

**MAN AND THE STATE,  
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL;  
AN ADDRESS, PP. 3-50**

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Man and the State, Social and Political; An Address, pp. 3-50 by Daniel D. Barnard

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CONNECTICUT ALPHA

OF THE

PHI BETA KAPPA

AT

YALE COLLEGE,

New Haven, August 10, 1846.

BY DANIEL D. BARNARD, LL. D.

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NEW HAVEN:  
PRINTED BY B. L. HAMLEN,  
Printer to Yale College.

1846.

HON. D. D. BARNARD :

*Dear Sir*—By direction of the *Phi Beta Kappa Society*, we return you their thanks for the Address to which they listened last evening with great satisfaction, and request a copy of the same for publication.

S. W. S. DUTTON, }  
SAMUEL MERWIN, } Committee.  
JOSIAH W. GIBBS, }

New Haven, August 20, 1846.

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Albany, Aug. 26, 1846.

*Gentlemen*—I have received your note of the 20th inst., communicating the thanks of the *Phi Beta Kappa Society* for my Address, and requesting a copy for publication. I beg leave to tender my acknowledgments to the Society for the kind manner in which I was personally received in the attempt which I made to deliver my Address while laboring, temporarily, under a hoarseness, amounting well nigh to a loss of my voice. As there must have been many present who could not have heard me—at least only very imperfectly—and as this Address, if of any value, belongs to the Society, I have concluded, though contrary to my original purpose, to place the manuscript at your disposal for publication. I am, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

D. D. BARNARD.

Messrs. S. W. S. Dutton, S. Merwin and J. W. Gibbs.

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## A D D R E S S .

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IN addressing the members of an Association like this, on the occasion of their annual literary festival, it might not be altogether inappropriate, perhaps, if one should undertake to minister chiefly, though in a becoming way, to the literary amusement of one's audience. I can promise no entertainment of this sort, both because I have little ability for such a task, and because my tastes and inclination do not lie in that direction. Looking abroad over this fine country of ours, and at our people, I am apt to discover, along with a good deal that gives me infinite satisfaction, a good deal also that gives me anxiety—perhaps unnecessary anxiety. I imagine that I see many things going wrong, or likely to go wrong; and these happen to be just such things as, it seems to me, will meet with no check or correction, except through the agency of just such persons as I see around me on this occasion—persons of studious habits, given to reflection, and accustomed, or disposed to become accustomed, to employ the tongue and the pen in vigorous defense of whatsoever things are honest, true, and of good report. I confess that I look to the writers and speakers of the country—not certainly the mere political declaimers, or the hacks of party—but those, in and out of the learned

Professions, who have had the discipline of study, and have drunk at high and original fountains of knowledge—for that genial, gentle, suasive influence over the popular mind which shall keep it in a steady balance of virtuous, rational, and pious principle, amidst all the seductions to which the mind of a free people must ever be exposed. And I wish to be allowed to employ this occasion in bringing before those whom I address to-day, some reflections on one general topic, out of many that might have been selected, in the hope of enlisting their consideration and sympathies towards the views which I shall present, and, possibly, of securing their just efforts in behalf of those views, in whatever positions of rank, station, or influence they are or may be placed. This is, with us, the age of reform, or, rather, of reformers, and if we do not look to it, there is some danger that we may, by and by, find our people reformed out of all just notions, and every sound principle, in social affairs, in matters of government, and in religion. It is worth while, I think, on such subjects, to look back now and then, to the master minds of other times, and to contemplate, as well as we may, some of those eternal truths, recognized as such by the master minds of all times, and which relate to things about which modern ingenuity is becoming inventive, bold, and adventurous.

A good deal is said in these times, and in this country, about Human Rights—or, as the phrase goes, the ‘natural rights’ of man—and a good deal of shallow philosophy is invoked on the subject. Let us also have a word to say on this matter. The existing social re-



lations have been discovered, in some quarters, to be quite wrong, and to have been going wrong from the foundation of the world. A mistake is supposed to have been committed as far back as when the first human pair were united, and the first family formed. And, then, the question of government, and of the foundation of human authority in civil affairs, is much debated. It has become quite the fashion to say that there is too much government, and that on some vague idea of the sufficiency of self-government for nearly all practical purposes; which means in the understanding of many, whatever others may think, that every man in the community is to govern himself, and leave every other man to do likewise. Or else, it is said, admitting that government cannot quite be dispensed with—at least it is apparent that many think, whatever they may say—that government has no legitimacy, and law no standard, no foundation, no sanction, except what is found in the absolute Will of the major number in the community, for the time being. In every two hundred, one hundred and one is the true governing power, not only of the hundred and one, but of the remaining ninety nine also; and this will of the major number is the end of the law—it is the *Ultima Thule* in political geography—beyond this is the reign of Chaos and Old Night. Now I say, again, let us, who are disposed I hope to be little satisfied with such fancies on such high subjects, have something to say about these matters. Let not flippant error be permitted to take a verdict with the public against truth and honesty, by default. Let us be on hand to defend the

right cause as often as the restless and litigious may see fit to tender an issue upon that cause—at least if we think it in any danger. At any rate, I propose to employ the brief opportunity afforded me in the part which has been assigned to me in this day's ceremonies, to present before you very frankly, and very plainly, some views and sentiments—not the less likely, I trust, to be acceptable to scholars because in the main they are very old, rather than very new—having reference to some of the interesting matters to which I have now adverted. You will of course receive them, as I offer them to you, for just what they may seem to be worth. I shall have something to say in this address, of man as a Social and Political being, and of his Rights and Duties as such; of the State, its origin, attributes, and authority; of Government and Constitutions, and the true source of power under them; of Laws and their proper sanctions, and the virtue of Obedience; and, finally, of the relation of the state and of governments to the subject of the Moral condition and Progress of man.

Every man who is accustomed to reflect at all on such things, must often be struck with the consideration, how very little of his practical life or being in this world, is really individual and isolate. It is no world at all to him, considering how he is constituted, except as it is made up of beings like himself. Men find themselves every where, not merely existing by the side of other men, but associated every where with other men, in various relations. This is the Social State; which, however, exists no where, and can exist no where, but

with a Polity of some sort for its regulation. It is no state at all, and no association at all, without some kind of civil regulation, or Polity. With this, there is a Political state, and all the relations of social life belong to it. And this seems to be the condition of man by nature; we are born into Society, and into the State, as certainly as we are born into the world. Aristotle gave, in his day, a description of the state, and the human being. He held that the State (*ἡ πόλις*) is a thing which exists by nature; and that man is by nature, *πολιτικὸν ζῶον*—an animal appertaining to a state. He did not regard the individual severed from the state, or conceived of as existing before the state, as fit to be called a human being, any more (to use his own illustration,) than the hand or the foot is fit to be called a hand or a foot except as appertaining to the body. Homer applies to a creature thus conceived of, the term *ἀθεμίσιος*—a being having an anomalous existence, or existing contrary to natural law.

One thing, at least, our own observation and experience will not allow us to doubt about; and that is, that our Moral and Intellectual life is developed, and finds activity and employment, only in a condition of association with other beings like ourselves. This, as a general truth, is quite obvious, and lies on the surface of things; though, undoubtedly, we are not generally sensible how deep a truth it is, and how profoundly it touches and concerns the whole subject of human rights and human duties, and all the hopes which a rational philanthropy can entertain of the advancement of mankind in a steady career of improving virtue, wis-