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ARTICLE I.

CONGREGATIONAL TEMPORALITIES.

The whole subject of the temporalities of the Church should be elaborated into a science, which might be called Ecclesiastical Economy; and should occupy the place in ecclesiastical literature that Political Economy does in civil. It is a subject worthy of the best efforts of the best minds in the Church, and is susceptible of a thoroughly philosophical treatment. It is of almost fundamental importance when considered in its spiritual aspects; and yet it has generally received only an empirical treatment. It is a subject whose abstract doctrines grow out of the profoundest ideas of religion, both natural and revealed, and also have intimate relations with metaphysics, ethics, history, political economy, and the relations of Church and State; and until it is understood, systematized, and taught in its breadth, the temporalities will continue to be the "evil genius" of the Church, instead of a source of comfort, stability, and spiritual prosperity.

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It would be discourteous in me not to notice with expressions of gratitude the great kindness manifested towards me by the last Assembly as well as by this venerable body, and by the whole Church interested in the success of our Seminary. If I had the command of words more expressive than any in my vocabulary, I might well employ them in making acknowledgments to those friends in the South who have given me so hearty a welcome to my present post of toil; and not less to those friends in the North and West who advised me to accept the professorship, and gave me assurances of their good will, hearty prayers, and substantial support in this new field of labor.

Brethren, pray for me.

ARTICLE IV.

THE PARADISE OF THE LEVELLERS.

The present writer is a firm believer in what is called the pre-millennial theory of the prophecies; that is, he believes that the kingdom of Christ upon earth is to be inaugurated by the second coming of Christ to the world. This interpretation appears to be demanded by the course of events in the second chapter of Daniel. The metals in the great image deteriorate in the progress of the development of the figure, until that stone cut out of the mountain without hands crushes them all. This great emblem of the earthly ages contains no metal which represents the amelioration of the times as a preparation for the erection of the kingdom of Christ in the world. This interpretation appears to be demanded by the course of the empires with the well known beastly emblems, in the seventh chapter of Daniel. The series of beasts which represents the well known four universal kingdoms of antiquity, passes over the sphere of vision, with those ghastly emblems of subsidiary or parasitic kingdoms, the horns, in a perfectly manifest process of deterioration, until those

bestial thrones are cast down, and the Ancient of days assumes that political judgment-throne of the nations, which the fact that nations must be judged and punished in this world, if at all, makes a necessity, in any scheme of political divine justice. Then the last bestial horn is destroyed with great power, and the divine Son of Man comes in the clouds, and receives dominion, glory, and a kingdom. The same interpretation seems demanded by the sudden catastrophe with which, in the pride of triumphant power, the last of the series of the bestial thrones is cast down, in the end of the eleventh of Daniel: "He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him;" together with that awful sequel, that mingling of death and glory, of resurrection and trouble, in the twelfth chapter.

The same mode of interpretation is required in the Apocalypse. There is not there, nor any where in the Bible, we firmly believe, anything like a description of a gradual process of this world's *growing better* to become ready for the coming of her King, unless the preaching of the gospel for a testimony to all nations may be esteemed such a description, attending both the coming of Christ at the destruction of Jerusalem, and that of which men now speak. That preaching of the gospel to all nations was not a perfect sanctification of the nations *then*, to prepare them for the coming of their King: "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations." Matt. xxiv. 14. And it will not be so in any future coming of Christ. If the language did not require it *then*, in that earlier second coming, in the destruction of Jerusalem—concerning which he plainly said that that generation should not pass till all these things be fulfilled, and which stood in the relation of an Old Testament type to that coming now expected—neither does the language require it *now*. As the deep and felt darkness of the sinner's heart, immediately before his regeneration, is intended to teach him that without the Lord Jesus he can do nothing, so the darkness of the world, and its evident and rapid rush to a worse and worse condition, is intended to show that man is as

completely at fault in true political and social wisdom as he is in the power to make himself holy.

In the rolling series of trumpets, in the Apocalypse, it is said : "The second woe is past : and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly." And amid that rolling series of the woes of the world, "the trumpet of the seventh angel sounds ; and there are great voices in heaven, saying : The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." And with the fulfilment of this prophecy concerning the kingdoms of this world, with any just measure of fair grammatical interpretation with which any Christian heart would be satisfied in any matter in which the prejudices of opinion were not at work ; with the conversion of the kingdoms of this world into the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, in any sense which is fully and fairly just to the words, just to their meanings in other places, just to their complete sense, just and reverent to the word of God, and just and reverent to the Spirit which inspired them—with that interpretation, both we and our theory will be completely satisfied. And the same method of interpretation is obviously required by the incessant streaming of the vials of wrath from heaven upon men, (Rev. xvi.,) and those fearful civil and social convulsions probably signified by voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and a great earthquake, and a great hail ; and the sudden bursting in upon that lurid scene of the vision of the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, and the mighty cry of an angel through the air, that Babylon the great is fallen, (Rev. xvii.,) and the lamentations of the paramours of Babylon among the nations over her fall, (Rev. xviii.,) and the chorus of the voices of much people in heaven, ascribing "salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God," because what had been doubted was now demonstrated, that, as he had "judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and avenged the blood of his servants at her hand," therefore all men may now see that "true and righteous are his judgments." Especially will that song of much people in heaven contain much of the zest of happy hearts, once sorely desponding, as if eternal justice had been consumed with

the flesh of the martyr by his fagot at his stake; if other great oppressing powers, as beasts ridden by meretricious women, be judged with the same judgment as their elder sister, and meet the same merited doom with their great prototype, and synonym, and representative.

How obvious it is, from a collected view of any particular chronological prophecy, and from the connexions and coincidences of these different chronological prophecies with each other, and from the analogies, civil and religious, that "as a snare shall that day come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth." Luke xxi. 35.

There is nothing more deeply interesting to the human mind than the patient study of the deeds of divine Providence; how he sometimes permits a caricature, or parhelion, of one of his own most illustrious deeds, works, or events, to be played off to the eyes of men—as when the Lord Jesus, the true son of the Father, was caricatured, in the "passion-history," by that other BAR-ABBAS, that son of his father, the devil, whom Satan procured to carry a majority of the voices among men over the son of God. The four universal empires of the prophecies are such caricatures of the true kingdom of Christ—such parhelions of the true sun. Those kingdoms have beasts for their emblems. The emblem of the true, real, and rightful kingdom is the divine Son of Man. The kingdom of the Son of God has a grade of superiority over the kingdoms of men, such as a model man has, in the science of symbols, over a beast.

And as these parhelions and caricatures of the kingdom of God appear in prophecy, so do they also appear amid the gloomy phantasms of facts in this world, when it seems most forsaken and left to itself. But men do not always see them clearly.

The empire of the perfect papacy, the vast dominion of Gregory, (Hildebrand,) being a religious empire, having its authority, in great part, in men's consciences, and governing them through their superstitious fears with that tremendous power which marked the middle ages, which governed Europe by interdicts and bulls of excommunication, and which was in its noonday when Europe was in its midnight, was a rival and a

caricature of the kingdom of the Son of God. It was one which satisfied many a Christian of that day of its genuineness. It must have almost satisfied the arch-fiend himself. He must have permitted himself to indulge a little in glorying that he had shut out the Lord Jesus from his earthly kingdom, and taken that kingdom to himself; that he had changed that kingdom from a kingdom of righteousness to a kingdom of sin; and that he had wrapped those fearful cords of superstition and misbelief so firmly around men's memories, and around men's imaginations, and around men's reasoning powers, and around their patriotic and homely affections, that there was as little danger of a popular revolt against his authority as there was to the Roman Empire in the reign of Trajan, or to the British Empire in its firmest and strongest hour. There must have been something like this kind of glorying by Satan in the perfectness and security of his empire, when the Pope sent Tetzels into Germany to sell sin by weight and measure.

We firmly believe a caricature of the kingdom of Christ was intended by Satan in the spirit of the old Greeks and Romans—in the stoic virtues of Brutus, of Cato, of Mutius Scaevola, and of Horatius Cocles: every observing man well remembering how the man of his acquaintance, who has acquired extensive fame as a man of honor, of integrity, and of incorruptible principle, *out of Christ*, is pointed to as a *refutation* of religion as necessary to virtue; and how his fair outward seeming furnishes unbelief with its keenest arrows with which to wound Christianity. And this we say of the intention of Satan in the moral culture of the Greeks and Romans, without forgetting or endeavoring to gain-say that eternal overruling wisdom caused that culture to subserve another and a better purpose, as the real preparation of the soul of man, as the instrument to prepare men for the clear thought and the true and pure spiritual life of Christianity when it should come.

We firmly believe that a caricature of the claims and rights of the kingdom of God over the souls of men was attempted to be set forth in the feast of Belshazzar at Babylon, when “he commanded to bring the gold and silver vessels which his father

Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem, that the king, and his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein. And they drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone."

There is the same remarkable feature, well adapted to cheer the faith of the righteous, in this case, that appeared when Tetzal came into Germany to sell sin: and the man of sin thought his kingdom so well established that its strength would bear any strain. Tetzal's auction of indulgences to sin awoke the terrible protest of the Augustinian friar, Martin Luther. Belshazzar's feast and the revelry of his lords and ladies called forth in the same hour those words of doom, written by "the fingers of a man's hand over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace; and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote."

There is no richer subject among the treasures of the sacred volume than this of types, typical prophecies, and typical events. It is a grand feature of the word of God, that, as might be expected, in the connected thought and counsel of a *single mind*, though communicated to man by many writers and many speakers, it speaks words, utters prophecies, and narrates events, that, from the moment of their first utterance, fly forever through the world, seeking and finding repeated fulfilments. And when the familiar proverb declares that "history repeats itself," it does but assert a great principle of God's government, especially recognised in type and prophecy, that, like the famous echoes at a certain place in Italy, where a pistol shot reverberates in echo and reëcho a hundred times, certain shapes and forms of events underlie all the chief prophecies, and receive an ever-reverberating fulfilment amid the events of time and history.

When the people of Israel demanded a king of their old and venerable judge, Samuel, "the thing displeased Samuel when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they

have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me and served other gods; so do they also unto thee. Now, therefore, hearken unto their voice: howbeit, yet protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them." I Sam. viii. 6-9.

There was once, then, a theocracy; and in its day, the people rejected God from reigning over them. And from that day to this, stumbling and staggering among the dark mountains of different political theories, each having the same dark spot, the depravity of man, and each having the same dreadful flaw, the impossible problem of bridling the malevolent passions of a sovereign one or a sovereign many, by moral restraints, or restraints of their own imposing upon themselves, the nations have gone on, through dark ages and through ages of rich culture, in the small religious light of the Old Covenant, and in the full religious light of the New Covenant, working out the problem whether governments which reject God can stand the trial of the stern realities of sin and evil passion. And as the experiment commenced in the rejection of one theocracy, so we believe it must conclude with the correction and renunciation by man of the sin of man in the rejection of God as his king—in a willing return from a weary wandering through an interminable forest of human experiments, and human failures, and human woes, and human follies, and human crimes, to another theocracy, and to a willing subjection to divine authority in civil affairs, as the only solution of the great problem from age to age, What constitutes good government.

And we submit it to those readers of the prophecies who derive their views of prophecy from prophecy itself, and their views of the chains of prophetic events from the chains of prophetic events themselves, of which the links glitter so brightly in the chronological prophecies, whether every single chain of such prophecies, and every single sketch of any length in Isaiah or in Micah, whether strictly chronological or not, does not end in something like a return and repetition upon earth of the old

Jewish theocracy, expanded from the limits of a single nation to those of a world.

The rejection of Saul from being king over Israel, and the anointing of David to that office, seems, in some measure, to have brought back the kingdom to God;—David appearing in that awfully bright altitude in history, as the most illustrious human and royal type of the Son of God—not the rival of God's authority, but a bright foreshadow, the highest, richest type of the true David, the true beloved, David's greater Son, who is, and was, David's Lord.

And this restoration of Israel to the favor of God under David, moved the hostile powers of darkness, and Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel. And when in the light of the source of this temptation, the god of this world, and also in the light of the displeasure of God afterwards shown, we come to inquire what was the sin of numbering Israel, (1 Chron. xxi.) we shall see that it was simply a provoking of a reliance on itself instead of on God, a turning from the attitude of a theocracy, as manifested in David's fight with Goliath, in which small and weak things were made mighty by the blessing of God, to sink down to the position of those nations whose emblems were the beasts; a perversion of the nation from a theocracy, whose motto was, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord," to a caricature of the kingdom of God, a kingdom of Satan, under the robes, and under the forms, and with the name of a kingdom of God. No other idea, it seems to us, will adequately explain David's confession that he had done very foolishly, or God's fearful triple alternative offered him as his punishment: "Either three years' famine, or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel."

It was that crime of perverting the nation from being the kingdom of God to being a caricature of the kingdom of God, which caused the angel of the Lord to stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched over

Jerusalem, visible to the eyes of the erring king, in gorgeous and fearful vision, in that sacred spot at which, thereafter, should stand the altar of a yet more distinct acknowledgment of God.

We now steer backward to primeval ages, when events were simple and seminal in their character, and the records we have of them are marked by a significant and simple brevity. Among typical events, with deep meaning for bodies politic in all ages, is to be classed, in the very nature of the case, that undertaking on the plain of Shinar, when men were journeying from the east, and came thither, being hitherto of one language and of one speech, and resolved to build there "a city and a tower whose top might reach unto heaven; and so make them a name, lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Gen. xi.

It is commonly believed that there had been some express command of God to the progeny of the sons of Noah, to send out colonies, to spread their wings over the broad earth, and to found different states and nations. In contravention of this divine precept, this building upon the plain of Shinar was avowedly to prevent their dispersion; to provide a universal centre: to procure for them a world-wide renown; and to make themselves equal to what ideas they then had of God; perhaps to provide a place to rival that eastern gate of Eden, the vision of which still lingered in the traditions of the race, where God's cherub guards had kept the way of the tree of life with flaming and many-edged sword.

And on that plain of Shinar God came down and scattered them upon the face of all the earth. And they left off to build the city. And this is the origin of Babylon! Strangely and nakedly, like the mountain pile with which the Titans attempted to scale heaven, stands this deeply significant apologue in the primeval story.

There is a certain deep connexion in the minds and thoughts of men between certain cities and certain great ideas.

ROME means strength, might. She streams over the ancient world as strength, might. She beats down with ruthless iron foot, in that dark post-meridian of the night of pagan times in

which she flourished, every voice, whether that of Cato, of Marcellus, or of Brutus, who might have assumed to speak of or to think of her deeds with the voice or the thought of justice. Rome means forever that might tramples all laws of God, and manufactures its own right, and that only such right as might can make is hers.

JERUSALEM is the city of God. It is the name borne by a city on earth. It is a name which is but another word for the capital city of the kingdom of God. It is the name to be hereafter borne by that holy city, which shall come down from God out of heaven in shining glory, showing the reality of the brightest of all the dreams of poet and of prophet concerning the golden age: "as a bride adorned for her husband."

BABYLON is the enemy of Jerusalem: the capital of the combined enemies of God. When there are to be caricatures of the kingdom of God and of the strong tower of the saints, it is on the plain of Shinar or of Dura, or on the walls of Babylon, as Nebuchadnezzar walks and boasts upon those walls: or in the palaces of Babylon, as Belshazzar and his lords and ladies revel within those palaces. If Jerusalem is threatened, it is by the king of Babylon. If God's people are called to weep and welter in the sorrow of captivity, it is by the rivers of Babylon. And when Rome comes to be, in the later times, what Babylon had been in the earlier times of ancient history, then the Apostle Peter, writing from Rome, mystically says, "the church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you." 1 Peter v. 13.

Few productions of recent times are as suggestive of deep and grave historical reflections as the letter of Thaddeus Stevens to Doctor Pfeiffer, published not long ago. Of course it exhibits the strange ferocity of the Radicals towards the white people of the South, for which ferocity there is no other way to account than on the principle that men naturally most deeply hate those whom they have most deeply injured. And in that case, every manifest virtue, every undeniable honor, every inalienable right, of those who are hated, is a new vexation, a new provocation of fresh rancor, because it is an accusing voice, rising in the universe

of truth, to condemn not only the ferocity with which men hate their victims, but the injuries themselves, in whatever artful robes and cunning pretexts they may be cloaked, which have caused the ferocity.

We wish we knew more than we do of the contest between Michael the archangel and Satan, about the body of Moses, upon which such a brief flash of light, as if of lightning, is thrown in Holy Writ. It is certain from the word used—*δυσζητητο*—*disputed*—that it was a war of words and not of swords, between the holy and the unholy archangel. And no doubt the fiend, on that occasion, employed intensely bitter words, railing accusation, ingeniously conceived misconstruction and misinterpretations, and pertinacious refusals to see the light, or to understand things fairly, justly, or correctly. For if Satan had fairly understood the reason of Michael, and of Michael's God, for hiding the body of Moses from the Jews, and thus saving them from idolatry, then Satan's justification in his own eyes, for hating Michael, and Michael's God, would have been taken away. In all such cases all exculpation, all defence, all well-doing, all virtue, all patience, all religion, add but fuel to the rage of those who hate us; because they take away the poor apology which unjust misconstructions create for that hatred, by setting their own consciences, if they have them, against themselves. It is an instructive circumstance, that in such a "fierce encounter of their wits" as this must have been, the holy archangel *durst* not bring a railing accusation against the arch-fiend, however manifest to the pure intelligence were his corrupt and subtle evasions, and equivocations, and perversions. When the temptation came, to reply to all those subtle insinuations against heaven, and heaven's Lord, and heaven's law, we must suppose to have been then thrown out, a thought from God came into the mind of the archangel that all such things were said in the ear of God, infinitely more sensible to such sounds than the still deep ether which was the ear of the great Pan; that he, Michael, was not commissioned to inflict divine vengeance upon fiendish tongues; that there was an arrangement contained in the deep complications of divine providence, for the rebuke of such tongues, to which appeal, with

due submission, could not be in vain for every righteous being stung by such a tongue. And so the righteous and unmalevolent archangel simply said to the wicked and malevolent archangel: "The Lord rebuke thee."

We mean to say, with Bengel, and the synopsis of Sohar, from which Bengel quotes, that "modesty is an angelic virtue." "The greater was the victory at length given to Michael." "It is not permitted man ignominiously to rail at a race opposed to him, that is, evil spirits." And of ourselves, that modesty is not a proof that those who practise it are under the curse of God, or a proof that no reserves of justice, in the masses of the treasured events of the solemn future, are laid up for those who despise it, and despise also those who practise it. When the author of the letter to Dr. Pfeiffer hurls at the heads of the Southern people the fierce accusation that they are "despots, rebels, and murderers," we shall endeavor to imitate Michael and not Satan. We shall let the charge ring through the ether and the ages, not in any doubt that it has already met the ear of the great God, but waiting only his good pleasure and his sovereign will as to the time when it shall please him to speak his answer to the charge in an intelligible voice, as we doubt not he is able well and easily to do, so that it may be definitely and distinctly understood. We cannot be wrong to borrow the meek mild words of Michael the archangel, whom Satan could probably have beaten at the game of fierce railing, and say to the accusers: *The Lord rebuke thee!* Much other reply we might make, and do now restrain with difficulty at the memory of such names as Butler, and McNeil, and Hunter, and the *moral* approval of their deeds by our accusers. But all blood shed by man cries with heaven-piercing voice to the ear of God, and we content ourselves cheerfully with the words of Michael the archangel, in their meanings, their resignations, and their implications: **THE LORD REBUKE THEE.**

In these ends of the earth we had not heard of the fame of M. D. G. PFEIFFER, M. D., LL.D. But a single name with three capitals before it, one upon it, and five following it, flames upon us like a comet or a pacha of five tails, as the spiritual

confidant, counsellor, and sympathizer of Thaddeus Stevens. He is "sometime of the German Universities," "for the last fifty years and more an inhabitant of America."

Hermann Olshausen is, or was, we believe, of the University of Erlangen. Rudolf Stier is chief pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Doctor Augustus Neander is, or was, ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Doctor Paul Henry, the author of the masterly life of Calvin, was minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin. Of these Germans we did know something, and of a few others also, who might be named. But Doctor Pfeiffer was "sometime of the German Universities." That seems to mean that he was *of them all*. He appears to have taken them as a wild friend of ours once took the toll-gates on a turnpike, on horseback in a gallop. But all this was long ago. He has been, he says, "for the last fifty years and more an inhabitant of America." He "left his native country for the sake of enjoying entire freedom of thought and action." It is well that he went from the German Universities to Pennsylvania and there chanced to become a Radical, or else at last, even in America, he might peradventure have failed, after all, of that entire freedom of thought and action, whose fame brought him from the fatherland and its universities to the American shores. He now writes to the great Radical "with the familiarity of ancient times" as to "whether we are now likely to approach any nearer to the true principles of liberty than our fathers did under their old, constrained Constitution." He did not and does not like that old Constitution of our fathers. He speaks of "a great blot and heinous crime" of that old Constitution which he found in operation in this country when he arrived. In his view the Constitution was *a spotted criminal*. Fifty years ago would bring us back to the times of James Monroe, just about ten years after the legal prohibition of the slave trade, and the consequent diversion of such a large mass of the capital of New England from commerce. But two years more than fifty years ago, would bring us to that splendid and stirring era in the history of one, indeed many, of the German States, at which it seems difficult to find any apology for any one "of the German Universities"

for quitting his native land to seek any where else any real and becoming boon for himself. It was just a few years more than fifty years ago that, feeling deeply the habitual insult and degradation with which Napoleon the First had treated his master, the King of Prussia, and still more, his dear mistress, the heart-broken Queen of Prussia, and lifting himself to a noble strain of patriotism which makes him one of the few European figures of that day whom we can heartily admire, Field Marshal Blücher appeared in the view of those "of the German universities." The clarion call which he addressed to summon them to the field contained in it everything which could affect a noble spirit—the independence of their country, the overthrow of a galling oppression, a fearful tyranny, the redress of the wrongs and insults of an injured king and queen. Every thinking man must have admired many things in the first Napoleon. But it is from a nobler and a purer stand-point that we admire Marshal FORWARD. We care little for Wellington and his British at Waterloo. But it is with fond imagination that we follow old Blücher on the day before Waterloo, when he finds that Grouchy has been detached to keep him in check. It is with thanks to God that we interpret the firm purpose of his heart to give the checking Frenchman the slip, and appear with his brave Prussians on the fated field. And it is with tears of admiration for the grand old patriot-hero, that we stand at Waterloo and behold the first distant dust of Bulow's cavalry, and learn that Blücher has arrived, and the insulter of Prussia's queen, the tyrant of Europe, falls that day.

Just then Doctor Pfeiffer, "of the German universities," left his native country for the sake of enjoying entire freedom of thought and action! We have often thought that many of the famous people of the Mayflower and of Plymouth Rock might have done better and acted more bravely, to have stayed in England and fought for English liberty with Hampden and Manchester, than to have sought radical *liberty to hate* in America. So Doctor Pfeiffer might peradventure have acted a better and a braver part to have rallied under Blücher, if he was a Prussian: or under whatever liberating leader the State produced, if he

belonged to any other German State, than to have left his native land, to become an agitator against the venerable Constitution of ours.

It is no part of our purpose to follow the reasoning of Thaddeus Stevens in this famous letter to Doctor Pfeiffer, in which he claims "suffrage by ballot to be due to every being within this *realm!* (*sic*) to whom God has given immortality." The wise and virtuous among the Northern people are beginning to see into these wild ravings of the levellers. They must allow us to say, that with the example of the course of *levelling*, and its issue, in the English revolution in the seventeenth century, before them; and with the course which levelling ran in the French revolution before them; with the remark of old Doctor Samuel Johnson, that "every leveller is a scoundrel," before them; and with the aid of their own calm reflections as to their own true interests, it is far more surprising to us in the South that their eyes have not been opened before to the dark designs of the levellers, than that they have been now opened at length.

We can spare room to quote barely so much of Stevens's letter to Pfeiffer as will set before the reader an adequate idea of the new levelling empire of universal suffrage—universal to the most low and ignorant, but not universal to the educated white man—which has entered the conceptions of modern Radicals:

"Traverse her twenty thousand miles from the Russian possessions around the Isthmus of Darien, up the Gulf Stream to the bold shores of the Granite State, which, with the islands of the Gulf, soon, I hope and believe, will be added to this mighty nation, to which they naturally belong; thence up to where the Esquimaux roam, and where we have lately employed the protection of the mighty walrus, on the strait which no hostile foot will ever attempt to tread, around to where the herring, the codfish, and the whale, are seeking to find a permanent refuge; but no time which the eye of man shall ever see or his imagination depict, can screen them from the hearty enterprise of this mighty empire—and you have such a vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain as the world never saw. If anything more were wanting, more iron-clads than all Europe could send to this distance could be brought into active operation in any time necessary for the defence of the nation. Then take your route northward

from the southern isthmus, and you cross every latitude necessary for the production of all the industrial products of civilisation. No mineral, no vegetable, that ever God created for the wealth, comfort, or ornament of man would be wanted. Her southern climate, never more to be polluted by the unholy and infamous institution of slavery, bears upon every breeze the balmy odors that delight the senses. Its soil is filled with burning sapphire, its rivers run sands of gold, while its more rugged parts bear quartz equal to the fabled Ophir, and lodes of silver.

“If its more northern climate is held in firm delight by the hardy sons of ‘Greenland’s icy mountains,’ its moss-clad granite will always be protected by the Goddess of Liberty. How much better than the delicious isle over which continually blow the soft breezes of spicy Ceylon, where,

“Though every prospect pleases,
Man alone is vile.

“The ingenious artist of the gods, when procured by the mother of Achilles to engrave coast surveys and geographical delineations upon his invincible shield, never depicted a land so glorious and so variegated with gold and silver and every precious metal, and so bewitching to the senses with the odors of God’s happiest creations. Its enchanting products grow in abundance on every inch of her variegated soil, and since the curse of slavery is removed, if we do the justice which the Declaration of Independence proposes and we now propose, will soon contain a greater abundance of riches than either Europe, Asia, or Africa.”

We are mistaken, if this is not a *récho* of the act of the men who met on the PLAIN OF SHINAR more than four thousand years ago to “build a city and a tower, whose top should reach unto heaven, and to make them a name lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.”

1. This “vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain, such as the world never saw,” from which “more iron-clads than all Europe could send to this distance, could be brought into active operation in any time necessary for the defence of the nation”—would be the **DIREST DESPOTISM** upon which the eye of heaven has looked down during the flight of time. By the terms, it is to be founded upon the suffrages of the ignorant, the base, the former slave, and the malignant sectionalists. Let any adequate temptation arise to place, for instance, religion under the ban of the

voters—let it appear to be the road to popular favor to deride the Sacred Scriptures, and to insult all who are able to read them. and to proscribe, by degrading test-oaths, all who can intelligently explain them—let only as much liberty be taken in interpreting the Constitution of the United States in that “vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain,” on the subject of the freedom of religion, as has been taken in interpreting that instrument in relation to *civil* freedom, in the Union that now is—let the Supreme Court of the United States be only as timid in the maintenance of the religious liberties of the people, as they have recently shown themselves in defence of those “golden and perpetual liberties of the civil law” which have been esteemed the precious heritage of all Anglo-Saxon nations—let the President of that “impregnable and sea-girt domain” be kept speaking “with bated breath,” intimidated by threats of impeachment; speaking the just and noble convictions of his honest judgment only when he *dare*: half resisting usurpation, yet often forced into a silent support of it: let these circumstances concur with the depravity of the human heart, directed into the channel of persecution for religion, and fanned by some accidental prejudices, artfully harped upon by such men as Brownlow and Hunnicutt, and a religious persecution may yet be witnessed in this “sea-girt domain” of the levellers, to which those in which John the apostle was banished to Patmos, Ignatius was thrown to the wild beasts. Coligny was murdered in cold blood, and John Brown of Priesthill died for his holiness, and Joseph Alleine was imprisoned for preaching the gospel, will be models of mildness. The vast numbers of “iron-clads” are intended to shut out foreign help from this “vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain.” There is to be no appeal for help to any power below the skies from any interpretation of the statutes for religious liberty which an angry, artfully inflamed, and fanatically-led majority of the ignorant, blind, and infuriated rulers, cherished by statute, and preferred because they are ignorant, blind, and infuriated, may choose to impose. It is to be settled that they shall be their own judges of their own interpretations of the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court is to *avoid* political questions: and

it is to be understood to be a political question to pronounce any interpretation of the statute for religious freedom unconstitutional, which extensive popular passion, especially the popular opinion of some preponderant section of the vast domain, artfully inflamed by demagogues against some other smaller section, may have generally adopted. There is then to be a renewal of the ten primitive Roman persecutions in this paradise of the levellers, this "vast, sea-girt and impregnable domain." There is to be no power on earth to help a Christian if he should happen to believe that the prejudices of the preponderant section are not of as high authority over a man's conscience as the word of God. We firmly believe it to be the intention of the levellers that neither man NOR GOD shall be able to give help. This will explain the fate of the original Babel; of David's numbering Israel; of the kingdom of Belshazzar; of the domain of Gregory (Hildebrand;) and of that of the modern Antichrist, whoever or whatever that may be. There is the vision of a man's hand, writing doom against such powers, "over against the candlestick, on the plaistering of the wall." Some drops of the vial of that doom must come upon the State of Missouri for what has already occurred. Happy shall they be upon whom no drops from that vial shall fall!

2. There seems to be no assurance that the political morality of this Paradise of the Levellers will conform, for any considerable length of time, to those divine and immutable laws of God and nature, which say, "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt not kill." In this "vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain," all will go well as long as it is popular to think in conformity to the divine law on these subjects. Should the divine laws not be subjected to severe and real trials, all may go conformable to them for a century, or even two centuries; but in the tangled web of political events, suppose it should occur that the avaricious lust of some vast section (more than half) of the sea-girt domain should be deeply aroused against the remaining and inferior section, concerning the proper interpretation and observance of those two divine commandments, "Thou shalt not kill," and "Thou shalt not steal." Suppose that the Southern sec-

tion of the sea-girt, omnipotent domain shall have become by far the most populous and consequently the most militarily powerful. And suppose that the Northern section, in that late day, shall have fully adopted the maxim, instinct with fearful retributions, that the end justifies the means, and shall have made a god out of the majority, and have come to hold and teach avowedly and boldly in her schools, colleges, and seminaries, that there is no higher morality than expediency—that there is no higher eye regarding than the earthly highest: suppose the once pious, populous, and prosperous North, having plunged freely into the seething social cauldron of semi-infidel societies, projects, and *isms*, shall be then withering under such a divine curse and deterioration from her former smiling prosperity, as men tell us old Palestine now lies under from God for the blood of his Son. “until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.” And suppose that, mistaking that curse of God on account of social crime, for the oppression of the government, the North-eastern States, east of the Hudson River, should again produce the old theory which Massachusetts did so boldly produce in 1845, that the Union could be peaceably dissolved by the withdrawal of that consent of the individual States which constituted it, and which was necessary to a government founded on the consent of the governed, as the best and purest men had always called our government. And suppose, then, that from that “vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain,” these Northern States should resolve to withdraw, rolling over upon eloquent tongues, and with eloquent pens, the hallowed and ancient sentiment: “When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political ties which have bound them to another, a decent regard to the opinions of men requires them to declare to the world the reasons which have impelled them to the separation.” and suppose that for that act of withdrawal the residuary Congress should pass an act declaring that all the property of the North-eastern States should vest simply in the people of the other States, and that the inhabitants of those North-eastern States had no right, not even that of life, which the armies or the civil authorities of the “vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain”

were bound to respect. Now, the question is, would these acts of Congress not be intended to be, and, so far as man could enforce them, would they not be in fact, a repeal of the moral law of God which says "Thou shalt not kill:" "Thou shalt not steal"? Suppose that many thousands of millions of property was destroyed or changed hands, and some five hundreds of millions of lives were lost; would these things be any less or any more violations of the divine laws, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," than if the "sea-girt domain" were weak and easily assailable by human power?

And if that "sea-girt and impregnable domain," fortified by the possession of the West India Islands in the Atlantic, and by the possession of the shores of Russian America in the Pacific, so as to be out of danger of any human power, could be as thoroughly guarded on the UPPER SIDE as it is laterally; if there could be "iron-clads" invented for the navigation of the abysses of the skies, through which descend the messengers and the vials of God, so as to make us as safe from them as from the fleets and armies of Europe; and if we could erect fortifications and purchase island-outposts to protect us against the descending God who came down and "twisted the lips" of the builders at Shinar; or if we could keep out of our fields the angel with drawn sword, appearing in terrible vision over the threshing-floor of Ornan; or if we could forever barricade our banquet-halls against those terrific "fingers of a man's hand-writing over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace;" or if by fearful bulls of interdict and excommunication, we could forever silence the bluff, unwelcome tongue of every turbulent Augustinian monk, sounding upon the waiting ear of the ages, and upon the meridian hour of man's power on earth, the sudden, and strange, and irrestrainable voice, which shows that God has unabdicated rights over the nations of the earth—then, and not till then, might some one of the many schemes of PALACES OF SHINAR, which from age to age have entered the minds of the children of men, become successful, and the Paradise of Earthly Power at length appear undoomed among earthly things.