

limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property."

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty. Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discourage and retain it.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of free government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, *religion and morality are indispensable supports*. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these the firmest props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that *morality can be maintained without religion*. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impression which I could

wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischief of foreign intrigue, to guard against the imposture of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated."

Now, *have these counsels been prized and practiced?* Let the present condition of the United States Government and people answer that question. And, then let the political and philosophical seers of this country peer into the future and tell us what that present condition will produce in the near future, unless there is a speedy and an honest return to the correct principles upon which this government was founded.

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#### A HAPPY NEW YEAR.\*

NEW YEAR'S DAY has been regarded as an occasion of peculiar significance among all peoples from very early ages. The fact that it marked the closing of an old account with Time, and the opening of a new one, caused it to be regarded by the ancient Romans as a peculiarly fitting period for the reconciliation of differences, the making of good resolutions, the exchanging of visits and the giving of "strenal" or presents to relatives and friends. All of these things may be found described at length in the pages of Ovid and other Latin writers, who also tell us of masquerades, feasts, smoking altars, and white-robed processions to the Capitol. The Roman young man of fashion arrayed himself in his best and went forth to visit his lady friends, to partake of the cup which both cheers and inebriates, and to impart a hue of carmine to the seven hills of Rome, just like his fellow of today in any of our modern cities. Not only were the "strenal" or presents exchanged between relatives and friends, but the Emperors exacted them from their subjects. The Cæsars made these New Year's gifts such a source of profit to themselves and so onerous a burden to the people, that Claudius at length issued a decree limiting their cost.

Like the ancient Romans, the early Saxons observed the festival of New Year's Day with feasts and gifts. Among the Persians these New Year's presents took the form

of egg, while the New Year's gifts distributed by the ancient Druids among the early Britons consisted of branches of mistletoe cut with peculiarly solemn ceremonies.

When christianity began to make its way among the Romans the church vigorously opposed the participation of its converts in the festival observances of New Year's Day, which were of a heathen character, the occasion being dedicated, as was the whole ensuing month, to the God Janus, from whom it was called January, and whom they represented as a man with two faces, one looking backward and the other forward, thus implying that he stood between the new and the old year with a regard to both. Sacrifices to Janus were offered upon twelve altars, not only during New Year's Day but also throughout the entire month of January. It was therefore very natural that the church should oppose the festive ceremonies of this occasion. But about the fifth century the first of January, or New Year's Day, assumed a specially sacred character as the anniversary of the Savior's circumcision and as the octave of Christmas, which had then become a fixed festival on December 25th as commemorative of our Lord's nativity. Thus January 1st still holds a place in the church calendar.

Many of the observances of New Year's which once enjoyed the greatest popularity are now nearly or wholly obsolete. This is most notably the case with the giving of presents, which though once a universal custom is now almost entirely superseded by the giving of Christmas gifts. Many of the old English Sovereigns, like the Roman Emperors, derived no inconsiderable portion of their income from the New Year's gifts of their subjects. In his quaint "History of the World," Howell states that the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth was almost wholly supplied by New Year's presents. Among other things he remarks that "Queen Elizabeth in 1561 was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silk woman, Mrs. Montague, and thenceforth she never wore cloth hose any more." In return for the elaborate New Year's presents which she received from every one attached in any capacity to her Court, good Queen Bess made gifts of gold and silver plate to the men, and of necklaces, bracelets, gowns, mantles, petticoats and fans to the women. Under the Henrys the extortion of New Year's gifts was