions to unity which he was pressing upon the Corinthians.

But it cannot be necessary to offer any further remarks upon the testimony of Clement of Rome; it must be quite obvious to any candid inquirer, that nothing can be extracted from him which opposes the principle of Episcopacy, while much can be adduced which, both directly and by implication, supports it.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE POLICY OF A GENERAL UNION OF ALL THE BRITISH PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA. (Originally published in the Cobourg Star, A.D. 1839.)

LETTER X.

PROSPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Great Britain may be considered in a great degree amenable for the two most prominent evils which affect the United States. She left them without an established religion of Christianity, and entailed upon them the curse of slavery. For these breaches of the divine law, both nations are now reaping their reward in the convulsive movements by which they are agitated.

To look for true amelioration, in the present state of society, from any religious tendency, is a vain and chimerical project. The blindness of that infidelity which has so fearfully extended its influence in Europe and America. Man, from the very plan and constitution of his nature, is a religious being; and however far nations or individuals may be permitted to stray from the Gospel, to that Gospel they must return, before those blessings can be enjoyed, which, by a kind Providence, are placed within their reach. To raise man to his true dignity and station, religion must be blended with the whole course of his instruction, whether private and domestic or social and public. Its doctrines and precepts must drop as the rain into the breasts of the young, and distil as the dew. Thus impregnated, their hearts and minds will grow in knowledge and moral beauty as they grow in stature, and they will become the pillars of society, and the conservators of its tranquillity and enjoyment. Were the rising generation so instructed, Religion would gradually enter into all our manners, customs and habits, and superintend the whole business of life. It would guard our health, our possessions and our reputation; preside over our intercourse and uprightness in our dealings; direct our familiar recreations, our public conduct and recreations, and make them all subservient to its influence and spirit. But this source of all good is despised or valued lightly by modern reformers and philosophers, and they look for different principles for the improvement of our species—but they will look in vain.

In this matter the celebrated De Toqueville, who writes so well on Democracy in America, seems to have had some glimpses of the truth; but the darkness of a false philosophy carries him away, and he sarkifies himself on this, as on every other subject, by many unimportant, and in the fanciful theory, that there is a irresistible tendency among mankind to democracy and equality of condition;—that it is in continual operation, and that it is the most uniform, the most ancient, and the most permanent to be found in history. To the arguments of De Toqueville, we have already seen a step of civilization since the dark ages, and declares that all the great events since that period have turned to the

advantage of equality of condition; that such equality is still advancing towards those extreme limits which it seems to have reached in the United States; and that the progress of this theory is on the march in Europe. According to this writer, the struggle is between Democracy and Aristocracy; the desire of equality and the retention of power,—each fighting for the mastery. But according to De Toqueville's hypothesis, democracy will finally prevail. The foundation of this theory is on earth, and has no divine spirit of renovation or refinement; and it true, can only lead to the most disastrous results. With much ability, though with many contradictions, he is nevertheless forced to admit that Religion is the companion of Liberty in all its attainments, and that it is the cradle of its infancy and the hallowed source of its claims. Had he not been smitten by a false theory, he would have seen that religion, instead of being the companion, is the mother of true Liberty, and the only fountain from which it can spring. At times, a momentary gleam seems to penetrate his mind, when he calls religion the safeguard of morality, and the best security of the law, and the surest pledge of freedom. Here he is indeed on the threshold of the truth. But the Gospel, or Christianity, is not merely the safeguard, but the fountain of their pleasures, the pleasure scenery of their joys, and happy days, and settles down in considering Religion as a mere element of many involved in his equation, and nothing more.

We too admit of antagonist principles, but derived from a very different origin. For every thinking man is a law unto himself, and the great principles of equity are continually contending for the mastery; and as they separately prevail, produce different and opposite effects; the principle of evil, embracing, ignorance, vice and discord, struggling for paramount dominion; the principle of good, of Religion, enforcing justice, purity and truth, steadily opposing the progress of the former, and gradually establishing the kingdom of heaven upon earth.—Both these principles aim at absolute dominion and equality among their subjects; but with the principle of evil it is a quality of misery,—with the principle of good it is a quality of pleasure. The only difference between the two is, that the former is only the jarring of elements subordinate to one or other of these principles; the latter is the temporary prevalence of evil which at present exists in the world, and which is a direct consequence of the Fall of Man. The latter of these principles is the result of the Fall of Man, and which in England is now meeting with so formidable a resistance as to give good hope that it must finally succeed.

Religion undoubtedly tends to produce a perfect equality in all the rights and privileges that are compatible with the happiness of society, but not an equality of ability, state or condition; since variety of rank appears as necessary for an extensive cultivation of virtue and enjoyment of felicity, as a variety of tastes and dispositions. The great struggle among men is between the good of the individual and the good of the community. The French Revolution was the first result of this wicked or infidel principle.—The United States are destined to furnish the second.—Their constitution is a huge cold-blooded monster, which is breathing the life of the Ocean, and but very partially breathing the air of heaven. In it has no reference to God or his moral government, and is therefore an atheistical institution, and cannot be of long continuance. It is indeed matter of wonder that it should have been permitted to exist so long; but the black population, who are the main support of it, are not so long-lived, and in due time, its utter destruction.

The general aspect of the political institutions of the United States is the reverse of their natural scenery.—Short as the American rivers are, they are not only barren through fruitful valleys, and verdant forests, their various provinces present an immense plain, varied only by a few palmy and towering eminences, intersected by muddy streams and putrid canals. With many objects to inflame, it presents nothing to give expansion to the feelings of the heart. There is no elevation of the affections—every eye for himself or his political party—all earth and no heaven.

The causes which tend to preserve the union may be reduced to four.

1st. A sense of Religion. Before the Revolution, the Colonies which now form the United States possessed a great degree of equity and morality, and were united by the ties of a more especially the case in the New England Provinces, because the liberties and education of the people were engendered by the moral and religious principles of their founders. Hence a love of order, regular habits and a holy fear of God, were the basis of their laws. In the Colonies, there was likewise for a time some provision for the support of religion. It was incorporated in their institutions, and was the basis of their laws. Even the promoters of the revolution shied great respect for religion, and it ceased only with General Washington's death. In now, though the moral and religious capacity may be pronounced infidel, yet religious feelings prevail among the people to a very considerable extent, and may be the salt which saves the nation from immediate destruction. To the good observer, christianity seems little less than the great element of government, and its appearance to have been considered as a necessary element of government by the framers of any of their constitutions, however much it may be veniated by small portions of the community.—The pernicious effects of this course are widely spread, and the society is daily becoming more and more to man's best interests, and the best of the human race, and blighting the fairest hopes of the future. But a wise Providence is long-suffering, and although there is no public recognition of christianity in the general or state governments, as yet in any way necessary to rational liberty, and morality, there are nevertheless many thousands of devout Christians praying day and night for the safety of their country. At the same time, such is the corruption of the human heart, that the appearance of religion among public men tells to their disadvantage, and is considered as a mere show, while in many instances, the profession of christianity is only a cloak for avarice, and a natural result, the torrent of vice and irreligion is spreading wider and wider; the foundation of public virtue is sapped and destroyed; the distinctions of right and wrong confounded; and the world turned into God.

It were easy to demonstrate that the noblest virtue and surest intelligence spring from Christian doctrines, and that they are the true foundation of liberty; but the constitutions of the States say nothing of religion, except that none shall ever be elected who are not a man who may be elected on election day as if there were no God, and no accountability to law, either human or divine, and carrying out the principle that no oaths should be administered in courts of justice, and no man punished for perjury.—But notwithstanding all this, God has hitherto preserved the Union from total destruction, because of the christianity still resident among them.

2d. Intensity of Territory. This serves as a safety-valve for troubled spirits. The discontented, the rebellious, the wild and the spendthrift can fly to the far west. It is where population concentrates and to the other vices engendered by too great numbers adds the misery of hunger, that terrible convulsions arise. But where there is a bounding continent open to the exertions, the people are too widely scattered and too easy in their circumstances to engage in civil war or in rashly opposing their governments. The vast quantity of uncultivated land in the United States, is therefore a great advantage to the Union, although it may be found weak when placed in opposition to countries acting in a contrary direction.

3d. No danger from neighbours. This fortuitous advantage is a great source of preservation to the United States. Were one of the provinces to be the whole extent of the country, as in France, is a great disadvantage; for it has little or no force to meet such an emergency; but the rebellious State, without extrinsic aid, would be obliged to succumb to the general government, weak as it is. As the Americans have no neighbours they have no serious wars—no necessity for a standing army, and no danger of invasions from enemies, and attempts to subdue them.—Placed in the centre of an immense continent, which affords a boundless field for human industry, the union is almost as much insulated from the world as if its frontiers were girt by the ocean.

4th. There are several minor causes all concentrating in the preservation of the Union. No wealthy or capital city whose influence is strongly felt over the whole extent of the country, as in France, is a great advantage; for a metropolis leading the Province becomes a great source of evil. In a large city, men cannot be prevented from planning together, and from awaking mutual resentments, which may prompt to sudden and passionate resolutions. The general improvement of the country, by good roads, bridges, canals and railways, joins and increases the interests of the individual States, and promotes their private as well as the public advantage. Add to this, the respect and influence which the Union gains them among foreign nations; and this, as they are not a subject of any other power, is certain, that the United States constitute the most powerful, enlightened, and happy people now in existence, or which ever has been or will be in existence in the world.

5th. The increasing and conservative power of these several causes, the progress of the United States has been sadly downward, and more crimes of a public nature and of a deeper die have been committed by this people which

is of yesterday, than would have satisfied the most corrupt Government during ten times the period of their existence.

6th. Their treatment of the Indians or ancient possessors of the country which they inhabit, has no parallel in the history of the world. The nations of antiquity, to secure their conquests killed, and sometimes carried into captivity, the principal inhabitants of a conquered kingdom, to another country, in general with as much comfort as the customs and habits of the times allowed, giving them fields and vineyards in a distant Province, equal—perhaps superior to their own. In the way of justification, there was the provocation of war; battles had been fought—towns besieged—the wicked passions existed, and the conviction that the vanquished if successful, would have acted in the same manner. In the case of the poor Indians, there were no similar causes of irritation or palliation. They were living in peace and tranquillity on a small portion of the territory which had been once wholly theirs. They had exchanged their former habits for those of civilized life, and instead of hunters had become farmers cultivating the small possessions which still remained to them, and which were guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. But the spectacle of happy industry which the Cherokees exhibited, the beauty of their plantations, the pleasure scenery of their woods and rivers, was too much for their heartless neighbours. Cupidity saw their happiness, and desiring their possessions, trampled on justice, and drove them from their cultivated farms—their comfortable homes—the graves of their fathers—into the desolate wilderness by a military force. Many perished by the way, and the remaining remnant, destitute of every convenience, now unacquainted with savage life, and opposed by hostile tribes, cannot long survive. The treatment of the Poles by the Russians, which has excited so great indignation throughout Europe, is nothing to what the misery which man has experienced at the hands of the American Government. But they are far distant and unknown. They have no one to tell their wrongs, or to stand up in their defence. But the history of the world is a lie: the book of Revelation a fable, if guilt to rank and deeply paid unpunished. The time and manner of the death of the great God of God; but that vengeance will not be long delayed, and moral government sufficiently demonstrates.

7th. The case of the Negroes is grievous and perplexing. But admit for a moment, that they are a race from Great Britain to the United States, while they were yet Colonies. That they have greatly aggravated this evil, by cruel and vindictive laws, cannot be disputed; and since the prohibition of the slave trade from Africa, they have become a degree more numerous, and are now to be found in any other nation, which would appear to every generous mind altogether incredible, were not the facts by which it is proved clearly substantiated. This iniquity is called the trade of breeding slaves for sale. It is chiefly followed in Virginia, and carried on to an immense extent, to the islands of the West Indies, and to the State common, for the purpose of raising a new race of negroes, as other nations do cattle. The thing is so horribly disgusting, that the bare mention of it is enough to hold up a people to universal execration which admits such iniquity to continue among them. In the year 1843, England had a share which she had taken in the slave trade, and has not been ashamed to make all the compensation that seemed in her power. If her measures in this matter, have neither been wise or safe, they proceeded from good intentions. The United States have one not only a more extensive trade, but also a more extensive trade, and it is not to be wondered at, that the continuation threatens the most terrible disasters, they seem doggedly to persevere. It ought not however to be concealed that it is far more difficult for them, than it was for England to remedy this poisonous ulcer, because it exists in the heart of the nation, and it is not to be thought of to be grappled with, and if pursued on sound principles, a remedy may be found. Were a law enacted, declaring every negro under six years of age, and all born after the day of its passing, to become free at the age of twenty-five, no convulsion need be apprehended. The black population, who are the main support of it, might be so trained to habits of industry, as to give rise to no serious difficulty. Such a measure however, cannot be expected till the hearts of masters and slaves are humanized and softened by the diffusion of christianity among them. Had the eye which judges men free at once, it would be followed by the worst consequences. British legislation in this matter should not be imitated by the Americans. They should adopt a long train of preparation such as the measure I propose will easily allow; and the black population should be considered as far as possible, as a subject of the same nature, as well as the master to whom they more immediately belong, till they become free at the age of twenty-five.—This simple enactment would in less than fifty years, extinguish slavery almost without notice; for its operation would so mingle itself with the current of society, as scarcely to be felt. Had the measure been more connected the measure of emancipation with such restraints as the welfare of the negro and the safety of the public required, the result would have been very different from what is now occurring. Had the measure should have been placed in prudent hands, and to supply that discretion which he has not yet attained. The privileges which the negroes enjoyed while yet slaves in house and garden, clothing, victuals, &c., ought to have been carefully valued, and secured to them, as a subject of the same nature, as well as the master to whom they more immediately belong, till they become free at the age of twenty-five.—This simple enactment would in less than fifty years, extinguish slavery almost without notice; for its operation would so mingle itself with the current of society, as scarcely to be felt. 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