

THE LOVING KINDNESS OF GOD DISPLAYED  
IN THE TRIUMPH OF REPUBLICANISM  
IN AMERICA; BEING

A

**DISCOURSE,**

DELIVERED AT

TAUNTON, (MASS.)

JULY FOURTH,

1809;

AT THE

CELEBRATION

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

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• BY ELIAS SMITH, •  
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*Published by request of the Committee of Arrangements.*

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JULY, 1809.

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## DISCOURSE, &c.

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FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

THE occasion of our assembling this day is so honorable, glorious, and important, that each one ought this moment to raise his thoughts in gratitude to God, the author of the blessings which we as a nation and individuals enjoy, in consequence of that *independence* of a foreign despotic yoke, declared July 4th, 1776, and acknowledged afterwards by the same power, at Paris ; which has in a greater or less degree been enjoyed from that day to this.

To view this assembly as a part and sample of a great nation ; rising from bondage to Liberty, civil and religious ; from *poverty* to *wealth* ; from the odious name, of *rebels*, to that of peaceful and enlightened subjects of the only free government on earth ; a government the bulwark against tyranny, and the wonder and joy of all the friends of the human race ; our hearts must swell with gratitude to our Creator who has dealt thus favourably with us ; at the same time we will drop a sympathising tear, while contrasting our situation with that of millions across the great waters, who this moment groan or die, to gratify the pride of those tyrants who think themselves born only to rule.— Many in this assembly, have known by hard and long experience, the cruelty of a *single tyrant*, though now they with their children about them enjoy peaceful dwellings, where no despot demands their sons to serve, and bleed in the field of battle. With all these important things in full view ; your attention is now called to a few observations, from

the words of "the sweet Singer of Israel" on a similar occasion, recorded in

PSALM CVII. 43.

*"Whofo is wife, and will observe these things, even they, shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."*

There are four things mentioned in this Psalm, which David wished men would praise God for.

First, the wonders God wrought for the Jews in delivering them from the hand of Pharaoh, and bringing them through an howling wilderness to the promised land. Second,—the pardons granted to penitents, who had transgressed his commands. Third,—the remarkable deliverances which God often grants to prisoners. Fourth,—the deliverances often sent to those who do business on the great waters. At the end of each of these, he cries, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

After mentioning these things, he describes a country in the situation ours once was; a wilderness which becomes a fruitful field, where the poor repair and make it a city of habitation, where they sow the fields, plant vineyards, which may yield fruits of increase. He mentions that they are multiplied greatly, and he suffereth not their cattle to decrease; next he mentions what the same people suffered by the oppression of tyrannical princes; their deliverance from them, the joy of the righteous on the occasion, while the cruel tyrants are put to silence, ver. 39, 40, 41, 42. "Again they are minished and brought low through oppression, affliction, and sorrow. He poureth contempt upon PRINCES, and causeth them to wander in the wilderness, where there is no way; yet setteth he the poor on high from affliction, and maketh him families like a flock; the righteous shall see it, and rejoice: and all iniquity shall stop her mouth;" He then adds these words: *"Whofo is wife, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."*

Had the sweet singer of Israel known, that in a future day, *America* would experience what we have experienced, he could not in miniature, have given a more perfect description than that given in the last verses of this Psalm.

In attending to the subject before us, the following particulars will be noticed:

I. *THE things for the wise to observe.*

II. *WHAT such will understand ; even the loving kindness of the Lord.*

I. *We notice the things for the wise to observe.*

I shall not take up the time in speaking of the things which concerned those to whom this Psalm was addressed ; but consider it as applied to this country, and the people now together on this joyful occasion.

There are eight things which are peculiar to these *United States*, which will be noticed at this time, and which demand your impartial attention.

1. The tyrannical power we as a nation were once in subjection to :

2. The stand this nation made against it :

3. The victory which was obtained over that cruel and unjust power :

4. The government which was adopted by this nation, after being delivered from a foreign despotic yoke :

5. The privileges enjoyed under the latter government :

6. The attempt to overthrow a free government :

7. That attempt defeated :

8. *The present state of our country under a Republican government, as it respects civil and religious Liberty.*

1. *The first thing to be observed is, that tyrannical power which the inhabitants of this country were once under.*

This was the *English monarchy* ; called by that nation, a "*mixed monarchy*," this has been, and now is a curse to almost all the world. If we suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new Republican materials. First, the remains of *Monarchical tyranny* in the person of the king.— Secondly, the remains of *Aristocratical tyranny* in the persons of the Peers. Thirdly, the new *Republican materials*, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends all the freedom the people under that government can enjoy.— The two first, (King and Peers) being hereditary, are independent of the people, wherefore in a constitutional sense, they constitute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say the constitution of England is an union of three powers, reciprocally checking each other, is farciful ; either the words have no meaning, or they are a flat contradiction.

In the British government there is one thing *tyrannical*, called Religion ; this is founded on the thirty-nine articles, and book of common prayers. It is said that this book has been altered six hundred times since it was first invented, and yet it is always thought to be a complete rule, and woe to the man who does not observe all things commanded there by their lordships ! This *variable Hierarchy* is upheld by the common law of England. By this, the people are unnaturally divided into two classes, the *clergy* and *laity*.

In this *Hierarchy*, which is a part of the British government, there are eight classes of officers, as so many dead weights to oppress the people, and keep them in bondage, under the name of the pure religion of Jesus. 1. Arch-Bishops. 2. Bishops. 3. Arch-Deacons. 4. Rural Deacons. 5. Parsons, and Vicars. 6. Curates. 7. Church Wardens. 8. Parish Clerks. The British Hierarchy makes the King the head of the church, and when the King dies, the church loses her old head, and afterwards has a new head upon an old body. Though the King thinks himself the head of the church ; yet the Bishop has the power to crown him. According to this, the church and head depend on the Bishop, which makes him a Pope in disguise. The Bishop rules the King ;—the King rules the Parliament ;—part of the Parliament, (the Lords temporal) see that laws are made to command the bodies and purses of the people. The Lords spiritual, make laws to keep the people's souls in subjection to their spiritual rulers ; so that between the upper millstone of clerical oppression, and the lower one of civil tyranny, the common people are ground almost to powder, while they are bound soul and body, and can never know what Liberty is, by the enjoyment of that precious treasure.

This is the government which many in this country admire, which has been, and still is a curse to the nation.

If any would be fully convinced of the unrighteousness of the British government, and the tyranny which was exercised over the Americans when George the third ruled us, let them read what was stated by Congress, as the cause of the declaration of Independence, made on July 4th, 1776 ; which declaration, we this day with our whole souls approve of, and rejoice in that act of theirs, which humbled a tyrant, and laid a foundation for the Liberty of Millions ! !

Their words are these : " The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless the people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the People.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise ; the State remaining in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of Justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :—

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :—

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :—

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :—

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by Jury :—

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences :—

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :—

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :—

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power, to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the *head* of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers,

the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a Free People."

Where is the man, woman or child, unless lost to all sense of public prosperity, who does not, at hearing such abominable cruelties, feel rising in his heart, a righteous indignation against such tyranny as this ! Where is the true American, the son of freedom, who will plead for a government where they frame such mischief by law !

The man who can say in public or private, that such a government has done us no wrong, is unworthy the confidence of his countrymen ; unworthy of any name, except that of an enemy to the most valuable blessings Heaven has bestowed on man. My brethren, with all your care and anxiety for your children ; ever remember the importance of teaching them to abominate tyranny in whatever form it may appear. Be diligent to teach your children, to abominate every species of tyranny, and to love that *liberty* which God has equally distributed to all.

This description of the British government in theory and practice, leads me to observe :

2d. *The stand which was made by this country against the merciless power.*

By this I mean the Declaration of INDEPENDENCE, made by the CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES. How noble, how praise worthy, was that declaration, made by the Representatives of the *thirteen States* in general Congress assembled, on the 4th of July, 1776, expressed in the following words :—

"WE therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in Congress assembled, appealing to the SUPREME JUDGE of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, Do, in the name and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right, ought to be



FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES :—that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection, between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of *Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.”

The foregoing declaration was by order of Congress engrossed, and signed by the following members.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Pres.*

CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec.*

*Attest.*

*From Newhampshire.*

Josiah Bartlet,  
William Whipple,  
Matthew Thornton.

*Massachusetts.*

Samuel Adams,  
John Adams,  
Robert Treat Paine,  
Elbridge Gerry.

*Rhode-Island.*

Stephen Hopkins,  
William Ellery.

*Connecticut.*

Roger Sherman,  
Samuel Huntington,  
William Williams,  
Oliver Wolcott.

*New-York.*

William Floyd,  
Philip Livingston,  
Francis Lewis,  
Lewis Morris.

*New-Jersey.*

Richard Stockton,  
John Witherspoon,

Francis Hopkinson,  
John Hart,  
Abraham Clark.

*Pennsylvania.*

Robert Morris,  
Benjamin Rush,  
Benjamin Franklin  
John Morton,  
George Clymer,  
James Smith,  
George Taylor,  
James Wilson,  
George Ross.

*Delaware.*

Cæsar Rodney,  
George Read.

*Maryland.*

Samuel Chase,  
William Paca,  
Thomas Stone,  
Charles Carrol of Carolton.

*Virginia.*

George Wythe,  
Richard Henry Lee,  
Thomas Jefferson,

Benjamin Harrison,  
 Thomas Nelson, jun.  
 Francis Lightfoot Lee,  
 Carter Braxton.

*North-Carolina.*

William Hooper,  
 Joseph Hewes,  
 John Penn.

*South-Carolina.*

Edward Rutledge,  
 Thomas Heyward, jun.  
 Thomas Lynch, jun.  
 Arthur Middleton.

*Georgia.*

Button Gwinnet,  
 Lyman Hall,  
 George Walton.

Such a stand as this Declaration of Independence, made by an whole nation, and signed by these men ;—a nation denominated Rebels, must cause the fury of an haughty English Monarch to come up in his face ! It without doubt led him to say, or think to say, I will slay every rebel, who does not submit to my requirement ;—“ I will be minded,” was the motto.

The names of those Heroes who thus nobly stepped forward in the defence of their injured countrymen, who in the name and authority of the people of these *United States*, declared this nation free ; these names will be handed down to posterity, so long as the independence of these States is maintained or even remembered.

In this single act, they ventured their all in this life, even life, fortune and honour. They must have viewed their cause just, and success certain ; or how could they thus risk their all ! Had not independence been maintained ; had England overcome, these men as leaders, where *rebellion was virtue*, must have fallen a prey to the merciless rage of a cruel tyrant, who murdered the innocent in the name of a righteous God.

3d. *We notice the victory obtained by this country over that tyrannical power.*

Although Independence was declared by the Americans as a matter of right ; yet it was not acknowledged by the Britons ; war ensued of course. This is remembered by millions to this day, from the battle at *Lexington* to the day that independence was acknowledged by the Britons.—How solemn was that fight, beheld by *Americans* at Bunker and Breed's hill, when multitudes fell in defence of the cause of liberty, while at the same time, the beautiful *Charleston* was in flames, and the enemy triumphing in the death of

their fellow men, and the destruction of our towns and cities ! It is not for me in this place, to mention all the horrors of a war of seven years, which ended in the glorious deliverance of a great nation, from great and cruel oppression ; when the humbled George, extremely mortified, acknowledged that independence which had been previously published and declared.

Though the way to this lay through a *field of blood* ; yet the men whose hearts were fired with the love of *liberty* ; forgetting the horrors of a war of seven years, rejoiced in the glorious event ! How mortifying on the part of *Britain* and *George*, and joyful on the side of the American sons and daughters of freedom, must the first article of the definitive treaty of peace be, between the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, and his Britannic Majesty ; signed at *Paris* the 3d of Sept. 1783, in the following words :—“ His *Britannic Majesty* acknowledges the said UNITED STATES, &c. to be Free, and Independent States ; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, property and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.”

Here was victory obtained by those denominated *Rebels*, who, by an haughty British *Major Pitcairn*, were between Lexington and Boston, ordered to *disperse*, in the following haughty strain ;—“ *Disperse, you rebels ; throw down your arms, and disperse.*” It was the commander who dispersed, leaving the *sons of freedom* to enjoy what Heaven had kindly bestowed on them. The words of Dr. Ramsey on this event, are well worth inserting in this place ; “ As arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of an individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause.—The blood of those, who were killed at *Lexington* and *Concord*, proved the firm cement of an extensive union.”

In this victory obtained over the British power, England lost thousands of lives, spent millions of money, won nothing, and returned home, *ashamed, mortified, and humbled* !

4th. *We notice the government which was adopted by this nation, after a deliverance from a foreign despotic yoke.*

When the United States declared themselves an independent nation, they were of course without a government, and it lay with them as a nation to choose what form of government should be adopted. A Monarchical government was an abomination to them, as they had too long groined under one, to wish so soon for another of the same kind, however mild it might be in its beginning. ARISTOCRACY, or a government of the chief men in the nation, they rejected, because it destroyed that equality which all men are born heirs of. Any thing like an *Hierarchy*, they knew from what the *Quakers* and *Baptists* suffered in Massachusetts, when the Priests ruled the courts, would prevent the increase of civil and religious Liberty in the nation. Knowing that all men are born free and equal, they adopted a form of government where all who are peaceful citizens may continue free and equal.

The government which was adopted by the general voice of a free and enlightened nation, is a REPUBLICAN one, in the most extensive sense of the word ; it is a government of the People. A *Monarchical government*, is like a ship built upon one piece of timber, the most exposed among the rocks of any one in the ship. Like a ship, it is useful only when floating on the deep ; and when floating, it is constantly exposed to storms, rocks, quicksands, leaks, explosions ; to be taken by an enemy ; and how often is the ship, cargo and crew lost together ! Such is the lot of Monarchies. REPUBLICANISM is like a large well built *Stone house*, founded on a Rock. The four corners are well secured, and in every other part it is secured from fire, wind, and water ; and though the rains descend, the floods come, or the winds blow, and beat upon the house ; yet it does not fall, for it is founded upon a Rock. Such a government is a place of defence ; such have we found our government to be for many years past. Our place of defence has been the munition of rocks ; bread has been given us, and our waters are sure, while we trust in God, and love that righteousness which exalteth a nation. The four grand corner stones of a REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, are LIBERTY ; EQUALITY ; UNITY, and PEACE.

The government adopted here is a DEMOCRACY. It is well for us to understand this word, so much ridiculed by the internal enemies of our beloved country. The word

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DEMOCRACY is formed of two Greek words, one signifying *the people*, and the other the *government* which is in the people. As a strong man has his strength in himself, which is always ready for use, when needed, so is a REPUBLICAN or DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT ; all the power in the great and strong body, the people, is used for the benefit of the whole. My Friends, let us never be ashamed of *Democracy* ! Never think it a reproach to be called a DEMOCRAT ! But glory in this, that your safety does not depend on the good will of a single mortal, but in being as an individual bound to a whole nation, and a whole nation bound to a single individual !

To be reproached as a friend of DEMOCRACY, is the same as though a cripple, with one leg gone, his hands trembling, and his tongue struck with the palsy, should, while moving slowly with his *crutches*, ridicule a strong well built man, who in his presence moves on his way, performing with ease, whatever he undertakes to do.

The difference between the *movements* of the *enemies* and *friends* of DEMOCRACY is as great, as that between a cripple, and a man perfectly sound in every limb.

By the Constitution of the *United States*, all legislative power is “vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.”

“The executive power shall be vested in a President of the *United States of America*. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term.”

“The Judiciary power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.”

“Congress shall make no law respecting an *establishment of religion*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.”

This government is the wonder of the world ;—a blessing to the people ;—and a bulwark against tyranny.

How beautiful is that truth which was declared by Congress in the following words : “We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ;—that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are

instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that when any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new governments, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Every person opposed to such a government as this, is, knowingly, or ignorantly opposed to the good of mankind in general. On this account it is that the enemies of our government, are the friends of that power under which this nation once groaned, "being burdened."

This must suffice for a description of the government adopted here, instead of English politics.

5th. *We notice the privileges enjoyed under this government.*

According to the words and actions of many in this country ever since the Federal Constitution was adopted, there is scarcely a privilege enjoyed here. It is true that there is no privilege for a few of the *well born*, separate from the general good of the whole. This sort would call that a privilege, which creates and supports a civil and ecclesiastical nobility, at the expence of the rights of the people at large. All men unless they are destitute of common sense, are in love with a *Republican principle*. But the difficulty with many is this, their love of liberty is so great, that they are not content with what belongs to them ;— with their own they wish to possess what honestly belongs to others, and when they possess more than what is their just right, others are in bondage, having scarcely any privilege at all. There are many in this country who have the same thirst for liberty the woman had for lands to possess. One of her neighbours said to her ; "I believe you and your husband would be glad to own all the world." O no ! said she, we do not wish for so much ; it is true, we should be glad to own all the land which joins us ;" such is the disposition of those who are not content with *Republican privileges*.

The following are some of the privileges enjoyed under a Republican government, which were never before enjoyed by any people, in any government since the days of Nimrod, the first of those tyrannical creatures called kings.

1. *Deliverance from civil and ecclesiastical despotism.*

In the time of the American war, the cry was, Liberty ! Liberty ! which signified that they had been, or then were in bondage, and wished to be free. What a day of joy was that to all but friends to *tyrants*, when through the continent the sound was heard,—*England has acknowledged the independence of the United States !* When George the third acknowledged that the things which *George Washington*, and the people of these States contended for, belonged to them upon the principle of justice !

How little is this privilege valued at this day ! God Almighty grant the day may never come, when America shall know the real worth of it, by knowing experimentally what it is to be under the command of a single Tyrant, instead of magistrates of our own choice !

2. *Another privilege peculiar to a Republican government, is having rulers from among ourselves, and of our own choosing, instead of being governed by foreigners, imposed on us without our consent.*

This was what the Jews considered a great privilege after they had been delivered from a foreign yoke in the days of Deborah. Judges v. 14, 15, "Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek ; after thee, Benjamin, among thy people ; out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer, And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah ; even Issachar, and also Barak."

What joy filled every true American, when instead of George the third, at the head of the nation, the people saw *George Washington*, the beloved father of his country, presiding for the general good of millions, just delivered from the iron furnace !

The circumstances which attended his inauguration, as the first *President* under the new government, are worthy of a place here, as related by one who was a witness of the whole transaction, and mentioned in the following words :

"On the 30th of April, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States of America, in the city of New-York. The ceremony was performed in the open gallery of Federal Hall, in the view of many thousand spectators. The oath was administered by *Chancellor Livingston*. Several circumstances concurred to render the scene unusually solemn. The presence of the beloved father

and deliverer of his country—The impressions of gratitude for his past services—The vast concourse of spectators—The devout fervency with which he repeated the oath—and reverential manner in which he bowed to kiss the sacred volume ; these circumstances, together with that of his being chosen to the most dignified office in America, and perhaps in the world, by the unanimous voice of more than *three millions* of enlightened *freemen*, all conspired to place this among the most august and interesting scenes which have ever been exhibited on this globe. It seemed from the number of witnesses, (said a spectator) to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may perhaps be an enthusiast ; but I confess I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the Universe, was looking down at that moment, with peculiar complacency, on an act, which to a part of his creatures, was very important. Under this impression, when the Chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner, *Long live George Washington*, my sensibility was wrought up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air ! !”

3. *Another privilege is this ; each peaceful citizen having an equal right to acquire and possess property, without such heavy duties as are imposed on British subjects in almost or quite every part of the world.*

See the effect of this ! In a few years, how have we as a nation increased in riches, perhaps beyond what we had done from the first settlement of this country to ~~the day~~ independence was acknowledged.

4. The privilege enjoyed among all classes as it respects education, is not one of the least enjoyed under a free government. Public and private schools are erected in almost every part of our country, and on this account the increase of useful knowledge is great. It is at this day a pleasing sight to all who wish to see mankind equal, to view the little companies every morning on the way to the places of instruction, where their male or female instructors are diligently employed in teaching them those things which will benefit them in a future day. Sometimes we hear of those who are for abolishing public schools, that all the knowledge



may be retained among the rich, who would be called a privileged class, born only to rule.

5. *Another privilege enjoyed only under our government, is this: no restraint or constraint is allowed of by law in things respecting religion.*

This privilege is secured by the constitution of the *United States*, and the constitution of each State in the Union.— This is by many considered a matter of lamentation, instead of a privilege. There are none, however, but those opposed to the rights of mankind, but must consider this a privilege to be accountable to God only, in matters of religion.

Those who are the most zealous for state religion, think they ought not to be restrained. So all the rest think.— Those who, contrary to the constitution of the United States tax other denominations, carry them to prison, &c. would be very much disturbed, were they treated in the same manner they treat others. Though the constitution declares all men free in things of religion, yet in New-England the constitution is often violated, because hirelings love that which is contrary to the law of God and this country. All these things are the base remains of the government of George the third. Many of the *Clergy* pretend to hold meeting houses, and forbid those who built and own them, from going in only as they please, barely because in England the meeting house is secured to the parson by law; it is not his in this country, any more than the highway is his.

As each denomination would wish to be established by law if one must be established, it is right that no one should be established by law, and that all who are peaceful citizens should be equally under the protection of the law. This is a great and precious privilege, and how happy should we all be, were all contented with this!

In this country, under the present government, there is but little of that distressing persecution which was felt under the British government. Let us for a moment contrast the state of the people here, who enjoy these privileges, with the situation of the people in England. There, no man is allowed to preach in a private house, unless it is licensed by Parliament. If any preach without a license, he must pay five pounds, and each one who hears him, five shillings.— Every dissenter is obliged to pay a tenth part of all his income to support the *Episcopal Clergy*, and after that he may

support his own minister, if he has any thing left to do it with. Here men may preach wherever people wish to hear, without being brought before the magistrate for so doing. Those who disturb them are the only ones liable to be prosecuted.

How rapid has been the increase of Scripture knowledge, since this privilege has been secured by the law of our country! Before this, there were men who hazarded their lives for the Gospel; for doing this they were in New England fined, whipped, imprisoned, and banished. From the day that Independence was declared, to this time, the number has continually increased who publish the word. Many have run too and fro, and knowledge is greatly increased, to the joy of thousands.

These are privileges which many in our country oppose, though they are protected by that very government, of which they so greatly complain.

6th. *We notice the attempt which has been made to overthrow the government where these privileges are enjoyed.*

It is true that the king of England acknowledged our independence; but it was not a matter of choice, but necessity; mortifying in the extreme to him and his friends in this country. There is no doubt in my mind but that it was the determination of the British government, and our enemies who dwell among us from that day, to lay every plan in such a manner as to be best calculated to weaken and overthrow the constitution of the United States, and destroy our independence. There is an account of this in Dr. Franklin's writings, which I here mention:

“ My best wishes however attend my dear country, esto perpetuo. It is now blessed with an excellent *constitution*; may it last forever. This powerful monarchy, [the British] continues its friendship for the *United States*. It is a friendship of the utmost importance to our security, and should be carefully cultivated. Britain has not yet well digested the loss of its dominion over us; and has still at times some flattering hopes of recovering it. Accidents may increase those hopes, and encourage dangerous attempts. A breach between us and France would infallibly bring the English again upon our backs; and yet we have some *wild beasts* among our countrymen, who are endeavouring to weaken the connection. Let us preserve our reputation, by performing our engagements; our credit, by fulfilling our

contracts ; and our friends, by gratitude and kindness ; for we know not how soon we may again have occasion for all of them."

Who can doubt but that this plan has been pursued through a variety of changes, and in various shapes, under the administration of *Washington, Adams, and Jefferson* ; nor have they to this day given it up as a fruitless attempt.

What shall we think of a set of people, who would press one President into their measures ; flatter a second ; pour contempt and ridicule from every quarter upon a third, because he steadily pursued a course for the general good of the whole ; profess friendship for the fourth, while pursuing the same thing which his predecessor never varied from ? Say they approve of his measures, although directly opposite to their plans.

The leaders of those who are called *Federalists*, do not deserve the name ; it belongs with propriety to the friends of the union of the States, and no others. It was first given to them, notwithstanding our enemies have since taken it without our consent. Their conduct in this matter puts me in mind of the Fable, where Truth and Falsehood set out on a journey together. They agreed to keep each others company through every difficulty they should meet with. In a short time, they came to a river ; it was agreed that they should take off their clothes and wade through. Truth was to go in first, and falsehood to follow him. As soon as TRUTH had laid down his clothes and proceeded a few rods towards the other side, falsehood took up his clothes, put them on, and immediately left truth to proceed on his journey without him, or his own clothes. Falsehood has to this day appeared in the dress of Truth, hence the saying, "the naked truth." Strip off the name of *Federalist* ; view the real principle of their *leaders*, view them continually ridiculing almost every measure of our government, and be convinced that they appear in a dress which does not belong to them.

I believe that there are thousands in this country called *Federalists*, who are as firm and real friends to the union of the States, as those called Republicans ; but I also believe they are imposed on and deceived by *designing* men. Were our country invaded, the division among the common people would be small to what it is now.

Allowing there has been no attempt to overthrow the

constitution, destroy our independence, divide the States, bringing us under a foreign despotic yoke; what then can be the meaning of the Essex Junto,—Standing Army in time of peace,—Stamp Act,—Eight per cent. Loan,—Direct tax,—Ridiculing Democracy,—Ridiculing Jefferson, and praising Madison, who pursues the same plan,—calling the People the swinish multitude, and their own worst enemies,—Peter Porcupine's news-paper,—the cry of an overthrow of all Religion through the influence of the infidel Jefferson,—Fast and Thanksgiving Sermons against the government,—Number after number in a Boston paper, concerning a division of the States, with many other things of the same nature?

Is not this a plan long pursued to make the people uneasy with a government of their own choice? To raise in the minds of the people a disgust against the only government where they can possibly be Free!

How much has been said against the measures of government within two years past, to disaffect and divide the people. Every thing almost that could be said against our rulers has been said; and every art of cruelty and injustice done us by the Britons, has either been approved of, or considered a matter of which we ought not to complain.—These things are too plain to be denied on the one side, and too wicked to be passed over unnoticed on the other.

It appears to me that the conduct of our enemies at this time, very much resembles that of the enemies of the Jews in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. When Cyrus was king of Persia, he gave the Jews authority to build Jerusalem, and after they had builded for sometime, their adversaries, (like American Tories) wished to build with them. Ezra, iv. 1, 2, 3, 4. "Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of the captivity builded the temple unto the Lord God of Israel; then they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chief of the fathers, and said unto them, let us build with you, for we seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him, since the days of Esar-haddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither. But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, ye have nothing to do with us, to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto the Lord God of Is-

rael, as king Cyrus, the king of Persia, hath commanded us. Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building."—Notwithstanding all the opposition made against the measures of our government, and all the bad stories about Madison, yet now they begin to praise Madison. What is it for? Not for the general good. Why did Joab call Abner brother, and kiss him? There is no doubt in my mind but these same men, when they find that apparent friendship does not answer, will turn the other way and say, Madison does not hold out as he begun. The foundation of all the opposition which these men made against the Jews, was a maintenance which they received from the king, and they knew if Zerubbabel and the others proceed upon the *Republican principle*, seeking the good of their brethren, they should be deprived of that rich income. See ver. 12, 13, 14. "Be it known unto the king, that the Jews, which came up from thee to us, are come unto Jerusalem, building the rebellions and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations. Be it known now unto the king, that if this city be builded, and the walls set up again, then will they not pay toll, tribute, and custom, and so thou shalt endamage the revenue of the kings. Now because we have maintenance from the king's palace, and it was not meet for us to see the king's dishonour, therefore have we sent and certified the king."

These men to hold their maintenance, sent to the king to prevent the Jews in their work; but they builded, and drove away their adversaries, and would not even allow them a place of residence among them. Nehemiah cast out their *household stuff* and chased them away; and I think it altogether likely that in a future day, the enemies of our country will not only be defeated, but driven from any part in a government, adopted for the general good.

7th. *We observe, that this plan is in a great measure defeated at this day.*

If I were to judge of the plan of our internal and external enemies, for two years past, it would be this: First, to divide the people, by the third party men, who would be ready to join the strongest party. Second, obtain an Anti-Republican President, and Vice-President. Third, elect Anti-Republican Governors, in the New-England States.

Fourth, attempt a separation of the States as far as New-York. Fifth, have a British army stationed at Halifax, ready to assist against the opposition which should be made by the Republicans, against the separation of the States. Sixth, stir up the Indians with the Canadians, to alarm and weaken in that quarter. Seventh, have the kingdom of Spain in alliance with, or in subjection to England, that they might join at the South. Eighth, bring New-England into an alliance offensive and defensive with England. Ninth, having obtained this, bring on the inhabitants of Canada with the Indians, and all the other forces of England by land and sea, to join with New-England and Canada on the North, and the Spaniards in the South, and overcome the Southern States, and bring this whole country where England and the Tories have ever since the revolution wished us; even at the feet of the British Lion. If such a plan as this existed in the imagination of any, some sudden toss of the head, has upset the vessel, and with this all their prospects of future victory over a free people.

Alas! Alas! The People are not divided in action, though they are in name. A Republican President and Vice President are chosen by a large majority. The separation of the States is not likely to take place at present.— The British army of *forty thousand* not yet called for. The *Spaniards* are at peace with us. Spain is not yet under the fostering hand of Britain. New-England is not yet a British ally. Nor are the Northern and Southern brethren at war with each other; nor are we as a nation yet bowing before the British throne, humbly suing for pardon. It is true that the enemies of government, have by craft obtained a small majority in some of the New-England States, for Federal governors, but what have they to boast of? But very little. The conduct of Britain concerning their orders of council, in acknowledging their wrong in the affair of the Chesapeake, and other acts of injustice, has mortified them, more than all their electioneering successes have gratified them.

What is all the advantage gained by Anti-Republicans in New-England, compared with what the Republicans possess. How great was the majority of Electors for the President and Vice-President! View the present Congress; out of 34 Senators, 27 are Republicans. The whole number of Representatives is 145, one hundred of these are Republicans.

Notwithstanding the British orders of council, designed as a retaliation, the measures of our government have answered the purpose contemplated, and England proposes making satisfaction for the injuries done us. The plans of our enemies are disclosed from day to day, and their works of years are brought to light, by the writings of our former President Adams, who as one bound to help his country, has come forward to let the people know what their enemies have done in the dark.

Notwithstanding all said and done to drive us into a war with England or France, to prostrate our Independence at the feet of George, and to divide the States, we yet remain the *United States of America*; we yet remain a neutral power; the *Republican Rock* still endures the rage of all the proud waves of opposition, while our enemies are much cast down in their own eyes, for the Lord has been, and now is on our side; and although every arrival from Europe brings some new account of the distresses of nations, through the pride of tyrants, we yet remain in peace, enjoying innumerable blessings, which Heaven has kindly bestowed on us as a Nation.

8th. *I come now to the last thing proposed, which was to give a description of the present state of our country as it respects civil and religious LIBERTY.*

It is true there are several things in our country disagreeable, and which cause unhappiness among many; yet notwithstanding these things, we are blessed above any other nation on earth, on many accounts, as to things civil and religious. We are certainly distinguished from all other nations on the globe. As to the country itself, how rich the soil! What an amazing variety does it produce for our own use and for exportation. How rich in mines of various kinds! The earth brings forth by handfuls; yielding in many instances an hundred fold. How many conveniences are we blessed with, by an exchange of produce from south to north. Our manufactories of various kinds are in a flourishing situation. Our fields are this moment clothed with flocks and herds, while the peaceful industrious farmer is cultivating the earth which promises him a large reward. Our merchants on the sea coasts, are again reforming their trade with different and distant nations, while the merchants' ships are bringing us food from far.