

Pillsbury's Recorder.

UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1840.

No. 1041.

For the Recorder.

"Men are naturally desirous of glory, and gaze after it; but they are naturally ignorant of the true nature and place of it."

If patriotism were the sustaining principle of action in the ancient renowned states, which long ago became extinct, it is natural to think that any nation of modern times will decline as speedily as they, which depends upon a principle no higher than theirs. If we should admit that no people can be great, and continue, without true patriotism; if we further allow that to possess it would be to have our national condition in a degree improved, it would remain for us still to ask, whether or not, the elevation of it alone would be sufficient? Would the stability it can give, be adequate and secure?

Looking at the beginnings of the older states of the world, we should say, that with unity of character and purpose, almost any people might become a great nation. But greatness once acquired, is with difficulty preserved. It is harder to preserve distinguished political elevation than to gain it. The single principle of patriotism may bear up a people struggling for due eminence, better than it can sustain the nation after their victories are gained. Is no other circumstance of a country, is the trial of patriotism so great, as in the season of prosperity and triumph. It is common to speak of the period of our Revolution as "the time which tried men's souls," but it may be questioned whether it were peculiarly so. It is not natural that he should be thievish who has few allurements around him, nor for him to fall into any vice, who has much business pressing on his hands. So in the struggle for liberty, (be it said with reverence to the fathers of the republic,) there was too little to tempt, and too great a demand for activity and devotion, to have allowed of the advancement of selfishness very far. But victory once gained, and prosperity enjoyed, then leisure comes, and with it idleness, and the attainment of much wealth furnishes food for moral corruption. Hence arose the vigor of the ancient states, so long as they were rising and struggling, but when they became prosperously secure they were soon corrupted.

The very opportunity to gratify selfishness is an evil in a national view, for it stimulates and brings into action wrong feelings until they become dominant. The exercise of them, will then be attended by more or less of success, and that will confirm the habit of self-gratification, and then the people have lost their patriotism and greatness. Selfishness cannot be the governing principle in the hearts of the individuals composing a great nation. A money-coveting people can never be truly and permanently great. Their ruling passion is hostile in its effects, toward liberty, and national strength. If such a people sustain government and good order, it will be only because it is subservient to individual self-advancement; whereas a patriotic people regard their individual interests as subservient to the glory of the country. The idolatry of covetousness costs no free-will offering upon the altar of country; it pays what it is obliged to by taxes, and that is a blemished, cheapened gift—nothing from gratitude, nor from patriotic love.

The general, or predominant pursuit of pleasure, is likewise incompatible with national greatness. The laurels of fame appear as though withered, on the brow of the debauchee. The fall of Rome was nearly contemporary with her abandonment to luxury. The listlessness of the Greeks, which even the eloquence of the prince of orators could hardly arouse, and the sight of tyranny itself was insufficient to awaken to deeds of self-sacrifice, was bred by luxury and enervating pleasure. And thus we seem to have been instructed, that in states, as in the individuals who compose them, self-gratification, is nearly equivalent to self-destruction. These instances warn us, that to resist pleasure is to crown the life.

But we are in a position different, at least in one grand respect, from that of the ancient states. Our patriotism must be tried as theirs was, but is not an unsheltered, unsustained virtue, as it was

anciently. Their love of country, distinguished by constancy and self-sacrifice, was yet as Noah's dove hovering above interminable waters, unable to descry a resting-place. Ours is as the same wanderer of wearied wing, having the ark in sight.

In order to an abiding national prosperity, there must be in the state, enduring patriotism. But this virtue is by no means inextinguishable, though upon it depends the happiness of the people. For the successions of ancient heroes have all terminated, one by one; first in one nation then in another; until each succession of patriots having ended, each several country fell into degeneracy. Must it be ever so? Must every nation degenerate in the course of time, and fall?

Anciently the true home of patriotism had not, as we believe, been provided. Now, we are persuaded, it is because the providence of God would not have virtue unprotected and destroyed, though much exposed; and because He would confirm the glory which virtue only can create, and would that national greatness should continue, not be ephemeral, that He has established a kingdom of grace among men,—the church of Christ. Would we now be recklessly self-confident? Would we resist the admonitions of experience, and incur ruin? We have only to determine nationally to separate patriotism from religion; to expose love of country, to the temptations which in the old time it was not able to buffet, and to refuse to this most needed virtue a house of protection.

Is not the repose of virtue always more dangerous than its exercise? If we would be great, we must consider ourselves, and exercise ourselves for a long time in struggles like that of the Revolution, which tried our fathers. Patriotism can be preserved only by struggling to live. The stern exercise of this virtue is necessary to its power. Hence the utility of christianity for its preservation.

Christianity would highly exalt, and aims to lead men, in a manner, above themselves. They are not allowed herby, to rest in the promotion of selfish ends of any kind. It would secure an enthusiastic unity; and conducts men by a principle as strong as life, and as ardent as enthusiasm to the height of virtue. The christian, however perfected in character, is not allowed to consider that he has apprehended and gained all, but is to press forward toward the prize of his high calling of God. His vocation, therefore, (as the greater includes the less,) includes the character of the patriot. There is something virtuous, holy, and attainable, ever before him, demanding strife and endeavor. A christian nation therefore in the duties to which they are called, striving earnestly toward holiness and sincerity, and showing forth disinterestedness of character, is of necessity a patriotic people. Of right, their virtue is not only genuine and entire, but is also an exercised, a hardened virtue. A christian is one prepared for patriotic struggle, because of a truth, his armor is kept bright: his virtue is exercised daily, by the faithful performance of duty toward God and his fellow-men. Therefore the church of Christ must be the citadel of a nation's strength. Should danger spring up suddenly in the hour of ease and prosperity, here will be found the seat of fixed, enduring love and self-devotion, of a larger compass and loftier aim, than even patriotism itself.

Finally, if the lover of his country would learn of the source of power, and of the true exaltation of a people, he has only to go to the sanctuary of God. What though he be depressed? And all history be fraught with gloominess to him, and the future be unknown? Yet this is the holy temple, where his anxieties may be soothed by responses, that utter sentiments of peace on earth; and here are the oracles of truth, first breathing forth *Glory to God in the highest!* Here the pious patriot can be blessed of God, and in the security of his own virtue, the greatness of his country will be permanent. Herein, then, is provision that the succession of faithful and patriotic men should not terminate. Humanity is weak, but in the church of Christ there is strength granted; and though corruption should abound, here is a source and foun-

tain of pure virtue. The desire to be pure, secures cleansing, and the wish for divine strength endues us with power.

II.

A Picture of Home Influence.

BY MRS. FOLLEN.

The beauty and moral truth of the following picture of home influence, and woman's learning to the right will be acknowledged by all.

"Dear Edward," said his wife, "you have something on your mind; your brow looks troubled; what is it?"

"Only anxiety about business, Amy. I often have wished that I had not been bred a merchant! But my mother said it was a favorite wish of my father that I should be an accomplished merchant."

"I have sometimes wished so, too," answered his wife; "and then again, I remembered that the very evils which belong to your profession may be turned into good. He that has it in his power to do wrong with impunity, though he gains by it, yet chooses the right, by which he loses, is the most eloquent preacher of righteousness."

"Very true, Amy; but sometimes this is indeed cutting off the right hand, and plucking out the right eye; and then thinking always about money and bargains has such a contracting influence upon one's mind!"

"But how often, Edward, have I heard you say that no man has such wide and various connexions with the human race, as a well educated, upright and active merchant. Every part of the world sends him its tribute of knowledge, as well as of riches. He sees men under all aspects; and while he may with a certain degree of security, indulge in dishonesty, and be the enemy of his fellow men, perhaps no man can be so true, and self-sacrificing, and efficient philanthropist, as a christian merchant."

"It is not always so easy as you may imagine, for a merchant to act as remembering that he is under his great Taskmaster's eye."

"Not for all, or some men; but for you, Edward, the difficulty would be to act otherwise. When I think of your profession, it gives me pleasure to notice that merchants in general, as they acquire property more easily, are most disposed to spend it liberally."

"Yes," said Edward, as his eye kindled at the thought: "the greater proportion of our public benefactors have been merchants. Their money has given eyes to the blind and ears to the deaf, health to the sick and peace and comfort to the forsaken; it feeds and instructs the ignorant and poor; it sends the glad tidings of salvation to the unbeliever and penitent; it takes little children in its arms and blesses them. But all this glorious power supposes wealth, Amy."

"And you, dear Edward, are rich enough to enjoy this highest of all privileges, the dispensing of good to others. You have cause only for thankfulness. But the poor, unsuccessful merchant, who has not the means of educating his children, whose spirits are broken down by failures, and whose temper is soured by what he considers the injustice or dishonesty of others, perhaps even of his own friends, he is the man who, perhaps, may be excused for finding fault with his profession. My heart aches for him."

Edward started up, and walked hastily backward and forward through the room, as if he had been seized with some sudden and intolerable pain.

"What is the matter?" said his wife. "Are you ill?"

"Oh, nothing; nothing of consequence," said Edward. "I happened to think of something rather unpleasant then. It is late now, I believe, and my head aches."

"They retired for the night. The next day, Edward looked depressed and thoughtful, and as if he had passed a sleepless night. Amy was troubled by his silence. This was the first cloud that had rested on her husband's brow since they were married.

"He has," she said to herself, "he has always confided every thing to me. He will tell me what it is that hangs so heavily upon his spirits. He will never shut me out from his sorrows, any more than his joys."

She thought when he returned from the counting-house for the day, that he looked more free and happy, though he was still silent and thoughtful.

"Come and sit by me, Amy," said Edward to her when they were alone in the evening.

Amy sat down by her husband. "Do you not enjoy, Amy, our handsome house, and pictures, and carriage, &c.?"

"Sorrow, Edward; I take great pleasure in these things. But why do you ask?"

"And you love to have money enough to give to those who want it?"

"Why, what a question, Edward! You know I value this power more than I can tell."

"And can you voluntarily resign them?"

Edward! what makes you so enigmatical? Tell me what you mean."

"Suppose that all the money which enables us to indulge ourselves in these luxuries is not truly our own; what would you have me to do, Amy?"

"Is it you, Edward, that asks me whether I would be dishonest?"

"But suppose, according to the law of the land, and the customs of society, and the tacit consent of those most interested, this property was secured to you?"

"When I am satisfied," said Amy, "that I can plead the law of the land, the customs of society and the opinions of the world, before the judgment seat of God, as an excuse for violating that higher law, which he has written on my heart; when I have placed the opinion of the world in the scales against my own self-respect, and found it the weightiest, then, Edward, I might hesitate. But why ask me such questions? Why do you not speak plainly?"

"I will, Amy," answered her husband. "When I failed in business before our marriage, I made a settlement with my creditors, by which I paid them seventy-five cents on a dollar. They knew that I paid them all I had, and signed a release from all further claims. Of late, my mind has been troubled about those debts, for such I consider them. A few days since, one of my creditors brought his son to me, a fine fellow, and asked me to take him in my store. He mentioned, in the course of conversation, that he had intended to send his son to College, for the boy had a thirst for learning; that he was in fact fitted to enter; but that he found that he was too poor. 'If,' said the father, 'by denying myself every thing but the necessities of life, I could feed my boy's mind, I would thankfully do it; but I cannot honestly indulge myself even in this luxury.' I felt smitten to the heart. When I failed, I owed that man \$12,000. I paid him but nine. I now, of course, owe him three, and the interest upon it. That sum would enable him to give his son the advantages which he so much desires. I have been thinking over the whole subject, and studying it fairly. Dymond's Essay would satisfy me, if I were not convinced before of what is right."

"And you will of course do it, Edward, there can be no doubt?"

"I knew you would say so, Amy; but you must think over calmly. You know upon the subject of property, as well as of other things, we have no mine and thine; as we have no interest and duty, so we have equal rights. I cannot take this step, without your full approbation and consent."

"Is that all that has troubled you for these few days past?" said Amy, as she looked into her husband's face, with an expression of joyful relief.

"All," said Edward.

"And why not speak to me at first about it? Why not let me share every trouble as it rises?"

"O, Amy, I felt it only on your account. I hated to deprive you of all these luxuries. You know with what delight I see you doing good, real good, with money."

"Never again, Edward, do me the injustice to suppose that I prefer the lower virtue of charity to the higher one of justice."

From the Madisonian.

A PLAIN TALK ON POLITICAL MATTERS.

Noted down by Peter Ploughboy.

SEVENTH DAY.

Mr. Capias returns the Documents—His Opinion.

Capias. I have perused the documents you were good enough to lend me, Colonel, and now return them.

Col. R. You have found, I presume, that I have not misstated a single fact from them?

Capias. You have stated nothing but what is borne out by their testimony.

No honest minded man can read this document in relation to the defalcations of public officers, and not come to the conclusion, that the public robbery which is here disclosed, was winked at by the Secretary, or that he was wilfully blind to the peculations that were going on under his nose and before his eyes.

Col. R. Did you look at the Florida War transactions?

Capias. I did, and must say I don't know which looks most dark. Both indicate a degree of imbecility or corruption I never dreamed of.

The Standing Army of 200,000 Men.

Col. R. There is another very important subject to which I wish to draw your attention, Mr. Capias; I mean the plan proposed by the Secretary of War and recommended by the President, of so organizing the militia of the United States as to have a Standing Army of 200,000 men at all times under the command of the President. Have you examined this stupendous scheme?

Capias. I must confess I have not, though I have heard much of it.

Col. R. If you have a mind, we will do it now.

Capias. But you do not consider this plan of Mr. Poinsett as that of Mr. Van Buren, do you?

Col. R. Certainly. Mr. Van Buren recommended it in his last annual message, and thus made it his own. Besides, you know that while Jackson was President, our doctrine was that he was responsible for all the acts and measures of his Secretaries. That doctrine, you know, we advocated on several occasions; and especially in the case of the removal of Mr. Duane, and in justification of that act.

Capias. True, we did so; but let us look at this plan and see what it is like.

Col. R. It proposes to divide the United States into 8 Military Districts, and to organize the militia in each District, so as to have a body of 12,500 men in each District, in active service, and another of equal number as a reserve.

"This would give an armed militia force of 200,000 men, so drilled and stationed as to be ready to take their places in the ranks in defence of their country, whenever called upon," and

"That every man on the militia roll above the age of 21 and under 45, shall provide himself, at his own expense, with a good musket, bore of capacity to receive a lead ball of 18 in the pound; a sufficient bayonet and belt; two spare flints; a knapsack; cartridge box to contain at least 21 cartridges suited to the bore of his musket, and each cartridge to contain a ball and three buck shot, and a sufficient quantity of powder; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch and powder horn or flask, with sufficient powder and ball for 24 charges, and two spare flints; and that he shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out for exercise or into service."

Recollect that all this is to be provided by every man on the militia roll, at his own expense.

Capias. That would be an intolerable burden, and one which a large portion of those who would do militia duty, could not bear. Many of them have not the means to purchase these arms and accoutrements, which would cost each man from twenty to forty dollars, without distressing their families.

Col. R. The 10th section of the plan proposes:

"That within—months after the adoption and establishment of this system, there shall be taken from the mass of the militia, in each State, Territory and District of the United States, by draft or by voluntary service, such number, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-seven years, so that the whole may not exceed 100,000 men, and in the following proportions for each State, Territory, and District, respectively, to wit: Maine 4,400 men, New Hampshire 2,400, Vermont 2,400, Massachusetts 6,000, Connecticut 2,800, Rhode Island 800, New York 18,000, New Jersey 2,800, Pennsylvania 10,400, Delaware 800, Maryland 3,200, Virginia 6,000, District of Columbia 400, North Carolina 4,400, South Carolina 2,400, Georgia 2,800, Florida 400, Alabama 2,000, Mississippi 800, Louisiana 1,600, Tennessee 4,400, Arkansas 400, Missouri 1,200, Iowa 400, Kentucky 4,400, Illinois 1,200, Indiana 2,800, Ohio 8,000, Michigan 800, and Wisconsin 400 men. This force to constitute the second class, and be denominated the active or moveable force.

Here is to be an "active or moveable" force of 100,000 men, an army sufficient at any time, in the hands of an ambitious, popular, and skillful General, to overturn the liberties of our country and establish a monarchy or despotism upon their ruins. Remember, too, that this army of 100,000 men is to be under the command of the President, and subject to such regulations as he may think proper to adopt.

Capias. This is truly a fearful power to entrust any man with in a Republic. But where do you find it proposed to be given?

Col. R. In the 17th section, which is in the following words:

"That the President of the United States be authorized to call forth and

assemble such numbers of the active force of militia at such places in their respective Districts, at such times, not exceeding twice not—days in the year, as he may deem necessary; and during such period, including the time when going to and returning from the place of rendezvous, they shall be deemed in the service of the United States, and be subject to such regulations as the President may think proper to adopt for their instruction, discipline and improvement, in military knowledge!"

Here, you will observe, the power is proposed to be given to the President to call forth and assemble such numbers of the active force, namely, one hundred thousand men, at such places and at such times as he may deem necessary; and that this immense force is to be subject to such regulations as the President may think proper to adopt. And in another section, the 28th, it is provided that officers and privates shall be liable to be tried by courts martial!

What more, sir, is necessary to establish a standing army in a Republic and in time of peace?

Capias. Indeed, I cannot see that any thing more would be wanting.

The danger of this scheme.

Col. R. Now suppose it should so happen that we should have a Caesar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon, for President; and suppose that a question should arise between the national government and one of the state governments, similar to that which arose a few years ago between the United States and the state of South Carolina, (and it would be very easy for an ambitious President to get up such a quarrel at any time,) would not the occasion be seized upon to call out the whole of this 200,000 army, and would not this warrior President place himself at its head and endeavor to win the confidence and affection of the soldiers, and attach them to himself, as Caesar, Cromwell and Napoleon did, for the purpose of usurping the sovereignty and establishing a throne?

Capias. I would not trust him. None but a Washington could resist the temptation placed before him.

Is unconstitutional.

Col. R. But let us examine the constitutionality of this plan.

Every mindful of our liberties, the framers of the Constitution were cautious of putting power into the hands of the President, and they therefore only authorized him to call out the militia "to execute the laws, to suppress insurrections, and to repel invasions," &c., and not, as is here provided, "at such times, and at such places, as he may think proper." This provision of the plan is unconstitutional. The plan provides that the militia shall be trained by the authority of the General Government, and by officers acting under the command of the President, and that they shall be subject to the rules and regulations prescribed by the President; whereas the Constitution expressly reserves to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the training of the militia. These provisions are, therefore, unconstitutional. According to this plan the President is to command this army of 200,000 men, and every officer, non-commissioned officer, &c., who shall fail to obey him, is to be tried by a court-martial, and punished. Now the Constitution provides that the President shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, &c., only when called into actual service of the United States. The plan is, therefore, unconstitutional in this respect.

Capias. I do not think there can be any danger, Colonel, of this plan being adopted by Congress, for the more it is known the more obnoxious it must be to the people.

Col. R. At present it is obnoxious to the people; but not more so than the sub-Treasury scheme was when that was first proposed; and yet, by dint of perseverance, the force of party discipline, and the power of patronage, the President has at length succeeded in carrying that measure through Congress, and saddling it upon the people, against their often-expressed will. Let the present Administration be re-instated in power for another term of four years, (which is not at all likely to be the case,) and this grand scheme of raising a standing army of 200,000 men will be forced upon the people, and, by means of a pliant and obedient Congress, will become the law of the land—and then, with the command of such an army, and the entire possession of the public Treasury, which he has now got, the President would be clothed with all the power of the most absolute monarch of Europe, and the mere forms of a Republic which he might still permit us to enjoy, would be but a mockery of liberty!

Capias. Your language is strong, Col. Richard, but I must admit it is the language of truth. I confess, should this stupendous scheme be adopted and carried into effect, I should despair of perpetuating our liberties; indeed, its passage by Congress would be the death-knell of freedom in this land. We have, in our day, seen an army of "citizen-soldiers," headed by a professed friend of liberty, erect in Republican France an Imperial