

E. S. M.

A

# DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT WINDSOR, (VERMONT),

ON THE FOURTH DAY OF JULY, 1811,

IN COMMEMORATION

OF THE

## American Independence.

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BY BANCROFT FOWLER,

MEMBER OF THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, IN THE EAST-  
PARISH OF WINDSOR, (VERMONT.)

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WINDSOR :

PUBLISHED BY P. MERRIFIELD & CO.

1811.

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THOMAS M. POMFOY, PRINTER.

WINDSOR, JULY 4, 1811

At a numerous meeting of Federal Republican citizens at PETTES'S HALL this day, on motion of MR. DUNHAM, seconded by GEN MORRIS—

Voted unanimously, that the thanks of the company be returned to the REV. MR. FOWLER, for his excellent and very appropriate discourse this day delivered at the meeting-house, and the favor of a copy be requested for the press.

And voted also unanimously, that the Committee of Arrangements for the day, be requested to wait on MR. FOWLER, for the purpose expressed in the above vote.

(Signed)

J. DUNHAM, *President of the day.*

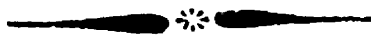


REVEREND SIR,

We beg leave respectfully to express to you, the high sense which the company entertain of the favor conferred on them by your most excellent Sermon delivered this day ; and request a copy of the same, to be published for the more extensive use of our fellow-citizens.

HORACE DUNHAM,  
SIMEON SHORT,  
ALLEN WARDNER,  
PRESTON MERRIFIELD,  
SAMPSON WILLARD,

*Committee of Arrangements.*



WINDSOR, JULY 1811.

GENTLEMEN,

It was with considerable reluctance, as you are doubtless sensible, that I consented to preach on the occasion of our National Anniversary, principally, because the state of my health and my numerous professional avocations would not admit of my making that preparation, which the audience, on such an occasion, would have a right to expect. The discourse of which you request a copy for the press was accordingly, composed in haste, and amidst continual interruptions. Such, however, as it is, it is submitted to your disposal.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.

B. FOWLER.

Messrs. H. DUNHAM,  
S. SHORT, and others. } Committee, &c.

## DISCOURSE, &amp;c.



## EXODUS, XIII. 3.

“And Moses said unto the people, remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage ; for by strength of hand the LORD brought you out from this place.”

THE occasion, my brethren and friends, on which we have assembled, is a joyful and solemn occasion. It is no other than to commemorate the birth-day of our National Independence,—to retrace the steps by which we arrived at that event,—to review the scenes, through which we passed—to recall to mind the labors, and dangers, and sufferings by which it was obtained—and what ought to be our principal concern, to make our devout acknowledgments to that great and good BEING, by whose favor and blessing it was accomplished. And what can be more appropriate, as a theme of discourse, than the words which I have just read? In these words, MOSES, by divine direction, required of the children of *Israel*, annually to commemorate the day of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, which may be considered the day on which their National Independence commenced. They had been a nation peculiarly fa-

vored of heaven. From a single family, or rather from a single pair, they had been increased to a numerous and powerful nation. They had passed through a variety of scenes, in all which they experienced, in a peculiar degree, the favor and protection of God. These signal mercies demanded of them special acknowledgments. They were required, therefore, to do and observe a number of things, as memorials of particular favors which they had received. But as their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt was an event, in which the divine interposition was remarkably visible, and laid the foundation of their existence, as an independent nation, they were required to observe the day, on which it took place, as a standing memorial of the divine goodness. And have not we, also, my hearers, experienced, as a nation, signal interpositions of divine Providence, in our favor. And ought not we to observe, as the *Jews* were required to do, the day on which commenced our national existence, as a memorial of the divine goodness? We have not, indeed, as they had, an express divine command to do this. But when we consider the similarity between the favors, which the *Jews*, as a nation, received at the hand of God, and those which have been conferred on us, does there not appear to be an evident propriety in it?

What I propose, therefore, on the present occasion, is, in the *First place*, to endeavor, more at large, to shew the propriety of commemorating the day of our National Independence, from a comparison of the national favors, which we have received, at the hand of God, with those which were conferred on the *Jews*;—and *Secondly*, to point out some of the *ends* for which it ought to be observed.

I. Then, let us make a comparison, in several prominent particulars, between the national favors

conferred on the *Jews*, and those which we have received, in order to see whether we have not reason as well as they, to observe the birth-day of our nation, as a memorial of the divine goodness.

1. There is a remarkable resemblance in the origin which **God** has been pleased to give these nations respectively. In the book of *Nehemiah*,\* it is said, “Thou art the **LORD** the **God**, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the name of Abraham.” This choice is more particularly expressed in the book of *Genesis*.† “Now the **LORD** had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing.” What a distinguished favour was it to the *Jews*, that **God** should condescend to call Abraham, the father of their nation, from an ignorant and superstitious land, into a land soon to be illuminated with the light of truth; to deliver him from the stupid worship of idols; to communicate to him a knowledge of his true character; and to call him to that pure and spiritual worship, which alone can be acceptable, in the eyes of a perfect **God**; to call him from a land, in which he had probably few possessions, to give him and his posterity an extensive and fertile country? But have such signal blessings been confined to the posterity of Abraham? Has not our own nation experienced similar ones? Is there not a striking resemblance, in several particulars, between the origin of our own nation and that of the *Jews*? As **God** called *Abraham* to leave his country, and his kindred, and his father’s house, to go and settle in a distant land, and among an idolatrous people; so he put it into the hearts of our ancestors, the found-

\* Neh. ix. 7.

† Gen. xii. 1, 2.

ers of our nation, to leave their country, their kindred, and the houses of their fathers, to settle in this distant land, inhabited, at that time, by an idolatrous people. The object for which Abraham was directed to leave his native country, and migrate to a distant one was to establish the worship of the true God, and raise up a nation, among whom the knowledge of the true religion should be universally diffused, and who should be the means of transmitting it down to many future generations. Similar to this was the object of our ancestors, in leaving the land of their nativity and migrating to this. Being denied the free exercise of their religion, in their own country, and seeing no prospect that the situation of their posterity would be better, in this respect, than their own, they thought that it was clearly the intimation of heaven, that they should leave their country, and their kindred and the houses of their fathers, and go to a land that God should show them. They accordingly turned their eyes on *America*, as a land clearly pointed out by the finger of heaven, to be an assylum from religious persecution, a land in which they might establish the worship of the true God, in its purity; in which they might enjoy the privileges of the true religion, teach its doctrines to their children, and provide such laws and institutions, as would, with the blessing of heaven upon them, secure these privileges to their posterity, for many generations. And the event has hitherto proved, that they were not mistaken, in their conjectures.

2. There is a great resemblance between the lands in which the two nations were established. That to which Abraham was called is described by Moses\* as "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of vallies and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey; a land in which thou shalt eat bread

\* Deut. viii. 7—9.

without scarceness ; thou shalt not lack any thing in it ; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." How similar to this is the land in which we live ? It is indeed " a good land," of a strong and fertile soil, and beautifully variegated with hills and vallies ; with mountains and rivers. It is " a land of wheat and barley," producing not only these, but many other grains as well as herbs and vegetables of great use in supporting the lives of men and beasts. It does not indeed produce, in great abundance, " vines, figs, pomegranates or oil-olive," though these might doubtless be easily cultivated, and probably will be, at some future period, in the southern parts of the United States ; but it produces a great variety of other fruits, as conducive to our comfort and happiness as these. It is a land in which we " eat bread without scarceness," a land in which a general want of bread is as seldom experienced, probably, as any in the world. It is a land, of whose inhabitants it may be said, with more truth probably, than of the inhabitants of any other, that they do " not lack any thing in it, a land whose stones are" literally " iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."

3. There is a great resemblance, in the manner, in which the two nations came into possession of their respective countries. With regard to the *Jews*, this is noticed by an inspired writer in the following words, " and madest a covenant with him, to give the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Jebuzites, and the Gergashites, to give it, I say, to his seed, and hast performed thy words ; for thou art righteous."\* In these words are mentioned a number of the heathen nations, whose lands God gave to the seed of Abraham, and whom he drove out before them. In like manner God gave to our fore-

\* Neh ix 8.

fathers and their descendants, the lands of those heathen nations, who formerly inhabited this country, and drove out the heathen before them.

I would not be understood to intimate that our ancestors were commissioned, by heaven, as the Israelites were, to take possession of the lands belonging to the natives of this country, without an honest purchase. Nor do I believe that this was done, in any considerable degree. This was the opinion of the late learned and pious *Doct. STILES, President of Yale College*, who was better informed on this subject, probably, than any other man, in America, or Europe.

After much investigation, into this subject, he was fully convinced, that all the lands in the older settlements of this country, and, if I do not misremember, in the whole of *New England*, with perhaps a few trifling exceptions, were obtained of the natives, either by rightful conquest, or a fair purchase; and that a considerable proportion of these were purchased two or three times, by the first settlers or their descendants.

By rightful conquest, it is presumed he intended nothing more than that, when the natives provoked an unjust war, and were defeated, the Europeans might justly take, by right of conquest, such a share of the lands, which they had overrun, as would, in some measure, indemnify them for the expense and losses to which they had been subjected. Although our ancestors had no right to take away the lands of the natives, without an adequate consideration, yet as the lands were of little worth to them, from their manner of life, justice did not require that this consideration should be great. This is the way in which God gave to our forefathers the lands of the heathen, and drove out the nations before them.

And the immediate hand of God was scarcely less visible, in their establishment in this country,



than it was, in the establishment of the Israelites, in the land of Canaan. To convince any one of this, nothing more is necessary, than to read the history of the settlement of this country, by our forefathers, and see the hardships which they endured, the difficulties which they surmounted, and the dangers to which they were exposed—at one time, in danger of perishing, by famine; at another, by the inclemency of the season; now threatened with extermination, by a sweeping sickness, and then by the treacherous and sanguinary savages. Let any one, I say, call to mind these difficulties through which the LORD supported them, and these dangers out of all which the LORD delivered them, and he cannot but be convinced, that the hand of GOD was hardly less visible, in the establishment of our nation in this land, than it was, in establishing the Jews in the land of promise.

4. The two nations have experienced similar deliverances from threatened bondage. When the children of Israel were greatly oppressed in Egypt, and “sighed by reason of their bondage,” “and their cry came up to GOD, by reason of their bondage, he heard their groaning and remembered his covenant.” He wrought therefore many wonders to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and establish them, in the promised land. In effecting these objects, such signal displays were made of the power, majesty and goodness of GOD, as ought to have secured the everlasting obedience, love and gratitude of the Jewish nation. But have there not been similar displays of the divine power and goodness, towards the nation to which we belong? Has there not been a time when, like the Israelites, we were oppressed and afflicted? When as we became, like them “fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with us,” the government under which we lived said among them-

selves, as the king of Egypt said to his people, "Behold the people of" America are becoming "more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land?"\* that is, in other words, throw off our yoke and free themselves from our dominion. Did they not therefore "set over us" as it were "task-masters to afflict us with burdens?" And were we not required, if not to build "treasure cities," for their king, at least, to fill his treasury? Was not an attempt made to check our rapid increase, in numbers and strength, by unjust and absurd laws, as was the case with the Israelites? Were we not deprived of some of our most important rights and privileges, and reduced to a condition little better than that of slaves? In this oppressed and degraded condition, did not the God of our fathers appear for us? Did he not send us a **MOSES** to deliver us from our bondage, and go before us, till we were established, an independant nation, in the land which God had given to our fathers? Did he not, as it were, "divide the sea" of trouble and perplexity, which lay before us, and "lead us through on dry land," and, at the same time, overwhelm our enemies, in the depths of it? May not the war, by which our independence was obtained, be fitly compared to a wilderness, through which the *Lord* our God guided and supported us, many years, in a manner almost as evidently miraculous, as that was, in which the Israelites were supported?

5. Like the children of Israel also, we have been rapidly increased, as a nation. "Their children also multipliedst thou as the stars of heaven," said the Levites, in the days of Nehemiah. And the

\* Exod. i. 9. 10.

declaration may be considered as a record of the fulfillment of the promise, which God made to *Abraham*, when he first called him to leave his own country, and go to one "which he should show him." "And I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing."\* Is not this precisely the case with our own nation? Have not our children been "multiplied, as the stars of heaven"? And have we not become "a great nation?" So true is this, that no nation on the globe, since the early ages of the world, has been found to increase, in numbers, so fast as that to which we belong. But we have not only become a great nation, in numbers, but also, in wealth, power, and useful improvements. It is less than two centuries, since the founders of our nation landed on the shores of *America*, a small, poor, and feeble band of adventurers. This handful of people has grown into a nation exceeding seven millions in number; abounding, in the means of subsistence; blessed with a prosperous agriculture; possessed of many valuable manufactures; and favored with a commerce which has flourished beyond all former example, so that, previous to the late embarrassments which it has experienced, we were the second commercial nation, on the globe. A nation whose power and strength have so increased, that, in a just cause, with wise councils and union among themselves, they have nothing to fear, from the attacks of the most powerful nations of the world.—A nation among whose people useful knowledge and domestic enjoyment are more widely diffused, than among any other—and which exceeds all others in the justice and excellency of its civil and ecclesiastical institutions.—Has not God then fulfilled to our ancestors, what he promised to *Abraham*? Has he not "made them a great nation, and blessed

\* Gen. xii. 2.

them, and made their name great," and have they not been a great blessing?

6. The last point of resemblance between the divine favors bestowed on us, and those which were bestowed on the children of Israel, of which I shall take notice, on this occasion, relates to blessings of a religious nature. These are noticed in the following words, in that address of the Levites, recorded by Nehemiah, which has been before quoted. "Thou camest down also upon mount *Sinai*, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments and true laws, good statutes and commandments : and madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant." "Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them."\* The Jews, in temporal blessings, were a highly favored people. But, in religious privileges and spiritual blessings, they were pre-eminently distinguished. While the nations around them were enveloped, in the darkness and ignorance of heathenism, prostrating themselves before stupid and senseless idols, they enjoyed the true religion, and were partakers of the numerous blessings, temporal and eternal, which flow from it. With much propriety therefore, were favors, of this description, enumerated among the signal blessings which God had bestowed, on the Jewish nation.— But have our religious privileges and blessings been inferior to theirs? Have they not been even greater? The Jewish dispensation, though revealed from heaven, was attended with considerable obscurity; loaded with many expensive and burdensome rites; and taught some of its important doctrines, only by types and figures. But the Christian dispensation comes to us, attended with such a blaze of moral light, as banishes obscurity, and exhibits the

\* Neh. ix. 13, 14, 20.

doctrines and duties of religion, in the most plain and convincing point of view. This is the glorious dispensation under which we live. For the enjoyment of this unmolested, our ancestors left their native country, and migrated to this. Here they established the institutions of this religion, in their original purity and simplicity. Here they made such laws and regulations as to give great support to the cause of virtue and religion, and, at the same time, to secure to every member of the community, the invaluable privilege, of worshipping God, according to the dictates of his conscience. Owing to these wise regulations, under God, we have since enjoyed the stated preaching of the gospel; had the public observance of the sabbath sanctioned by law; and, in general, have enjoyed all the means which God has appointed, for securing immortal life and endless glory, in the kingdom of heaven. In this way has God "spoken with us from heaven," and "given us right judgments and true laws, good statutes and commandments, and made known unto us his holy sabbath." He has also "given us his good Spirit to instruct us."—Few nations, if any, have probably been more blessed, in this respect, than our own. From the first settlement of our ancestors, in this land, we have reason to believe, that a considerable proportion of our people have truly, as they have professedly, embraced the gospel. And all who have so done, owe it to God who has given them his "good spirit to instruct them." Owing to the instruction and operation of the Spirit of God, how many sinners, in the various parts of our land, since its first settlement have been awakened, converted and sanctified—how many saints comforted—how many churches formed and increased—how many revivals of religion produced—in a word, how many immortal souls have been delivered

from "the bondage of corruption" and been made, partakers of the heavenly calling—how many have "washed their robes, in the blood of the Lamb," and gone to dwell, with the saints in light.

From this slight comparison of the history of our own nation with that of the Jews, how strong a resemblance does there appear to be, between the divine favors which each has received. Have we not then equal occasion with them, to observe the birth day of our independence, as an annual memorial of the divine goodness? This leads me to the other head of my discourse, viz.

II. To point out some of the *ends*, which ought to be kept in view, in our observance of this day. On this, as I have already taken up considerable of your time, I shall aim to be as brief, as is consistent with doing moderate justice to the subject.

1. One end of its observance ought to be, to impress on our minds, a sense of the obligations which we are under, to our Great Benefactor, for the distinguished privileges and blessings which he has bestowed on us, as a nation. That these are numerous and great will be acknowledged by all. It is abundantly evident, from the slight review of our national history, which we have just taken.—Where, let me ask, is the nation, on the globe, which, from the beginning of its existence, has enjoyed, in an equal degree, the smiles of Divine Providence upon it? Where is there one which even now, notwithstanding the embarrassments and losses to which we have been lately subjected, by the unrighteous edicts of the European belligerents, enjoys such a profusion of blessings, public and private, as that to which we belong? And have we no returns to make for such favors? Are we under no obligation even to acknowledge them? And if they ought to be acknowledged, as all will admit, surely it ought to be done for the sake of

impressing, on our minds, a deeper sense of the obligations we are under, to our Divine Benefactor, as well as manifesting our gratitude for the favors bestowed. In this way, will these privileges and favors prove blessings to us. But if they are received without acknowledgement, or gratitude, on our part, they will become curses to us instead of blessings—they will render us obnoxious to the divine displeasure and will probably soon be taken from us, as a just forfeiture for our ingratitude and abuse of the favors bestowed upon us.

2. Another *end* at which we ought to aim, in our observance of this day, is to learn the value of the privileges which we enjoy. Without a just estimate of the privileges, with which we are favored, we shall neither be duly grateful for them, nor duly anxious to preserve them. But what can have a greater tendency to teach us the value of these, than a proper celebration of the day, on which they were secured to us. On this day, we are unavoidably reminded of the toils, and dangers, and sufferings by which they were obtained. In imagination, we retrace the steps, by which our independence, and the invaluable privileges consequent upon it, were obtained. And when we call to mind the expence of blood and treasure, at which they were purchased, we almost irresistibly form a high estimate of their value, and involuntarily resolve to fear no sacrifice which may be necessary for their defence and preservation. This disposition, in the people at large, is of great importance to the security of our rights and privileges. For the moment, in which the body of the people begin to undervalue these, that moment our danger of losing them commences. If therefore, the liberties and privileges for which our fathers and brothers have suffered and fought, and bled, and there are many present I trust, who shared with them in their suf-

ferings and dangers, and who therefore know, by experience, what they were—If I say, these liberties and privileges are worth preserving, it is of great importance, that the great body of our people should have an high estimate of their value.—And this ought to be one great end to be aimed at, in the celebration of this day.

3. Another end of this day's celebration should be, the promotion of union and harmony, in society. In a free government, where all have the liberty of thinking for themselves, and freely expressing the opinions which they entertain, there will be a variety of sentiments among the people. This will be the case with respect to religion, morals, literature and almost every subject on which men think. But it will be especially the case, with respect to politicks, and the administration of the government under which they live. This will produce political parties. Accordingly we find that, in all free governments, both ancient and modern, the people have been more or less divided in sentiment, with respect to the nature and administration of government. Political parties therefore may be considered, as inseparable from a free government. Nor, when kept within proper limits, is there any evil to be apprehended from them. They will operate as a check upon each other—promote free enquiry into the measures of government—keep alive a spirit of vigilance among the people, and thereby prevent them from settling down into that state of apathy and security which is so dangerous to the liberties of a nation. But the danger is, that they will not be kept within due bounds, but produce acrimony, bitterness and hatred, in society. From every thing of this kind, the most serious evils are to be apprehended. It should therefore be one great part of the business of this day, to allay party spirit, the bane of repub-



mean governments, to heal political divisions, and to promote union, friendship and love, between neighbours and fellow citizens—those who are bound together by the common ties of interest and duty, and who ought, therefore, however divided in sentiment, on political measures, to be united in the bonds of mutual affection. And how well adapted to this object, is the occasion of this day ! It is a national day—the day which gave birth to our freedom and independence, as a state—a day in which all parties, however divided on other subjects, feel, or ought to feel, a common interest. Why can we not then, on this day, bury all party animosities and prejudices, and unite as friends, fellow citizens and brethren, in grateful acknowledgements to the AUTHOR of all good, for our common blessings. What would be more likely to promote our union, strength, and interest as a nation ? What more likely to meet the approbation of our MAKER, secure his favor, and thus be instrumental of perpetuating the blessings and privileges which we enjoy ? especially if the day should be made, as it ought to be, a religious festival ? And what more proper method of celebrating this anniversary, than for every minister of the gospel, to assemble, with his congregation, in the house of God, or, where circumstances would permit, for two or three ministers with their congregations to assemble together in a convenient place, and perform public worship, in a manner appropriate to the occasion. If this should be the universal method of commemorating the birth day of our National Independence, we may confidently pronounce that it would be as useful and honorable to us, and as likely to secure us the favor of heaven, as any of those methods of commemorating it, which have usually been practised.

4. In order to “remember this day” in a becoming

ing and profitable manner; we should endeavour to make it instrumental of teaching us how we may perpetuate the favors which we enjoy. This is one of the most important ends which we can have in view, in the commemoration of this day. If we have been hitherto favored, with peculiar blessings and privileges, it is desirable they should be continued. If independence and a free government are of any value, it is important that we take means to preserve them. And what can be a more proper end to be kept in view, in commemorating the day which gave them birth, than a discovery of the means, by which they may be perpetuated. On this account, the exercises of the day should ever be adapted, in a greater or less degree, to this end. In pursuance of this object, I proceed to notice a few things, which appear important if not indispensable, to the perpetuity of the privileges and blessings which we enjoy, in our highly favored country.

1. Repentance and reformation, as a people, are of the first importance to the prolongation and perpetuity of our privileges and blessings. Notwithstanding we enjoy distinguished divine favors, nothing is more certain, than that we are an ungrateful and sinful people. Like Jeshurun of old, we have "waxed fat and kicked." Vice and immorality greatly abound in our land. The authority of God is contemned; his laws broken without remorse; the holy sabbath openly and shamelessly violated; and, by many, the ordinances of religion neglected and despised. "Shall not the Lord visit for these things?" Yes, my hearers, he will assuredly do it, if we do not speedily repent and reform. He is a merciful and long suffering God, and "waiteth to be gracious." But his patience will have an end. The sword of divine justice will not always sleep in its scabbard.

Already do we experience manifest tokens of his displeasure. Among these the embarrassed state of our foreign commerce and domestic business, the threatening aspect of our public affairs, and the animosity of party dissensions among us, are not the least. However these evils may have been brought upon us, through the instrumentality of means, they must be regarded as ultimately of the Lord, and expressions of his displeasure—"shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it?" And whatever may be said of different systems of policy, and however they may be contended for, by one political partizan and another, the surest way to remove the evils which we suffer, and avert those with which we are threatened, is universal repentance of sin, and reformation of morals. For it is a fact as evident from the history of mankind, as it is clearly taught, in the oracles of divine truth, that "righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to," and will be the ruin of "any people."

2. The diffusion of knowledge, virtue and piety among the people will have a great tendency to produce this effect. Knowledge and virtue have been emphatically termed the two pillars, on which rests the fabric of a free government. And, without these, it is certain that no free government can long exist. But piety or religion is also of great importance to its permanency. Indeed evangelical piety is the only sure foundation of virtue and sound morality. Whenever the body of the people become ignorant, vicious and immoral, the freedom and purity of elections will be destroyed; unprincipled and immoral men will get into public offices; the administration of the government will become corrupt; and the people will soon be prepared to bow their necks to the tyrannical yoke of some aspiring demagogue, who, with the smooth sounds

of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, on his tongue, will thrust a dagger into the vitals of the constitution, and sacrifice the liberties of his country, on the altar of his ambition. Of this there are not wanting lamentable examples, in the history of human governments. If we would shun the same fatal catastrophe, we must endeavor, by every means in our power, to diffuse knowledge, virtue, and religion among every description of our citizens, and cherish, with unabating regard and affection, all those institutions which have for their object these valuable and important ends.

3. We must endeavor to assuage the bitterness of party among us. If this spirit is suffered to prevail it will surely prove the ruin of our country. A free and temperate discussion of public measures cannot, and ought not to be restrained. It is necessary to the security of the government. But the discussion ought not to descend to reproach and invective. What need of odious names, and harsh epithets? They have no tendency to convince, or persuade. They serve only to widen the breach which already exists, and to shut both the eyes and ears against the means of conviction; and, as commonly used, are totally false in their application. The great body of the people, in the United States, are neither *fools* nor *knaves*, neither *jacobins* nor *torries*. They are sincere friends to the government under which they live, and they love and cherish the principles of the constitution. They would be madmen to do otherwise. Their best interests and dearest privileges are inseparably interwoven with the destinies of the government. Away then, my brethren and friends, with these hard names and cruel epithets; they will be the ruin of our beloved country. Let public measures be freely and thoroughly canvassed, and all the light thrown on them which is possible. Let all the wisdom which

the country contains be collected, through the medium of the press, like rays of light, by means of the lens, into a common focus, for the benefit of our political guides. Let the conduct, and characters of public men, if necessary, be strictly scrutinized ; but let this process be conducted in a temperate, manly, and candid manner, and with the most scrupulous regard to justice and truth.

To conclude,—In order to perpetuate the distinguished privileges and blessings which we enjoy, we must renounce all foreign partialities, and become truly American in our principles and feelings. From foreign nations we have nothing to hope, but much to fear. Friendships between nations are ropes of sand. They are bound together, by no ties but those of interest. And if we rely on any other, we shall be *deceived*, if not *ruined*. But as we ought not to indulge partialities for foreign nations, so neither ought we to harbor prejudices against them. Let us treat them according to the great laws of justice and charity ; always putting as favorable a construction upon their public acts, as their former conduct, and present evidence will permit. But let us firmly and steadily resist every encroachment on our rights and privileges, fully believing that every relinquishment of these will only invite new aggressions. Let us rally around the standard of our own government, and when its measures appear to be wise and equitable, support it with all our power and influence, and if, in any case, they should appear weak and unjust, let us endeavor, in a peaceable and constitutional way, to secure a different administration of it in future. I will only add my fervent prayer, that that *Almighty* and *Everlasting* Being who holds the destinies of nations in his hand, would be pleased to continue the smiles of his Providence upon us ; that he would save us from domestic divisions

and foreign enemies; make us a wise, holy, and happy people; and grant that our present privileges and blessings may be enjoyed, TILL STATES AND EMPIRES SHALL BE NO MORE.

FINIS.