

Philadelphia Record.

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

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For the Recorder.

The child, the pupil, and the citizen, are so many deposits trusted to parents, tutors, and magistrates.

There appears only one expedient to sort for the maintenance of individual and national liberty, in a government which makes the popular will the rule of proceeding; and the resort is Education. This, however, implies an admission of certain principles of truth before-hand. It is always presupposed that there are acknowledged truths on which it is founded, and with reference to which it is conducted. The education which is relative to the intellectual powers, implies antecedently admitted truths of reason and science. And the culture which is distinctively termed moral, implies previously the acknowledgment of principles of conscience; and with christians, education is conducted with reference to christian truth, in connection with natural morality. In every one of its various departments, then, education is, as it were, the embellishing or clothing of the mind; and whether it be the more beautiful and costly, or more homely and useful garb which is bestowed; be it jewels or at one that is given, it is furnished from the wardrobe of truth, or from the repository of her treasures.

It, therefore, the rule of a government look toward education for its success in practice, it has respect so far, to a class of truths corresponding with, and anterior to education. Being intended for freedom, our system of government rests on truth, for the reason that it can be sustained only by means of education. And the particular class of truths it is founded upon, is that which the culture for freedom will demand, and presuppose the admission of. To know therefore the education requisite for freedom, is to know the pre-admitted truths on which the political system rests.

But it has been said that the required education for liberty is such culture, as may give the individual some weight of influence among men; and it has been shown that it must therefore include the formation of habits of virtue, and extend to the right discipline of the heart. In a free community, from the nature of things, the acquisition of legitimate influence will chiefly depend on the precision of goodness. Talents may excite admiration; genius and high enterprise may be lauded; but it will be selfishly; nothing puts the hearts of men in the power of any one, but their entire conviction that he is good. To men's minds, he who will have power over them, must be undeniably virtuous and honorable. Napoleon, himself, deceived his followers; and the French people thought of nothing but of advancing themselves; and the gratification of the national selfishness was supreme in their thoughts when the "man of destiny" led them. Their enthusiasm in his behalf, was only selfish, and any day might witness a transfer of their affection to the leader whose talents and ambition would seem to promise them the prospect of "the glory of the French nation," as they called their national masters, and bloody, though caustic, and fruitless battles. That people were unblushingly aggressive in all they did under the Emperor; does not this show that they loved themselves? That his victories were their own ambitions and selfish works! Napoleon was only the image on which the people thought they saw reflected the national glory. Hence their hearts were their own, and were selfish in all their sacrifices for him. And now they do not love his memory, except as it serves to illustrate in their estimation, a false and spurious kind of glory. They would deify themselves; therefore they honor him, but it is otherwise with one whom mankind hold in real admiration; but whose fame is only equal to his virtue. The memory of Washington we revere; we delight in his character, and love his name. Surely of right it is, that his dominion in our hearts is entire; still, it is only equal to our conviction that in all his acts, the father of his country was greatly, wisely good.

Not true power over man is the reward of nothing but evident goodness, and undoubted virtue. Hence a scheme of education, having primary reference to virtue, is of the first necessity, in order to individual influence, and the prosperous operation of government in a free state. Therefore such a government, recognizing in its existence and operation the principles of truth, presupposed by moral culture, is built upon them, in an ultimate view; and therefore rests upon principles of the conscience. In having made goodness and virtue necessary to its own success, our political system has thus pre-supposed conscience in men, and ultimately appealed to it. It would appear then, that this is the foundation stone of the structure; and that freedom rests on conscience, according to the rule of the constitution.

It can hardly be said that the system recognizes christianity, as clearly as it does natural morality. An appeal to christianity is implied, only inasmuch as that is necessary to complete moral culture.

The framers of the constitution, without doubt, had an eye to this divine scheme; for in calculating on the operation of their plan, they could not have overlooked the weight of influence it gives to the christian, by means of the natural and indelible reverence for virtue. But of this we do not propose to speak, though we believe they reckoned upon it, and confided in it with hope.

But we infer only that if the truths of the conscience be fundamental in respect to a system of government, as they are the ultimate truths on which ours rests, the plan of education for freedom under that government, cannot justly overlook the conscience. It is both right and prudent that the same fundamental position be assigned to it in the system of instruction, that has been given to it in the political system. As to more congruity and fitness of one thing to another, to which it is joined, the plan of education formed with reference to the constitution, should primarily regard the conscience, and cultivate its sensibilities and powers.

Since then, in presuming its upholders to be freemen, the first principle of our government supports them to be inured to the habits of virtue which conscience enforces, and indoctrinated in the truths it sanctions, we are prepared to form a just opinion of the adequacy of the present system of instruction, as to freedom. For, (not to speak of the modification of it by some who aim to administer it in behalf of conscience,) the system of popular education takes no notice of the moral sense; except as it is appealed to now and then, when its aid is needed to enforce a temporary regulation. For the most part, the conscience of the young, the noblest attribute of humanity, the source of influence and character, is disregarded, and wholly uncultivated. Its very existence is, as it were, unrecognized, until something transpires which obliges the teacher to remember that his pupil is endowed with this divine quality.

But this is not all; for to neglect conscience, is equivalent, from the nature of the case, to despising its principles and dictates, just so far as the neglect extends. In effect then, by its mere neglect, the popular plan of education, trifles continually with conscience in the young, and despises the moral sense. But we were led to suppose, that, if adequate for freedom, it would have built its whole work on the conscience; have aimed to infuse its truths, and strengthen virtuous habits, and have made this noblest characteristic of man the basis of culture. And since, instead of urging the divine faculty of conscience into a theme of ridicule by silent and constant neglect, only where an appeal to it cannot be avoided, it should have had primary regard to it, and embraced the eternal culture of it; we therefore infer that the plan of popular education, as to mere liberty itself, is grievously defective.

And moreover, considered only politically, education cannot be less than a preparation for difficulty and temptation. It is, at the least, to fit us for trial. Hence again, the necessity that it be moral, and founded on the conscience. The feelings thus imbues us with should receive assiduous attention, and the habits it would form should be chiefly strengthened. The pathway is dangerous, many times, in which the patriot is obliged to go, but to deviate in the least, is still more perilous.

The good instructor therefore, is well likened to a faithful guide through a region of uncertainty and danger; who does not only tell you "there may be a safer path through the wilderness before you, and it may be gained perchance, by exertion;" but who knowing of it well, tells you plainly "there is a way;" that "conducts to the pleasant land of your wishes and hopes." Then he will go before you, and put you in the way. And if you are to cross swift torrents and dangerous, he will show you the firm foot holds, the distinct rocks, which you may step on; and in fording the deeper currents of the way he will tell you where it is safe to do so.

The educator for freedom under the civil constitution we have fortunately inherited, is not satisfied with faintly intimating that there is a directing conscience in the human breast, placed there by God as his own representative. But first of all he assures us of it; he reveals to us this angel of Presence. It is not left then to mere chance, whether or not we know of, and gain the path of virtue, which is the only way to the high eminence of Liberty. He guides the youthful step discreetly; teaches the incautious where safety is, and to the aspiring shows where true honor is; and by attentive culture, forms the habit of discriminating between the courses which human fancy or passion may sometimes applaud, and the reasonable which the conscience of men will eternally approve.

F. on the New York Sun.

THE FIRST AND LAST VISIT TO THE DRAM SHOP.

his family, and a nuisance to society at large; in short, one of the most shameless and abandoned drunkards that ever took the measure of an unmade grave in a Gotham gutter. He was not weaned from his degrading propensity by the Temperance, or the Tract, or any other society. Their logic was labor lost on Tim, who would have uncorked the bottle amongst the quaking and thunders of Mount Sinai, and drained it by the crater of exploding Vesuvius. It was woman's love that cured him, and all women may get a just idea of their own importance in society from this story.

Though he had a wife and five beautiful children, Tim seemed to be unconscious of the fact. He neglected his work, squandered his earnings, which daily grew smaller and smaller, and spent his time at the pot house, till the night prostitution of all his faculties, or the disgraceful words "No trust here!" warned him to seek the shelter of his wife's care and protection. His children could not go to school, because learning was dear and rum was cheap, the landlord dunned for his rent, and Mrs. Truesdall was obliged to keep the house, because she had no dress fit to appear abroad in, having pawned the last to pay the last fine imposed on her spouse by the Police Court. Meary, utter destitution and famine, stared the wretched family in the face. It is impossible to exaggerate the picture even had we room and inclination.

Mrs. T. was a heroine, though not of romance. She loved her worthless husband, and had borne his neglect, the tears of her children, the gripe of famine, and the rail of the drunkard, without repining. Never had her exertions slackened; never had a harsh word passed her lips. At night when she put her children to sleep, she wept and watched for his coming, and when he did come, drunk, as usual, she addressed and assisted him to bed without a murmur of reproach. At last, her courage well nigh exhausted, she resolved upon one last desperate effort.

At night, having disposed of her three oldest children, she took her two youngest by the hand and bent her steps to the grocery her husband was accustomed to frequent. She looked into the window, and there he sat, in the midst of his boon companions, with his pipe in his mouth and his glass in his hand. He was evidently excited, though not yet drunk. Great was the astonishment of that bad company, and enormous Mr. Truesdall's dismay and confusion, when his wife, pale as marble, and leading two tattered and bare-footed babes, stepped up to the bar, called for three glasses of brandy toddy, and then set down by his side.

"What brings you here, Meary?" said he morosely.

"It is very lonesome at home, and your business seldom allows you to be there," replied the meek wife. "There is no company like yours, and as you cannot come to me I must come to you. I have a right to share your pleasures as well as your sorrows."

"But to come to such a place as this!" expostulated Tim.

"No place can be improper where my husband is!" said poor Mary. "Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder!" She took up the glass of alcohol.

"Surely you are not going to drink that!" asked Tim in large astonishment.

"Why not? You say that you drink to forget sorrow, and if brandy has that effect, I am sure no living creature has so good an excuse for drinking as I. Besides I have not eaten a mouthful to-day, and I really need something to support my strength."

"Woman! woman! you are not going to give the children such stuff as that!" cried Tim, as she handed each of the children a glass of liquor.

"Why not? Can children have a better example than their father's? Is not what is good for him good for them also? It will put them to sleep, and they will forget that they are cold and hungry. Drink, my children; this is fire, and bed, and food, and clothing. Drink—you can see how much good it does your father."

and industry to a pursuit where an abundant reward is sure, agriculture is truly, (and should be so considered,) the chief interest of the nation. Commerce and manufactures are also weighty interests, and are principal constituents in the formation of national and individual wealth; yet they are artificial, and depend solely upon agriculture for a sure basis on which to rest.

When imprudence or unwise calamities disturb the laws of trade, embarrass commercial operations, and depress the manufacturing and mechanical interests of the country, then all eyes are turned to the grainfields of the north and west, and the cotton plantations of the south, as the source from whence sure remedies for existing evils must come. When due proportions of sun and shower draw forth from the exuberant bosom of earth its varied treasures, and there are promises of abundance in the coming harvest, then, even in the darkest hour of commercial distress, the sunbeams of hope enlighten the future, and all are ready to exclaim, in view of anticipated abundance—

"Behold how brightly breaks the morning."

It is from the soil that the sure wealth of a nation established in a land with a climate and other natural advantages like ours, must be drawn; and it should be the ardent prayer of every patriot that the great interests of agriculture should ever be held paramount to all others.

That foolish pride which denies the nobility of manual labor, and urges thousands of yemen's sons to engage in mercantile pursuits, should be discouraged. Many, very many, think it far more honorable to stand behind the counter in large cities and buy and sell the products of manufacturers, than to hold the plough or swing the scythe; and are ready to exchange the honest independence of the life of a farmer, for the precarious and vexatious pursuit of the merchant. That the latter is an honorable pursuit, we of course admit; but that it is more honorable than the former, we deny. Admitting then, that agricultural pursuits are as honorable as any other, what inducement can there be for the sons of farmers to leave the pure air and moral influence of the country, and bury themselves in the cares, and the moral and physical impurities of cities? The young farmer finds his labor, when connected with temperance, to be the best preventive, in the materia medica, of diseases of both mind and body; and as for independence, he can truly say—

"I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute."

And boast like Shakespeare's husbandman: "I am a true laborer. I earn that I eat, get what I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good, content with my farm, and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck."

Again—

"I eat my own lamb,
My chickens and ham,
I shear my own fleece, and I wear it."

With these advantages, how can a young man "long debate which of the two to choose," the pure breath of heaven, or the smoky atmosphere; the prospect of brick and mortar; and the eternal rattle of carts and omnibuses; or the green woods, the golden harvest fields, and the sweet melody of birds.

History will bear us out in the assertion that in all ages, whenever the chief pursuit of a nation was agriculture, permanent prosperity marked its course—the morals of the people were of a high character, when judged of by the standards of the age, and the nation and individuals enjoyed more genuine happiness than fell to the lot of a commercial people. The happiest days of Rome were during that period of the commonwealth when, to be a good husbandman was considered a high honor, and when, like Cincinnatus, her rulers were invested with the purple, at the plough. When by foreign conquests wealth was poured into her lap, and agriculture was neglected for the barbarous pursuit of war, her people degenerated and the seeds of decay were planted. So it has been with other nations, when the agricultural interests were neglected; and Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" clearly traces out the prime cause of the degeneracy of Spain, in her conquest of Peru and discovery of its immense mineral wealth, in the sixteenth century. By this event large numbers of Spaniards were induced to leave their country to amass fortunes in this *El Dorado* of the western world, and the great wealth which the mines of Potosi and others poured into old Spain, introduced luxurious habits to the great detriment of agriculture and the consequent degeneracy of the people.

It is hoped that in this country, so well adapted to the pursuits of agriculture, it will ever remain the paramount national interest; and that while we foster commerce and manufactures, and all other avocations of general and individual utility, we may ever look to agriculture, as the great foundation upon which all rest, and the sure and inexhaustible source from whence our wealth and power are derived.

LOG CABINS AND THEIR OCCUPANTS

To the Editor of the Evening Star.

Below I send you an extract from M. De Toqueville's "Democracy in America," which is the best description of the hardy freemen who live in Log Cabins that I have met with; and, by the way, this same work of De Toqueville is a most clear and philosophical view of the political institutions of the United States.

At the extreme border of the confederate States upon the confines of society and the wilderness, a population of bold adventurers have taken up their abode, who pierce the solitudes of the American woods, and seek a country there in order to escape the poverty which awaited them in their native provinces. As soon as the pioneer arrives upon the spot which is to serve him as a retreat, he falls a few trees and builds a log house. Nothing can offer a more miserable aspect than these isolated dwellings. The traveller who approaches one of them towards night-fall, sees the flickering of the hearth-flame through the chinks in the walls; and at night, if the wind rises, he hears the roof of boughs shake to and fro in the midst of the great forest trees. Who would not suppose that this poor but was the asylum of ignorance and rudeness? Yet no sort of comparison can be drawn between the pioneer and the dwelling which shelters him. Every thing about him is primitive and unformed, but he is himself the result of the labor and the experience of eighteen centuries. He wears the dress and he speaks the language of cities; he is acquainted with the past, curious for the future, and ready for argument upon the present; he is in short a highly intellectual being, who consents for a time to inhabit the wild woods, and who penetrates into the wilds of a new world, with the bible, an axe, and a file of newspapers.

[Democracy in America page 216.]

It may do for such as live in marble buildings, amid the allurement of wealth and what is called intellectual refinement, to sneer at the occupants of the lowly log cabin; yet it only betrays their own ignorance and the occupants of the lowly log cabin, to sneer at the occupants of the lowly log cabin, and of the influence which the religion, the manners, and the customs of the noble race of men, so eloquently described in the above extract, exercise over the liberties and destinies of the country. They are the descendants of the pilgrim fathers who first pierced the wilds of America, and who, in the language of the historian of those days, "which way soever they turned their eyes, (save upward to Heaven,) could have but little solace or content in respect of any outward object."

It was in the midst of this western wild that they built their log cabins, and founded a settlement which was the germ of a great people. It was from these same log cabins that they offered up their prayers to the Most High, "for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith," and enacted for their own government "such just and equal laws as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony."

The same spirit of freedom has been handed down from sire to son, and still burns in the bosom of the descendants of the early Pilgrims. What patriot can sneer at the occupant of a log cabin? What lover of his country does not revere the memory of the bold pioneers who laid the foundation of a Government which stood, and stands alone, without a parallel in the history of the world? For my own part I never pass one of those dwellings without inwardly saying "there is the abode of content and happiness, there dwells the spirit of true republicanism, which in times of national peril will ever be found the supporter of the principles of civil liberty, the representatives of that race of patriots who achieved the independence of the American provinces, and reared the standard of self-government;" and, above all, I cannot resist the recollection that, in just such a humble tenement was I born and reared, that my ancestors as far back as I can trace were tillers of the soil, the supporters of Democratic Republican principles, and the inhabitants of a log cabin. Hurra then, say I, for the log cabin! Give me no prouder heraldry than that; it is glory enough for

A WESTERN MAN.

From the National Intelligencer.

NEW JERSEY.

The Legislature of New Jersey met on Tuesday last. We have received a copy of Governor Pennington's Message to the Houses. The following is what he says of the outrage perpetrated by the Van Buren party in Congress on the rights of the state. The spirit and tone of the Governor's language are such as suit the occasion:

In the issue of this great struggle New Jersey has a deep interest. Her citizens have a common destiny with the rest of the Union; but while they share in common burdens, they intend also to share in common privileges. Firmly attached to the form of Government under which it has pleased a benignant Providence to cast their lot, they will be the last to withhold due allegiance to it, no

long as they are permitted to enjoy those equal rights which a proper self respect demands. Recent occurrences have, indeed, awakened a feeling in the breasts of the great body of the People of this state, which a sense of wrong, deep wrong, is filled without an apology, must always inspire. The present House of Representatives of the United States has denied to New Jersey a right which has never before been denied to any member of the Union, and which, under the Constitution, could never have been denied to her; the right of commissioning, according to her own laws, members to represent her in that body. This right is vital to the very existence of the Federal Government, and if its exercise be denied to any one of the states, no Congress can be constitutionally organized. The attempt to extirpate the enormity of this measure, by charging the state authorities with a violation of their trust, is an unworthy subterfuge. What has Congress to do with your state officers? Are not the People of the state competent to pass judgment on their own acts without the interference of strangers who have no regard to her laws and her institutions? If there be any question on that subject, let it be settled between those officers and their constituents. It is sufficient to command the respect of Congress in the first instance, that the commissions presented are genuine, and in form agreeable to the laws of the state. That this proceeding was a violation of all principle and usage, cannot be made more manifest than by the fact that it is the first instance of the kind to be found in the parliamentary history of the country or the world. During the three weeks in which this question was debated, no precedent, either in the records of this or any other country, could be furnished to justify it. I shall not again enter upon a defence of the course pursued in granting the commissions. That proceeding has been fully explained on a former occasion, and it has twice received the sanction of the People of the state. Further to discuss it would be an insult to that expression of public opinion from which there is no appeal. But I go beyond this point. Whatever difference of opinion might exist in reality, or be feigned for party purposes on that question, Congress cannot, within the legitimate exercise of its authority, go behind the seal of the state. They must recognize that, or there can be no return of members from the state at all. After that is recognized, and the members take their seats, then, for the first time, the subject is under the control and direction of the House. It has uniformly been so held in the House of Representatives heretofore, and it must and will be so held hereafter.

The New Jersey case will, in all after times, be considered an invasion of the rights of one of the sovereign states of the Union, for the purpose of securing the power of a party. Fortunately for the country, it has had the effect to open the eyes of the People to the actual condition of their Government, and taught them the danger of confiding their interests to men who have lived too long in the sunshine of Executive patronage. The subsequent action of Congress in placing individuals, without warrant, and before investigation, in the seats, and that too while the commissioned members were absent under the authority of the committee, taking testimony to substantiate their claims, and the final decision of the House by a strict party vote, without hearing, or even so much as looking at the evidence, presents a scene of violence and wrong wholly without precedent or apology. If the treatment which New Jersey has suffered had been received at the hands of a foreign Power, war must have been the inevitable consequence. But she has been wounded in "the house of her friends" — and a resort to force must have involved not only foes but friends. She has looked to peaceful remedies, and made her appeal to the justice and patriotism of the country, and all the signs of the times give unerring indication that the appeal has not been in vain. A great principle had been invaded, which affected alike all the states and all the people of the states, and it was eminently proper that their attention should be called to it in a manner adapted to secure their deliberate consideration.

"The subject, I am happy to say, has awakened a lively interest throughout the country. Now it is been confined to any party. Many of the friends of the Administration have disapproved the whole proceedings at Washington. Indeed, all men who look beyond the present struggle, and have a desire to see peace and order prevail, cannot but view it as revolutionary and subversive of the very foundation of representative government. Several of the State Legislatures, with a spirit worthy of enlightened freemen, have boldly denounced the measure as an infringement of the rights of the States, and declared their determination to make common cause with us. The popular indignation has been expressed in many places, and by large assemblies of the People in various parts of the Union; but I recur with special gratifica-

THE PARAMOUNT NATIONAL INTEREST.

In a country like ours, where millions of acres, rich with the accumulated vegetable compost of centuries, invite labor