

THE MEANS OF THE PERPETUITY AND PROSPERITY OF OUR REPUBLIC.

AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF

THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES,

OF THE

CITY OF BOSTON,

JULY 4, 1838,

IN THE

OLD SOUTH CHURCH,

IN CELEBRATION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY HUBBARD WINSLOW.

BOSTON:

JOHN H. EASTBURN, CITY PRINTER,

No. 15 State Street.

1838.

CITY OF BOSTON.

July 5, 1838.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to the Rev. HUNNARD WINSLOW, for the eloquent and patriotic Oration, delivered by him, before the Municipal Authorities on the 4th instant, being the anniversary of American Independence, and that the Mayor be requested to ask of him a copy for the press.

A true Copy,—Attest,

S. F. McCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

ORATION.

THE MEANS OF THE PERPETUITY AND PROSPERITY OF OUR REPUBLIC.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

THE sentiment at the foundation of the remarks which I propose to offer, has long been firmly established in the minds of all whom I have the honor to address. The sentiment is this, that one of the greatest of earthly blessings, and that on which all others depend, is a *good civil government*.

To be convinced of its truth, we have only to consider for a moment the condition of mankind wherever this blessing is not enjoyed. Crushed beneath the iron hand of despotic power, or dashed in pieces by the wild waves of anarchy, or incessantly pillaged and wasted by savage hordes, or slaughtered by the bloody arms of ambitious conquerors, they realize little else than the absence of all that is good and the presence of all that is evil. Oppression and violence, intolerance and revolution, brute might and impatient rebellion, alternately triumph over bleeding and wretched humanity. Domestic bliss has no safe retreat, virtue no guardian, property no security, industry no motive, religion no sanctuary, and life itself no real value. Factions, riots, frauds, confiscations, impostures, murders—every description of crime and cruelty—unite to worry and devour their unhappy victims, and to blight the last blossoms of hope which survived the ruins of Eden.

Such has been the actual condition of no inconsiderable portion of our race in every age. What a frightful book is the history of mankind! Almost every page is black with the crimes and cruelties of relentless tyranny, or red with the slaughters of

conquests and revolutions. Few and far between are the pages, which present that fair and bright picture of human society on which the eye of philanthropy delights to repose.

Turn now and look upon the country favored with a good civil government. One of the first and most delightful objects you here behold, is a quiet and happy family. Within its sacred precincts the conjugal, parental, and filial affections, the sweet endearments of home—all the charming blessings of the domestic constitution—are fully realized. So peacefully does it repose beneath its own vine and fig tree—so fearless, so safe, so seemingly unprotected—that you might suppose it to be the only occupant of the soil. But extending your vision, you see such little happy communities scattered in every direction over the wide country, while every here and there you behold numbers of them clustered together in villages, and occasionally vast multitudes closely compacted in cities, all fearlessly enjoying the same social and civil immunities. Families, neighborhoods, towns, states, comprising millions of human beings—are here affianced together in the same common interest, protected by the same civil power. Not only is each individual as safe and happy as though he were alone, but they all find safety and happiness in each other.

What a magnificent and pleasing scene is this! A whole nation of human beings, at once perfectly free and perfectly governed, having their separate and their associate interests well defined and equally protected; mutually pledged to resist oppression, rebuke injustice, secure equity, and promote the true ends of human existence. Here industry is encouraged with a sure promise of reward; genius is sought out and incited to effort; property has a true and permanent value; the path of learning, fame, influence, wealth and glory, is open to all. None suffer but the indolent and the vicious, none are countenanced but the industrious and virtuous; while all are equally protected and encouraged in serving their Maker, and securing the great object of their being. *“Happy is that people, that is in such a case.”*

We hence see that a civil government in which righteous laws reign, is one of the noblest gifts of God to man, and one

of the grandest triumphs of human wisdom and greatness. We are thus admonished to be very jealous for its safety, to beware how we trifle with it, to prize it as that on which essentially depend all our dearest earthly pleasures and eternal hopes. Its necessity is found in the weakness, the wants, the wickedness, and the fears of men. It originated in our nature. The disposition to govern and to be governed, the relations of guardianship and dependence, the feelings of paternity and of filial homage, are born into the world with us; and these are the essential elements of civil government. It is then truly said, that every well regulated family contains the rudiments of an empire.

The question respecting the *best form* of government, is not now to be considered. That a monarchical government, of some kind, is the only power adequate to control an ignorant and vicious people, we are not slow to admit. The mere *form* of government, is of comparatively small importance, provided there be wisdom and fidelity in the presiding powers. Of this, however, there can be no permanent security; and even if there could be, all our sympathies are in favor of republican institutions. We have entire confidence in their success, *provided the appropriate means are employed*. So had the fathers of our nation. They believed that a popular government could be sustained, but they never dreamed that it could be done by ignorant, vicious, unprincipled men. Their faith was, that men could be qualified to govern themselves;—to qualify them, was the object of their first and most assiduous attention. In humble pursuance of the same views, I would propose, as our subject, *the means of the perpetuity and prosperity of our Republic*. This day usually, and with great propriety, invites us to exultations over past achievements and present blessings. It may not be less appropriate and useful, though it should prove to be less entertaining, at the present time, to *look forward*, and to inquire, how we may perpetuate, improve, and transmit to posterity our glorious inheritance?

The grand experiment is now fully begun: it is for us and our children to complete it. Republics of another kind have had their day. Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, are among the things that were. What they said of Troy, it is

now ours to say of them. Long have they slumbered together in the ashes of the past. The modern republics of Germany and Switzerland are of a different character from ours; and those of South America are just struggling into birth. This is the first strictly elective and representative system, under full and mature operation, in the annals of mankind. It owes its existence, under God, to a pure and invincible love of civil and religious liberty, kindled in some of the noblest spirits that ever honored humanity. Until the sun himself tires and falters in his burning path, their memory will live in all hearts true to freedom and philanthropy.

Having long groaned under the intolerant institutions of their country, and having been more than once exiled for their religion from their native Island, our immortal ancestors at length resolved upon that bold adventure, which constitutes one of the most brilliant and decisive epochs in the history of mankind. The settlement and early history of these colonies, the events which led to their final separation from the parent government, the circumstances connected with the organization of this Federal Republic—though of thrilling interest, yet to most familiar—need not here be even epitomized. Come we then at once to our own times and duties.

Already has a little one become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation. Yet is our nation in its infancy. Cast your eyes abroad over the length and the breadth of this great territory, bounded only by the shoreless ocean on either side, and by the torrid and the frigid zones on either extremity;—contemplate its almost boundless plains and vallies of richest virgin soil; behold its thousands of verdant hills and mountains swelling upward towards the skies, on which the foot of man has as yet scarcely lighted; see its numerous beautiful and magnificent rivers, capable of wafting all the commerce and of propelling the machinery requisite to manufacture all the materials, which it can ever be made to furnish; look at its exhaustless mines of wealth in the bowels of the earth, and in the deep fissures of its mountain rocks;—think of the hundreds of millions of people which it is capable of sustaining, and which it promises to sustain at no very distant day;—observe its rapid increase of

population, wealth, luxuries—all those causes which tend to enervate mind, nourish selfish and indomitable passions, and annihilate that severe masculine morality essential to civil and religious freedom;—and it cannot fail to appear that the great experiment is but begun, and that its final result is, to human view, highly problematical.

How may the success of the experiment be made sure? This is the interesting question we are now to solve. Our task does not require us to attempt to enter far into the profound science of jurisprudence. This is the laborious study of ages—the collected and systematized wisdom of all past research and experience. Nor are we to indulge in sublime theories and refined speculations, which cannot be realized in practice. The means in question are few, simple, obvious, and entirely practicable. I shall here assume the position that all governments must have their seat and source of adequate power; that in a despotism they are, under God, with the despot; in an aristocracy, with the nobility; and in a republic, with the people;—and that every human government is strong or weak, prosperous or declining, according as it is true or false to its own principles. This admitted, it will follow, that the means of the perpetuity and prosperity of our republic, are *the diffusion of the essential elements of intelligent and virtuous power among all classes of citizens*. These I shall arrange under three general heads.

I. ENLIGHTENED AND PURE RELIGION.

The opinion seems never to have been for a moment entertained by those, to whom we are indebted for our free institutions, that a people can govern and protect itself, without the ascendant influence and sanctions of acknowledged human accountability to God. Nor was religion with them a mere tool or means of civil government. It sustained the two fold relation of both object and means. They prized civil liberty, because it afforded them *opportunity* to serve God according to the dictates of their consciences; while they believed

that the *actual service* of God was an essential means of sustaining civil liberty.

Hence their first acts, on landing upon these shores, were those of religious homage. They began with prayer and praise;—they acknowledged God in all their ways, inscribing his hallowed name upon all their social, secular and public transactions. Theirs was a severe, manly, uncompromizing religion, such as imparts a serious earnestness and efficiency to character. It gave no indulgence to the enervating pleasures of luxury and debauchery, nor to looseness of sentiment and principle;—it produced reverential, solemn and adoring views of God, deep and trembling convictions of human accountability, and the sterling social virtues of temperance, frugality, chastity, and unblenching honesty.

They held firmly to the Sacred Scriptures, as an infallible utterance of the Divine Mind for our standard of moral truth and duty. As such they taught them diligently to their children. They believed, as therein taught, that the present state is only the infancy of our being; that our conduct in this life is to sustain an indissoluble connection with our condition in an endless life to come;—that we were made to honor and enjoy our Maker, by aspiring to his holy character and service; and that if we come short of this, we defeat the true end of our existence and whelm ourselves in irretrievable disgrace and sorrow. They believed that we are a sinful race, needing that dispensation of recuperative grace unfolded in the gospel; and that only the penitent and obedient will enjoy the everlasting blessings of the divine favor.

Such were their religious views, and upon these they acted. They lived in this world *in view of living forever*, under a government of righteous retributions. They dug deep and laid their foundations upon the rock of ages. They aimed both to form their individual characters, and to erect a social fabric, upon truths and principles enduring as the throne of God. To this, more than to any other human cause, are we indebted for the civil and religious liberty we this day enjoy, and for the hitherto unparalleled prosperity of our nation.

The same foundation upon which the pillars of this republic were reared, must continue to sustain them, or it will soon be numbered with those of other ages. Strike out to day from this nation all belief of the existence of God, of a future state, of moral accountability and retributions, as taught in the Sacred Scriptures—annihilate from the minds of the people all religious sentiment and devotion—and this would prove the last celebration of our nation's freedom. The shouts of jubilee would soon be exchanged for the groans of slaughter and the sighs of bondage. Before the revolution of another year, the tempestuous elements of unrestrained human passion would rise above control,—the sun of this nation would be turned to darkness and its moon to blood; its stars would fall from heaven as when a fig tree casteth her untimely figs; and the sanguinary history of atheistic France would be repeated.

But the *permanent* existence of a general atheism is never to be anticipated. Its action is spasmodic and temporary. Religious sentiments are a part of our nature. Absolute atheism is an unnatural and forced state, and can therefore never realize a prevailing continued existence. Some excentric and strange spirits may always continue to embrace it, and to creep up here and there from their dark places upon the face of the land, but they will ever be few, feeble and short lived.

The question with us, then, is not whether the people of this nation shall have a pure religion or none; for a religion of *some* kind, they will certainly have. The only question is, whether they shall have religion pure or corrupted. Shall religion as she descends from above, holy, enlightening, elevating and transforming, or shall some monstrous and debasing superstition, prevail over the land? If the former prevails, our civil liberties may be as enduring as the principles which sustain them: if the latter, they are doomed to an early sepulchre. Their fate, like that of other republics, will be speedily written upon the pale skies in letters of blood! For it has ever appeared, that while religion pure is the greatest of friends, religion corrupted is the greatest of foes to human liberty. The moral and religious sentiments of our race are mighty for good or for evil. Rightly directed, they unbind the fetters of the soul and exalt

man to the highest dignity of his nature; misdirected and perverted, they render him a willing victim of the most oppressive surveillance and most abject degradation. No vassallage in which ambition and avarice ever held human beings, is more desperate than that inflicted when they interpose between them and God, to keep them in ignorance of his word and to give laws to their consciences.

The brief reign of atheism has ever resulted, and ever must result, in that general prostration of soul and character, which leads directly, by the bloody steps of anarchy and revolution, to enslaving credulity and despotic power. Adversaries of human accountability to God, are therefore enemies to our republic. However loud their boast or fair their promise of liberty, they would soon reduce us to the most galling and relentless of all earthly bondage. It is not because they exercise *freedom* of conscience, but because they outrage *all* conscience, not because they *use* the rights of men, but because they *abjure* the rights of men—alienate themselves from humanity and become as irresponsible brute beasts—that they forfeit all claim to the privileges of a free government. No republican government could be possibly sustained by a community of such men;—you might as well think of building a city, and calculating upon its safe repose, on the crater of an active volcano. Every enlightened and faithful patriot will therefore give his influence, to hold the great principles of moral accountability in contact with every mind in the nation. Let them be commissioned, as set forth and sanctioned in the Sacred Scriptures, to enlighten the understandings, invigorate the intellects, elevate the aims, inspire the hearts, and control the wills, of both subjects and magistrates—and to the end of time may our free institutions stand, firm as mountains of brass.

II. JUST AND TEMPERATE VIEWS RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

The doctrine is becoming somewhat prevalent, and is incorporated in many of the most popular and imposing theories of

our day, that all men have the same identical rights and liberties; that it is only needful to be a *human being*, to possess all the qualities requisite for one to govern himself and others. If this is so, why is there any need of civil government? Indeed, what is government in any form, human or divine, but usurpation? All men are human beings—all have human rights—why should not all be allowed to exercise them unrestrained?

Our excellent ancestors entertained no such views. Fathers and benefactors of human liberty, they neither acknowledged nor sought such liberty as this! That they were sometimes intolerant, we all admit. But there is an apology for them in the fact, that they considered they were making a momentous experiment for all succeeding generations, in which they had no hope of success but in the prevalence of what they considered sound moral and religious principles; that they had adventured everything in this great enterprise; that they had the prior possession of this soil; and that if men wished to try an experiment of another kind, this great western world was before them, and they could go and secure a place for themselves. Whatever may be thought of some of the measures of the puritans, the principles by which they were actuated and the general course of their conduct, as well as the fruits of their labors, have rendered their names and their example worthy of everlasting remembrance and imitation.

The oppressions suffered by the pilgrims in the old world, the impulses under which they sought the new; the boldness and energy acquired by their descendants in subduing the forest; the exasperation of feeling and the increased aversion towards hereditary power, subsequently excited in the colonies by the overbearing policy of the British crown; the character and sentiments of some of the leading minds in the country, during the revolution and subsequent to it; our annual festivals throughout the land, and our eloquent and impassioned speeches and odes in honor of liberty,—have all conspired to make the *love of freedom* the strong master passion of this nation. It is a noble spirit; but it needs to be enlightened, tempered, guided and restrained, or it will rush headlong to its own destruction.

The spirit of liberty has ever carried along with it a strong

tendency to excess and anarchy. One of the loftiest and most ennobling of human passions when temperately excited and wisely directed, when immoderately exerted and without control, it is one of the basest and most destructive. The steam which, when kept within due bounds and judiciously applied, bears the vessel safely, proudly, and speedily onward towards its destined port, when raised too high or unskillfully employed, produces a terrible explosion, disastrous to the vessel and to those embarked in it. Such will be the inevitable fate of our republic, if we do nothing but feed the fires of liberty and raise high the passion for human rights. An experienced and judicious pilot would judge it wise, at the present time, to diminish rather than increase the steam, and to give some attention to conservative measures. If we prize liberty so highly as to desire more, it surely becomes us to preserve what we already possess. It is of first importance, that all republican citizens should be well aware of the nature and limitations of their rights and liberties, and of the duties required to protect them;—for, strange as it may sound in some modern ears, even human rights and liberties, like all other human things, *have their limits*; and, like all other human blessings, are to be secured and perpetuated only by some corresponding sacrifices.

A very excellent writer of the other Continent, has justly remarked*, “The disruption of the United States from the Mother Country, and the outburst of the French Revolution, were the first effects, on a large scale, of those principles which in America had their birth in the love of liberty, but debased by their mixture with the atheism and spirit of anarchy, which had long been brooding on the Continent, began to threaten the very foundations of all social order. Yet it was but a small number of enlightened men that clearly saw this tendency. Multitudes thought they saw, and really wished to see, in these events, only the growth of rational liberty; and counted those who foresaw and predicted the dangerous action of these principles on the weakness and wickedness of human nature, as bigots and libellers. But the minds of men have been let

*London Register.

loose from old restraints; and generation rises up after generation, each struggling, with growing earnestness, to rid itself of all control. Religious liberty is now publicly advocated on principles, which, if pursued to their legitimate consequences, would prevent the rulers and legislators of nations from acknowledging even the being and providence of God, lest they should, by such acknowledgment, restrain that freedom of opinion, which it is alledged that every man has a right to exercise." Now there are not a few reformers in our own country, of the radical cast here referred to—many of them men of very high and excellent character, who would shrink with abhorrence from any known approach to atheism, or to principles subversive of human accountability—who have embraced and are urging forward doctrines and measures, which if carried to their own natural results, must infallibly terminate in the dethronement of the Moral Governor of the universe, and the prostration of all law and authority, both divine and human. Yet they do not foresee these results, so absorbed is their vision in the darling objects they have espoused.

If a man were self-originated, and the only being in existence, his individual right to do whatever his inclination might dictate, would be unrestrained. But inasmuch as he exists in connection with *other* beings, who have rights as well as he, and to whom he sustains various important relations, his individual rights are proportionally curtailed and modified. He has no right to disregard the rights of others. Sustaining then first of all to God the relation of a dependent creature to an almighty Creator, and of an accountable subject to a righteous Ruler, he has *no* rights whatever, excepting such as his Maker has given him;—and his Maker has never given him a right to do as he pleases, any farther than he pleases to regard the welfare of his fellow beings as well as his own.

Nor does the mere fact that all men are human beings, give them all the same *social* rights. Men may be incapacitated by want of intellect, by insanity, vice, ignorance, inefficiency, and various other causes, even to protect their *own* lives and interests. The idiot, the mad-man, the drunkard, for example, has no right to his liberty, when it seriously endangers his own or

his neighbor's safety. Mere *humanity*, therefore, confers neither equality of rights nor ability for self-protection. So far from this, there is no race of creatures upon the earth so incapable of taking care of themselves, without a course of preparation for it, as mankind. Hence the necessities, the rights, the social duties of men, are as various as their conditions. It is the right and the duty of the sane to take care of the insane, of the virtuous to restrain the vicious, of the learned to instruct the ignorant, of the wise to guide the simple, of the strong to protect the weak, of the aged to counsel the young;—and if it is the duty of some to do these things, it is the duty of those for whom they are needed to consent to have them done.

All these rights and duties are ultimately to be determined, not by each individual for himself, but by the society or government of which he is a member. It is not for the simpleton, or the idiot, or the maniac, or the profligate, to say whether he has the qualifications requisite to take care of himself and others; it is for society to determine that.

Nor is a correct view of liberty and equality allied to any *leveling* system. The leveling theory is against all the analogies of nature and providence. To render it consistent, all the stars in the firmament should be of the same brilliancy, all the hills and mountains upon the face of the earth of the same height, all rivers of the same magnitude, all men of the same mind and stature;—the bolt of heaven which smites one man's dwelling, should smite every man's dwelling;—the cold blasts of Greenland should sweep the tropical regions, and the tropical fruits and spicy gales of India should solicit the appetite and fan the person of the Esquimaux and the Iclander. That there should be inequality in the conditions of men, as there is in all the other works of providence, is clearly a wise and benevolent ordinance of heaven. To this is owing, in a very high degree, the noblest social virtues and some of the most exquisite enjoyments of mankind. Without it, society being reduced to a dead and stagnant level, all the reciprocities of sympathy, beneficence and protection, of dependence, confidence and gratitude, with their endless train of lovely graces, would be exiled from our race. It was the levelling disposition, that

cast down the shining angels from their starry heights. If it was evil in heaven, it is not less evil on earth.

Radicalism sustains to the levelling system the relation of means to an end. It would level all, by destroying all. Under the pretence of building anew, and building better, it would sweep away, with one great burning blast, all the collected wisdom and experience of past ages. Not only is the means deplorable, but it fails of its end after all. So far from levelling, it ultimately renders society more uneven, and that too in a way disastrous to all classes. "Those who attempt to level," says Mr. Burke,* "never equalize. In all countries consisting of various descriptions of citizens, some descriptions must be uppermost. The levellers therefore only change and pervert the natural order of things; they load the edifice of society by setting up in the air what the solidity of the structure requires to be on the ground."

The leveller is a man of dangerous ambition. As Cæsar said of Cassius, he

—————has a lean and hungry look.
Such men as he be never at heart's ease,
Whiles they behold a greater than themselves.

What then is the true republican doctrine of equal rights and liberties. I conceive it to be summarily this, that all men have by nature the same right, and should have equal liberty, to serve their Maker with all their powers, in the way most conducive to their own welfare and to that of their fellow beings. Under

*Edmund Burke was the first and greatest of the few "enlightened men," referred to above by a London writer, who foresaw and predicted the result of those principles which produced the French Revolution. Standing forth strong and clear upon the conservative side, amidst the prevailing tendencies of his age to revolution, by the soundness of his wisdom, the integrity of his politics, the invincibility of his arguments, and the subduing power of his eloquence, he did more than perhaps any other man to save Britain and the other civilized nations from plunging into the gulph of anarchy, and into another long and dreary night of dark ages. His writings should be in the hands of all American citizens. A firm friend of rational liberty and human rights, a christian, a patriot, a scholar, an orator, of the soundest and most finished order, he can be read by no American citizen without intense interest and true profit.

the control of the divine government, there can be no clashing between a man's own interest and that of his neighbor. The man who promotes the interest of his fellow beings in the best manner, promotes his own interest in the best manner.

Personal liberty implies entire freedom to employ ones own person in all lawful ways, being subject to no restraint but what is important to the good of society.

Moral liberty is the power and the opportunity of an agent to do what is morally right.

Religious liberty allows its subject to worship God according to his own conscience, directed and controlled only by the teaching and authority of divine truth.

Civil liberty implies exemption from all restraints, excepting those imposed by laws essential to the public welfare. The civil liberty of a good citizen, in a good state, is all that he can desire; a bad citizen will always desire more, just in the degree that he ought not to have it.

Political liberty is a means to civil liberty, and implies a right to vote, to be a candidate for office, to sustain a part in controlling public affairs. Civil liberty secures to a man his most important natural rights, while political liberty gives him certain relative rights or powers over others.

Republican liberty is the agregate of all these; its actual degree and perfection are measured by no abstract theory, but by the actual degree and perfection of the knowledge and virtue, which obtain in the subject himself and in the great body of the republic. In a republic of intelligent and good citizens, every man will increase his rights and liberties, *just in the degree that he increases his merits.*

The times urgently demand that correct views of the rights and duties of republican citizens, clearly defined and set forth in a popular form, should be diffused through the nation. The wild theories propounded by some of the modern apostles of liberty, and perpetually urged upon certain classes of susceptible minds, are kindling up the latent fires of envy, jealousy, discontent—the most dangerous foes of republican institutions—and while these demagogues, under guise of promoting liberty, thus create a popular prejudice against the true friends and

protectors of human rights;—while they dazzle the eyes and intoxicate the passions of men with their excessive light and love,—they are preparing the way to enthrone themselves over the wretched objects of their ambition, in the exercise of the most intolerant of all despotisms. Such is the law of extremes; such are the disastrous results of extravagant speculations. The men most violent for liberty, make the most oppressive of tyrants;—they who soar highest in theories upon human rights, are the first to make shipwreck of all rights. Mr. Burke states in his remarks upon the French revolution, “Almost all the high-bred republicans of my time” (by which he means the ultraists and radicals of his day, not such men as our good old republicans of 76) “have after a short space become the most decided thorough-paced courtiers. They soon left the business of a tedious, moderate, but practical resistance, to those of us whom, in the pride and intoxication of their theories, they have slighted as not much better than tories. Hypocrisy, of course, delights in the most sublime speculations;—for, never intending to go beyond speculation, it costs nothing to have it magnificent.”

But for the encouragement of the friends of order and sound doctrines, be it said and known, that if we adopt the excellent rule of Coleridge, to *weigh* men instead of *counting* them, it is but a small relative amount of the real mind of our nation, that has gone over to radical views. The seekers of popularity who may be on the eve of going over to such views, under an apprehension that they are about to prevail, should consider well before they take the dangerous step. Policy not founded in sound and well studied principles, is apt to be short sighted. Anxious to be with the many, or at least with the growing party, and not given to patient consideration, it often mistakes noise for numbers and increase. The furious and perpetual rattle upon the ear, is apt to affect it more than the calm dictates of sober and noiseless truth. It is not to be concealed that the radicals make the most noise; and not a few are ready to infer, that the comparative silence of those who stand upon the side of conservativeness, implies a gradual concession to their doctrines. But a few years hence will read a different

story. "The vanity, restlessness, petulance, and spirit of intrigue," says the great British statesman above cited, "of several petty cabals, who attempt to hide their total want of consequence in bustle and noise, and puffing, and mutual quotation of each other, makes you imagine that our contemptuous neglect of their abilities is a general mark of acquiescence in their opinions. No such thing, I assure you. Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle repose beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the most noise are the only inhabitants of the field; that of course, they are many in number; or that, after all, they are other than the little shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome insects of the hour." These observations respect radicals in every description of reform, whether political, social, domestic, moral, or religious. Their noisy day is always short;—they soon use themselves up and pass away. Marks of devastation and ruin they leave behind them, long after themselves have perished, except as associated with the evil they have done. They are like the violent agents in nature, which are speedily exhausted, leaving her steady, silent, resistless laws to move calmly on, repairing the injuries occasioned by the shock, and effectually securing the great ends of divine wisdom and goodness.

While, therefore, we firmly advocate fearless inquiry, free discussion, the liberty of the press, human rights, and all reforms in politics, society, morals and religion, which tend to improve the condition and character of mankind, let us with equal firmness observe that temperance, gentleness, modesty and discretion, that due deference to the voice of history and the councils of age and experience—that determined spirit of conservation, which is as wisely intent on saving what is already gained as in adventuring for more—without which, all attempts at reformation must ever prove to be like the earthquake and tornado;—without which, they will but demolish the work of the wisdom and industry of former generations, destroy the good with the evil, set society backward, defeat their own professed ends, and distance the desired millennial age.

III. CORRECT VIEWS RESPECTING WHAT CONSTITUTES THE ESSENTIAL STRENGTH AND GLORY OF A NATION.

It has been the too frequent policy of statesmen, to direct their first and most earnest attention to what is merely circumstantial and extrinsic. Political economy has been their main study;—they have looked after the lands, houses, furniture and provisions of the people, rather than the people themselves. Placing effect for cause, they have committed the error of those parents who are more solicitous to provide well for their children, than to make them rich in their own resources. It has been their chief object to develope merely the physical resources of their country, to create facilities for wealth, to reduce the necessity for human labor, to provide means of ease and indulgence, to swell the public revenues; to protect their nation internally with laboured statutes and well executed penalties, and externally with treaties, bulwarks, ramparts, fleets and armies. These have their value, but there are other things of primary and paramount importance, without which all these will prove valueless and vain.

As a man is to be estimated not by his possessions, but by his personal worth, so is a nation to be justly estimated, not by its lands, houses, revenues, fortifications, navies—any further than these indicate the virtues of the people.—but by the intrinsic and essential character of the people themselves. The true strength and glory of a republic lie *in the intelligence, the genius, the integrity, the industry, the patriotism, the intellectual and moral worth of the people.* As long as these exist in a high degree, the nation will be free and mighty: let them be wanting, and nothing can give it either freedom or strength. Through the omnipotence of these virtues, one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. These are the wealth, the arms, the might, that subdued the forest, secured our liberties, established and blest our nation. Without these, though our fathers had brought with them all the treasures of the Old World, though, on landing upon these shores, the mines of Golconda had been thrown open to them, and the armies of Cæsar had been at their command, this

wilderness would not have budded, these solitudes would not have echoed with the notes of liberty,—a Franklin and a Washington would never have arisen;—the day we celebrate would never have shone upon us.

Only the same virtues which originated and established our republic, can perpetuate and prosper it. The danger is in nations, as in families which have risen from poverty, that the fathers will forget the means by which themselves rose and will employ other and less effectual means for their children—that their posterity will learn to depend upon their external possessions and advantages, rather than upon their intrinsic character—and finally, that the great study of both people and statesmen will be turned entirely outward and away from that, which is essential to their real welfare.

Let our children then be early and faithfully taught the true republican doctrine, that their independence and greatness must depend upon themselves, rather than upon their circumstances and possessions;—let them well understand the worthlessness to man of every thing, which has not a worthy friend in his own bosom. What is the worth of gold, without integrity? What is the value of an office, to a man unprepared for it or unworthy of it? What price has fame, that is not well earned? What condition is so servile, as that of ill-gotten and niggardly wealth? Who has so much to fear, as the dishonest man? Who so much to hope for, as the man of sterling probity? What so omnipotent as true goodness, and what so feeble as conscious guilt? Who so noble as the true patriot, and who so contemptible as the demagogue? Who walks abroad with such erect and manly independence, as the man who is conscious of acting from the impulses of duty and benevolence, be he rich or poor, lord or peasant?

If the children of this land are taught to solve these questions and to act upon their import, unhappy jealousy and heart burning towards men of office, distinction and wealth, will diminish;—the low arts of dishonesty and the pleasures of vice will gradually cease from society;—the rising generations will be put to the work of making for themselves characters of intrinsic and everlasting value. Hundreds of fleets and armies, and ex-

haustless treasures of gold, could not render our nation half so mighty or glorious.

The importance of *union*, or that state of the republic in which harmony of views, feelings and interests prevail between the various classes and members of society and the different sections of the country, has always been justly maintained. Education and all other interests and pursuits, should be conducted upon those republican principles, which favor this desirable result. There must be no aristocracy of knowledge, wealth, or rank; the means of obtaining them must be, as far as possible, thrown equally open to all.

It should be the settled policy of every state, not to allow a child within its jurisdiction to pass the age of six, without being able to read; nor to pass the period of childhood, without having acquired the rudiments of a good common education. In addition to this, every family should consider it a duty to be supplied with useful books; every town should be provided with well furnished libraries; and a taste for reading should be everywhere cultivated and encouraged.

As ready vehicles of public intelligence and instruction, newspapers are of indispensable service; they are eminently republican. They are the most constant companions and teachers of the people. In their daily visits, they are at the doors of their patrons to give them the news, first in the morning and first in the evening; frequently they breakfast and dine and sup with them; they entertain them in the parlor and advise them in the counting room; they travel with them in all the coaches, cars and steam boats, upon the public ways;—there is not an athenæum, nor reading room, nor house of entertainment, nor any place of public daily resort, where their forms are not seen and their voices heard. They are in truth the omnipresent geniuses and tutelary goddesses of the people,—and if there be any truth in the proverb, that they who perpetually have our ears have at last our faith, their influence must be great and decisive upon the destinies of this republic. Considering their immense power over the public mind, every good citizen must see the importance of endeavoring to save them from perversion, of elevating their character and disseminating them as widely as possible.

Every family that can afford it, should take at least one paper, and should exercise the most wise discrimination in the selection. Few men confer more benefit upon the community than good editors, and few do more harm than bad ones.

Academies and colleges, institutions of law, medicine and theology should be generously endowed either by state or private bounty, in every section of the country, to train for public service the best minds from all the ranks and conditions of society. Besides that this secures men of the highest talent and energy to the service of the public, it tends to create a strong bond of union. If only the sons of the rich were educated for public and professional service, not only would a large portion of the finest intellects be lost to it, but a wall of jealousy would rise to heaven between the different classes. Let every family know that there is a place for its' sons in our public literary institutions—a place within the reach of talent, industry and perseverance—be their parentage rich or poor. At these institutions, the adventitious distinctions of wealth and family vanish; every individual stands upon his own merits. If the sons of the poor had indulged envy towards the rich, they lose it here; if the sons of the rich had indulged contempt towards the poor, it here gives place to admiration of intellectual worth, wherever it is found. The rational and enduring friendship here contracted between the sons of all ranks and classes, between those destined to different pursuits and professions, and between those who are to hold a prominent position among the most influential members of every family, neighborhood, town and state in the nation, are among the highly important means of social and political union.

Let gentlemen devoted to public life and to the different learned professions, ever cherish the attachments they formed *inter sylvas Academi*. Let them ever sympathize with each other's callings and pursuits. Operating as they do in different spheres and upon all classes, acting upon the liveliest sensibilities and upon the most valued interests of mankind, no men can do more to unite or to alienate society. Engaged in different departments of the same great work, they can do much towards creating public confidence in each other, as well as towards binding

society together. The professions of jurisprudence, law, medicine, theology, teaching, are all branches of one and the same universal science. Every enlightened and liberalized mind will clearly perceive that the study of entire nature, and the particular study of man as a social, physical, moral and intellectual being, are generically one, including the elements of civil government and of all the learned professions. The same is true of all arts and pursuits, which tend to elevate and adorn humanity. As Cicero has said,—*Omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.*

The physical wealth of our nation must be principally sought in its *soil*, and a most important part of its virtue, energy and patriotism in those taught from their childhood to cultivate it. A glance of the intelligent stranger's eye, as he passes through the land, cannot fail to determine the places where true republicanism has its best support. There he sees the wilderness, the moors, the deserts, yielding to the hand of industry and becoming fruitful fields. On every side, the plains and vallies are seen clothed with the verdure of spring and summer, or waving with the golden harvest of autumn; while every hill and mountain salutes the eye with its orchards of smiling fruit, its woodland groves, and its numerous flocks and herds grazing upon its sweet pastures. Farms well fenced, abundantly stocked, highly cultivated, having neat and comfortable dwellings in connexion with spacious barns and granaries, pass in constant succession; while here and there the landscape is adorned with beautiful villages, where the mechanic arts, the exchange of merchandise, the higher schools and the temples of worship, contribute to the welfare of the surrounding country.

Remote from the dissipation of the city and holding daily converse with pure nature, farmers are favored with the best of means for training up their offspring to virtue, piety, industry and efficiency. Here their children may learn the worth of property, by being early accustomed to earn it by the sweat of the brow; here they may learn the worth of time, by being compelled while young to husband and improve every hour; here they may learn the worth of knowledge, by the efforts and

sacrifices which they must make to obtain it ; here they learn to value their country, by the hard-earned interest they secure in its soil. Their attachment to the soil, the scenery, the home of their childhood, is never dissolved. It inspires them with a deathless patriotism. The pure air of the vallies and mountains, together with wholesome food and abundant exercise, gives them vigorous constitutions ; while the beautiful and sublime objects of nature store their young minds with corresponding sentiments and emotions. There is not probably in the world a class of citizens, of an equal number, so sound in intellect, so industrious, so patriotic, so virtuous, as the farmers of New England ; none more devoted to liberty, philanthropy, truth and religion ; none who train up and present to their country and to the world more enterprising and noble sons. There is no quarter of the globe, which is not at this moment feeling the happy influence of the sons of New England farmers. So much for the country, which a respected gentleman of the South so pertinently designated as the land of ice and granite. Like the former commodity, her sons have learned to endure all climates, and to carry health and happiness even to the burning zones ; while, like the latter, their firm and massive intellects are among the strongest pillars of the nation.

The number of *mechanics* is second only to that of agriculturalists, embracing some of the most intelligent and valuable men in the nation. Not so strongly attached to the soil and scenery of their country as farmers, they are not as a class, it is said, naturally so patriotic. Yet through the influence of other causes, a spirit of chivalrous devotion to their country is often enkindled in their bosoms, which is seldom or never surpassed. On the whole, it is doubtful whether there is any class of American citizens more truly and faithfully devoted to the welfare of the nation, than her great body of respectable and high minded mechanics. But from this general remark, as indeed from all general remarks upon classes of men, I am afraid that some little deduction must be made. There is a small number, who have no interest at stake in the public welfare, and who, with the peradventure of gaining something, and having nothing to lose, are more given to change than improvement.

Their proverbial tendency to scepticism, owing in part to their dealing exclusively with cause and effect in the material world, their opportunities of frequent intercourse with each other, and the reckless and revolutionary spirit engendered by infidelity, render them sometimes dangerous men to the republic. It is then highly important, that special attention should be given to their intellectual and moral cultivation. Much has already been accomplished. The progress of temperance, of religion, of the knowledge imparted by lyceums, and of social culture, has done more within a few years to redeem them from the blighting influence of infidelity, and to elevate them in the scale of respectability and usefulness, than any other citizens. It is also desirable that all artizans should become owners of the houses they occupy, or that they should hold some stock in banks, rail roads, manufactories, or other corporate or public institutions,—as with industry and prudence they may,—that they may have an interest at stake at the polls, and be saved from that unhappy jealousy of monopolies, upon which demagogues so successfully operate.

Although farmers and artizans do not ordinarily accumulate so large fortunes as some other callings occasionally afford, yet their average wealth surpasses that of all other classes; and when they are industrious and temperate, none are more safe, trustworthy, thrifty and independent. In these must ever be found the chief strength, wealth, protection and safety of the nation. Their industry, thrift, virtue, patriotism, intelligence and happiness, must hold a very prominent place in the deliberations of every wise statesman. As they must always comprise the majority of voters, if these do well, our republic is safe. Through all the rude storms and convulsions which threaten her youthful course, she will steadfastly hold on her way to permanent and exalted glory. No higher eulogium need be, nor can be, pronounced upon the farmers and mechanics of this commonwealth, than to announce the fact, that the character of the citizens of every state is known by the character of its magistrates, and of its legislatures in congress who represent them. We may well be proud of our state, as surely we ought to be grateful, when we consider

what men she has to elevate to her high offices, and the unequalled discrimination and wisdom of her elections.

But it is of the greatest moment that agriculturalists, artizans, and all other citizens, should understand how deeply and how certainly their own interests are involved in those of *merchants* and *manufacturers*. There are few men, to whom all classes and interests are more indebted than to these. To all the farmers in the land be it said, take away our commerce and manufactures, and soon will your farms and your produce sink to one fourth their present value;—to all the mechanics be it said, take these away, and soon three fourths of your employment and your property will be wanting;—to all christians be it said, take these away, and soon the work of enlightening the world must cease;—to all the friends of civilization be it said, take these away, and soon do we all begin to return to the savage state!

How unnatural and unhappy, then, are the jealousies so frequently indulged against those devoted to these interests. Although whatever cause injures them, ultimately injures all other classes, yet the evil does not so soon overtake the latter as the former; and frequently it mocks them with some apparent temporary advantage. Hence many are deluded into the belief, that when they vote to the injury of our merchants and manufacturers, they do themselves a corresponding benefit.

But selfishness is ever short sighted. When farmers begin to see their property depreciating, and the fruits of their labor wasting upon their hands, for want of a market; when thousands of mechanics are deprived of business, and compelled to dismiss their men in service; when hundreds of thousands of laborers are deprived of employment, and their children are crying in vain for bread,—then indeed do they begin to see, that whatever cause disturbs the free and prosperous operations of mercantile and manufacturing business, brings ultimate evil upon the whole community. The disastrous wave, first felt in the large cities and sources of enterprise, rolls forth upon the land; nor does it cease to move onward, till the remotest inhabitants have felt its unhappy impulse.

It is, then, of the last importance, that all classes of citizens should take large and correct views of their duty to the republic, as it respects the elevation of the wisest and most faithful men to office. The highest authority has said, "*Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child!*" This may have had a primary application to a monarchical and hereditary government. But in one respect its application to a republic is more severe, inasmuch as it implies not only calamity, but also obliquity on the part of the people, as well of their rulers. In a hereditary government, the people have no voice in constituting their magistrates. The evils which they suffer from them are unavoidable. Not so in a republic. Here all the magistrates, from the highest to the lowest, are raised to power by the free consent of the people; and moreover, as their destination returns periodically, and at short intervals, into the hands of those who first elected them, they will not often depart knowingly from the expressed will of their constituents. Hence whatever evils result to republican citizens from bad legislation, are but a righteous retribution for their abuse of that sacred trust—the elective franchise.

Experience however often comes too late. Nor is there any method of anticipating and averting the calamities of bad legislation, but by convincing all men, that what is for the interest of any one class or section of the nation, is for the interest of all, and that what is for the good of the city, is for the good of the country,—so that if any member of the social system suffers, all the members must at length suffer with it. I hold this to be a cardinal truth in every sound republic,—one of the most vital of truths to the common welfare of this great nation. The man who will do most to give it admission to all the understandings, and to impress it in living characters upon all the hearts of his fellow citizens, will well deserve a place among the greatest of benefactors.

And who are the men, next to the most profound and experienced statesmen, first to know assuredly whether legislation is right or wrong? Are they not those whose eyes and hands are actually upon the great springs and wheels, which move the enterprise of the nation? Such are the men, who have the

direction of our commercial and manufacturing operations. When *they* begin to see the signs of untoward causes in the doings of government, then let all citizens be assured that evil is approaching, and as they love their country and themselves hasten to avert it, by a prompt and united action at the polls.

And as to monopolies of business and wealth, what of them? When in the absence of all laws perpetuating property, in the enervating tendencies of large inheritance upon posterity, in the increase of heirs, in the ample opportunities for gain afforded in common to all, and in the overturnings of providence, the most huge masses of wealth ever rolled up in this country are melted away and dispersed in a thousand directions within two or three generations; when the sons of the poorest frequently purchase, from under the hammer, the costly dwellings and furniture procured by the sons of the richest, and at almost every second or third generation they become alternate masters and servants to each other; when the largest investments in stock and trade are continually changing hands, and are equally at the refusal of all our citizens,—the cry of monopolies is the most unmeaning sound, with which envious indolence and disappointed ambition, in the haggard forms of poltroons and demagogues, ever deceived a people.

There *are* no monopolies, there *can* be none, in this republic. If the speaker believed there were, he would be among the first to condemn them. His entire sympathies are with the people at large; and had he any influence in public, it should always be employed to defend their common rights. But the truth is, we have no men of mammoth size and power, nor can we ever have, as they have in some of the hereditary governments of the Old World, who live by devouring the poor. The blessed genius of our institutions forbids it. On the contrary, our rich men are necessarily, from the nature of our government, public benefactors. The more we have of them, the greater are our means of carrying forward important public operations, of making internal improvements, of enhancing the property of other men, of promoting education, of giving employment to the

idle and bread to the hungry, [of imparting enterprise and prosperity to the nation.*

Among the greatest of evils in legislation, are those of *innovations and experiments*. The last place where an experiment should be made, is at the head of a state or nation. Experiments should always be made upon the smallest possible scale, that the risk may be as small as possible. Legislation should never be an experiment, but the *result* of all experiments from the beginning of time. It should always follow, never precede experience. Scarcely a greater evil can afflict a nation, than that of dashing and capricious politicians, in whom ignorance of the past, recklessness of the future, idolatry of self, and the obstinate blindness that cannot see afar off, are the prevailing characteristics. Every movement in our national and state legislation, should be the result of the *perceived wants* of the people; should be, as far as possible, the dictate of long and sure experience; should be deliberate, gentle, far-reaching; that the grand desideratum may be secured—PERMANENCY.

All the great and complex affairs of business throughout the nation, must accommodate themselves to its public legislation; and it is the work of years for a change, commenced with legislation, to make its way through all the classes and interests of society, so that harmonious and prosperous action may be restored. A disturbance begun in the social system must, like a disease in the human body, run its course, and in its course produce immense suffering and loss. Every great change in

*For the truth of these remarks, the author begs leave to refer the reader to the argument of Mr. Webster, in his "Second Speech on the Sub-Treasury Bill," wherein, by an extensive induction of facts, and a course of expansive, liberal, dispassioned and invincible state logic, he expounds the happy peculiarities of our political system, as distinguished from those of hereditary governments; and demonstrates, that instead of having any thing to fear from monopolies of business and wealth, all citizens, who are true to their own welfare, will sustain the great interests of commerce, trade and manufactures;—and that the men who do most business and procure most wealth by an honest pursuit of these and other callings, are doing most, other things equal, to promote the industry, prosperity, wealth and independence of all classes.

legislation unavoidably produces great derangement and waste, weakens the power of government, destroys confidence, defeats all rational calculations, and throws property out of the hands of honest prospective industry into the hands of idle speculators, or fortunate capitalists. If there can be any thing approaching dangerous monopolies in our country, they are produced in this way, by destroying motives to steady industry and offering premiums to idleness and speculation.

It is a war upon nature. It is as if the sun should sometimes of a sudden descend from his throne in the tropics, and wander for a season about the poles;—it is as if the the storms and frosts of winter should come up in a night, and beat upon the green fields of June;—it is as if the bright stars of heaven, which have for ages guided faithful mariners safely over the dark ocean, should surprise them all by a new direction to ruin. In short, it is as if all the human forethought and effort, which through the constant course of nature has hitherto tended to produce prosperity and happiness, should through a strange caprice of nature's laws produce only disaster and misery. If the rivers of our country, instead of flowing uniformly in the same channels, should entirely change their place and direction every two or three years, what calamities would befall our commercial, manufacturing, agricultural, domestic and social interests! Scarcely less evil are the changes which affect the nation, produced by inconsiderate and rash movements in its halls of legislation. It is the wisdom of the Creator to make the laws of nature *uniform*, that men may know what to depend upon. Not less should it be the wisdom of civil rulers, for the same reason, to render uniform the laws of a nation.

Our enterprising citizens can accommodate themselves to almost any laws, provided those laws are permanent. Like the prudent and industrious bees which so well represent them, they can labor to effect in hives of every shape; but where the hives are continually broken up, as soon as their busy inhabitants have put them in order and begun to form the comb, no forethought nor labor can ever accumulate much honey.

Look now at the immense sums invested in out-lays,—in manufactories, commerce, domestic trade, bank-stocks, large

operations for the general welfare; invested by men of small means, as well of large—by widows, orphans, teachers, hard laboring artizans—all staked on the faith of government, on the *permanency* of its policy and laws;—then calculate the millions that have been recently sacrificed at the shrine of experiment and innovation.

If then we are to be subject to such changes in the proceedings of government for years to come, as have been experienced for a few years past, the result will be a general disgust at republican institutions. Confidence will fail, property will diminish and lose its value, patriotism will die, contention and revolution will prevail, till all men will exclaim,—Give us despotism, give us the laws of the Medes and Persians, rather than this.

But we hope better things. A brighter prospect dawns. There remains a sound and healthy sentiment in the land;—the great body of American citizens wish to be governed in the best manner, if they can know what that is. Give them that knowledge on this subject, which they are now fast receiving, and the sun and stars and rivers of the nation will resume and hold their proper places;—affairs will come into a natural and undisturbed course; the wisdom of experience will ascend the throne; the brief and troubled night of sophisters and experimenters will pass away; order and stability will be hailed with acclaim by the concurring voices of the people, and through long and prosperous ages will dignify and bless our institutions.

In the earlier periods of a republic, a vulgar prejudice is liable to prevail among the people towards men in *public service*, and those devoted to the *learned professions*. This opens a way for ignorant pretenders to practice their impositions. A sentiment is fostered among the people, that the men of this class are lording it over their fellow citizens, living at ease and growing rich at their expense;—the people are taught to believe that to oppose and oppress them, is to promote their own interests;—and finally the opinion prevails, that if such a class of men we must needs have, it is the truest republicanism

to have the rudest, the cheapest, the most ignorant and vulgar, that can be induced to compose it.

No sentiment is more false and pernicious; none more debasing to a people, or disgraceful to a republic. If any of our citizens deserve to be called working men and public benefactors, those who faithfully sustain the civil offices and the learned professions of the land, are surely of the number. Most people have no adequate conception of the severity of their labors, or the value of their services. None work harder, and few so cheap. How seldom is the labor of intellect duly understood and appreciated! How little is known, by most men, of the toil and sacrifice demanded of those who are called to sustain our institutions and to feed the people with knowledge. If the people are true to their own interests, they will ever cherish towards them the liveliest and most affectionate sympathy; they will hold forth to them the highest motives to excel in their callings;—it will be their ambition that the choicest talent, learning and character may enable those, who hold these important positions in society, to exert the most powerful and happy influence upon their individual and social welfare. Few earthly affections are stronger or more sacred, than those which ought to exist between republican citizens and the men who sustain to them the relations of faithful magistrates and protectors, physicians, pastors, and teachers. Guardians of their individual and social rights, of their health and life, of their morals and religion, of the education of their children, they should deserve and receive their highest love and esteem. All that the people give to them of their sympathy and support, will return into their own bosom an hundred fold. Whenever the people withhold these encouragements to public worth, republicanism degenerates to vandalism; whatever elevates, adorns and blesses society, passes away,—and the whole community sinks by degrees into ignorance, poverty, low vice and remediless contempt.

Let us then be very jealous for the talent, the intelligence, the high character of our guardians and teachers. A wakeful discriminating vigilance having secured only the worthy to these responsible trusts, let our warmest esteem and most

cheerful patronage then encourage them to do their best. “Woo to the country,” says the great statesman whom I have before quoted, “which would madly and impiously reject the service of the talents and virtues, civil, military, or religious, that are given to grace and serve it; and would condemn to obscurity any thing formed to diffuse lustre and glory around a state. Woo to that country too, that passing into the opposite extreme, considers a low education, a mean contracted view of things, a sordid, mercenary occupation, as a profitable title to command. Every thing ought to be open, but not indifferent to every man.” The same wisdom adds, “I do not hesitate to say, that the road to eminence and power from obscure condition, ought not to be made too easy, nor a thing too much of course. If rare merit be the rarest of all rare things, it ought to pass through some sort of probation. The temple of honor ought to be seated on an eminence. If it be opened through virtue, let it be remembered too, that virtue is never tried but by some difficulty and some struggle.”

As our republic advances, a generous encouragement should be extended to the *fine arts*. Painting, sculpture, music, architecture, horticulture—all those arts which cultivate and delight the eye or the ear, develope and set forth the beauties of nature, improve the human capacity for enjoyment, and place man at a distance from the savage state—are worthy of the attention of every philanthropist. As our nation grows in numbers and resources, they will be found important means of expending the superfluous wealth that would otherwise promote dissipation, of alluring the people from the gross pleasures of vice, of extending through the community an elevated and christian standard of taste and amusement:—they will tend to soften down savage asperities, to prevent or allay the wild storms of excited passion, to check the growing tendencies to insubordination, and to render all classes of citizens more humane, contented, peaceful and happy.

It is not when the well taught eye is gazing upon the sweet touches of the pencil, nor when the soul feels the charm-

ing inspiration of the breathing canvass ; it is not when the sculptured marble, with its solemn and subduing power, is holding our hearts in communion with the talent, learning and patriotism of other ages, or of our own honored ancestors ; it is not when the ear is drinking in the rich melodies and the exquisite harmonies of music, as the spirit chimes to the notes of tender affection, or plaintive sorrow, or bursting joy, sung by voices that have learned to echo the language of heaven ; it is not when the proud monuments of architectural beauty and grandeur are looking down upon us, awing us into reverence and filling us with grateful admiration of the native genius, the high wrought skill, the persevering industry, which they reveal to the honor of humanity ; it is not, O it is not when the manifold and splendid operations and gifts of nature are saluting every sense and delighting every perception of man, as he expatiates amidst the rich and fragrant plants and banks of smiling flowers, the luxuriant and sweet groves, the blushing fruits, and all the nameless charms of a recovered paradise,—*that he feels and acts the savage*. No. It is then that he realizes the blessings of government, civilization, cultivation, refinement ;—it is then that he sees other and better ways to employ his energies, gratify his ambition and find his happiness, than in fomenting discords, heading factions, exciting riots, laying a ruthless hand upon our civil institutions and destroying whatever exalts and refines our nature. Among the rioters and the disturbers of society, seldom do we find the men devoted to the fine arts ; nor even those sufficiently cultivated to appreciate and enjoy them.

But it is only as protected by a pure public taste and under control of a strict virtuous sentiment, that the fine arts are thus beneficial. If they may serve to elevate men from the savage state, they may also serve, when perverted, to plunge them into the no less deplorable state of effeminacy and debauchery. If they are patronised and prosecuted only by the indolent, the pleasure-loving, the vicious, they will be as effectual for evil, as in other hands they may be for good. The prostituted canvass will breathe but to pollute ; the marble will speak but to awaken impure imaginations ; the charming pastimes of

music will be seasoned with sentiments suited to gratify a vitiated mind ; monuments of architectural skill and beauty will be with us, as with some in the Old World, defaced with shameful objects and associations ; and even the sweet groves and beauties of nature will become scenes of guilty licentiousness !

To prevent this perversion, as well as to realize the full benefit of the fine arts, our most virtuous and influential citizens must cultivate and encourage a taste for them. As our country grows older and increases in wealth and luxuries, they will certainly be patronised and extended ; they will exert a powerful influence upon the people. Then let them not be relinquished to evil hands. Let *good* men have them under their control,—let them form the public taste, and decide upon the character of the entertainments that shall be served up for themselves, for their children, and for the people at large.

Galleries of the most finished painting and statuary, furnished by public or private munificence, should be opened in our principal cities and places of concourse, and brought within the means of all classes. In these the great and the good of other ages and countries, the heroes of our revolution and fathers of our nation, illustrious scholars, artists, poets, divines, statesmen and benefactors, should speak to the hearts of our citizens, and inspire our children with a generous and ennobling enthusiasm. These are among the causes which attach us to our homes, our families, our common country ; which make us emulous to excel in those virtues, which most elevate and adorn humanity.

Music should be taught, as an essential branch, in all our schools and universities ; the songs of Zion should ascend to heaven, with sweet and impressive melody, in all our temples of worship ; the choicest concerts should occasionally be served for every citizen, who can be induced to believe that they afford a more rational and true enjoyment than sensual indulgences. Few causes would contribute with more happy effect, to melt the hearts of the various members of the social system into each other.

The man understood human nature who said, " Let me compose the ballads of a nation, and teach the people to sing them,

and I will vouch for their union and patriotism." As "the evil spirit departed from Saul" when the influence of "the skilful player" was upon him, so the evil spirit of envy, jealousy, insubordination, anarchy and strife, would find a potent antagonist in the prevailing power of heavenly melody and patriotic song. The Hebrew minstrels well understood this; and "the sweet singer of Israel" accomplished more by his harp than by his sceptre.

A classic, chaste, impressive architecture should honor our public buildings, enter extensively into our private dwellings, and inspire a deep and universal passion for severe beauty and simple grandeur in the works of art. This would create a public sentiment, that would ensure a more effectual protection to our edifices from the ruffian hands of rioters, than could be secured without it by all the civil codes and penalties ever enacted. Every tongue would cry out against those who should rudely attempt to injure them. All hands would be lifted for their protection.

Every city and place of concourse should have, within or near it, extensive and richly furnished gardens, open to all classes gratuitously, or at an expense which all can afford.* They should be public in such a sense, that all our citizens may feel a common pride and pleasure in them. A taste for horticulture, extensively cultivated, would greatly contribute to the health, virtue, refinement, contentment and happiness of the people. No earthly taste is purer, no pleasures are more rational and refined, than those afforded by cultivated nature, especially to the mind that is inspired and sanctified with vir-

*It is understood that measures are now in progress for an extensive garden in the City of Boston, at the foot of the Common. Every Bostonian will rejoice in the prospect of so valuable an acquisition to the many beauties and attractions of his beloved City. If any thing can possibly be wanting to complete the charm of the Common, and to render Boston a delightful summer residence, it may be realized in the anticipated garden. Extending over a large space, and commanding a perfect view of the whole Common; so situated as to receive the breezes and freight them with its sweet odors, as they are wafted through it over the public walks and pleasure grounds, and discharged by numerous avenues into the very heart of the City; being also in a place of easy and pleasant access from every direction,—nothing is wanting but that cultivation which Boston knows how to bestow, to render it a great ornament to the City, and a most valuable contribution to the health, taste, recreation and happiness of its inhabitants.

tuous and pious sentiment. It was no less than a divine hand that first planted a garden. The history of the origin and first fruits of horticulture, and of the use to which it was applied, is in the following words, "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food. And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it." It hence appears to have been the original design of a garden, that it should be made to yield all the productions of nature which delight the eye and which nourish and refresh the body; and that it should be a very appropriate employment of man upon earth, to cultivate and enjoy it.

The most important object to be gained by public gardens, and by the various exhibitions of the fine arts, is the creation of a prevailing and true taste for them, which shall lead people to cultivate and enjoy them, in a private and domestic way, at home. They may thus be made directly to subserve the domestic welfare of every family, by making home attractive, and thereby securing its members, from straying in pursuit of vicious indulgences, to those recreations which cultivate the mind and improve the heart.

Then they also afford a common pleasure to all classes, and thus promote a common sympathy between the rich and the poor. Gentlemen of wealth who own fine gardens, can scarcely confer a greater public benefit than to throw them open occasionally to all their fellow citizens. When people have become accustomed to these privileges, and have learned to appreciate the beautiful and the rare, such gardens will seldom be injured. It is often and truly remarked, that the unenvious poor, who have a well formed taste, can enjoy many of the fine things of the rich better than their owners can; for they have the most important part of the pleasure, without the attending care and anxiety. Hence the fine arts are highly republican. Our more prosperous citizens who construct elegant edifices, cultivate gardens, patronise music, painting and statuary, are public benefactors, not only because they furnish *employment* to others, but be-

cause they put their property in a condition for others to *enjoy*, as well as themselves. How much more generous than to hide it in a napkin, or deposit it in a dark vault! And how wisely benovolent is that providence, which has rendered it necessary for the man who would derive the most pleasure from his possessions, to employ them in some way which contributes to the welfare of his fellow beings.

It was to be expected in the earliest infancy of our republic, when to subdue the forest, provide for the absolute necessities of life, and protect ourselves from invasion, was enough to engross all our energies, that the higher pursuits of literature and science would be neglected. But we have passed that period, and these noble pursuits should now claim a more particular attention. Let the histories of other ages and nations instruct us. What was it that placed Egypt, Syria, Greece and Rome, so high in greatness and influence over all the world, while so many nations, great, populous, warlike, flushed in their brief day with numerous and mighty conquests, passed immediately away to oblivion? Among the most important causes, were the pursuits of learning, instigated originally by the religion from heaven, firing them with a noble enthusiasm, and affording them the means of becoming distinguished and powerful. These were the causes which produced in them the wisdom to plan, the knowledge to legislate, the eloquence to thunder, the poetry to sing, the patriotism to sacrifice, and the heroism to defend and conquer, for their protection and glory. Through these more than any other human causes, those nations were enabled to stand fast in strength and greatness during long periods of change and overthrow, like rock-bound islands in the ocean, while the rude nations and tribes around them, like the inconstant waves, were swelling upward and dashing down again in constant and rapid succession.

The nations which gave birth to Moses, Manetho and the Ptolemies; to David, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Habakkuk; to Homer, Pythagoras, Demosthenes and Plato; to Virgil, Horace, Cicero and Caesar—will be remembered and honored through all the ages and revolutions of time. Had the religion

which gave the original impulse to the intellect of those nations, been by them known and retained in its purity, they might have remained till this day. Their proximity to savage tribes would have exposed them to invasions, but they would have possessed wisdom and valor to resist it. If we may credit history, their ruin commenced with themselves. Corrupt religion and vice produced and reproduced each other; these at length occasioned a fatal prostration of intellect. Enervation, effeminacy, loss of valor, the pleasures of sensuality, gradually prepared them to fall a prey to their more powerful invaders. For it is only as rendered mighty by the superior energies of mind, present and active in the living generation, that a civilized nation can stand up firmly against the everlasting assaults of envious and ruthless barbarians upon their borders.

The cultivation of intellect and the treasures of learning passed away to other nations. Switzerland, France, Spain and Germany received the precious inheritance;—Britain subsequently partook of the same, and more than all others improved upon it. Britain! Her whole firmament is bespangled with stars! What constellations of brilliant minds adorn her sky! No intellect surpasses British intellect; whether we consider the accuracy and compass of its science, the depth of its philosophy, the soundness of its logic, the fascination and power of its eloquence, or the raciness, richness and variety of its poetry. The language in which the transcendant Bacon and Newton made their great discoveries, and opened a way into new worlds; in which Locke thought and Butler reasoned; in which Larned and Paley studied and taught, and Hall preached; in which Chatham electrified and swayed by his eloquence, and Burke rose highest of all mortals in majesty, splendor and power of intellect;—in which Dryden, Pope, Shakspeare, Milton, Cowper and Scott breathed out their burning spirits upon the world—we may well be proud to claim as our mother tongue.*

*These are samples of British intellect, in some of the principal departments of learning. No other man, probably, has done honor to so many of them as Edmund Burke, the illustrious scholar and statesman, to whom I have so freely referred. His mind entered a great variety of departments, and excelled in them all. An-

Great in age, ancestry, commerce, intellect and renown, though small in territory, Britain holds ascendancy over all other nations of the Old World; but take away her treasured knowledge and her pride of ancestral learning and dignity; strike from her language the literature and science garnered up in it; blot from her sky all the bright orbs which have risen in it since Alfred the first of them rose; give her the stunted and feeble powers of dark, uncultivated mind; place her in all these respects in a condition not inferior to that of Russia—and a single frown of the great autocrat might annihilate her in

cient and Modern Languages, Mathematics, Philosophy, English Literature, Criticism, History, Jurisprudence—received from him their highest honors. The depth of his study and astonishing variety of his acquirements, every where appear in his state papers, as well as in his literary productions. Even his most severe and profound arguments are embellished with the beauties of a finished taste, and illustrated with the richest collection of study and history. Frequently, after conducting you with great precision of thought through a long course of cautious, close, logical demonstration, he comes suddenly forth with a bold and mighty rhetorical stroke, as of forked lightning from the clouds; or bursts upon you in splendid flashes of genius, like scintillations struck from the sun. At another time, like the skyrocket, he soars directly into the heavens with terrific grandeur, and having awed you into reverence, turns quietly and comes down upon you, like the showers of fire-drops, gentle, liquid, variegated with every hue of beauty; and at last disappearing with a calm, subdued, but brilliant lustre, which leaves in you an emotion of exquisite delight in the performance, mingled with regrets that it is so soon over.

As an example of the former, take the conclusion of his speech in the trial of Warren Hastings, governor-general of Bengal. At the close of his labored and powerful argument, attended with some severe sarcasm, he gives the finishing stroke with these words. “My lords, it is not the criminality of the prisoner, it is not the claims of the commons, to demand judgment to be passed upon him, it is not the honor and dignity of this court, and the welfare of millions of the human race, that alone call upon you. When the devouring flames shall have destroyed this perishable globe, and it sinks into the abyss of Nature, from whence it was commanded into existence by the Great Author of it; then, my lords, when all nature, kings, and judges themselves, must answer for their actions, there will be found what supersedes creation itself, namely, **ETERNAL JUSTICE!** This was the attribute of the great **GOD OF NATURE** before worlds were; it will reside with him when they perish; and the earthly portion of it committed to your care, is now solemnly deposited in your hands by the commons of England. I have done.”

As a specimen of the latter, take the oft-cited apostrophy upon the ill-fated queen of France. Depicting the horrors of anarchy and revolution, as illustrated in the destruction of the royal family, and the bloody massacres that followed, he mentions the

a day. But it is right to presume that Britain will never lose her national existence. Her government will gradually assume a more popular form; her financial condition may be revolutionized; but the greatness of her intellectual power, the sound learning and the pure religion wrought for ages into her character and institutions, are, in the present improved state of the world, pledges that her national existence and glory will last till the end of time.

following, among other facts, showing that the "sufferings of monarchs make a delicious repast to some sort of palates." "History will record, that on the morning of the 6th of October, 1789, the king and queen of France, after a day of confusion, alarm, dismay and slaughter, lay down, under the pledged security of public faith, to indulge nature in a few hours of respite, and troubled melancholy repose. From this sleep the queen was first startled by the voice of the sentinel at her door, who cried out to her to save herself by flight—that this was the last proof of fidelity he could give—that they were upon him, and he was dead. Instantly he was cut down. A band of cruel ruffians and assassins, reeking with his blood, rushed into the chamber of the queen, and pierced with a hundred strokes of bayonets and poniards the bed, from whence this persecuted woman had but just time to fly almost naked, and through ways unknown to the murderers had escaped to seek refuge at the feet of a king and husband, not secure of his own life for a moment.

This king, to say no more of him, and this queen, and their infant children (who once would have been the pride and hope of a great and generous people) were then forced to abandon the sanctuary of the most splendid palace in the world, which they left swimming in blood, polluted by massacre, and strewed with scattered limbs and mutilated carcasses. Thence they were conducted into the capital of their kingdom. Two had been selected from the unprovoked, unresisted, promiscuous slaughter, which was made of the gentleman of birth and family who composed the king's body guard. These two gentlemen, with all the parade of an execution of justice, were cruelly and publicly dragged to the block, and beheaded in the great court of the palace. Their heads were stuck upon spears, and led the procession; whilst the royal captives who followed in the train were slowly moved along, amid the horrid yells, and thrilling screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abominations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women. After they had been made to taste, drop by drop, more than the bitterness of death, in the slow torture of a journey of twelve miles, protracted to six hours, they were, under a guard, composed of those very soldiers who had thus conducted them through this famous triumph, lodged in one of the old palaces of Paris, now converted into a Bastille for kings." He then soon after proceeds to say, "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began

So much for our ancestry. Consider too our opportunities. A healthful invigorating climate, various and magnificent scenery, free institutions, easy and abundant means of support, unite with illustrious descent and a rich inheritance of knowledge, to favor the cause of learning in our nation. Never did the sun shine on a race more privileged for intellectual pursuits. Let other nations then boast of the triumphs of aggressive wars, and exult in the garlands of victory; be ours a nobler honor and a purer joy.

That we have accomplished something, even foreign jealousy is compelled to admit. Already have we an honorable roll of names, of the dead and the living, that will be known and cherished as ornaments of our nation's intellect, so long as

to move in,—glittering like the morning star; full of life, and splendor, and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what an heart must I have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone: that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never, never more, shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.

All the pleasing illusions, which made power gentle, and obedience liberal, which harmonized the different shades of life, and which, by a bland assimilation, incorporated into politics the sentiments which beautify and soften private society, are to be dissolved by this new conquering empire of light and reason."

Had France been at that age favored with a few Burkes, she might have saved the blood of her Revolution, and have been now fifty years in advance of where she is. These facts evince the value of eminent learning and virtuous talent to the state, and the desirableness of combining them in public men, as far as practicable, as well as in professional teachers. As literature and science can ever exert a very powerful influence over nations, especially in popular governments, it is true republican policy to encourage them in the highest degree, guard them against perversion, and consecrate them to the public safety and welfare.

nations shall exist. But it is not to be concealed that distinguished intellectual attainments have failed to receive that measure of consideration and patronage, which a more enlightened and patriotic public sentiment would dictate. Ambition has with us hitherto been too much given to another object. The community has been pushing and scrambling with all its might for money ;—the tug of business and bustle of speculation, have left by far too little regard for the superior attainments of mind. Wealth thus sought and thus idolized, will open a short and sure way through enervation and profligacy to ruin. When knowledge comes to be prized by the community only inasmuch as it directly contributes to wealth, and wealth is prized only because it gratifies avarice, or gives reputation and means of indulgence, destruction for a long time lingereth not.

We must afford sufficient inducements to the ablest and best furnished minds, to engage in the work of teaching and diffusing knowledge ;—we must also extend a cheering patronage to original talent, native genius, and large literary acquirements. We need a greater proportion of profound thinkers and extensive scholars. If men are encouraged only to beat and divide the gold, who will mine and work the precious metal? Our nation's knowledge will be extended, but not increased; or, to change the figure, our intellectual fountains will be enlarged and their streams multiplied, but they will also become diluted, stale and powerless. As a consequence of this, the country will be gradually overrun with a class of teachers and declaimers, who will make the people any thing but better and wiser. Respect for the higher cultivation of mind, homage to exalted greatness and goodness, deference to the collected genius and industry of past ages,—ordained by heaven as essential means of refining, enobling and identifying the character of a nation, —will at length give place to the prevalence of that vulgar and arrogant sentiment, which induces every man to despise all knowledge superior to his own.

Woe to the republic, that is in such a case! All that renders “power gentle and obedience liberal,” that makes men slow to command and quick to obey, is departing from it.

Conceit, arrogance, vanity and presumption, having displaced the conservative virtues of modesty, reverence, respectfulness and prudence, the only cords which bind a free people to law and order are completely sundered, and all is at the mercy of the first and most daring pretenders. At length, availing themselves of the lower passions and more turbulent principles of our nature, upstart insolence, head strong ignorance, intolerant and exulting littleness, encouraged and shouted by the many, assume the reins and drive madly on to destruction!

It has been frequently remarked, that excepting men of ambitious designs, whose heads are better than their hearts, and excepting constitutional monomaniacs, the most ruthless and dangerous radicals are usually men of a partial and superficial education.

If then we would save society from their dangerous power and secure stability to our institutions, sound and thorough philosophy must have with us her calm and solemn shrines, well studied science must put forth her pure lights in our sky, literature must open her richest and most sparkling fountains, and a deep and fixed sentiment of respect towards them, must be universally encouraged. If anarchy ever desolates our land, it will be most rife where these are most wanting. There, if any where, will be furnished the rulers to nullify and overthrow; there, will be raised up and sustained the disorganising teachers and declaimers, to mislead the people and foment disorders; there, will be born and nourished the degenerate sons and daughters, who would not shun to destroy all these sacred monuments of the piety, study, wisdom, valor and blood of the noblest and best of fathers.

But we are persuaded better things of our country. The spirit that dwelt in the fathers, will not utterly forsake the sons. In the progress of innovations and reforms, it will be severely tried; individuals and sections of our country, it will at times seem to have utterly forsaken; but it will be overruled by others. An enlightened christian community will be convinced at length, that there are surer and better ways of removing all evils and promoting all good reforms, than of disturbing the order of society and subverting our civil and religious institutions. A sound

prevailing sentiment will compel our young men in a course of training for public service, to go through and complete their preparation, instead of turning aside, with minds half disciplined and half furnished, to become teachers and reformers. Taught by the wisdom of experience, the people will refuse to be led by minds which, from lack of study or from constitutional infirmity, have never learned to entertain but "one idea." Ignorant pretensions, noisy excitements, furious and disorganizing agitations, will then every where give place to faithful discipline, thorough study, calm and sober thought, consistent piety, and "patient continuance in well doing."

On this day, consecrated to liberty and philanthropy, without forgetting the virtues of other states,—not with sentiments of arrogance, but of devout gratitude,—may we in this connexion make honorable mention of the long and faithful devotion of this Commonwealth, to the principles we have humbly attempted to advocate. The land on which the pilgrims first planted their weary feet, which witnessed their first tears and vows, which drank the first blood spilt in the cause of liberty, has not failed to produce sons worthy of the soil. This venerable state and her illustrious metropolis, have only to direct the eyes of the nation and of the world to their civil and domestic institutions, to their temples of devout worship, to their public free schools, to their halls of higher learning; to their distinguished scholars, able teachers, and men of tried fidelity in the learned professions; and to the fruit of all,—their enlightened, steadfast, enterprising, patriotic, virtuous and pious yeomanry. To these may they add, as their crowning ornament, their presidents and representatives in Congress, and their state and municipal magistrates, whose elevation to office by such a people, and whose unsurpassed devotion to the public welfare, are their sufficient eulogy. Those of them who have rested from their labors, have already dwelt upon the lips of burning eloquence, and been written with the point of a diamond upon the immortal page;—of others, though excelled by none of their predecessors, yet the praise must be uttered at another time. May that time be far distant!

Last to be mentioned, but not least in importance, among

the means of the perpetuity and prosperity of our republic, the better half of human creation must well sustain their better part of influence and honor. I say the better, for who will doubt that such is the part so purely intellectual, domestic, moral and religious, which Providence has assigned to the female sex. Some of the modern attempts to thrust them out of their own sphere, with a mistaken view to their greater elevation, are but the extravagant movements of a few eccentric minds, in the midst of a correct and growing sentiment favorable to their highest cultivation and influence. The subject is extensive and interesting, but our time has more than expired. Suffice it then, that all the intellectual and moral culture which gives energy, dignity, beauty and power to the human mind, should be as faithfully imparted to our daughters as to our sons, while also the peculiar virtues of their sex, and the qualifications for their appropriate sphere, should be neither impaired nor neglected.

Daughters of America! No earthly power nor privilege exceeds yours. It is yours, mainly, to inspire the first sentiments and form the habits of the rising generations; it is yours to impart to these millions of families the "only bliss that has survived the fall;"—yours it is, by the resistless power of highly cultivated and well furnished minds, moulded to pure and chastened but devoted and active piety, and shining with the peculiar and fascinating graces of your sex, to perform an eminent service in exalting this great republic to sit as a queen in robes of purity and light, to be for the admiration, delight and example of the whole world.

I have spoken only of our internal dangers, impressed with the belief that if our nation ever falls, she will fall like Rome, by enemies within rather than without. Walled in on either side, by vast oceans, from the powerful empires of the Old World; having upon her borders only dependent provinces and feeble states, whose policy it must ever be to seek her protection; she has almost nothing to fear, but from her own sons and daughters. If these shall prove true to their birthright,

nothing but the blast of the archangel's trump and the power of that arm which reared the universe, will consign her to the common sepulchre of nations.

Let the means which we have considered be faithfully employed, under the constant direction and impulse of that great truth which inspired the hearts of our fathers, that it is the design of the present world to prepare accountable beings for a higher and more perfect state,—that the nation which ministers most to this glorious design will be most honored, as the golden ages advance,—and what will be wanting to render us the most favored people, over which heaven's bright canopy was ever spread? Men of upright, patriotic, enlarged and liberal minds will be exalted to power; men who will stand firmly upon the constitution of the United States, and be ever true to its spirit; men who will not oppress the people within, while they resist oppression from without; men who will extend a broad shield of protection and a generous, impartial and permanent encouragement to commerce, manufactories, agriculture, arts, learning and religion; men who, in the language of one who has so signally illustrated what I mean in his own person, will “act for the common defence, the common renown, the common glory, the common prosperity and happiness of ourselves and our children.”

The reverses and embarrassments, which have thrown such a night of gloom over the land, will give place to awakened enterprise and revived hope. Morning cometh! The brightness of its rising is already upon us. Even from places of deepest darkness, gleams of light begin to play along the horizon and stream up the gladdened sky. Soon will the sun burst forth with his full-orbed splendors, and all the people will walk at large and rejoice in his beams. Another note of gladness and thanksgiving, scarcely inferior to that which honors our emancipation from foreign bondage, will be sounded through the land; and ten thousand fresh chords of affection will bind all hearts more fast than ever to a free, righteous, permanent and happy government.

We have indulged in no romantic speculations. All that we have proposed can be done, and if done, all that we have prophesied of good will come to pass. Not more sure is the course of nature, than will be the progress of this republic to that throne of power and influence over the world, which will usher in the long expected jubilee to the nations. Yonder sun, though he has constantly walked the heavens and looked down upon all human events, from the birth of creation, will have never beheld a nation like unto this. Majestic, enduring, lofty, as her own granite mountains, which rise from their broad and deep foundations through mist and storm to salute the clear blue sky, will be her social structure; pure, sweet and abundant, as the crystal waters which gush from their sides, will be the virtues and the pleasures of her sons and daughters;—magnificent and bounteous, as the rivers that run through her mighty vallies and empty their treasures into the ocean, will be the blessings she will pour forth to all the nations of the globe, and to all the generations of coming time.