

6.

A LECTURE

ON

THE CAUSES

OF

The Ruin of Republican Liberty,

IN THE

ANCIENT ROMAN REPUBLIC, &c.,

Delivered at Hestonville, West Philadelphia,

JANUARY 4, 1861,

THE DAY OF FASTING AND HUMILIATION, PURSUANT TO THE PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

REV. NATH'L WEST, D. D.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

HESTONVILLE, WEST PHILADELPHIA, }
December 17th, 1860. }

TO THE REV. DR. WEST: *Rev. and Dear Sir*—A Lecture is earnestly requested at your earliest convenience, on the CAUSES of the Ruin of Republican Liberty, in the Ancient Roman Commonwealth, and the Analogy there is between such events, and God's Revealed Methods of dealing with Sinful Nations. The undersigned represent the wishes of many citizens.

THOS. LAIRD,	JAS. GRAY,	J. H. RAMSBOTTOM,
FRANCIS FERGUSON,	WILLIAM FINLEY,	JOHN McCAUSLAND,
HUGH CROOKS,	WM. G. HUNTER,	JOHN REANY,
WILLIAM McGUIRE,	WM. JONES,	PETER McLAREN.

HESTONVILLE, Dec. 20th, 1860.

GENTLEMEN:—Your favor is received. A little delay has been occasioned in forwarding to you a reply. The subject you assign me is large and difficult. The present *crisis* of our country, no doubt suggested it. I will do the best I can, however, to gratify your laudable wishes, and the wishes of those you represent. The new Hall, Hestonville, is the *place*, the day, is the *National Fast Day* appointed by the President of the United States, (Friday, 4th January, 1861,) and the *hour*, ten o'clock, A. M.

I remain, Gentlemen, with sincere respect,
Your humble servant,

NATH'L WEST.

TO MESSRS. THOS. LAIRD, JAS. GRAY, J. H. RAMSBOTTOM, FRANCIS FERGUSON, W. G. HUNTER, and others.

HESTONVILLE, W. P., Jan. 16th, 1861.

TO THE REV. DR. WEST: *Rev. and Dear Sir*—The publication of your Lecture, delivered on FAST DAY, was earnestly requested, as you are already aware, by the large and respectable audience who heard it. We desire to add that there was but one mind in the assembly, in regard to having the Lecture put into *pamphlet form*, with the least possible delay. This we apprise you of, and ask your consent unto; and, on behalf of those we represent,

Remain, Respectfully and truly, Yours,

JAMES GRAY,
THOMAS LAIRD.

HESTONVILLE, WEST PHILADELPHIA, }
January 18th, 1861. }

GENTLEMEN:—You have my "consent." I cheerfully yield to the desires you express for yourselves and others. If the publication in "pamphlet form," of the discourse you allude to, shall contribute in any degree to prevent *civil war*, and preserve the Union of this GREATEST OF ALL REPUBLICS, on just and honorable principles, the end is gained, sought by

Your humble servant,

NATH'L WEST.

TO MESSRS. GRAY, LAIRD, WILLIAM McGUIRE, FRANCIS FERGUSON, J. H. RAMSBOTTOM, and others.

LECTURE.

THEIR HEART IS DIVIDED; NOW THEY SHALL BE FOUND FAULTY.—*Hos. X., 2.*

Sentiment of the Text.—"Heart divisions in those conducting a Government strike at the *Constitution* of the nation governed."

RESPECTED AUDIENCE: "The *causes* of the ruin of republican liberty in the Roman Heathen Commonwealth, and the analogy between such events and God's revealed methods of dealing with sinful nations," is our subject.

In this subject, we shall call attention, in the first place, to the *four* great monarchies pointed at in the Bible. The Bible presents us with an attractive description of *four* grand Empires, or Governments, which arose prior to the Christian era. The description is metaphorical. A metaphor is a similitude. A representation of some things and events by some other things and events is one of God's methods of revealing to men the knowledge of His will. "I have used similitudes by the ministry of the prophets," &c.—*Hos. xii., 10.*

The *four* empires which the prophet Daniel saw were represented to his vision by "four great beasts which came up from the sea, diverse one from another."—*Dan. vii., 3—8.* The *four beasts* were the similitudes of four great monarchies which should follow each other in succession, and each in its turn be different from the other three. They were "diverse one from another."

(1.) "The *first* beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings." The lion is the king of beasts, the eagle is the king of birds. This similitude denoted—

1. The CHALDEAN monarchy, and Nebuchadnezzar its proud monarch.
2. The strength of the lion, and the swiftness of the eagle combined, denoted the surprising speed with which Nebuchadnezzar flew upon his prey, and the resistless force with which he conquered kingdoms.

3. The "plucking of his wings" denoted that his speed was checked; for, his wings being "plucked," suddenly he lost the heart and wings of the lion and the eagle, and was changed to a man; "a man's heart was given to him," and then "he stood upon his feet like a man;" he was divested of his ferocious propensities. When God *plucks* the wings of tyrants they cannot fly, they have then to stand on their feet like men, which shows they are *put in fear*, that they may "know themselves to be but men." How soon can God reduce the most raging tyrants to the condition of imbecile cowards! In this reduced condition they must "stand," and look on. They *dare* do nothing, and they *can* do nothing. Their "wings" are "plucked."

(2.) "The *second* beast was like a bear," raised up on one side, with "three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth." This denoted the PER-SIAN monarchy.

1. The Persian monarchy succeeded the Chaldean.

2. Persia united with itself the Kingdom of Media, which lay along the Persian northern boundary.

3. The "bear raised up on one side" was figurative of Persia and Media united. Media raised up Persia on "one side."

4. The *three ribs* in the teeth of the bear, showed the conquests of the kingdoms of Assyria, Egypt, and Lybia by Persia, who held the bones of these nations yet in her "teeth."

5. The command to the bear, to "arise, and devour much flesh," meant God's commission to Persia and Media united, to invade the Chaldean empire, and subdue it, and Babylon, its capital city.

6. The bear having mastered the lion, prefigured the subjugation of Chaldea and Babylon, and the division of that empire between the Medes and the Persians, which took place in the reign of Belshazzar, the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar—Dan. v., 28, 30, 31.

(3.) The *third* beast was like a "leopard." The leopard is a swift, cunning, and cruel wild beast. This terrible creature represented the character of the GRECIAN empire.

1. This leopard had "four wings." Alexander the Great, who founded the Grecian empire, moved with double the speed in his conquest of nations to that which Nebuchadnezzar exercised. The lion had only two wings, the leopard had four. In six years, Alexander conquered the whole empire of Persia, a large additional portion of Asia, all Egypt and Syria, besides making himself master of India, and several other nations.

2. This leopard had "four heads," and "dominion was given to it." On the death of Alexander, his empire was divided amongst his four chief captains. SELEUCUS NICANOR had Asia the Great; PERDICCAS had Asia the Less; CASSANDER had Macedonia; and PTOLEMEUS had Egypt. These were the "four heads" of the crafty and active leopard, Alexander the Great, and the *heads* which exercised "dominion" after his death.

(4.) The *fourth* beast is anonymous. He has no name. There is no beast, nor fowl, nor fish, nor anything he may be compared to. This beast is not like any other creature. It is a nondescript for strength, fierceness, mischief, mystery and cruelty. The most competent, impartial, and learned writers, make this furious beast the symbol of the heathen ROMAN EMPIRE. The Roman Empire was the *fourth* great empire of the world, and succeeded the Grecian. I cannot now enter upon an exposition of the attributes of this *fourth* beast, but will leave its "dread," its "terror," its "iron teeth," its "brass nails," its "stamping" hoofs, its "ten horns," its "little horn," its "devouring" voraciousness, its big "mouth," its "great words," and all the varieties which render it "diverse" from all other beasts, until another opportunity is afforded for a more ample delineation of this terrific animal, than can be allowed here. I agree with those who assert that the prophet Daniel's "fourth beast" represented the "Ancient Heathen Roman Empire." I shall therefore give a short description :

- I. Of the rise of the *Roman* Empire.
- II. Of its extent.
- III. Of the several forms of its Government.
- IV. Of the main CAUSES of the ruin of its republican liberty.
- V. The analogy there is between such events and the revealed method of God's dealings with sinful nations, and
- VI. Conclude with a Prayer for the United States.

I. THE RISE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The building of the city of Rome commenced, as all agree, about 753 years before the birth of Christ. The PALATINE hill, with a small, rude castle on its summit, was chosen as the site on which to begin the city. The inhabitants at first were made up of mere banditti. ROMULUS was the founder and first king of Rome. During his life the population increased rapidly, and at his death several adjoining hills were covered with habitations. Romulus was murdered by his senators, 716 years before Christ, after having reigned about thirty-seven years.

II. THE EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

From the foundation of Rome, under Romulus, to the time of "Cæsar Augustus," (Luke ii., 1,) the population of Rome had increased to over *two millions*. The empire, in its greatest extent, reached from the north parts of Britain to the south parts of Egypt, and from the western border of Persia to the west coast of Spain, measuring from north to south, about two thousand six hundred and sixty miles, and about the same from east to west. This included an area of over seven millions of square miles. The area of the United States is not three millions of square miles, hence not half the extent of the Roman empire. Tacitus, in his annals, informs us that Augustus, the emperor, set limits to the empire, beyond which his successors were not to go. These limits were, the Atlantic ocean on the west, the river Euphrates on the east, the rivers Danube and Rhine on the north, and the cataracts of the Nile, the deserts of Africa, and Mount Atlas on the south. These boundaries included within them the whole of the Mediterranean Sea, and the best parts of the then known world. There was added to this vast territory, however, notwithstanding the WILL and Testament of AUGUSTUS, under TRAJAN, Dacia, north of the Danube; and Mesopotamia and Armenia, east of the Euphrates. Under the Emperor CLAUDIUS, (that Claudius referred to in Acts xi., 28,) the Roman Empire extended to the South of Britain; and under DOMITIAN it extended to the rivers Forth and Clyde, in Scotland. So brave were the ancient Scotch (Caledonians) in repelling the advances of the Roman legions, and in fighting for their liberty, that SEVERUS, the most warlike Emperor the Romans ever had, after granting them peace, built a wall of solid stone, twelve feet high and eight feet thick, with towers and forts at proper distances, to repress the inroads of these unconquered and unconquerable foes. SPARTIANUS, in his life of SEVERUS, says: "This wall measured eighty miles." Eutropius makes it only 32. The wall had a rampart and ditch, "and reached from Solway Frith, on the west, to the mouth of the Tyne on the east, a distance of sixty-eight miles." There is some reason why the Empire of Rome should be termed "all the world," (Luke ii., 1,) and that Rome itself should be called "*caput mundi*," the head of the world. The city was built on seven hills, named, the Palatine, the Quirinal, the Aventine, the Cœli, Viminal, Exquiline, and Capitoline. These seven hills being included in Rome, she was called URBS SEPTICOLLES, *i. e.*, *the city of the seven little hills, or little mountains.*

III. THE SEVERAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The Roman empire was governed *first* by **KINGS**. Seven kings followed in succession, beginning with Romulus and ending with Tarquin the Proud. Their collective reigns occupied about 220 years.

The royal form of government being abolished, the commonwealth form was adopted. Under this form they had their laws administered by **CONSULS**, magistrates of superior order, who administered the laws in the city and "all the provinces." **PRÆTORS**, another order of magistrates created by the people, and who, *Livy* and *Pliny* tells us, were next in dignity to the **CONSULS**. **CENSORS**, another order of magistrates, who took charge of the numbering of the people. Their office gave them great power. Plutarch says, "The censorship is the summit of all preferments." Tacitus informs us, that "the chief ornament of nobility was to have sprung from a censorian family." And this because, as Cicero intimates, it entered into the office of Censor to "estimate the fortunes and inspect the morals of the citizens;" hence their power and influence over the public mind. **TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE**: The power of these officers was at first very small. They, however, increased in influence. They exercised their power, at the first, by the authority of the people, who elected them from their different tribes, hence *Tribune*. The first way they exercised their power was expressed by the word **VETO**—*i. e.*, *I forbid it*. Whoever disobeyed the veto of a tribune of the people, must go to prison. They often opposed magistrates, once and again pulled triumphal generals out of their chariots, put off trials or hastened them, when they chose. They sometimes hindered the execution of a sentence; sometimes they forced it. They, in short, exercised supreme power. They were particularly hostile to the nobility and wealthy classes of society. They first showed this spirit by bringing before the public assembly for trial, the chief of the patricians, **CORIO-LANUS**. The tribunes of the people very much resembled the leaders of our political chartists, radicals, clubs, vigilant committees, revolutionists, and demagogues of every kind, who hope to work themselves up from beneath to public notice and power, through "*the dear people*," whom they seldom fail to deceive, when they have attained to the summit of their own wishes. **ÆDILES** were officers who chiefly governed in the erection and care of the buildings of the city. They were assistants to the tribunes. Their power increased and extended to the care of "public buildings, temples, gods, theatres, baths, aqueducts, common sewers, public roads, taverns, markets, weights, measures."—

They inspected the things exposed to sale, and, "if they were not good, threw them into the river Tiber," which ran through the city.— Juvenal says, the *Ædiles* "broke unjust weights and measures:" Cicero and Ovid say, "They limited the expenses of funerals," and Livy says, "They restrained the avarice of usurers." **DICTATORS**: These superior magistrates were created to act in dangerous and critical conjunctures, such as domestic insurrections, dangerous wars, wide-spread pestilence, calling the public assembly, creating holidays, instituting games, holding trials, and for the purpose of determining how a nail should be placed in the right side of the temple of Jupiter, by which the number of years could be ascertained. They were called *Dictators*, because no appeal was allowed from their decisions. **DECENVIRS**: In the year of the city of Rome 299, three ambassadors were sent to Athens, in Greece, to copy the famous laws of SOLON, and, as Livy tells us, to "examine the customs and laws of other States of Greece." On the return of the ambassadors, the same classic writer tells us that "*ten men* were elected from the Patricians with supreme power, without the liberty of appeal, to draw up a body of laws." They were called *Decemviri*, from the Latin numeral adjective, *decem*, *ten*, and *vir*, a *man*, *ten men*, and because they sat to administer justice to the people, each of them, every tenth day." They proposed *ten* tables of laws, afterwards two other tables were added, and then the whole were termed "**LEGES DUODECIM TABULARUM**," *i. e.*, the laws of the twelve tables. These twelve tables became the rule of public and private right ever after, throughout the whole Roman empire. The Romans had several other civil offices and officers, as *Quæstors*, officers of the revenue and of the treasury; *Triumviri Nucturni*, officers who had charge of preventing fires in the night; *Triumviri Monetales*, who had the charge of the mint; *Triumviri Capitales*, who had charge of prisons, and were judges of slaves and of the lowest of the people, &c. This kind of government, sometimes called a "*Republic*" sometimes a "*Commonwealth*," sometimes "*Plebeian*," sometimes "*Patrician*," and sometimes "*Military*," continued for nearly five hundred years from the last of the seven Kings. After this, Monarchy was re-established, and the Roman Empire was governed by sixty-five Emperors, for 518 years. The Empire came to its end 1228 years after the building of Rome, and the Kingdom of Italy commenced under ODOACER, King of the Heruli.

IV. THE CAUSES OF THE RUIN OF REPUBLICAN LIBERTY IN THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

One cause of the ruin of public liberty in the Roman empire was the noted *idolatry* of the Roman people. They made gods and goddesses of almost everything. Another cause was the notorious *licentiousness* of the whole population.

Another, their crying personal and social sins committed against each other—"covetousness, maliciousness, debate, deceit, envy, despiteful, proud, boasters," &c., in short, they were "filled with all unrighteousness and wickedness." See Rom. i, 22—32.

Another cause was artfully employing the *wealth* of the republic to enslave it. Dionys., xxxviii, 1—7.

Another cause was leading men obtaining by *bribery* from a corrupt populace what they desired, in spite of the Senate. "This contempt of the Senate," says Plutarch, "nearly terminated public liberty. It was a main cause of its ruin."

A further cause of the ruin of Roman republican liberty was the *secret combinations* of powerful and ambitious men to exercise political patronage over the people. The combination of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, is an illustration. The Roman people, by submitting to the usurpations of these leaders, showed "they were prepared for servitude." Only the spirit of a nation can preserve its liberty, and if the morals of a nation are sunk, the national spirit is gone!

Another cause of the ruin of Roman liberty was the power of wealth. SALLUST tells us that when "wealth, luxury, and avarice" predominated, "all ranks became corrupted;" and especially after the destruction of Carthage, the wealthy plebeians united with the patricians, and both agreed to oppress the body of the people. Oppression is the ready way to promote rebellion and civil war.

Another cause of ruin to the liberty of the Roman commonwealth, was the *civil contests* between the plebeians and patricians for supremacy. The first civil blood shed at Rome, was shed by Opimius, a consul, who, as SALLUST says, "slaughtered a great number of the plebeians."—From this point the effectual ruin of Roman republican liberty may be reckoned, because once the people began to use arms and violence against each other, "the laws made by force were held valid." That is, mob-law ruled. The strongest party made their own laws.

Betrayal of trust hastened on the ruin of the empire. SALLUST again tells us, that "the faithless and ambitious MARIUS betrayed the

people." This demagogue first flattered, and then *betrayed!* A fair sample of the most of demagogues.

LASTLY, from the time the first civil blood was shed, "the tribes were henceforth employed by leading men as the tools of their ambition." The mob was paid for their work. Everything was done by force.—The leaders of the people, backed by the swarms of their mercenary hirelings, made and abrogated the laws at pleasure, disposed of public lands, conferred commands, gave away provinces; the assemblies of the people were converted into scenes of violence and massacre, and the most daring always prevailed. At last Julius Cæsar, making a *pretext* of the violation of the power of the tribunes, made war upon his country, and, by terrible bloodshed and villianies, put an end to republican liberty, re-established monarchy, and by force of arms placed himself in sovereign power over the Roman Empire! He soon had the title—"PATER PATRIÆ, *father of his country*"—which the Senate of Rome conferred on the far-famed CICERO—transferred to himself! And yet Julius Cæsar was not, properly, the first Roman Emperor. His nephew, OCTAVIUS, after having defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium, and reducing Egypt to a Roman province, was by decree of the Senate, called to the imperial throne, with the title of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and he was properly the first Roman Emperor.—The city of Rome at this time, *i. e.*, 27 years before Christ, measured 50 miles in circumference, had within her walls 463,000 men able to bear arms, and a city population of over two millions. At present Rome only measures about eight miles in circumference, and has a population of about 145,000 souls—about one-fourth the population of Philadelphia. "Alas! alas! that great city!"—Rev. xviii., 16.

V. THE ANALOGY THERE IS BETWEEN SUCH EVENTS AND THE REVEALED METHOD OF GOD'S DEALINGS WITH SINFUL NATIONS.

In this analogy we shall *first* recall to your minds a short summary of the liberty-destroying practices of the Roman people; then a summary of the *sins* for which God enters into judgment with nations; next a summary of *national* mercies, and *lastly* the connection between national repentance and the preservation of national mercies.

First—A short summary of the liberty-destroying practices of the Roman people.

The liberty-destroying practices of the Roman people consisted mainly in their gross idolatry; their beastly licentiousness; their malignant

misrepresentations of each other; their proud boasting; employment of wealth to enslave the empire; bribery of the people to induce them to act in spite of the proper civic authorities; secret combinations of ambitious men, to wield the power and patronage of the Empire; universal, moral and political corruption. They were "filled with all unrighteousness," &c.; a union of the most wealthy amongst the contending parties—the plebeians and the patricians—to oppress, *through false pretexts*, the people, by drawing all power from the latter, into their own hands; their frequent contests for power; their violence, and shedding of each other's blood; their conspiracies; their murders; their cruelties; their fearful oppressions of their servants; the betrayal of trust; their flattery of the people to obtain their suffrages and then deceiving them, as *Marius* did. Finally, the people became the tools of their favorite ambitious leaders, and at length all became a prey to that ablest of military commanders amongst the Romans—Julius Cæsar. Thus Roman republican liberty, which continued from Tarquin the proud, the last of the seven kings, nearly five hundred years, took refuge at last under the wings of a military despotism! Let it now be observed that every one of the practices included in the foregoing summary is, in itself, opposed to rational liberty. Inherently, "all unrighteousness and all wickedness" is determinately hostile to all sound liberty.—Rom. i., 29.

Let us now present a summary of the sins for which God enters into judgment with nations. And in this place we must carefully discriminate. The sins of a nation provoking God to act against it must be GENERAL. The people must be personally transgressors by active participation in crime, or by doing nothing to prevent its commission.—"Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity; a seed of evil-doers; children that are corruptors; they have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the holy one of Isarel unto anger; they have gone away backward. Ye will revolt more and more. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot, even to the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores. Your country is left desolate; your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence," &c.—Isa. i., 1—7. Ponder well these seven verses, and see the national result in verse 8.

National sins must be GRIEVOUS as well as general. "When the land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, then I will stretch out mine hand upon it," &c.—Ezk. xiv., 13. Here are two attributes of national sins. They must be *general*, they must be *grievous*. Let us

give a brief summary of national sins, as a sample ; Pride : Hos. v., 5. Idolatry : Exod. xxxii., 31. Covetousness : Jer. lvii., 13. Covenant breaking : Hos. x., 4. Perjury : Ezek. xxi., 23. Robbery : Mal. iii., 8, 9. Blood : Ezek. vii., 23. Apostacy : Jer. ii., 13. Uncleanliness : Jer. xxiii., 10. Oppression : Job. xxxv., 9. Profaneness : Mal. ii., 10. Lying : Psal. lxxiii., 11. Divisions : Isa. xi., 13. Hypocrisy : Isa. xxxiii., 14. Backslidings from national primitive simplicity : Deut. xxxii., 7, 15. Love of riches : Zeph. i., 18. Gross hypocrisy in divine worship : Isa. lviii., 1, 5. There are many other things enumerated amongst national sins, but these may serve as a sample. These sins found in any nation are grounds sufficient, if nationally prevalent, to warrant God in calling any such nation up for judgment. And the analogy between these divinely-revealed national sins, and those of the ancient Roman Empire, is in most cases very remarkable.

We shall, in the next place, give a short synopsis of the national MERCIES, which national sins forfeit. A pure Gospel ministry : Mark, xvi., 15. Pure Gospel ordinances : Heb. ix., 10. Godly and faithful discipline in all the churches : Job. xxxvi., 10. Scriptural unity amongst all the tribes of God's people on essential, not disputable, notions : Psal. cxxxiii., 1—3. Freedom from persecution : Acts ix., 31. A patriotic and godly magistracy : Neh. vi., 11—14. Peace in all our borders : Isaiah lx., 18. Justice in all our courts : Psal. lxxxix., 14. Learning in all our schools : Isaiah xi., 9. Wisdom in all our departments of State : Prov. iv., 7. Plenty flowing from God's blessing on our labor, trade, and commerce : Deut. xxviii., 8. Health in all our streets : Psal. cxliv., 13. Favor from neighboring nations : Isaiah lx., 6, 7. Freedom from such pestilences, famines, and wars as desolate and debase a land : Psal. xci., 5, 8. These and such like blessings constitute a people, a happy nation, and they are some of the national mercies, forfeited by national sins.

We cannot dismiss this part of our subject without referring to the national mercies which God has given to these United States.

The prosperity of this nation has risen to a very wonderful height. The UNITED STATES embrace an area of nearly *three millions* of square miles ; have already within this immense area, *thirty three* sovereign States and seven organized Territories ; have a sea-coast, measuring nearly *thirteen thousand miles* ; have a population of over *thirty-one millions* ; have a national revenue of over *seventy millions* ; have between eighty and ninety thousand schools, more than *five thousand* academies, over two hundred and twenty colleges and universities, over twelve thousand churches, and more than eleven thousand ministers

connected with Evangelical denominations! This nation has twenty-six or twenty-seven thousand miles of railroad, and over five thousand miles of canal. The number of farms is about *one and a half millions*: the number of acres under cultivation, is nearly one hundred and thirteen *millions*. The annual produce of Indian corn is supposed to be *four hundred millions of bushels*. The number of bushels of wheat, rye, oats, barley, beans, potatoes, fruits, and roots of all kinds, must be almost past finding out! I cannot give the number, at any rate. The investments in manufactures amount to *six hundred millions* of dollars. The value of the farms and farm-stock is *five hundred millions of dollars*. The worth of the internal trade is almost incalculable. It requires almost twenty thousand miles to measure the ten largest rivers of the United States. It requires nearly *ninety thousand square miles* to measure the surface of the five greatest lakes. Sixty years ago the Union had something over *five hundred and seventy-one thousand* dollars in coin. In 1860 the amount of coin is *more than two hundred millions*.

But, respected hearers, I close these statistics. I will only add, here, that the spirit must be exceedingly sinful, and criminal to the deepest degree, which would seek to shatter such a nation into fragments, or have its own will to be the rule of action! But such a catastrophe cannot be permitted! Let us who are called God's people maintain the Constitution and laws of our country, until peaceably and lawfully changed. Let an insurrectionary spirit, and wild fanaticism, be as far from us as sin is from holiness! We shall now give some careful *discriminations* in relation to the making up of national sins, and God's methods of punishment.

In these discriminations, it may be proper to ask, In what way do sins become national? Must rulers and subjects; representatives and represented; learned and illiterate; refined and barbarous—all commit the *same* sorts of sins, and continue to commit them until the nation's cup is full, to make sin to be national? The answer is, No. How, then do sins become national? We have seen that these two attributes must be found, so as to make it appear that the nation condemned is "laden with iniquity"—namely, *generality* (Isa. i., 5) and *grievousness*. Ezk. xiv. 13. But, in addition, it is very proper to define more particularly:

1. When ministers of religion in prominent places and conspicuous positions take a wrong course, the infection is apt to spread to the whole body of the people: "From the prophets of Jerusalem is profaneness

gone forth into all the land." Jer. xxiii., 15. This does not mean that every individual in the nation is corrupt, but that the generality of all sorts have become profane and wicked.

2. When sin is searched out, and found to be very general, grievous, and crying, the city, cities, or nations found guilty, are given over to destruction. "The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is very great, their sin is very grievous; we will destroy this place—the Lord sent us to destroy it." Gen. xviii., 20, chap. xix., 13.

3. When influential persons sin *grievously*, such as governors, representatives, ministers of religion, magistrates and common people all combine to defy and insult God, then they are cursed with God's curse. "Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me even this whole nation."—Mal. iii., 9.

4. What evil things to a nation, persons high in authority do, the people of the nation may be said to do, if they connive at them, and do not use the power they possess to hinder them. Thus the nation of Israel was several times brought under national guilt, in whole or in part, because of the wickedness of men in authority, whom the people either supported in their crimes, or were silent concerning them. "I will love them no more, all their princes are revolvers." Hos. ix., 15. Israel is given up "because of the sins of *Jereboam*." 1 Kings, xiv., 16. The Lord would not pardon the sins of Judah, "because of the provocations that Manassah had provoked God withal." 2 Kings, xxi., 11—15. Yet Manassah was pardoned because he repented, but the nation was not forgiven, because it repented not, but continued to commit the same sins. 2 Chron. xxxiii., 10—19. The sins of Saul in violating the covenant with the Gibeonites, brought a famine for three years upon Israel. 2 Sam. xxi., 1. Thus, what rulers do, may be said of the nations they govern. Yet it is possible, after all, that where punishments come from God upon nations for the sins of their rulers, there is some other guilt among the people, or private consent in their hearts with their rulers' sins, which ripen them for the judgment inflicted.

5. It is not necessary that people sin all alike in order to bring down a national judgment. The national cup may be filled up with various offences, arising in various ways, from the people, in different conditions and circumstances. The sins of rulers and people in high life, are usually more secret and refined than the sins of common people. The profane part of a nation sin enormously. Hence this true distinction follows—"The sins of a refined people are like streams of clear water

impregnated with deadly poison, the water is apparently harmless; but the sins of the common people are like water polluted with thick mud!" The one class sins *genteelly*, and says "Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." Prov. ix., 17. The other class sins openly and monstrosly, like the surging ocean, "casting up mire and dirt." Isa. lvii., 20. Poisoned waters, though limpid, and waters made thick with mud, are usually cast into the same pit.

As to divine chastisements and punishments upon nations, these things are observable:

1. Impenitency must be added to rebellion before God will proceed against a nation.

2. A land is not ruined unless it continues to sin *after* being warned.

3. National mercies are not forfeited by the commission of sin, simply considered, but as attended with additional grievous aggravations.

4. Utter destruction comes not before lesser judgments are tried and found unsuccessful. Amos iv., 9—13.

5. The greatest national sins will be freely forgiven upon true national repentance. Psalm lxxviii., 34—38.

And this brings up the last topic in the arrangement, which is the *connection* between national repentance and the preservation of national mercies. There have always been great displays of *sovereignty* in God's dispensation of national judgments, and, indeed, of national mercies.—The sins of multitude are often *passed by*, as it were; and often He sends a judgment for a few offences, yea, for even one, as in the case of *Achan*. Josh. vii., 1. It is not easy at all times, to judge of national judgments. God may afflict in order to mercy. He may take away smaller blessings to make way for greater. He may destroy the gentry to save the vulgar. He may shake the body of a nation, so that all fear and tremble, when He only designs to make the mass of the people (at least his own people) more alive to their best interests. The judgment of some goes before them, the judgment of others follows after them. "God is his own interpreter" of His own modes and reasons of action.

Now, if repentance saves a nation from utter destruction, what kind of repentance is required? Answer—It is not the personal repentance which God requires in order to eternal life; nor that repentance which God requires for the neglect of performing plain duty; but the very scope is, such a national repentance, as will secure national reconciliation with God, and prevent the removal of national mercies. The prayer of Moses and his intercession turned away the wrath of God

from Israel. Exod. xxxii., 11—14. The atonement which Aaron made caused the terrible judgment of the plague to cease. Numbers xvi., 46—48. The search made for sin by Joshua, and its discovery, and his sanctification of Israel, including their repentance, secured the defeat of their enemies and God's reconciliation to his people. Josh. vii., 24, chap. 8—18. The prophet Isaiah says: "Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save; neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear; but your iniquities have separated between you and your God; and your sins have hid his face from you that he will not hear." Isa. lix., 1—2. The sin which causes separation between God and a nation must be nationally repented of, and nationally forsaken. I will not, my worthy hearers, detain you longer with any detail of national sins, for which you are this day humbling yourselves before God, but simply exhort you, whether you can remember your own sins and the nation's sins or not, to unite with me in fervent prayer to God, in the name of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, that he would pardon the sins of this great, growing, and interesting nation, and save her from the ruin threatened. And while we attempt to pray, let our minds and hearts be steadfastly set upon the word of God, which gives us the true directions and warrant for prayer.

LET US UNITE IN PRAYER.

O, thou Almighty, self-existing, omniscient, and eternal Lord God! we presume to lift up our hearts and eyes to Thee, in the name of Thy adorable Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Our nation is in trouble, and our national, as well as our personal transgressions, have called to Thee for vengeance. We would, O Lord, endeavor most humbly to confess our sins before Thee, as a nation, this day, and say our rulers, our judges, our mighty men, our great men, our rich men, our poor men, our ministers of Thy Gospel, our churches, all our families, all our people in the whole land, of every name and every pursuit, have sinned against Thee. As a nation, we have sinned against light and love, and law and grace. We have sinned against the loveliest, sweetest, choicest, most plentiful, and varied temporal blessings, and against the spiritual and eternal blessings of Thy holy covenant. We have sinned openly, publicly, privately, secretly, personally, relatively, socially, *nationally*. We have broken our national covenant and our religious covenant. We have ran nearly mad after riches, regardless of Thine own word. We have lusted after power. We have labored with all our might for honor from men. We have neglected our duty

to the fatherless, the orphan, the widow, the hungry, the naked, the sick, the prisoner and captive, the poor, the desolate, and the oppressed; and justly, O Lord, mightest Thou have reduced us to their condition. Justly, O our God, mightest Thou have taken the nation from us, or us from the nation, and given it to our betters, for our many and grievous sins.

As a *nation* we would deplore our ingratitude to Thee. We have not been humble and thankful as we ought to have been for the boundless profusion of mercies, both temporal and spiritual, which Thou hast showered upon our land. Instead of profound humility, we have shown national PRIDE. We have, as a nation, grown fat upon Thy bounty, and then, instead of pure gratitude and thankful acknowledgement of Thy favors, we have, like "Jeshuran," "kicked" back at our gracious Benefactor! We acknowledge this to be a base and debasing return for Thy untold goodness to us. Now, instead of being an affectionate, united, fraternal nation, as we ought to be, Thy enemy, oh, Lord! and the enemy of man, has managed to bring his attempt to reduce us as a nation to fragments, to a crisis! So now it is "Manassah against Ephraim, Ephraim against Manassah, and both they together against Judah, eating, every man, the flesh of his own arm." This, oh, God! is not only man against man, family against family, section against section, but it is tribe against tribe, the enemy knowing that the separation of our States, like the separation of Thy tribes of old, will soon render the whole an easy prey to the common destroyer!

Eternal Father! God of infinite mercy! Thou hearer of Prayer! Thou grossly insulted, but yet most compassionate Benefactor! our prayer for national pardon is to THEE, in the name of THE GRAND MASTER OF REQUESTS, the LORD JESUS, Thine own son, and our own Saviour.

"Oh Thou that dwellest in the Heavens!" Our eyes are toward THEE. Our hope is in THEE. Let a pardon as long and as broad, as deep and as high, as the extent of our guilt, whether personal or national, whether of rulers or subjects, be sent down from Thy throne; and for the sake of JESUS, be sealed upon our dearly beloved, our chosen, our natural, our adopted nation! Oh! our Father! Remember the prayers, the tears, the sufferings, the blood, the bereavements, the treasure this nation has cost, and give her not up to reproach! Thou Almighty Friend! compose our national differences, unite divided hearts, disappoint the expectations of the wicked, teach the nation an effectual, lasting, salutary LESSON; but save her from internal rebellion, from

external invasion, and from the destruction of all Thou holdest dear in the land! Thou hast told us in our national distresses to "take with us words and turn to the Lord," &c. We do take words from Thy own word, Oh Lord, and pray Thee to "stir up Thy strength and come and save us." We pray Thee for Thy GREAT NAMESAKE, for the sake of JESUS, for the sake of all Thy people and all Thine interests in this nation and in this world, to send Thy Holy Spirit to the hearts of the whole population; to "rebuke the company of spearmen," and to "scatter Thou them that delight in war!" Amen.