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The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor (1783)

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EZRA STILES

The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor (1783)

Ezra Stiles, D.D. (1727–95) came from a long line of congregational clergymen, the most notable of whom is his grandfather Edward Taylor, the Puritan poet and clergyman of Malden, Massachusetts. Born in North Haven, Connecticut, and graduating from Yale in 1746, Stiles briefly served as tutor at the college before embarking on a career in law (1753–56). Despite his requisite immersion in the law books of Matthew Hale and William Blackstone, he never lost his love of classical languages, church history, and theology. In 1755, Stiles received an invitation to supply the pulpit of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island, where he served as pastor until 1778. A lifelong friend of Benjamin Franklin with whom he corresponded on many issues, Stiles distinguished himself as a man of science and letters, received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Edinburgh (1765), was elected member of the American Philosophical Society (1768), and became first president of the Rhode Island abolitionist society (1790). He contributed significantly to the founding of Rhode Island College (Brown University), for which he wrote its first charter (1763), and served as president of Yale College from 1778–95.

As a scholar and teacher, Stiles wrote many sermons, tracts, histories, and scientific treatises—few of which were published during his lifetime. Among his most notable works are *The History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I* (1794), his posthumous *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (1916), in three volumes, and the large cache of manuscripts *The Papers of Ezra Stiles at Yale*, now available on microfilm. Stiles best-known work is his 1783 election sermon, *The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor* (courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society), which was delivered at Hartford, Connecticut, at the annual election of the governor, state representatives, and senators. True to the spirit of his Puritan ancestors, Stiles sounds a number of time-honored American themes newly adapted to the rising prospects

of the young United States of America. What was once a tribal Errand into the Wilderness of New England Stiles now translates into God's federal covenant with all citizens of the United States—no matter what their parochial creed or particular denomination: “The political welfare of God's American Israel” is “allusively prophetic of the future prosperity and splendour of the United States.” And in the persona of the Hebrew lawgiver surveying the Promised Land from Mount Pisgah, Stiles divines that “the States may prosper and flourish into a great American Republic; and ascend into high and distinguished honor among the nations of the earth.” If conversion, spiritual purity, and church discipline were of utmost importance to his Puritan forebears, post-revolutionary clergymen like Stiles are more concerned with freedom of religion for all, democratically elected governments, westward expansion, and scientific discoveries that promised the “inevitable perfectibility of man and of his political institutions begun in America.” Her “civil constitutions” conquer the impediments “which obstruct the progress of society towards perfection,” while spreading the seeds of liberty (like the grace of God) through the rest of the habitable world. This civil millennium about to begin in the young nation, however, does not belie Stiles' abiding belief in the fall of Antichrist, the conversion of the Jews, their return to the Holy Land, and the Second Coming of Christ at the end of a thousand-year period of unprecedented bliss just looming on the horizon.

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President STILES'S
ELECTION SERMON.

MDCCLXXXIII.

The UNITED STATES elevated to
Glory and Honor.

A

S E R M O N,

Preached before

His EXCELLENCY

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq. L.L.D.

Governor and Commander in Chief,

And the HONORABLE

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF

The State of CONNECTICUT,

Convened at Hartford,

At the

Anniversary ELECTION,

May 8th, 1783.

By EZRA STILES, D. D.

PRESIDENT OF YALE-COLLEGE

NEW - H A V E N :

Printed by THOMAS & SAMUEL GREEN.

M,DCC,LXXXIII.



AN ELECTION SERMON.



DEUT. xxvi. 19.

And to make thee high above all nations, which he hath made in praise, and in name, and in honor; and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God.

TAUGHT by the omniscient Deity, Moses foresaw and predicted the capital events relative to Israel, through the successive changes of depression and glory, until their final elevation to the first dignity and eminence among the empires of the world. These events have been so ordered as to become a display of *retribution* and *sovereignty*; for while the *good* and *evil*, hitherto felt by this people, have been dispensed in the way of exact national retribution, their ultimate glory and honor will be of the divine sovereignty, with a *not for your sakes, do I this, saith the Lord, be it known unto you--but for mine holy names sake.*

However it may be doubted, whether political Communities are rewarded and punished in this world only; and whether the prosperity and decline of other Empires have corresponded with their moral state, as to virtue and vice: yet the history of the hebrew theocracy shews, that the secular welfare of God's antient people depended upon their virtue, their religion, their observance of that holy covenant, which Israel entered

At a GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Governor and Company of the State of CONNECTICUT, holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, Anno Dom. 1783.

ORDERED, That ROGER SHERMAN, Esq; and Captain HENRY DAGGETT, return the Thanks of this Assembly, to the Reverend Doctor EZRA STILES, for his Sermon delivered before the Assembly, on the 8th instant; and desire a copy thereof, that it may be printed.

A true copy of Record,
Examined by
GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'ry.

into with God, on the plains at the foot of Nebo on the other side Jordan. Here Moses the man of God assembled three million of people, the number of the united states, recapitulated and gave them a second publication of the sacred jural institute, delivered thirty-eight years before, with the most awful solemnity at mount Sinai. A Law dictated with sovereign authority by the Most High to a people, a world, a universe, becomes of invincible force and obligation without any reference to the consent of the governed:—it is obligatory for three reasons, viz. its *original justice* and unerring equity, the *omnipotent Authority* by which it is enforced, and the sanctions of *rewards and punishments*. But in the case of Israel, he condescended to a mutual covenant; and by the hand of Moses lead his people to avouch the Lord Jehovah to be their God, and in the most public and explicit manner voluntarily to engage and covenant with God to keep and obey his Law. Thereupon this great prophet, whom God had raised up for so solemn a transaction, declared in the name of the Lord, that the Most High avouched, acknowledged and took them for a peculiar people to himself; promising to be their God and Protector, and upon their obedience, to make them prosperous and happy. Deut. xxix. 10 & 14. C. xxx. 9 & 19. He foresaw indeed their rejection of God, and predicted the judicial chastisement of apostacy; a chastisement involving the righteous with the wicked. But as well to comfort and support the righteous in every age and under every calamity, as to make his power known among all nations, God determined that a remnant should be saved. Whence Moses and the Prophets, by divine direction interspersed their writings with promises, that, when the ends of God's moral government should be answered in a series of national punishments, inflicted for a succession of ages, he would by his irresistible power and sovereign grace, subdue the hearts of his people to a free, willing, joyful obedience; *turn their captivity*;—recover and *gather them from all the nations wither the Lord had scattered them in his fierce an-*

ger—bring them into the land which their fathers possessed—and multiply them above their fathers—and rejoice over them for good, as he rejoiced over their fathers. Deut. xxx. 3. Then the words of Moses, hitherto accomplished but in part, will be literally fulfilled; when this branch of the posterity of Abraham shall be nationally collected, and become a very distinguished and glorious people, under the great Messiah the Prince of Peace. He will then *make them high above all nations which he hath made in praise, and in name, and in honor*, and they shall become *a key people unto the Lord their God*.

I shall enlarge no further upon the primary sense and Eternal accomplishment of this and numerous other prophecies respecting both Jews and Gentiles, in the latter day glory of the church. For I have assumed the text, only as introductory to a discourse upon the political welfare of God's American Israel; and as allusively prophetic of the future prosperity and splendor of the United States. We may then consider

I. What reason we have to expect that, by the blessing of God, these States may prosper and flourish into a great American Republic; and ascend into high and distinguished honor among the nations of the earth. *To make thee high above all nations, which he hath made in praise, and in name, and in honor.*

II. That our system of dominion and CIVIL POLITY would be imperfect, without the true RELIGION; or, that from the diffusion of virtue among the people of any community, would arise their greatest secular happiness: which will terminate in this conclusion, that Holiness ought to be the end of all civil government. *That thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God.*

I. The first of these propositions will divide itself into two branches, and lead us to shew,

I. Wherein consists the true political welfare and prosperity, and what the civil administration necessary for the ele-

vation and advancement, of a people to the highest secular glory.

2. The reasons rendering it probable that the United States will, by the ordering of heaven, eventually become this people. But I shall combine these together as I go along.

Dominion is founded in property; and resides where that is, whether in the hands of the few or many. The Dominion founded in the feudal tenure of estate, is suited to hold a conquered country in subjection, but is not adapted to the circumstances of free citizens. Large territorial property vested in individuals is pernicious to society. Civilians, in contemplating the principles of government, have judged superior and inferior partition of property necessary in order to preserve the subordination of society, and establish a permanent system of dominion. This makes the public defence the interest of a few landholders only.

A free tenure of lands, an equable distribution of property, enters into the foundation of a happy State: so far I mean, as that the body of the people may have it in their power, by industry, to become possessed of real freehold fee-simple estate. For connected with this will be a general spirit and principle of self-defence—defence of our *property, liberty, country*. This has been singularly verified in New-England; where we have realized the capital ideas of Harrington's Oceana.

But numerous *population*, as well as *industry*, is necessary towards giving value to land; to judiciously partitioned territory. The public weal requires the encouragement of both. A very inconsiderable value arose from the sparse thin settlement of the American aboriginals; of whom there are not fifty thousand souls on this side the Mississippi. The protestant Europeans have generally bought the native right of soil, as far as they have settled, and paid the value ten fold; and are daily increasing the value of the remaining Indian territory a thou-

sand fold; and in this manner we are a constant increasing revenue to the Sachems and original Lords of the Soil. How much must the value of lands, reserved to the natives of North and South-America, be increased to remaining Indians, by the inhabitation of two or three hundred millions of Europeans?

Heaven hath provided this country, not indeed *derelect*, but only *partially settled*, and consequently open, for the reception of a new enlargement of *Japhet*. Europe was settled by Japhet; America is settling from Europe: and perhaps this second enlargement bids fair to surpass the first: for we are to consider all the european settlements of America collectively as springing from, and transfused with the blood of Japhet. Already for ages has Europe arrived to a plenary, if not declining population of 100 millions: in two or three hundred years this second enlargement may cover America with three times that number, if the present ratio of increase continues with the enterprising spirit of Americans for colonization and removing out into the wilderness and settling new countries: and if Spain and Portugal should adopt that wise regulation respecting the connexion of the sexes, which would give a spring to population within the tropics, equal to that without. There may now be *three or four millions of Whites*, or Europeans, in North and South-America: of which one half are in rapid increase, and the rest scarcely keeping their number good without supplies from the parent states. The number of French, Spaniards, Dutch and Portuguese may be one million souls in all America; altho' they have transfused their blood into twice the number of Indians. The United States may be two million souls Whites, which have been an increase upon perhaps fewer than twenty or thirty thousand families from Europe. Can we contemplate their present, and anticipate their future increase, and not be struck with astonishment to find ourselves in the midst of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Noah? May we not see that we are the object which the holy ghost had in view four thousand years ago, when he inspired the venerable Patriarch with

the visions respecting his posterity? How wonderful the accomplishments in distant and disconnected ages! While the principal increase was first in Europe, westward from *Scythia*, the residence of the family of Japhet, a branch of the original enlargement extending eastward into Asia, and spreading round to the southward of the *Caspian*, became the ancient kingdoms of *Media* and *Persia* †: and thus he dwelt in the tents of *Shem*. Hence the singular and almost identical affinity between the *Persic* and *Teutonic* languages through all ages to this day. And now the other part of the prophecy is fulfilling in a new enlargement, not in the tents of *Shem*, but in the country where *Canaan shall be his servant*, at least unto tribute.

I rather consider the American *Indians* as *Canaanites* of the expulsion of Joshua: some of which in phœnician ships coasted the Mediterranean to its mouth, as appears from an inscription which they left there. *Procopius* who was born in Palestine, a master of the Phœnician and other oriental languages, and the historiographer of the great *Belisarius*, tells us, that at *Tangier* he saw and read an inscription upon two marble pillars there, in the ancient Phœnician (not the ten modern Punic) letter, “*We are they who have fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun.*” ‡ *Bochart* and *Selden* conjecture the very Punic itself. *Plato*, *Ælian*, and *Diodorus siculus*, narrate voyages into the Atlantic ocean thirty days west from the pillars of *Hercules*, to the island of *Atlas*. This inscription examined by *Procopius*, suggests, that the *Canaanites*, in coasting along from *Tangier*, might soon get into the trade winds and be undesignedly wafted across the Atlantic, land in the tropical regions, and commence the settlements

† Jos. Antiquities, lib. i. c. 6.

‡ Ibi ex albis lapidibus constant COLUMNÆ DUÆ prope magnum fontem erectæ, Phœnicios habentes characteres insculptos, qui Phœnicum lingua sic sonant: NOS II SUMUS QUI FUGERUNT A FACIE JOSHUÆ PRÆDONIS FILII NAUE.—Evangr. Hist. ecc. l. 4, c. 18. Procop. Vandalic, l. 8.

of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Another branch of the canaanitish expulsions might take the resolution of the ten tribes, and travel north-eastward to where never man dwelt, become the *Tchuschi* and *Tungusi* Tartars about *Kamschatka* and *Tscukotskoinoss* in the north-east of Asia: thence, by water, passing over from island to island through the northern Archipelago to America, became the scattered Sachemdoms of these northern regions. It is now known that Asia is separated by water from America, as certainly appears from the Baron *Dulfeldt*'s voyage round the north of Europe into the Pacific ocean, A.D. 1769. Amidst all the variety of national dialects, there reigns a similitude in their language, as there is also in complexion and beardless features, from *Greenland* to *delfuego*, and from the *Antilles* to *Otabeite*, which shew them to be one people.

A few scattered accounts, collected and combined together, may lead us to two certain conclusions. 1. That all the American Indians are one kind of people. 2. That they are the same as the people in the north-east of Asia.

An asiatic territory, 3000 miles long and 1500 wide, above the 40th degree of latitude, to the hyperborean ocean, contains only one million of souls settled as our Indians; as appears from the numerations and estimates collected by *M. Müller*, and other Russian Academicians in 1769. The *Koreki*, *Jakubti* and *Tungusij* living on the eastern part of this territory next to America, are naturally almost beardless, like the *Samoieds* in Siberia, the *Ostiaks* and *Calmucks*, as well as the *American Indians*,—all these having also the same custom of plucking out the few hairs of very thin beards. They have more similar usages and fewer dissimilar ones, than the Arabians of the *Koreish* tribe and Jews who sprang from Abraham: or than those that subsist among European nations, who sprang from one ancestor; or those Asiatic nations, which sprang from *Shem*. The portrait painter Mr. *Smibert*, who accompanied Dr. *Berkeley*, then Dean of *Derry* and afterward Bishop of *Cloyne*, from It-

aly to America in 1728, was employed by the grand Duke of Tuscany, while at Florence, to paint two or three Siberian Tartars, presented to the Duke by the *Czar of Russia*. This Mr. Smibert, upon his landing at Narraganset-bay with Dr. Berkeley, instantly recognized the Indians here to be the same people as the Siberian Tartars whose pictures he had taken. Moravian Indians from *Greenland* and *South-America*, have met those in our latitude at Bethlehem, and have been clearly perceived to be the same people. The kamschatdale Tartars have been carried over from Asia to America, and compared with our Indians, and found to be the same people. These asiatic Tartars, from whom the american aborigines derived, are distinct from, and far less numerous, than the mongul and other Tartars which, for ages, under Tamerlane and other chieftains, have deluged and over-ran the southern ancient Asiatic empires. Attending to the rational and just deductions, from these and other disconnected data combined together, we may perceive, that all the Americans are one people—that they came hither *certainly* from the north-east of Asia; *probably* also from the mediterranean; and if so that they are canaanites, tho' arriving hither by different routs. The ocean current from the north of Asia might waft the beardless *Samoieds* or *Tchuschi* from the mouth of *Jenesea* or the *Oby*, around *Nova Zembla* to *Greenland*, and thence to *Labrador*, many ages after the refugees from Joshua might have colonized the tropical regions. Thus Providence might have ordered three divisions of the *same people* from different parts of the world, and perhaps in very distant ages, to meet together on this continent, or, "*our Island*," as the six nations call it, to settle different parts of it, many ages before the present accession of Japhet, or the former visitation of *Madoc*, 1001, or the certain colonization from *Norway*, A.D. 1001, as well as the certain christianizing of *Greenland* in the ninth century; not to mention the visit of still greater antiquity by the Phœnicians, who charged the Dighton rock and other rocks in Narragansett-bay with *Punic* inscriptions, remaining to this day. Which last I myself have

repeatedly seen and taken off at large, as did Professor *Sewall*. He has lately transmitted a copy of his inscription to *M. Gebelin* of the *Parisian* academy of sciences, who comparing them with the Punic paleography, judges them *punic*, and has interpreted them as denoting, that the ancient Carthaginians once visited these distant regions.

Indians are numerous in the tropical regions, not so elsewhere. Baron la *Hontan* the last century, and Mr. Carver so lately as 1776 and 1777, travelled north-west beyond the sources of the mississippi. From their observations it appears that the ratio of indian population in the very heart of the continent, is similar to that on this side of the mississippi. By an accurate numeration made in 1766, and returned into the plantation office in London, it appeared, that there were not *forty* thousand souls, Indians, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from Florida to the Pole. According to Mr. Carver, there are about thirty,§ and certainly not forty Indian tribes, west of the Senecas, and six nation confederacy, and from the Mississippi and Ohio northward to Hudson's bay, and from Niagara to the Lake of the Woods. The chiefs of all these speak the Chipeway language. And perhaps all the remaining territory north of New Spain, and even on this side the northern tropic, and north-westward to asia, will not exhibit five times that number at highest.

Partly by actual numeration, and partly by estimate, the Indians in the *Spanish* dominions in America are considered as a million souls in New Spain, and a million and half in Peru, or two or three million souls in the whole. And perhaps this would fully comprehend those of Paraguay and the Portuguese provinces. In my opinion, great defalcation must be made from these numbers. The aborigines have been injudiciously estimated at twenty millions; but I believe they never exceeded two or three million souls in all North and South-America since the days of *Columbus*.

§ Carver's Travels, p. 415.

The European population so surpasses them already, [14] that of whatever origin, they will eventually be, as the most of them have already become, *servants unto Japhet*—six hundred and twelve thousand Indians pay tribute in Peru. We are increasing with great rapidity; and the *Indians*, as well as the million *Africans* in America, are decreasing *as rapidly*. Both left to themselves, in this way diminishing, may gradually vanish: and thus an unrighteous SLAVERY may at length, in God's good providence, be abolished and cease in the land of LIBERTY.

But to return; the population of this land will probably become very great; and *Japhet* become more numerous millions in *America*, than in *Europe* and *Asia*; and the two or three millions of the United States may equal the population of the oriental empires, which far surpasses that of Europe. There are reasons for believing that the *English increase*, will far surpass others; and that the diffusion of the United States will ultimately produce the general population of America. The northern provinces of China spread for ages, and at length deluged the southern with a very numerous and accumulated population. Prov. xiv. 28. *In the multitude of people, is the king's honor.*

But a multitude of people, event the two hundred million† of the Chinese empire, cannot subsist without CIVIL GOV-

† To elucidate the Chinese population, it may be considered, that “in the reign of KANG-HI who died A.D. 1722, there were found 11,052,872 families, and 59,788,364 men able to bear arms,” exclusive of a million of Bonzas, and an 100,000 mandarins and literati, the army of near a million, and young people under twenty years of age, and the multitudes living on the water. So the total of men in the empire above sixty millions, implying 250 million of souls. Tribute is paid by all the males between ætat. 20 and 60: the poll tax revenue is fifty millions sterling; fifty eight millions once paid this tribute. Europeans consider this the number of souls and not of adult males. All the brothers and sisters while they live constitute one family, according to the custom in China, whether the ancestor be living or dead. So the 11 millions families would be equal to 50 or 60 million of European families.

ERNMENT. All the forms of civil polity have been tried by mankind, except one: and that seems to have been reserved in Providence to be realized in America. Most of the estates of all ages, in their originals, both as to the *policy*, and *property* have been founded in rapacity, usurpation and injustice: so that in the contests recorded in history, the *public right* is a dubious question; it being rather certain that it belongs to neither of the contending parties: the military history of all nations, being but a description of the wars and invasions of the mutual robbers and devastators of the human race. The invasion of the lawless *Macedonian* who effected the dissolution of the *medo-persian* empire, the wide spread *roman-conquests*, the inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the descents of the *Tartars* on *China*, the triumphs of *Tamerlane*, *Ulugh-beg*, and *Aurengzebe*, and the wide-spread domination of the impostor of *Mecca*, with his successors the *Caliphs* and *Mameluks* down to *Kouli-Kan*, who dethroned his prince and plundered India of 200 million sterling:—these, I say, with the new distribution of property and new erected policies, were all founded in unrighteousness, and tyrannical usurpation. The real interest of

In the time* of Ching-tsong A.D. 1014, “the number employed in agriculture was found to be 21,976,965 able persons, exclusive of the mandarins and literati, the eunuchs, the soldiers, the bonzas, and those who live in barks and floating cities on the rivers, of whom the number is incredible.” Hence above half the people are employed in manufactures, the mechanic arts, the literary, military and official departments. Now 21 millions farmers imply 80 or 90 million of souls; evincing that the 59 millions of 1722 are not to be considered as the number of souls, but of adult males, or taxables. Hatton in his geography estimates the total of the souls 24 millions. Very different are the estimates. There is an intricacy and want of elucidation in these Chinese numerations. I rather consider the total of the empire 250 millions of souls. Among other reasons, the number of principal mandarins, army and literati correspond to an higher population than 60 million souls, which is the general estimate. But this matter may be easily ascertained, for no nations on earth keep so accurate a census and numeration of all classes as the Chinese and Japanese.

* Du Halde, V. p. 209.

mankind and the public good has been generally overlooked. It has really been very indifferent to the great cause of RIGHT and LIBERTY, which of the billigerent powers prevailed, a *Tangrolipix* or an *Mabomet*, an *Augustus* or an *Antony*, a *Scipio* or an *Hannibal*, a *Brennus* or an *Antiochus*—tyranny being the sure portion of the plebeians, be the victory as it should happen. These things have led some very enlightened as well as serious minds to a fixt conclusion and judgment against the right and legality of all wars. In the simplicity of my judgment, I have for years been of this opinion, except as to the *offensive* wars of Israel, and *defensive* war of America. War in some instances, especially defensive, has been authorized by heaven. The blessing given by *Melchisedec* to *Abraham*, upon his return from the slaughter of *Chelderlaomer* and the kings of the east, justified that holy patriarch. The war with *Amelek*, and the extirpation of the *Canaanites* by *Joshua*, were of God. the location of the respective territories to the first nations, was so of God, as to give them a divine right defensively to resist the *Nimrods* and *Ninus's*, the first invading tyrants of the anti-ent ages. The originally free and glorious republics of Greece, had a right from God, to withstand the haughty claims of the Assyrian empire, which they successfully resisted for ages, till the Roman power arose behind them, and at length prostrated their liberties.

But after the spirit of conquest had changed the first governments, all the succeeding ones have, in general proved one continued series of injustice, which has reigned in all countries for almost 4000 years. These have so changed property, laws, rights and liberties, that it has become impossible for the most sagacious *civilians* to decide whose is the abstract political right in national controversies—rather we know that none of them have any right. All original right is confounded and lost. We can only say that there still remains in the body of the people at large, the body of mankind of any and every generation, a POWER with which they are invested by the author

of their being, to wrest government out of the hands of reigning tyrants, and originate NEW POLICIES, adapted to the conservation of liberty and promoting public welfare. But what is the happiest form of civil government, is the great question. Almost all the *politics* may be reduced to *hereditary* dominion in either a MONARCHY or ARISTOCRACY, and these supported by a standing army. The *Roman* and *Venetian* senates were but an hereditary Aristocracy with an elective head. The senatorial succession is preserved independent of the people. True liberty is preserved in the *Belgic* and *Hælvetic* republics, and among the nobles in the elective monarchy of *Poland*. For the rest of the world, the civil dominion, though often wisely administered, is so modelled as to be beyond the control of those, for whose end God instituted government. But a DEMOCRATICAL polity for millions, standing upon the broad basis of the people at large, amply charged with property, has not hitherto been exhibited.

Republics are *democratical*, *aristocratical*, or *monarchical*. Each of these forms admit of modifications both as to *hered-itation* and *powers*, from absolute government up to perfect liberty. Monarchy might be so limited, one would think, as to be a happy form, especially if *elective*: but both monarchy and aristocracy, when they become hereditary, terminate in the prostration of liberty. The greater part of the governments on earth may be termed *monarchical aristocracies*, or hereditary dominions, independent of the people. The nobles and nabobs being hereditary, will at first have great power; but the *royal factions* have not failed to intrigue this away from the nobles to the Prince: the assembly of even hereditary nobles, then become cyphers and nullities in dominion. The once glorious *Cortes* of Spain experienced this loss of power. It is next to an impossibility to tame a monarchy and few have ruled without ferocity. Scarcely shall we find in royal dynasties, in long line of Princes, a few singularly good Sovereigns, a few *Cyrus's*, *Antonini*, *Alfreds*, *Boroibmeses*. Indeed, if we look over the

present sovereigns of Europe, we behold with pleasure, two young Princes, the Emperor, and the MONARCH of *France*, who seem to be raised up in providence to make their people and mankind happy. A *Ganganelli* in the pontifical throne was a phoenix of ages, shone for his moment, and scarcely to be found again in the catalogue of a *Platina*:—*We* see enterprising, literary, and heroic talents in a *Frederick III.* and wisdom in a *Poniatowski*. I add no more—But when we contemplate the other European and Asiatic potentates, and especially the sovereigns of *Debli*, *Ispahaun*, and *Constantinople*, one cannot but pity mankind, whose lot is to be governed by—despots of small abilities, immersed and rioting in the splendor of a luxurious effeminacy. Nor could government proceed, were not the errors and desultory blunders of royalty frequently corrected by the circumspection of a *COLAO*, a few sensible characters venerable for wisdom, called up among the stated councillors of Majesty.

Lord *Bacon* said, that monarchy had a platform in nature; and in truth monarchical ideas reign through the universe. A monarchy conducted with *infinite wisdom* and *infinite benevolence*, is the most perfect of all possible governments. The Most High hath delegated power and authority to subordinate monarchies of sole ruling powers, in limited districts, throughout the celestial hierarchy, and through the immensity of the intellectual world; but at the same time he hath delegated and imparted to them, wisdom and goodness adequate to the purposes of dominion: and thence the government is, as it ought to be, absolute. But in a world, or region of the universe, where God has imparted to none either this superior power or adequate wisdom, beyond what falls to the common share of humanity, it is absurd to look for such qualities in one man; not even in the man *Moses*, who shared the government of Israel with the Senate of Seventy. Therefore, there is no foundation for monarchical government, from supposed hereditary superiority in knowledge. If it be said, that

monarchs always have a *council of state*, consisting of the wisest personages, of whose wisdom they avail themselves in the government of empires, not to observe that this is a concession indicating a deficiency of knowledge in Princes, it may be asked, why not then, consign and repose government into the hands of the national council, where always resides the superiority of wisdom? The supposed advantage of having *one Public Head* for all to look up to, and to concenter the attention, obedience and affection of subjects, and to consolidate the empire, will not counter-balance the evils of arbitrary despotism, and the usual want of wisdom in the sovereigns and potentates of the earth. For the hereditary successions in the dynasties of kings in the effeminate families of the great, seem to be marked and accursed by providence, with deficient wisdom. And where is the wisdom of consigning government into such hands? Why not much better, since we for once have our option or choice, to commit the direction of the republic to a *Wittena-gemot*, or an aristocratical council of wise men? Should we call forth and dignify some family, either from foreign nations or from among ourselves, and create a monarch, whether an hereditary Prince or Protector for life, and seat him in Supremacy at the head of Congress; soon, with insidious dexterity, would he intrigue and secure a venal majority, even of new and annual members; and by diffusing a complicated and variously modified influence, pursue an accretion of power till he became absolute.

The celebrated historian Mrs. CATHERINE MACAULAY, that ornament of the republic of letters, and the female *LIVY* of the age, observes, “The man who holds supreme power for life, will have a great number of friends and adherents, who are attached by interest to his interest, and who will wish for continuance of power in the same family. This creates the worst of factions, a *government faction* in the state. The desire of securing to ourselves a particular unshared privilege, is the rankest vice which infests humanity; and a Protector for life,

instead of devoting his time and understanding to the great cares of governments, will be scheming and plotting to secure the power after his death to his children, if he has any, if not to the nearest of his kin. This principle in government has been productive of such bloodshed and oppression, that it has inclined politicians to give the preference to hereditary rather than elective monarchies; and as the lesser evil to consign to government of society to the encreasing and at length unlimited sway of one family, whether the individuals of it should be idiots or madmen. It is an uncontroverted fact, that supreme power never can continue long in one family, without becoming unlimited.” †

We stand better chance with ARISTOCRACY, whether *hereditary* or *elective*, than with *monarchy*. An unsystematical democracy, and an absolute monarchy, are equally detestable, equally a *magormissabib*, the terror to all around them. An elective aristocracy is preferable for America, as it is rather to be a *council of nations* (agreeable to the humane, liberal, and grand ideas of *Henry IV.* and the patriot *Sully*) than a body in which resides *authoritative sovereignty*, for there is no real cession of dominion, no surrender or transfer of sovereignty, to the national council, as each state in the confederacy is an independent sovereignty.

In justice to human society, it may perhaps be said of almost all the polities and civil institutions in the world, however imperfect, that they have been founded in and carried on with very considerable wisdom. They must have been generally well administered; I say *generally*, otherwise government could not proceed. This may be said even of those governments, which carry great defects, and the seeds of self-destruction and ruin in their constitution; for even an *Ottoman* or an *Aurengzebe*, must establish and prescribe to himself a national constitution, a system of general laws and dominion. But the abstract rationale of perfect government, remains still

† Mrs. MACAULAY'S letter to the author, 1771.

hidden among the desiderata of politics, having hitherto baffled the investigation of the best writers on government, the ablest politicians, and the sagest civilians. A well-ordered DEMOCRATICAL ARISTOCRACY, standing upon the annual elections of the people, and revocable at pleasure, is the polity which combines the UNITED STATES: and from the nature of man, and the comparison of ages, I believe it will approve itself the most equitable, liberal, and perfect.

With the people, especially a people seized of property, resides the aggregate of original power. They cannot however assemble from the territory of an empire, and must therefore, if they have any share in government, represent themselves by delegation. This constitutes one order in legislature and sovereignty. It is a question whether there should be any other. To resolve which it may be considered, that each of these delegates or representatives, will be faithful conservators of local interests, but have no interest in attending extensively to the public, further than where all particular local interests are affected in common with that which one delegate represents in particular.

It should seem then that the nature of society dictates another, a higher Branch, whose superiority arises from its being the interested and natural *conservator of the universal interest*. This will be a senatorial order, standing, not on local, but a general election of the whole body of the people. Let a bill, or law, be read in the one branch or the other: every one instantly thinks how it will affect his constituents. If his constituents are those of one small district only, they will be his first care; if the people at large, their general or universal interest will be his first care, the first object of his faithful attention. If a senator, as in Delaware, stands on the election of only the same district as a deputy, the upper-house is only a repetition of the lower:—if on the election of several counties combined, as in Virginia, each member of the upper-house stands and feels himself charged with a greater and more extensive care, than a member of the house of burgesses: not but that it is the duty of

each deputy to attend to the general interest. Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, have each a senate or legislature of one order only; for although in Jersey it seemeth otherwise, yet that interest which will determine a vote in one, will determine it in both houses. The same is true of the two Carolinas.

The constitutions of Maryland and New-York, are founded in higher wisdom. The polity of Massachusetts is excellent and truly grand. It retains indeed some of the shadows of royalty, which may give dignity, but never operate an essential mischief, in the hands of a chief magistrate, who is annually elective by the people at large. But Connecticut and Rhode-Island have originally realized the most perfect polity as to a legislature: any emendations and improvements may be made by the assembly with respect to the establishment of the law courts, and a constitutional privy council, which in all future time will be necessary to attend the chief magistrate in the ordinary civil administration. These things are remedied in Virginia, whose constitution seems to be imperfect in but one thing—its twenty-four senators, though elected from local districts, should be elected by the people at large, being men of such public eminence, and of merit so illustrious, as to be known not to a few only, but to all the tribes throughout the state. It establishes judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. It provides perfectly for *legislation* and *law courts*, for the *militia*, and for that continual administration of government in absence of assemblies, and while the judiciary tribunals are sitting, which must reside in and be uninterruptedly exercised at the head of sovereignty in every civil polity.

It gives me pleasure to find, that public LIBERTY is effectually secured, in each and all the policies of the United States, though somewhat differently modelled. Not only the polity or exterior system of government, but the laws and interior regulations of each state, are already excellent, surpassing the institutions of *Lycurgus* or *Plato*; and by the annual appeals to the public, a power is reserved to the people, to remedy any

corruptions or errors in government. And if even the people should sometimes err, yet each assembly of the states, and the body of the people, always embosom wisdom sufficient to correct themselves; so that a political mischief cannot be durable. Herein we far surpass any states on earth. We can correct ourselves if in the wrong. The Belgic states in their fœderal capacity, are united by a perfect system, constituted by that great prince WILLIAM of Nassau, and the compatriots of that age: But they left the interior government of the jural tribunals, cities, and provinces, as despotic and arbitrary as they found them. So the elective monarchical republic of Poland, is an excellent constitution for the nobles, but leaves despotism and tyranny, the portion and hard fate of the plebeians, beyond what is to be found in any part of Europe. Not so the American states: their interior as well as exterior civil and jural polities are so nearly perfect, that the rights of individuals, even to numerous millions, are guarded and secured.

The crown and glory of our confederacy is the *amphictyonic council* of the GENERAL CONGRESS, standing on the annual election of the united respective states, and revocable at pleasure. This lays the foundation of a permanent union in the American Republic, which may at length convince the world, that of all the policies to be found on earth, not excepting the very excellent one of the Chinese Empire, the most perfect one has been invented and realized in America.

If in the multitude of devices for improving and carrying our policy to greater perfection, and a more permanent and efficacious government, if, I say, some elevated geniusses should go into the ideas of monarchy, whether hereditary or elective; and others think of a partition of the united states into three or four separate independent confederacies; perhaps upon discussing the subject calmly and thoroughly, and finding that the policy which will at last take place, must stand on *plebeian election*, they may at length be satisfied, that the die is already cast, and *the policy has taken its complexion for ages* to come.

Thus the NINE BOWLS engraved with the map of dominion established the policy of the Chinese empire for near twenty ages.* The antient division of the empire subsisted by means of these symbols of dominion, which passed in succession to the nine principal mandarins or supreme governors under the imperial sovereignty; and this for the long tract from their first institution by the Emperor YU, who reigned two thousand two hundred years before Christ, to CHEY-LIE-VANG, who was contemporary with the great philosopher MENZIUS three hundred years before Christ. So that symbol of union the american flag, with it, increasing stripes and stars may have an equally combining efficacy for ages. The senatorial constitution and consulate of the roman empire lasted from *Tarquin* to *Cæsar*. The pragmatic sanction has probably secured the imperial succession in the house of *Austria* for ages. The medo-persian and alexandrine empires, and that of *Tumur Beg*, who once reigned from *Smyrna* to the Indus, were for obvious reasons of short and transitory duration: but that of the Assyrian endured without mutation thro' a tract of one thousand three hundred years from *Semiramis* to *Sandanapalus*. Nor was the policy of Egypt overthrown for a longer period, from the days of *Mitzraim* till the time of *Cambyes* and *Amasis*. Whatever mutations may arise in the United States, perhaps hereditary *monarchy* and a *standing army* will be the last.

Besides a happy policy as to civil government, it is necessary to institute a system of LAW and JURISPRUDENCE founded in *justice, equity* and *public right*. The american *codes* of law and the *lex non scripta*, the *senatus consulta*, and the *common law*, are already advanced to great perfection—far less complicated and perplexed than the jural systems of Europe; where reigns a mixture of *Roman, Gothic, Teutonic, Salic, Saxon, Norman*, and other local or municipal law, controlled or innovated and confused by subsequent royal edicts and imperial institutions; superinducing the same mutation, as did the imperial Decrees of the *Cæsars* upon the antient jus civile or Roman

* Du Halde, Hist. China.

law. A depuration from all these will take place in America, and our communication with all the world will enable us to bring home the most excellent principles of law and right, to be found in every kingdom and empire on earth. These being adopted here, may advance our systems of jurisprudence to the highest purity and perfection:—especially if hereafter some FLETA, BRACON, COKE, some great law genius should arise, and with vast erudition, and with the learned sagacity of a *Trebonianus*, reduce and digest all into one great jural system.

But the best laws will be of no validity, unless the tribunals be filled with JUDGES of *independent sentiment*, vast *law knowledge*, and of an *integrity* beyond the possibility of corruption. Even a *Bacon* should fall from his highest honors, the moment he tastes the forbidden fruit. Such infamy and tremendous punishment should be connected with tribunal bribery, that a Judge should be struck into the horror of an earthquake, at the very thoughts of corruption. The legislatures have the institution and revocation of law: and the Judges in their decisions are to be sacredly governed by the laws of the land. Most of the states have judged it necessary, in order to keep the supreme law courts uninfluenced and uncorrupted tribunals, that the Judges be honorably supported, and be fixed in office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

But I pass on to another subject in which the welfare of a community is deeply concerned, I mean the public REVENUES. National character and national faith depend on these. Every people, every large community is able to furnish a revenue adequate to the exigencies of government. But this is a most difficult subject; and what the happiest method of raising it, is uncertain. One thing is certain, that however in most kingdoms and empires the people are taxed at the will of the prince, yet in America the people tax themselves, and therefore cannot tax themselves beyond their abilities. But whether the power of taxing be in an absolute monarchy, a power independent of the people, or in a body elected by the people, one great error

has, I apprehend, entered into the system of Revenue and Finance in almost all nations, viz. restricting the collection to money. Two or three millions can more easily be raised in produce, than one million in money. This collected and deposited in stores and magazines, would by bills drawn upon these stores, answer all the expenditures of war and peace. The little imperfect experiment lately made here, should not discourage us. In one country it has been tried with success for ages, I mean in China, the wisest empire the sun hath ever shined upon. And here, if I recollect aright, not a tenth of the Imperial revenues hath been collected in money. In rice, wheat and millet only are collected 40 million of sacks, one hundred and twenty each; equal to 80 million bushel: in raw and wrought silk one million pounds. The rest is taken in salt, wines, cotton, and other fruits of labor and industry at a certain ration, *per cent.* and deposited in stores over all the empire. The perishable commodities are immediately sold, and the *mandarines* and *army* paid by bills on these magazines. In no part of the world are the inhabitants less oppressed, than there. England has eleven hundred millions property, real personal and commercial, and five million souls. Their ordinary revenue has for many years been ten or twelve millions; and during this war the national expenditures have been annually twenty millions. A great part is raised by excise; by the land tax, not above a fifth or sixth, altho' the annual rental of England is really sixty millions. The funded debt has arisen from 123 millions A. D. 1775, to 230 millions in 1783, and can never be paid. It is unparalleled in the annals of empires, that six or seven millions of people ever discharged so heavy a burden. The Roman Imperial debt was once in the times of the Cæsars 300 millions sterling, when the empire consisted of thirty million of people. One emperor at his accession wiped out twenty millions, and the *Goths* and *Vandals* settled the rest, to the ruin of thousands. May God preserve these States from being so involved. The present war being over, the future in-

crease of population and property will in time enable us, with convenience to discharge the heavy debt we have incurred in the defence of our rights and liberties. The United States have now two hundred fifty millions of property, pretty equally shared by two or three million people. And our national debt* is not ten million sterling: which is to the whole collectively, as it would be for one man, possessing an estate of £.250 in land and stock, to oblige himself to pay ten pounds. The interest only of the British national debt, upon six or seven million people, is above ten millions sterling annually, that is, greater than the whole national debt of the United States, upon half that number. Our population will soon overspread the vast territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, which in two generations will become a property superior to that of Britain. Thus posterity may help to pay for the war, which we have been obliged to fight out for them in our day. It will not, however, be wise to consign to posterity so heavy a debt; least they should be tempted to learn, like other nations, the practice of public injustice, and broken national faith.

Another object of great attention in America, will be *Commerce*. In order to form some ideas respecting it, in the united states, we may take a summary view of it, while we were in connexion with Britain; and thence judge what it may be, after we shall have recovered from the shock of this war.

The British merchants represented that they received some profit indeed from *Virginia* and *South-Carolina*, as well as the *West-Indies*: but as for the rest of this continent, they were constant losers in trade. Mr. *Glover* has candidly disclosed the truth; and he and other writers enable us to form some ideas of the matter. It appears from an undecennary account laid before parliament in 1776. that the state of commerce between England only and English America, for the eleven years preceding hostilities, was thus:

* 42 millions of dollars at the peace.

Exports to the		Imports from the
Continental colonies, $26\frac{3}{4}$ mil. ster.		$13\frac{3}{4}$ mil. ster.
West-Indies, -	$14\frac{1}{4}$ -	$35\frac{1}{4}$ mostly on acct. of
	<hr/>	<hr/> (the cont. col.
	41	49

A commerce of 26 mil. exports, and only 13 mil. imports, is self-annihilated and impossible. The returns from the West-Indies comprehended, a great part of the continental remittances. The American merchants, by a circuitous trade from this continent, and from Africa, remitted to London and Britain, by way of the West-Indies, in bills of exchange drawn on sugars, the balance of what they seem to fall short, in direct remittances on the custom-house books.

The whole American commerce, monopolized by Great Britain, must be considered collectively; and was to England only in the above account 41 million exports, and 49 million imports. This inclusive of the 12 per cent. charged, amounted to a real annual profit of 32 per cent. to the English merchants in actual remittances of the year, besides a standing American debt, it is said of six millions carrying interest. Well might the British merchants sustain a loss in American bankruptcies of a million a year (though probably at an average not five or ten thousand) in so lucrative a trade. An idea of the mercantile debt may be thus conceived. There is a district within the united states, upon which the state of European trade, at the commencement of hostilities, was thus; being chiefly carried on by foreign factorages, a mode of commerce which the British merchants intended to have been universal. In the course of a systematical trade, had at length arisen a standing debt of a million sterling among about a quarter of a million of people; to feed this the British merchants sent over one quarter of a million sterling annually; for which and collected debts, they received in actual remittance half a million within the same year; i.e. a quarter of a million returned half a million,

and fed or kept up a debt of one million, paying to Britain an annual lawful interest; the security of all which complicated system stood upon american mortgages. This is true mercantile secret history.

If this specimen applied to all the states (and God be thanked it does not) it would shew, not only the greatness and momentous importance of our trade to Europe, but the necessity of legislative regulations in commerce, to invalidate future foreign mortgages, and yet support credit by the enforcement of punctual speedy and certain payments, whether with profit or loss. Without this no permanent commerce can be supported. I observe that the above specimen may assist us. It is not necessary for every purpose, to come to great exactness in capital estimates. The total exterior commerce of Great-Britain with all the world, is about twelve millions annually; of which five millions, or near half, was of American connexion, and four millions of this directly American, as Mr. Glover asserts; and the real profits of the American trade was become to Britain equal to nearly half the benefit of her total exterior commerce to the whole world. The total of British exports to all the world, A. D. 1704, was only six millions and a half sterling. The American British trade in its connexion, returns, and profits, nearly equalled this, A. D. 1774. We are better to Britain, than all the world was to her 70 years before. Despised as our commerce was, it is evident, that had the union continued, our increasing millions would soon have made remittances, for more than the fewer millions of Britain could have manufactured for exportation. For the greater part of the manufacture of every country must be for domestic consumption. A specimen of this we have in the woollen manufacture. England grows eleven million fleeces a year, worth two million sterling, manufactured into eight million; of which six million is of domestic consumption, and two million only for exportation. When it is considered that a great part of this went to other countries, how weak must be

the supposition that Britain clothed America; while America, from the beginning in their own domestic manufactures, furnished nine-tenths of their apparel.

Our trade opens to all the world. We shall doubtless at first overtrade ourselves every where, and be in danger of incurring heavy mortgages unless prevented. The nations will not at first know how far they may safely trade with us. But commerce will find out its own system, and regulate itself in time. It will be governed on the part of America by the cheapest foreign markets; on the part of Europe by our ability and punctuality of remittance. We can soon make a remittance of three or four million a year in a circuitous trade, exclusive of the iniquitous African trade. If Europe should indulge us beyond this; our failures and disappointments might lay the foundation of national animosities. Great wisdom is therefore necessary to regulate the commerce of America. The caution with which we are to be treated, may occasion and originate a commercial system among the maritime nations, on both sides of the Atlantic, founded in justice and reciprocity of interest, which will establish the *benevolence* as well as the *opulence* of nations, and advance the progress of society to civil perfection.

It is certainly for the benefit of every community that it be transfused with the efficacious motives of *universal industry*. This will take place if every one can enjoy the fruits of his labour and activity unmolested. All the variety of labour, in a well regulated state, will be so ordered and encouraged, as that all will be employed in a just proportion in agriculture, mechanic arts, commerce, and the literary professions. It has been a question whether *agriculture* or *commerce*, needs most encouragement in these states? But the motives for both seem abundantly sufficient. Never did they operate more strongly than at present. The whole continent is activity, and in the lively vigorous exertion of industry. Several other things call for encouragement, as the planting of vineyards, and olive yards, and cotton walks; the raising of wool, planting mul-

berry trees, and the culture of silk; and I add, establishing *manufactories*. This last is necessary, very necessary, far more necessary indeed than is thought by many deep politicians. Let us have all the means possible of subsistence and elegance among ourselves, if we would be a flourishing republic of real independent dignity and glory.

Another thing tending to the public welfare, is removing causes of political animosities and civil dissention, promoting harmony, and strengthening the union among the several parts of this extended community. In the memorable *bellum sociale* among the Romans, 300,000 of Roman blood, fought 700,000 brethren of the Italian blood: After a loss of 60,000 in disputing a trifling point of national honor, they pacificated the whole by an Amnesty, and giving the city to the Italians.* We may find it a wise policy, a few years hence, under certain exceptions, to settle an *amnesty*, and circulate a brotherly affection among all the inhabitants of this glorious republic. We should live henceforward in amity, as brothers inspired with and cultivating a certain *national benevolence*, unitedly glorying in the name of a COLUMBIAN or AMERICAN, and in the distinguished honor and aggrandisement of our country. Like that antient national affection, which we once had for the parent state, while we gloried in being a part of the british empire; and when our attachment and fidelity grew to an unexampled vigor and strength. This appeared in the tender distress we felt, at the first thoughts of the dissolution of this antient friendship. We once thought Britain our friend, and gloried in her protection. But some dæmon†—whispered folly into the present reign: And Britain forced upon America, the tremendous alternative of the *loss of liberty* or the *last appeal*—either of which instantly alienated and dissolved our affection—it was impossible to hesitate—and the affection is dissolved, never, never more to be recovered:—like that between *syracuse* and *athens*, it is lost forever. A political earthquake through the continent hath shook off America from

* Vid. Velleius paterc.

† Bute.

Great Britain. Oh! how painful and distressing the separation and dismemberment! Witness all ye patriotic breasts, all ye lovers of your country, once lovers of Great-Britain; witness the tender sensations and heart-felt violence, the reluctant distress and sorrow, with which ye were penetrated, when spurned from a parent's love, ye felt the conviction of the dire necessity of an everlasting parting, to meet no more, never to be united again!

Oh England! how did I once love thee? how did I once glory in thee! how did I once boast of springing from thy bowels, though at four descents ago, and the nineteenth from Sir *adam* of *knapton*! In the rapturous anticipation of thine enlargement and reflourishing in this western world, how have I been wont to glory in the future honor of having thee for the head of the Britannico-American empire for the many ages till the millennium—when thy great national glory should have been advanced in then becoming a member of the universal empire of the Prince of Peace. And if perchance in some future period danger should have arisen to thee from european states, how have I flew on the wings of prophecy, with the numerous hardy hosts of thine American sons, inheriting thine anti-ent principles of *liberty* and *valor*, to rescue and reinthroned the hoary venerable head of the most glorious empire on earth? But now farewell—a long farewell—to all this greatness! And yet even now methinks, in such an exigency, I could leap the Atlantic, not into thy bosom, but to rescue an aged parent from destruction; and then return on the wings of triumph, to this asylum of the world, and rest in the bosom of liberty.

Moreover, as we have seen the wisdom of our ancestors in instituting a militia, so it is necessary to continue it. The Game Act, in the time of James I. insidiously disarmed the people of England. Let us not be insidiously disarmed. In all our enlargements in colonization, in all our increasing millions, let the main body be exercised annually to military discipline, whether in war or peace. This will defend us against ourselves, and against surrounding states. Let this be known

in Europe, in every future age, and we shall never again be invaded from the other side of the Atlantic. “The militia of this country,” says General Washington, “must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility.”

Another thing necessary, is a vigilance against corruption, in purchasing elections, and in designations to offices in the legislatures and Congress; instituting such efficacious provisions against corruption, as shall preclude the possibility of its rising to any great height, before it shall be controlled and corrected. Although in every political administration the appointment to offices will ever be considerably influenced by the sinister, private, personal motives either of interest or friendship; yet the safety of the state requires that this should not go too far. An administration may indeed proceed tolerably, when the officers of a well arranged system are in general ordinary characters, provided there is a pretty good sprinkling of men of wisdom interspersed among them. How much more illustrious would it be, if three quarters of the offices of government were filled with men of ability, understanding, and patriotism? What an animation would it diffuse through a community, if men of real merit in every branch of business, were sure of receiving the rewards and honors of the state? That great and wise monarch OLAM FODHLA, the *Alfred* of *Ireland*, 1000 years before Christ, instituted an annual review and examination of all the achievements and illustrious characters in the realm; and being approved by himself and the annual assembly of the nobles, he ordered their names and achievements to be enrolled in a public *register of merit*. This continued 2000 years to the time of that illustrious chieftain BRIEN O'BOROIHME. This had an amazing effect. By this animation, the heroic, military and political virtues, with civilization, and I add *science* and *literature*, ascended to an almost unexampled and incredible perfection in Ireland, ages before they figured in other parts of Europe, not

excepting even *Athens* and *Rome*. I have a very great opinion of hibernian merit, literary, as well as civil and military, even in the ages before St. PATRICK.

But to return:—The cultivation of LITERATURE will greatly promote the public welfare. In every community, while provision is made, that all should be taught to read the scriptures and the very useful parts of common education, a good proportion should be carried through the higher branches of literature. Effectual measure should be taken for preserving and diffusing knowledge among a people. The voluntary institution of libraries in different vicinities, will give those, who have not a liberal education, an opportunity of gaining that knowledge, which will qualify them for usefulness. *Travels, biography, and history*, the knowledge of the *policies, jurisprudence*, and scientific improvements among all nations, antient and modern, will form the civilian, the judge, the senator, the patrician, the man of useful eminence in society. The colleges have been of singular advantage in the present day. When Britain withdrew all her wisdom from America, this revolution found above two thousand in New-England only, who had been educated in the colleges, intermixed among the people, and communicating knowledge among them. Almost all of them have approved themselves useful; and there have been some characters among us of the first eminence for literature. It would be for the public emolument should there always be found a sufficient number of men in the community at large, of vast and profound erudition, and perfect acquaintance with the whole system of public affairs, to illuminate the public councils, as well to fill the three learned professions with dignity and honor.

I have thus shewn wherein consists the true political welfare of a civil community or sovereignty. The foundation is laid in a judicious distribution of property, and in a good system of *polity and jurisprudence*, on which will arise, under a truly patriotic, upright, and firm administration, the beautiful superstructure of a well governed and prosperous empire.

Already does the new constellation of the united states begin to realize this glory. It has already risen to an acknowledged sovereignty among the republics and kingdoms of the world. And we have reason to hope, and I believe to expect, that God has still greater blessings in store, for this vine which his own right hand hath planted, to make us *high among the nations in praise, and in name, and in honor*. The reasons are very numerous, weighty, and conclusive.

In our civil constitutions, those impediments are removed, which obstruct the progress of society towards perfection: such, for instance, as respect the tenure of estates, and arbitrary government. The vassalage of dependant tenures, the tokens of antient conquests by Goths and Tartars, still remain all over asia and europe. In this respect, as well as others, the world begins to open its eyes. One grand experiment in particular has lately been made. The present empress of *russia*, by granting lands in freehold, in her vast wildernesses of *volkouskile*, together with religious liberty, has allured and already draughted from *poland* and *germany* a colonization of six hundred thousand souls in six years only, from 1762, to 1768.‡

Liberty, civil and religious, has sweet and attractive charms. The enjoyment of this, with property, has filled the english settlers in america with a most amazing spirit, which has operated, and still will operate with great energy. Never before has the experiment been so effectually tried, of every man's reaping the fruits of his labor, and feeling his share in the aggregate system of power. The antient republics did not stand on the people at large; and therefore no example or precedent can be taken from them. Even men of arbitrary principles will be obliged, if they would figure in these states, to assume the patriot so long, that they will at length become charmed with the sweets of liberty.

Our degree of population is such as to give us reason to expect that this will become a great people, It is probable that

‡ Marshal's Trav.

within a century from our independence the sun will shine on fifty million of inhabitants in the united states. This will be a great, a very great nation, nearly equal to half europe. Already has our colonization extended down the *obio* and to *koskaseab* on the *mississippi*. And if the present ratio of increase should be rather diminished in some of the other settlements, yet an accelerated multiplication will attend our general propagation, and overspread the whole territory westward for ages. So that before the millennium, the english settlements in america, may become more numerous millions, than that greatest dominion on earth the chinese empire. Should this prove a future fact, how applicable would be the text, when the Lord shall have made his american Israel, *high above all nations which he hath made*, in numbers, *and in praise, and in name, and in honor!*

I am sensible some will consider these as visionary utopian ideas. And so they would have judged, had they lived in the apostolic age and been told, that by the time of *constantine* the empire would have become christian. As visionary that the twenty thousand souls which first settled new-england, should be multiplied to near a million in a century and a half. As visionary that the ottoman empire must fall by the russian. As visionary to the catholics is the certain downfall of the pontificate. As utopian would it have been to the *loyalists*, at the battle of *lexington*, that in less than eight years, the independence and sovereignty of the united states, should be acknowledged by four european sovereignties, one of which should be *britain* herself. How wonderful the revolutions, the events of providence! We live in an age of wonders: we have lived an age in a few years: we have seen more wonders accomplished in *eight* years, than are usually unfolded in a century.

God be thanked, we have lived to see peace restored to this bleeding land, at least a general cessation of hostilities among the belligerent powers. And on this occasion does it not become us to reflect, how wonderful, how gracious, how glorious, has

been the good hand of our God upon us, in carrying us thro' so tremendous a warfare! We have sustained a force brought against us: which might have made any empire on earth to tremble—and yet our bow has abode in strength; and having obtained help of God, we continue unto this day. Forced unto the last *solemn appeal*, america watched for the first blood: this was shed by *britons* on the 19th of April, 1775; which instantly sprung an army of 20,000 into spontaneous existence, with the enterprizing and daring, if imprudent, resolution of entering *boston*, and forceably disburdening it of its bloody legions. Every patriot trembled till we had proved our armour, till it could be seen, whether this hasty concourse was susceptible of exercitual arrangement, and could face the enemy with firmness. They early gave us the decided proof of this, in the memorable battle of *bunker-hill*. * We are satisfied. This instantly convinced us, and for the first time convinced *britons* themselves, that americans both would and could fight with great effect. Whereupon Congress put at the head of this spirited army, the only man, on whom the eyes of all israel were placed. Posterity, I apprehend, and the world itself, inconsiderate and incredulous as they may be of the dominion of heaven, will yet do so much justice to the divine moral government, as to acknowledge, that this american JOSHUA was raised up by God, and *divinely formed* by a peculiar influence of the Sovereign of the Universe, for the great work of leading the armies of this american Joseph (now separated from his brethren), and conducting this people through the severe, the arduous conflict, to liberty and independence. Surprizing was it with what instant celerity men ascended and rose into generals, and officers of every subordination; formed chiefly by the preparatory discipline of only the preceding year 1774; when the ardor and spirit of military discipline was by heaven, and without concert, sent through the continent like lightning. Surprizing was it, how soon the army was organized, took its formation, and rose into firm system and impregnable arrangement.

* June 17, 1775.

To think of withstanding and encountering britain by land was bold, and much more bold and daring, by sea: yet we immediately began a navy, and built ships of war with an unexampled expedition. It is presumed never was a 35 gun ship before built quicker than that well built, noble ship the *Raleigh*, which was finished from the keel and equipt for sea in a few months. Soon had we got, tho' small a very gallant initial navy, which fought gallantly; and wanted nothing but numbers of ships, for successful operations, against that superior naval force before which we fell. We have, however, exhibited proof to posterity and the world, that a powerful navy may be originated, built and equipped for service, in a much shorter period than was before imagined. The british navy has been many centuries growing; and france, holland, the baltic powers, or any of the powers of this age, in twenty years, may build navies of equal magnitude, if necessary for dominion, commerce, or ornament.

A variety of *success* and *defeat* hath attended our welfare both by sea and land. In our lowest & most dangerous estate in 1776 and 1777, we sustained ourselves against the british army of *sixty thousand* troops commanded by Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, and other the ablest generals *britain*, could procure throughout *europa*, with a naval force of 22,000 seamen in above *eighty* british men of war. § These generals we sent home one after another, conquered, defeated, and convinced of the impossibility of subduing america. While oppressed by the heavy weight of this combined force, heaven inspired us with resolution to cut the gordian knot; when the die was cast irrevocable in the glorious act of INDEPENDENCE. This was sealed and confirmed by God Almighty in the victory of

§ To lose america, has cost britain the loss of more than an hundred thousand men, and an hundred and twenty millions sterling in money. Mr. Thomas Pitt, from authentic documents, lately asserted in parliament, that only the first five years of this war had cost britain five millions more than all the wars of the last age, including the splendid victories of the duke of Marlborough.

General WASHINGTON at TRENTON, and in the surprizing movement and battle of PRINCETON; by which astonishing effort of generalship, general Howe and the whole british army, in elated confidence and in open-mouthed march for *Philadelphia*, was instantly stopt, remanded back, and cooped up for a shivering winter in the little borough of *brunswick*. Thus God *turned the battle to the gate*, and this gave a *finishing to the foundation* of the american republic. This with the *Burgoyne* at *saratoga* by general GATES; and the glorious victory over the earl of CORNWALLIS in *virginia*, together with the memorable victory of *eutaw* springs, and the triumphant recovery of the southern states by general GREENE, are among the most heroic acts, and brilliant achievements, which have decided the fate of america. And who does not see the indubitable interposition and energetic influence of divine providence in these great and illustrious events? Who but a Washington, inspired by heaven, could have struck out the great movement and manœuvre of princeton? To whom but the ruler of the winds shall we ascribe it, that the british reinforcement, in the summer of 1777, was delayed on the ocean three months by contrary winds, until it was too late for the conflagrating general CLINTON to raise the siege of *saratoga*? What but a providential miracle detected the conspiracy of *Arnold*, even in the critical moment of the execution of that infernal plot, in which the body of the american army, then at west-point, with his excellency general WASHINGTON himself, were to have been rendered into the hands of the enemy!—Doubtless inspired by the Supreme Illuminator of great minds, were the joint councils of a Washington and a Rochambeau, in that grand effort of generalship, with which they deceived and astonished a Clinton, and eluded his vigilance in their transit by *new-york*, and rapid marches for *virginia*. Was it not of God, that both the navy and army should enter the chesapeake at the same time? Who but God could have ordained the critical arrival of the gallic fleet, so as to prevent and defeat the british, and assist and cooperate with the combined armies in the siege and reduction of *york-town*? Should

we not ever admire and ascribe to a supreme energy, the wise and firm generalship displayed by general GREENE, when (leaving the active, roving *Cornwallis* to pursue his helter-skelter ill fated march into virginia) he coolly and steadily went onwards, and deliberately, judiciously, and heroically, recovered the *carolinas* and the southern states?

How rare have been the defections and apostacies of our capital characters, though tempted with all the charms of gold, titles, and nobility? Whence is it that so few of our army have deserted to the enemy? Whence that our brave sailors have chosen the horrors of prison ships and death, rather than to fight against their country? Whence that men of every rank have so generally felt and spoken alike, as if the cords of life struck unison through the continent? What but a miracle has preserved the *union of the states*, the *purity of congress*, and the unshaken *patriotism* of every *general assembly*? It is God who has raised up for us a great and powerful ally, an ally which sent us a chosen army, and a naval force: who sent us a ROCHAMBEAU and a CHATELLUX, and other characters of the first military merit and eminence, to fight side by side with a WASHINGTON and a LINCOLN, and the intrepid americans, in the siege and battle of *york-town*. It is God, who so ordered the ballancing interests of nations, as to produce an irresistible motive in the european maritime powers, to take our part. Hence the recognition of our independence by *spain* and *hol-land*, as well as *france*. Britain ought to have foreseen, that it must have given joy to surrounding nations, tired and wearied out with the insolence and haughtiness of her domineering flag, a flag which spreads terror through the oceans of the terraqueous globe, to behold the æra when their forces should have arrived to such maturity and strength, that a junction of national navies, would produce an aggregate force, adequate to the humiliation of britain and her gallant and lofty navy. Nor could they resist the operation of this motive, prompting them to assist in the cutting off of a member, with which the

growing aggrandisement and power of britain were connected; as thus she would be disarmed of terror, and they should be at rest. If britain doth not learn wisdom by these events, and disclaim the sovereignty of the ocean, the junction of national navies will settle the point for her, in less than half a century. So wonderfully does divine providence order the time and coincidence of the public national motives, cooperating in effecting great public events and revolutions.

But the time would fail me to recount the wonder-working providence of God, in the events of this war. Let these serve as a specimen; and lead us to hope that God will not forsake this people; for whom he has done such marvellous things (whereof we are glad and rejoice this day) having at length brought us to the dawn of Peace. O PEACE! thou welcome guest! all hail, thou heavenly visitant! calm the tumult of nations, and wave thy balmy wing to perpetuity over this region of liberty. Let there be a tranquil period for the unmolested accomplishment of the *magnalia dei*, the great events in God's moral government, designed from eternal ages to be displayed in these ends of the earth.

And here I beg leave to *congratulate* my country, upon the termination of this cruel and unnatural war, the cessation of hostilities, and the prospect of PEACE. May this great event excite and elevate our first our highest acknowledgements to the sovereign monarch of universal nature, to the supreme disposer and controller of all events; let this our pious, sincere and devout gratitude ascend in one general effusion or heartfelt praise and hallelujah, in one united cloud of incense, even the incense of universal joy and thanksgiving to God from the collective body of the united states.

And while we render our supreme honors to the Most High, the God of armies; let us recollect, with affectionate honor, the bold and brave sons of freedom, who *willingly offered themselves*, and bled in the defence of their country. Our fellow-cit-

izens, the OFFICERS and SOLDIERS of the PATRIOT ARMY, who, with the *Manlys*, the *Jones's*, and other gallant commanders and brave seamen of the American navy, have heroically fought the war by sea and by land, merit of their once bleeding but now triumphant country, laurels, crowns, rewards, and the highest honors. Never was the profession of arms used with more glory, or in a better cause, since the days of JOSHUA the son of *Nun*. O WASHINGTON! how do I love thy name! how have I often adored and blessed thy God, for creating and forming thee the great ornament of human kind! upheld and protected by the Omni-potent, by the Lord of Hosts, thou hast been sustained and carried through one of the most arduous and most important wars in all history. The world and posterity will, with admiration, contemplate thy deliberate, cool, and stable judgment, thy virtues, thy valour and heroic achievements, as far surpassing those of a CYRUS, whom the world loved and adored. The sound of thy fame shall go out into all the earth, and extend to distant ages. Thou hast convinced the world of the BEAUTY OF VIRTUE—for in thee this BEAUTY shines with distinguished lustre. Those who would not recognize any *beauty in virtue* in the world beside, will yet reverence it in thee. There is a glory in thy *disinterested benevolence*, which the greatest characters would purchase, if possible, at the expence of worlds, and which may excite indeed their emulation, but cannot be felt by the VENAL GREAT—who think every thing, even *virtue* and true *glory*, may be bought and sold, and trace our every action to motives terminating in *self*.

“ Find virtue local, all relation scorn,

“ See all in self, and but for SELF be born.” *

But thou, O WASHINGTON, forgottest thyself, when thou lovedst thy bleeding country. Not all the gold of ophir, nor a world filled with rubies and diamonds, could effect or purchase the sublime and noble feelings of thine heart, in that single self-moved act, when thou renouncedst the REWARDS OF GENERALSHIP, and heroically tookest upon thyself the dan-

* Dunciad, b. 4, p. 480.

gerous as well as arduous office of GENERALISSIMO—and this at a solemn moment, when thou didst deliberately cast the die, for the dubious, the very dubious alternative of a *gibbet* or a TRIUMPHAL ARCH. But, beloved, enshielded and blessed by the great MELCHISEDEC, the king of *righteousness* as well as *peace*, thou hast triumphed gloriously. Such has been thy military wisdom in the struggles of this arduous conflict, such the noble *rectitude*, *amiableness* and *mansuetude* of thy character, something is there so singularly glorious and venerable thrown by heaven about thee, that not only does thy country love thee, but our very enemies stop the madness of their fire in full volley, stop the illiberality of their slander, at thy name, as if rebuked from heaven, with a *touch not mine annointed, and do my HERO no harm*. Thy fame is of sweeter perfume than arabian spices in the gardens of *persia*. A baron *de Steuben* shall waft its fragrance to the monarch of *prussia*: a marquis *de la Fayette* shall waft it to a far greater monarch, and diffuse thy renown throughout *europa*; † listening angels shall catch the odour, waft it to heaven, and perfume the universe.

And now that our warfare is ended, do thou, o man of God, greatly beloved of the Most High, permit a humble minister of the blessed Jesus, who, though at a distance, has vigilantly accompanied thee through every stage of thy military progress, has watched thine every movement and danger with an heart-felt anxiety and solicitude; and who, with the most sincere and fervent wishes for thy safety and success, has not ceased day nor night to pray for thee, and to command thee and thy army to God;—condescend to permit him to express his most cordial congratulations, and to share in the triumphs of thy bosom, on this great and joyous occasion. We thank the Lord of Hosts, that has given his servant to see his

† The author does not doubt but that the capital events in the mediatorial kingdom on earth into which the angels desire to look, especially those which respect the Protestant Zion, are subjects of extensive attention in heaven, and that characters of real and eminent merit in the cause of liberty and virtue are echoed and contemplated with great honor in the celestial realms.

desire upon his enemies, and peace in israel. And when thou shalt now at length retire from the fatigues of nine laborious campaigns, to the tranquil enjoyment, to the sweetness and serenity of domestic life, may you never meet the fate of that ornament of arms and of humanity, the great BELISARIUS; but may a crown of universal love and gratitude, of universal admiration, and of the universal reverence and honor of thy saved country, rest and flourish upon the head of its VETERAN GENERAL and glorious defender; until, by the divine Jesus, whom thou hast loved and adored, and of whose holy religion thou art not ashamed, thou shall be translated from a world of war, to a world of peace, liberty, and eternal TRIUMPH!

The time would fail me to commemorate the merits of the other capital characters of the army. To do this, and to pay the tribute of fraternal honor and respect, to our glorious ALLIED ARMY, will belong to the future *Homers*, *Livys* and *Tassos* of our country; for none but americans can write the american war. They will celebrate the names of a WASHINGTON and a ROCHAMBEAU, a GREENE and a LA FAYETTE, a LINCOLN and a CHARTELLUX, a GATES and a VIOMENIL, a PUTNAM and a duc de LAUZUN, a MORGAN, and other heroes who rushed to arms, and offered themselves voluntarily for the defence of liberty. They will take up a lamentation and drop a tear upon the graves of mighty ones, those *beauties of israel*, who have fallen in battle from the day of *lexington* to the victory of *york-town*. And while they commemorate those who have lived through singular sufferings, as those honorable personages, a LOVEL, a LAURENS, and a GADSDEN; the names of the illustrious martyr-generals, WARREN, MERCER, MONTGOMERY, DE KALB, WOOSTER, THOMAS, with a POLASKI, and others, will be recorded as heroically falling in these *wars of the Lord*. But I may not enlarge, save only that we drop a tear, or rather showers of tears, upon the graves of those other brave officers and soldiers, that fell in battle, or otherwise perished in the war. *Oh! that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears*, that I

might weep the thousands of our brethren, that have perished in *prison-ships*—in one of which, the *jersey*, then lying at new york, perished *eleven thousand* the last three years! while others have been barbarously exiled to the east-indies for life!—Come mourn with me all ye tender parents and friends, the fate of your dear—dear—But these scenes are too tender and distressing!—Can we ever love *britain* again?—Can the tender, affectionate fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters; can the numerous bemoaning friends and relatives, and perhaps the espoused bosoms of the tender sex—can they, I say, ever forget the cruel mockings, scourgings, *starvations*, deaths, assassinations, of their dearest offspring and connexions in british captivity? Can they forget the numerous thousands of their captivated countrymen instantly consigned to destruction, to dungeons, prisons, places of variolous infection and certain death? Will they be soothed by telling them this is the *fate of war*? As well may *inquisitorial* cruelties be soothed, by alledging they are salutary corrections, and necessary for the good of the church. Our enemies took occasion, from this *fate of war*, to reek their vengeance, and to lash us with a severity too unmerciful ever to be forgotten. Can we forget the conflagrations of charlestown, norfolk, esopus, fairfield, and other american towns, laid in ashes by a Tryon, and other incendiaries? Were these the kindnesses american brethren received from the hands of *britons*, and their more cruel associates the *indians* and *loyalists*? Can we forget the barbarous tragedy of colonel *Haine*, or the murder of captain *Huddy*, in violation of the most sacred laws of war and of national honor? Blush, oh britain, for the stain of your national glory! Can we ever forget with what cruel and malicious delight they tortured, entowered, and insulted an american plenipotentiary, the illustrious LAURENS, although by the laws of honor and nations the person of an ambassador is sacred? Can we ever forget the cruel and infamous treatment of the honorable Mr. GADSDEN?—O *Gadsden!* how I reverence thy piety, the firmness in captivity, thine intrepid and uncorrupted patriotism, thine enlightened

politics, thy unremitted fervor and zeal in the cause of liberty! But how painful is it to recount the even less than ten thousandth part of the series of distresses, the complicated woe and misery, that make up the system of sufferings, which we have been called to endure, in the pangs and throes of the parturition of empire, in “effecting our glorious revolution, in rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and in laying the foundation of a great empire.” †

The PATRIOT ARMY merits our commemoration, and so do the great characters in the patriotic ASSEMBLIES and CONGRESS. Let america never forget what they owe to those first intrepid defenders of her rights, the honorable Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS, and the hon. JAMES OTIS, Esq; add to these the hon. Dr. JOHN WINTHROP, hon. JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq; who, with others, were the markt objects of ministerial vengeance; who early stept forth and heroically withstood tyranny, and alarmed their country with its danger; while venal sycophants were lulling us to rest, and hushing us into silence. His excellency Mr. president RANDOLPH, merits our grateful commemoration; and so do the governors RUTLEDGE, WARD, LIVINGSTON, HOPKINS, NASH, CLINTON, the honorable Messieurs WYTHE, DYER, SHERMAN, PENDELTON, HENRY, ELLERY, the LEES, president HUNTINGTON, LYNCH, WITHERSPOON, WOLCOTT, gov. PACA, gov. HALL, LAW, MARCHANT, president M’KEAN, ELSWORTH, VANDYKE, JEFFERSON—Jefferson, who poured the soul of the continent into the monumental act of independence. These, and other worthy personages of this and the other states, will be celebrated in history, among the cardinal patriots of this revolution. All the ages of man will not obliterate the meritorious name of his excellency, governor HANCOCK, as president of congress at a most critical æra, nor the meritorious name of that illustrious band of heroes and compatriots; those sensible and intrepid worthies who, with him, resolutely and nobly dared,

† General Washington’s address to the army, in general orders, April 19, 1783, on the cessation of hostilities.

in the face of every danger, to sign the glorious act of INDEPENDENCE.* May their names live, be preserved, and transmitted to posterity with deserved reputation and honor,

* JOHN HANCOCK.

New-Hampshire.	{ JOSIAH BARTLETT, WILLIAM WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.
Massachusetts-Bay.	{ SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBERT TREAT-PAINE, ELDRIDGE GERRY.
Rhode-Island.	{ STEPHEN HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.
Connecticut.	{ ROGER SHERMAN, SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.
New-York.	{ WILLIAM FLOYD, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, FRANCIS LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.
New-Jersey.	{ RICHARD STOCKTON, JOHN WITHERSPOON, FRANCIS HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRAHAM CLARK.
Pennsylvania.	{ ROBERT MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEORGE CLYMER, JAMES SMITH, GEORGE TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEORGE ROSS.
Delaware.	{ CÆSAR RODNEY. GEORGE READ.

through all american ages. Those great civilians and ambassadors, the illustrious FRANKLIN, ADAMS, JAY and LAURENS, have approved themselves equal to the highest negotiations in the courts of nations; been faithful to their country's liberties, and by their great and eminent services have justly merited to have their names sent forward to immortality in history, with renown and unsullied glory.

Great and extensive will be the happy effects of this warfare, in which we have been called in providence to fight out, not the liberties of america only, but the liberties of the world itself. The spirited and successful stand which we have made against tyranny, will prove the salvation of *england* and *ireland*: and by teaching all sovereigns the danger of irritating and trifling with the affections and loyalty of their subjects, introduce clemency, moderation and justice into public gov-

Maryland.	{	SAMUEL CHACE, WILLIAM PACA, THOMAS STONE, CHARLES CARROLL (of Carrollton)
Virginia.	{	GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, THOMAS JEFFERSON, BENJAMIN HARRISON, THOMAS ELLSON, JUN., FRANCES LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.
North-Carolina.	{	WILLIAM HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.
South-Carolina.	{	EDWARD RUTLEDGE. THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN., THOMAS LYNCH, JUN., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.
Georgia.	{	BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEORGE WALTON.

ernment at large through europe. Already have we learned ireland and all other nations the road to liberty; the way to a redress of grievances, by open *systematical measures*, *committees of correspondence*, and *military discipline* of an armed people. Ireland has become gloriously independent of england. Nor will the spirit rest, till *scotland* becomes independent also. It would be happier for the three kingdoms, to subsist with parliaments and national councils independent of one another, although confederated under one monarch. The union of 1707 has produced the loss and dismemberment of america. It is just possible, that within this age, some ill-fated counsellor of another connexion, might have arisen, and prompted majesty and parliament to sanguinary measures against america: but it is more than probable, that their enforcement would have been deferred, or procrastinated a century hence, or to a period when our accumulated population would have dictated wiser, milder measures, to the british court; and so america, by a gentle, fraternal connexion, would have remained cemented to britain for distant ages. But a rehoam counsellor stepped in, *et actum est de republica*—the ten tribes are lost. Had it not been for the insidious and haughty councils of a *Bute* and a *Mansfield*, imbued with principles incompatible with liberty; with the unwieldly faction of their despotic connexions in the empire, america and ireland had remained united with britain to this day. Chagrined and mortified by the defeat and dishonor brought upon them by Butean councils and dominion, as well as with their curtailed and unequal weight in parliament, *scotland*, emulous of the glory of *ireland*, will wish for and obtain a dissolution of the union, and resume a separate sovereignty. It must be the *lenity*, the *wisdom*, the gentle and pacific measures of an *augustan* age, that can conserve the remnant of the british empire from this tripartite division.

Nor will the british isles alone be relieved into liberty, but more extensive still will be the *peaceable fruits* of our righteous conflict. The question of the *mare liberum* and the

mare clausum, heretofore discussed by the ablest civilians of the last century, will no more require the learned labors of a *Milton*, a *Selden*, a *Grotius*. This war has decided, not by the *jus maritimum* of *rhodes*, *oleron* or *britain*, but on the principles of commercial utility and public right, that the NAVIGATION OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN SHALL BE FREE: and so probably will be that of all the oceans of the terraqueous globe. All the european powers will henceforth, from national and commercial interests, naturally become an united and combined guaranty, for the free navigation of the atlantic, and free commerce with america. Interest will establish a free access for all nations to our shores, and for us to all nations. The *armed neutrality* will disarm even war itself of hostilities against trade; will form a new chapter in the laws of nations, and preserve a free commerce among powers at war. Fighting armies will decide the fate of empires by the sword, without interrupting the civil, social and commercial intercourse of subjects. The want of any thing to take, will prove a natural abolition of privateering, when the property shall be covered with neutral protection. Even the navies will, within a century, become useless. A generous and truly liberal system of national connexion, in the spirit of the plan conceived and nearly executed by the great HENRY IV. OF FRANCE, § will almost annihilate war itself.

We shall have a communication with all nations in *commerce*, *manners* and *science*, beyond any thing heretofore known in the world. Manufacturers and artizans, and men of every description, may, perhaps, come and settle among us. They will be few indeed in comparison with the annual thousands of our natural increase, and will be incorporated with the prevailing hereditary complexion of the first settlers:—We shall not be assimilated to them, but they to us, especially in the second and third generations. This fermentation and communion of nations will doubtless produce something very new, singular, and glorious. Upon the conquest of *Alexander* the great, *statuary*, *painting*, *architecture*, *philosophy*, and the *fine arts* were

§ Sully's memoirs.

transplanted in perfection from *athens* to *tarsus*, from *greece* to *syria*; where they immediately flourished in even greater perfection, than in the parent state. Not in greece herself, are there to be found specimens of a sublimer or more magnificent architecture, even in the grecian stile, than in the ruins of *baalbeck* and *palmyra*. So all the arts may be transplanted from europe and asia, and flourish in america with an augmented lustre: not to mention the augment of the sciences, from american inventions and discoveries—of which there have been as capital ones here, ¶ the last half century, as in all europe.

The rough sonorous diction of the english language may here take its athenian polish, and receive its attic urbanity; as it will probably become the vernacular tongue of more numerous millions, than ever yet spake one language on earth. It may continue for ages to be the prevailing and general language of north-america. The intercommunion of the united states with all the world, the *travels*, *trade*, and *politics*, and the infusion of letters into our infancy, will probably preserve us from the provincial dialects, risen into inexterminable habit before the invention of printing. The greek never became the language of the alexandrine, nor the turkish of the ottoman conquests; nor yet the latin that of the roman empire. The saracenic conquests have already lost the pure and elegant arabic of the *koreish* tribe, or the family of *Ismael*, in the corrupted dialects of egypt, syria, persia, and indostan. Different from these the english language will grow up, with the present american population, into great purity and elegance, unmutilated by the foreign dialects of foreign conquests. And in this connexion I may observe, with pleasure, how God, in his providence, has ordered that, at the reformation, the *eng-*

¶ AMERICAN INVENTIONS.

- 1730. Reflecting Quadrant. By Mr. Tho's. Godfrey, at Philad.
- 1745. Mercurial Inoculation. By Dr. Muirson.
- 1750. Electrical pointed Rods. By. Dr. Franklin.
- 1762. Sand-Iron. By Dr. Jared Eliot.
- 1769. Quantity of Matter in Comets. By Professor Winthrop.

lish translation of the Bible should be made with very great accuracy, with greater accuracy, it is presumed, than any other translation. This is said, allowing that some texts admit of correction. I have compared it throughout with the originals, hebrew, greek, and syriac; and beg leave to judge, and testify it to be, a very excellent translation. Nor do I believe a better is ever to be expected in this imperfect state. It sustained a revision of numerous translators from *Tyndal*, to the last review by the bishops and other learned divines, in the time of *James I.* 180 years ago; and has never been altered since.* It may have been designed by providence for the future perusal of more millions of the human race than ever were able to read one book, and for their use to the millennial ages.

This great american revolution, this recent political phænomenon of a new sovereignty arising among the sovereign powers of the earth, will be attended to and contemplated by all nations. Navigation will carry the american flag around the globe itself; and display the thirteen stripes and new constellation at *bengal* and *canton*, on the *indus* and *ganges*, on the *wbang-ho* and the *yang-tse-kinag*; and with commerce will import the wisdom and literature of the east. That prophecy of *Daniel* is now literally fulfilling—*isbotatu rabbim vetrabbeh badaugnt*—there shall be an universal travelling *too and fro, and knowledge shall be increased*. This knowledge will be brought home and treasured up in america: and being here digested and carried to the highest perfection, may reblaze back from america to europe, asia and africa, and illumine the world with truth and liberty.

That great civilian Dr. John Adams, the learned and illustrious american ambassador, observes thus,† “But the great designs of providence must be accomplished;—great indeed! The progress of society will be accelerated by centuries by this revolution. The emperor of germany adopting, as fast as he can, american ideas of toleration and religious liberty: And it

* Vid. Lewis’s Hist. Transl. Bib. † Lett. Dec. 18, 1781.

will become the fashionable system of europe very soon. Light spreads from the day-spring in the west; and may it shine more and more until the perfect day.”—So spreading may be the spirit for the restoration and recovery of long lost national rights, that even the *Cortes* of spain may re-exist, and resume their ancient splendor, authority, and control of royalty.‡ The same principles of wisdom and enlightened politics, may establish rectitude in public government throughout the world.

The most ample *religious liberty* will also probably obtain among all nations. Benevolence and religious lenity is increasing among the nations. The *reformed* in *france*, who were formerly oppressed with heavy persecution, at present enjoy a good degree of religious liberty, though by silent indulgence only. A re-establishment of the *edict of nantz*, would honor the *grand monarch*, by doing public justice to a large body of his best and most loyal subjects. The *emperor* of germany, last year, published an imperial decree granting liberty for the free and unmolested exercise of the protestant religion within the *austrian* territories and dominions.§ The *inquisition* has been

‡ So jealous were the Cortes of their liberties, that the states of Aragon in particular, after sundry previous stipulations, exacted a coronation oath of the king, which was pronounced by the Justitia arragonsensis (who represented the person of the supreme power in the state) a power which they asserted to be superior to the kings, in these words, NOS QUI VALEMOS TANTO COMME VOS, Y PONDEMOS MAS QUE VOS, VOS ELEGIMOS REY: CON ESTAS Y ESTAS CONDICIONES, INTRA VOS Y NOS, UN QUE MANDA MAS QUE VOS. “We who are as powerful as you, and have more authority than you, elect you king: with the stipulated conditions, between you and us there is one (*viz.* the Justiciary) higher in command than you.”—See a learned tract, *de jure magistratum in subdito et officio subditorum erga magistratus*: printed at Lyons, 1576, full of jural and political erudition, and, for that age, full of liberty.

§ The order of jesuits, suppressed in rapid succession by the european princes, 1765, was finally abolished, 1773, by the sensible and sagacious Ganganelli, who bid fairer to re-unite the protestants, had it been possible, than any pontiff since the secession from Leo X. Nor can the order be revived, nor the suppression of religious houses in spain and austria, nor austrian liberty, be prevented by the bigoted, austere Braschi, the present reigning pontiff.

in effect, this year, suppressed in *spain*, where the king, by an edict of 3d of November, 1782, proclaimed liberty for inhabitants of all religions: And by a happily conceived plan for *literary reformation*, the aurora of science will speedily blaze into meridian splendor in that kingdom. An emulation for *liberty* and *science* is enkindled among the nations, and will doubtless produce something very liberal and glorious, in this age of science, this period of the empire of reason.

The united states will embosom all the religious sects or denominations in christendom. Here they may all enjoy their whole respective systems of worship and church government, complete, Of these, next to the *presbyterians*, the *church of england* will hold a distinguished and principal figure. They will soon furnish themselves with a bishop in *virginia* and *maryland*, and perhaps another to the northward, to ordain their clergy, give confirmation, superintend and govern their churches; the main body of which will be in *virginia* and *maryland*, besides a *diaspora* or interspersion in all the other states. The *unitas fratrum*, for above thirty years past, have had moravian bishops in america; and *I think they have* three at present, though not of local or diocean jurisdiction, their pastorate being the whole *unity* throughout the world. In this there ever was a distinction between the *bohemia* episcopacy, and that of the eastern and western churches; for in a body of 2000 antient *bohemia* churches, they seldom had above two or three bishops.—The *baptists*, the *friends*, the *lutherans*, the *romanists*, are all considerable bodies, in all their dispersions through the states. The *dutch*, and *gallic*, and *german* reformed or calvinistic churches among us, I consider as *presbyterian*, differing from us in nothing of moment, save in language. There is a considerable body of these in the states of *new-york*, *jersey*, *pennsylvania*, and at *ebenezer*, in *georgia*. There is a *greek church* brought from *smyrna*, but I think it falls below these states. There are *westleians*, *mennonists* and others, all which make a very inconsiderable amount, in com-

parison with those, who will give the religious complexion to america; which for the southern parts will be episcopal, the northern *presbyterian*. All religious denominations will be independent of one another, as much as the *greek* and *armenian* patriarchates in the east: and having, on account of religion, no superiority as to secular powers and civil immunities, they will cohabit together in harmony, and I hope, with a most generous catholicism and benevolence. The example of a friendly cohabitation of all sects in america, proving that men may be good members of civil society, and yet differ in religion: this precedent, I say, which has already been intently studied and contemplated for fifteen years past by *france*, *holland*, and *germany*, may have already had an effect in introducing moderation, lenity, and justice, among european states. And who can tell how extensive a blessing this american *Joseph* may become to the whole human race, although once dispised by his brethren, exiled and sold into egypt? How applicable that in Gen. xlix. 22.26. *Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall. The Archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him. But his bow abode in strength, the arms of his hands were made strong by the arms of the mighty God of Jacob.—The blessings of thy father, have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hill: they shall be on the head of JOSEPH, and on the crown of the head of him that was SEPARATED from his brethren.*

Little would civilians have thought ages ago, that the world should ever look to america for models of government and polity: little did they think of finding this most perfect polity among the poor outcasts, the contemptible people of new-england, and particularly in the long despised civil polity of *connecticut*, a polity conceived by the sagacity and wisdom of a WINTHROP, a LUDLOW, HAYNES, HOPKINS, HOOKER, and the other first settlers of *hartford*, in 1636. And while europe and asia may hereafter learn that the most liberal principles of

law and civil polity are to be found on this side of the atlantic; they may also find the true religion here depurated from the rust and corruption of ages, and learn from us to reform and restore the church to its primitive purity. It will be long before the ecclesiastical pride of the splendid european hierarchies, can submit to learn wisdom from those, whom they have been inured to look upon with sovereign contempt. But candid and liberal disquisition will sooner or later have a great effect. Removed from the embarrassments of corrupt systems, and the dignities and blinding opulence connected with them, the unfettered mind can think with a noble enlargement, and with an unbounded freedom, go wherever the light of truth directs. Here will be no bloody tribunals, no cardinals inquisitors-general, to bend the human mind, forceably to control the understanding, and put out the light of reason, the candle of the Lord, in man; to force an innocent *galileo* to renounce truths demonstrable as the light of day. Religion may here receive its last, most liberal, and impartial examination. Religious liberty is peculiarly friendly to fair and generous disquisition. Here deism will have its full chance; nor need libertines more to complain of being overcome by any weapons, but the gentle, the powerful ones of *argument* and *truth*. Revelation will be found to stand the test to the ten thousandth examination.

There are three coetaneous events to take place, whose fulfillment is certain from prophecy, the annihilation of the pontificate, the reassembling of the jews, and the fulness of the gentiles. That liberal and candid disquisition of christianity, which will most assuredly take place in america, will prepare europe for the first event, with which the other will be connected, when, especially on the return of the twelve tribes to the holy land, there will burst forth a degree of evidence hitherto unperceived, and of efficacy to convert a world. More than three quarters of mankind yet remain heathen. Heaven put a stop to the propagation of christianity, when the church became corrupted with the adoration of numerous deities

and images, because this would have been only exchanging an old for a new idolatry. Nor is christendom now larger than it was nine centuries ago. The promising prospects of the *propaganda fide* at rome are come to nothing; and it may be of the divine destiny, that all other attempts for gospelizing the nations of the earth shall prove fruitless, until the present christendom itself be recovered to the primitive purity and simplicity. At which time, instead of the babel confusion of contradicting missionaries, all will harmoniously concur in speaking one language, one holy faith, one apostolic religion, to an uncontroverted world. At this period, and in effecting this great event, we have reason think, that the united states may be of no small influence and consideration. It was of the Lord, to send Joseph into egypt, to save much people, and to shew forth his praise. It is of the Lord, that *a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,** should *flee into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God,†* and where she might be the repository of wisdom, and *keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus*. It may have been of the Lord, that christianity is to be found in such great purity, in this church exiled into the wilderness of america; and that its purest body should be evidently advancing forward, by an augmented natural increase and spiritual edification, into a singular superiority—with the ultimate subserviency to the glory of God, in converting the world.

When we look forward and see the country increased to 40 or 50 millions, while we see all the religious sects increased into respectable bodies, we shall doubtless find the united body of the *congregational, consociated* and *presbyterian* churches, making an equal figure with any of them; or to say the least, to be of such magnitude as to number, that it will be to no purpose for other sects to meditate their eversion. This, indeed, is enterprized, but it will end in a sisyphian la-

* Not to say thirteen. † Rev. xii. 1.

bor. There is the greatest prospect that we shall become thirty out of forty millions. And while the avenues to civil improvement and public honors, will here be equally open to all sects, so it will be no dishonor hereafter to be a presbyterian, or of the religious denomination which will probably ever make the most distinguished figure in this great republic. And hereafter when the world shall behold us a respectable part of christendom, they may be induced by curiosity, with calmness and candor to examine, whether something of christianity may not really be found among us. And while we have to lament our laodiceanism, deficient morals and incidental errors, yet the *collective system of evangelical doctrines*, the *instituted ordinances*, and the true ecclesiastical *polity*, may be found here in a great degree of purity. Europeans and some among us, have habituated themselves to a most contemptible idea of the New-England churches—conceiving us to be only a colluvies of errors, fanaticism, irregularity and confusion.* They have taken this idea in part from our brethren in britain, who have viewed us very much also in the same light, to this day. This on the contrary is the truth, that, allowing for offences unavoidable, for imperfections and controversies, incidents to the churches in their most regular state, our churches are as completely reformed, and as well modelled according to the scripture plan, as can be expected till the millennium. Particularly these essential things may be found among them upon examination, that the churches or particular congregations are regularly formed, and duely uphold public worship every Lord's day, and this ordinarily in a very decent solemn manner; that the *preaching* of the word, *baptism* and the *Lord's supper* are regularly and duely administered by the pastors: that the pastors are orderly and regularly set to the ministry, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, or of those who have regularly derived office power, in lineal succession, from the Apostles and Jesus Christ. We have no classical or synodical tribunals: yet we have ecclesiastical councils. And our church discipline, al-

* Peters's hist. of Connecticut.

though not sufficiently attended to, is such that persons of evident scandal and immorality, and vicious ministers (of which God be thanked, there have been but few, very few indeed) cannot live long in our churches. With all our humbling imperfections, I know of no amendment necessary, as to our general system of church polity. Nothing of moment (unless it be *grace*) no *doctrine*, no *ordinance* or institution of the primitive churches, but may be found in general reception and observance among us. If we are condemned for having no tribunals, or judicatories but of the church, which however is not true, let it be remembered that neither Christ nor his apostles ever instituted any: and that in this respect, we are just in the same state, with regard to ecclesiastical polity as the 150 churches of the apostolic age,* and particularly the seven churches of *asia*, in the time of St. *John*.

The invalidity of our *ordinations* is objected against us, and so of consequence the invalidity of all our official administrations. And now that we are upon the matter, give me leave to exhibit a true, though summary state of it, as the result of a very full, laborious, and thorough inquiry. It was the mistaken opinion of some of our first ministers in new-england (than whom, there never was a more learned collection, for they embosomed all the theological and ecclesiastical erudition of all ages), it was, I say, their opinion, that the power of ordination of all church officers, was in the church, by their elders. They well knew, from ecclesiastical and scripture antiquity, that the power of election was there; and they judged ordination the lesser act: but their great reason was, that the church might not be controlled by an exterior authority, whether episcopal or presbyterial, and so no more be harrassed by bishops courts, or any other similar tribunals. Our fathers held to an eldership, for they saw it in all antiquity, as well as the bible: and it was their judgment, that elders should be

* It has been computed that the churches of the apostolic age did not exceed one hundred and fifty or two hundred congregations in the whole world.

ordained by elders of the same church. The most of the first forty churches had ruling elders; a few had not. These few created an early difficulty; on which our fathers early made a mistaken decision, that where there were no elders in the church, ordination might be done by the laying on of hands of delegated brethren. The introduction of ministers, already ordained, into the pastoral charge of a particular church, was at first done by lay-brethren; and this was, from the beginning, *improperly* called *ordination*, how often soever repeated. A repetition or ordinations or baptisms, does not nullify the first regular administrations. All the first new-england ministers were ordained before. Thus Mr. Wilson was first ordained by a bishop in england; then 1630 by governor *Winthrop* and others he was ordained *teacher* in *boston*, he then ordained an elder: and upon the accession of Mr. *Cotton*, 1633, he was, by this elder and governor *Winthrop*, again, a third time, ordained and constituted pastor. So the learned and courtly Mr. *Davenport* was ordained by a bishop, then by the brethren, pastor of the church in new-haven, in 1639; and 1668, was again ordained, pastor of the first church in *boston*, by elder *Penn*. Mr. Hooker was ordained a presbyter by a bishop in england, and then again by the brethren at *Newtown*, 1633, who removed with his church to hartford. Mr. Bulkly, of concord, and Mr. Noyes, of new-bury, and others, expressly adhered to their former ordinations in england by the bishops, though not as bishops, but as presbyters.* But in general the induction

* A few extracts from the first governor Winthrop's entries in a manuscript diary, may evince that the ministers relied upon their ordinations in england. At August 27, 1630, "We of the congregation kept a fast and those Mr. Wilson our Teacher, and Mr. Nowel our elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, Deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in england." Mr. Gager died 20th September, and October 25th, 1630." Mr. Colburn, who was chosen a Deacon by the congregation a week before, was invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder."

November 22nd 1632. "A fast was held by the congregation of boston

of the ministers of the first churches, was performed by lay-brethren, and this was called ordination, but should be considered what in reality it was, only induction or instalment of those who were vested with official power. These, as I said, were all ordained before by the bishops in england. Nor have I ever found, with certainty, more than one instance of lay-ordination, of a person never before ordained, the last century, (and there are few but what I have examined) this was done by advice, and under the inspection of ministers ordained by

and Mr. Wilson, formerly their teacher, was chosen pastor, and — Oliver a ruling elder, and both were ordained by imposition of hands first by the teacher and two deacons—upon the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the pastor."

Oct. 10, 1633.—"Mr Cotton was then chosen Teacher of the congregation of Boston and ordained by imposition of the hands of the presbytery.—The pastor and two elders laid their hands upon their head, and the pastor prayed, and then taking off their hands laid them on again and speaking to him by name did thereby design him to the said office—and did give him the charge of the congregation.—Then the neighbouring ministers which were present did at the pastor's notice give him the right hand of fellowship."

Oct. 11, 1633. "A fast at Newtown where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor and Mr. Stone teacher in such manner as before at Boston."

Mr. Bulkley's ordination was 2m. 6d. 1637. "The church of concord kept a daye of humiliation.—for the ordination of their elders, and they chose Mr. Bulkley teacher and Mr. Jones pastor. Upon a question being moved by one sent from the church of Salem it was resolved by the minister there present, that such as had been ministers in england, were lawful minister notwithstanding their acceptance of the call of the bishops—but having come hither, they accounted themselves no ministers, untill they were called to another churche, and that upon election they were ministers before they were solemnly ordayned."

Another specimen of the first new-england ordination we have in the church of Dedham. "April 24, 1639. John Harding, one of the brethren, was ordained to the office of a ruling elder by fasting and prayer and the laying on the hands of Mr. John Allin their pastor elect and two other brethren. The same day Mr. John Allin was ordained to the office of pastor by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the ruling elder and two other brethren." Mr. Allen had been ordained by a bishop: and he communicated ordaining power to the elder. He died 1671: and was succeeded in the pastorate by Mr. Adams, who in 1673 was ordained by neighboring pastors only.

the bishops in england, one of whom prayed at the solemnity of the consecration, and all gave their approbation and right hand of fellowship; which in my opinion, amounts to their performing the ordination themselves, they being present and assisting in the transaction. This was at *woburn*, 1642. I believe there were two or three more similar ordinations of unordained candidates, before the ministers saw and corrected their error—which, indeed, was almost the only error, or moment, which the ministers went into the last century.

Immediately upon publishing the cambridge platform, 1648, our brethren in england remonstrated against allowing lay-ordination. They alledged, that we had no example in scripture of lay-ordination; that the sacerdotal gift or office-power, was conferred and given *by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*,* and that we had examples of presbyterian ordination in scripture, and not only that it was safest to proceed in this way, but that it was the only scriptural ground. These arguments convinced our fathers, and they immediately set about to remedy the practice, which had hitherto, providentially, wrought no mischief, as the body of the pastors had been ordained by bishops. It instantly became a custom for some of the ordained ministers present to lay on hands in ordinations, it being for some time judged necessary, that the delegated brethren should join, in token of subjection of the church to the pastoral care of the minister. But at length it became a custom, so early as before 1660, that, at the desire of the church, the ordaining ministers performed the whole, both conferred office, power on the pastor elect, by the laying on of hands, and committed the church to his pastoral charge, which, with the joint fellowship of the pastors and churches, finished the ordination. Thus ordinations were recovered into their right state and order, the last century, and before lay-ordination had wrought any evil. Thus office power, by scripture presbyters, continued to be transfused through

* 1 Tim. iv. 14.

the clergy. I have reason and even assurance to believe, that there was no candidate ordained in new-england, before 1746, but whose ordination may be traced to the bishops in england. I have found no instance to the contrary, although I have searched and examined all the ordinations of the first half century here, and most of them for the first hundred years. And as to the wild and enthusiastic period between 1740 and 1750, though it gave birth to perhaps thirty little *separate* congregations, yet some have dissolved, others become regular, and the ten or a dozen now remaining, are more and more convinced of the duty of seeking ordination from among the standing ministers. And it is remarkable, that Mr. *Thomas Dennison*, now living, assisted, laid on hands, and gave the charge at the first ordination, in 1746, and at the three succeeding ordinations among the *separates* in new-england, from whence all the ordinations in the churches of that description have proceeded. And although in the first, but not in the others, he acted as a brother delegated by the church, and in others as an elder of another church, yet it is remarkable, I say, that he himself had been ordained, in 1743, by one, whose ordination I have traced to the *Mathers*, and other *boston* ministers, and through them up the bishop of *chester*, and other bishops in *england*. It is probable the few separate churches remaining, will, in time, become regular, by seeking ordinations among the pastors of the standing churches, where the ordinations are indubitable.

For, as I have said, the ordination of our clergy is regular and scriptural, and may be traced, in the line of presbyters, up to the apostolic age: and so in general may the ordinations, in this line, through the whole christian world, especially in the great divisions of *lutherans*, *calvinists*, and *church of england*. So wonderfully has Christ preserved the sacerdotal or presbyterian order in the church, that the succession in this line is without a doubt. The first *ninety-four* ministers who came over and settled new-england, long-island, and the jersey's, be-

fore 1669, and chiefly before 1640—These, I say, were all educated in the english universities, and were ordained in england. Some of whom, as *Hooker, Davenport, Chauncy, Lee, Bulkley, Noyes, Norton*, were men of universal reading in theological literature, and were profoundly versed in the writings of the greek and latin churches, in the councils and historians, the fathers, the writers of the middle ages, and the reformers—especially those miracles of human and divine learning, *Chauncey* and *Lee*. Of these ninety four, one or two only were ordained by the puritans; as the fourteen, who came over after the ejection of 1662, were ordained by the bishops, or more probably by the presbyterians in the protectorate: all the rest by the bishops. All these were ordained presbyters by the bishops in england: particularly the Rev. Mr. Richard Mather was ordained a presbyter by Dr. Morton bishop of chester 1618. § The bishops did not intend to communicate ordaining powers; but they really intended to convey all the power of a scripture-presbyter; and *by the scripture, we find this power conferred by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*. * If the succession in the line of bishops, might have been interrupted at the reformation, yet not so in the line of presbyters. Office-power has unquestionably been preserved in england among presbyters, not only to the times of its subjugation to rome by *Austin* the monk, but ages before even to *Lucius*, according to venerable *Bede*. And indeed we have it more directly to the apostolic age, without going through rome, for bishop Jewel asserts truly, that the antient churches of england, were of greek, that is, oriental derivation. We have in this manner an historical evidence and assurance, that the new-england ordinations in particular may be traced back to the holy apostles.

There is not an instance in the apostolic age, of *bishops, priests, and deacons*, being stated officers of more than a single congregation. I risque this historic assertion with the examination of the whole learned world; although I well know

§ Life of Dr. Increase Mather.

* 1 Tim. iv. 14.

that, like the evidences of revelation, it has been examined a thousand times, with different judgments. Every congregation, regularly and fully organized, had them: as appears from *Dionysius*, the areopagite, and *St. Ignatius*. The succession of bishops, who were only the first presbyters, as well as of the other elders, was preserved by ordinations performed by presbyters in or out of a church. And though ordinations were usually performed by three or more, yet if only one presbyter laid on hands, it was valid. Titus, a single elder, was left thus, to ordain elders in *crete*. The church of alexandria, founded by *St. Mark*, retained presbyterian ordination, exclusive, for 300 years, as appears from *Eutybius*, the patriarch there in the ninth century, who wrote the originals of that church in *arabic*, from which I have translated the following extract, viz.

“The ninth year of *Claudius Cæsar*, while *Mark*, the evangelist, resided at *alexandria*—*Hanania*s being converted to christianity, *Mark* baptized him, and constituted or ordained him chief father at *alexandria*, and he became the first patriarch of *alexandria*. *Mark*, the evangelists, likewise constituted and ordained *twelve* (*Cashisha**) presbyters with *Hanania*s, who should abide with the patriarch: so that when there should be a vacancy in the patriarchate, they should elect one of the twelve presbyters, upon whose head the other eleven should impose their hands, bless him, and create him patriarch; and then elect some eminent person, and constitute him a presbyter with themselves, in the room of him who was made a patriarch; so that there should always be twelve. Nor did this institution concerning the presbyters, cease at alexandria, that they should create the patriarchs out of the twelve presbyters, until the times of *Alexander*, patriarch at alexandria, who was of the number of the three hundred and eighteen” (at the council of nice, A. D. 325) “For he forbade the presbyters afterwards to create a patriarch. And decreed, that upon the death of a patriarch, the bishops should ass-

* The title *Cashies* is given to the coptic clergy to this day.

semble and ordain a patriarch. And he farther decreed, that on a vacancy in the patriarchate, they should elect, either from the twelve presbyters, or from any other country, some eminent person, and create him patriarch. And thus vanished the antient institution, by which the patriarch had been created by the presbyters; and there succeeded in its place his decree concerning the creation of the patriarchs by the bishops. Thus from *Hananiah* to the time of *Demetrius*, who was the eleventh patriarch at *alexandria*, there was no bishop in the provinces of *egypt*: nor did any patriarchs before him, constitute bishops. But he being made patriarch, constituted *three* bishops. And he was the first alexandrine patriarch who made bishops. Upon the death of *Demetrius*, *Heraclas* became patriarch, and constituted *twenty* bishops.”*

Thus, in this most valuable piece or relict of ecclesiastical antiquity, we have preserved and transmitted to us a specimen and exemplar of a truly primitive and apostolic church. And herein we have a full proof, that while there were fifteen hundred *pastors* or *Kashiba*, yet there were no bishops in *egypt* in the posterior appropriate sense of the *latin* and *greek* churches, until the fourth century: altho’ the christians had by that time become so numerous in *egypt*, that in the most severe and memorable persecution under *maximianus*, the predecessor of Constantine the great, one hundred thousand christians were put to death there, and seven hundred thousand were sold for slaves! a barbarity which satiated and glutted the malice of persecution, and wrought a conviction in the whole roman empire, of the impossibility of subduing christianity.

Correspondent to this idea of a church and its officers was the form particularly of the church of *ephesus*, and the seven churches of *asia*, in the apostolic age; and the churches of new-england; wherein as their primitive institutions, were originally two or more elders, besides the pastors and teachers, i.e. four presbyters: although, having generally, though not uni-

* Eutychie origines eccl. Alexand.

versally, dropt the ruling elders, they now more nearly resemble the church of *philippi*, in having, at present, only bishops and deacons. It might, however, be well to resume the eldership as in the days of our ancestors.

Agreeable to this primitive idea of a church, was the church of *ireland* planted and formed, by that great light of christendom St. *Patrick*, who, (as *Titus* travelled *crete* and ordained elders in every city) himself travelled *ireland*, converted it to christianity, and constituted 355 churches, and in each ordained a sett of elders, with a bishop at their head;* as did Mark in *alexandria*. Agreeable to that of the irish poet in the psalter of *Casbet*, which doubtless, while it retains the historical sentiments, loses its beauty in translation.

“ The blessed *Patrick*, with his priestly hands,
 “ The rite of consecration did confer,
 “ Upon the most religious of his clergy,
 “ *Three hundred and fifty-five* in number.
 “ He likewise, for the service of the church,
 “ As many sacred structures did erect,
 “ And *presbyters* ordained *three thousand*.”

This was A. D. 432. And it is remarkable, that this institution of the pious *Patrick*, continued for 400 years, until the danish invasion. If the whole christian world were to revert back to this original and truly primitive model, how far more simple, uniform, and beautiful, and even glorious, would the church universal appear, than under the mutilated artificial forms of the pontifical or patriarchal constitutions, of the middle and present ages? And how far more agreeable to the ecclesiastical polity instituted and delivered by the holy apostles? May this be exhibited and displayed in the american churches. Of this it gives me joy to believe there is the greatest prospect. The initial revival of this primeval institution is

* Nonnius, speaking of St. Patrick, says: “Ecclesias 355 fundavit, episcopos ordinavit eodem numero, presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit.”

indeed already so well established here, where the presbyterians hold so great a proportion in the american republic, that there can be but little doubt, but that in the ordinary course of events, our increasing and growing interest, without any interference with the other sects, will at length ascend to such a magnitude, and become so great and respectable a part of christendom, as to command the attention, contemplation, and fraternal love of our brethren and fellow christians, of the church universal, and even of the world itself. And when the *set time to favor Zion* shall come in God's good and holy providence, while christendom may no longer disdain to adopt a reformation from us, the then newly gospelized heathen may light up their candle at america. In this country, out of sight of *mitres* and the *purple*, and removed from systems of corruption confirmed for ages, and supported by the spiritual janizaries of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, aided and armed by the secular power, RELIGION may be examined with the noble *berean* freedom, the freedom of american-born minds: and *revelation*, both as to the true evangelical *doctrines*, and church *polity*, may be settled here, before they shall have undergone a thorough discussion, and been weighed with a calm and unprejudiced candor elsewhere. Great things are to be effected in the world before the millennium, which I do not expect to commence under seven or eight hundred years hence; and perhaps the liberal and candid disquisitions in america, are to be rendered extensively subservient to some of the most and glorious designs and providence, and particularly in the propagation and diffusion of religion through the earth, in filling the whole earth with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord. A time will come when six hundred millions of the human race shall be ready to drop their *idolatry*, and all false religion, when christianity shall triumph over *superstition*, as well as *deism* and *gentilism*, and *mahometism*. They will then search all christendom for the best model, the purest exemplification of the christian church, with the fewest human mixtures. And when God in his providence shall convert the world, should

the newly christianized nations assume our form of religion; should american missionaries be blessed to succeed in the work of christianizing the heathen, in which the romanists and sovereign protestants have failed, it would be an unexpected wonder, and a great honor to the united states. And thus the american republic, by illuminating the world with TRUTH and LIBERTY, would be exalted and made high among the nations in praise, and in name, and in honor. I doubt not this is the honor reserved for us: I had almost said in the spirit of prophecy, *the zeal of the Lord of Hosts* will accomplish this.

“ So the dread seer in patmos' waste who trod,
Led by the visions of the guiding God,
Saw the dim vault of heav'n its folds unbend;
And gates and spires, and streets and domes, descend
Far down the skies; with suns and rain-bows crown'd,
The new form'd city lights the world around.*”

Having shewn wherein consists the prosperity of a STATE; and what reason we have to anticipate the glory of the american empire: I proceed to shew,

II. That her system of dominion must receive its finishing from religion; or, that from the diffusion of virtue among the people of any community, would arise their greatest secular happiness: all which will terminate in this conclusion, that Holiness ought to be the end of all civil government—*That thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God.*

On the subject of RELIGION we might be concise and transient, if indeed a subject of the highest moment ought to be treated with brevity.

It is readily granted that a state may be very prosperous and flourishing, without christianity: witness the *egyptian*, *assyrian*, *roman*, and *chinese* empires. But if there be a true religion, one would think that it might be a least some additional glory. We must become a holy people in reality, in order to ex-

* Vision of Columb. b. 2.

hibit the experiment never yet fully made in this unhallowed part of the universe, whether such a people would be the happiest on earth. It would greatly conduce to this, if MOSES and AARON, if the MAGISTRACY and PRIESTHOOD, should co-operate, and walk together in union and harmony. The political effort of the present day, through most of the united states, is to disunite, divide and separate them, through fear, least the united states, like the five vice-royships of new spain, should be entangled and oppressed with the spiritual domination of european and asiatic hierarchies. As if, by the title of minister or pastor, we might not as well be reminded of the ministers of *holland* and *geneva*, or the mild and peaceable pastors of the primitive church, as of the domineering prelates and other haughty intriguing dignitaries of the *romish* church. Hence AARON is spurned at a distance, and the LEVITES are beheld with shy contempt, as a useless, burdensome, dangerous tribe: and in some of the states, for the only sin of being priests of the Most High God, they are inhibited all civil offices, and to a great degree, disfranchised of their civil immunities and rights of citizenship. I thank my God for the ordering of his holy providence (for I wish the clergy never to be vested with civil power) while I am considering the spirit and disposition of the public towards the church of God, indicated by such events. A general spirit reigns against the most liberal and generous establishments in religion; against the civil magistrates encouraging or having any thing more to do about religion, than to keep the civil peace among contending sects: as if this was all that is to be done for religion by the friends of Jesus. And hence, in designating to the magistracy and offices of government, it begins to be a growing idea that it is mighty indifferent, forsooth, not only whether a man be of this or the other religious sects, but whether he be of any religion at all: and that truly deists, and men of indifferentism to all religion, are the most suitable persons for civil office, and most proper to hold the reins of government; and that to prevent partiality in governors, and emulation among the sects, it is wise to con-

sign government over into the hands of those who, *gallio* like, have no religion at all. This is machiavellian wisdom and policy! And hence examples are frequently adduced, of men distinguished truly for *deism*, perhaps libidinous morals, and every vice, yet of great abilities, it is said, great civilians, lawyers, physicians, warriors, governors, patriots, politicians: while as great or greater and more numerous characters, in the same departments of *Thuanus*, a *Grotius*, a *Paul*, of venice, a Sir *Henry Wotton*, a Sir *Peter King*, a *Selden* a *Newton*, a *Boyle*, those miracles of wisdom and friends to religion and virtue; are passed by with transient coolness and neglect. I wish we had not to fear that a neglect of religion was coming to be the road to preferment. It was not so here in our fathers days.

Shall the Most High send down TRUTH into this world from the world of light and truth, and shall the rulers of this world be afraid of it? Shall there be no intrepid DANIELS?—great in magistracy, great in religion! How great was that holy man, that learned and pious civilian, when he shone in the supreme triumvirate, at the head of an empire of 120 provinces—venerable for political wisdom, venerable for religion!

If men, not merely nominally christians, but of real religion and sincere piety, joined with abilities, were advanced and called up to office in every civil department, how would it countenance and recommend virtue? But, alas! is there not too much laodiceanism in this land? Is not Jesus in danger of being wounded in the house of his friends? Nay, have we gone already such lengths in declension, that if even the Holy Redeemer himself, and his apostles, were to reappear among us, while unknown to be such, and importune the public government and magistracy of these states, to become nursing fathers to the church; it is not to be feared that some of the states, through timidity and fearfulness of touching religion, would excuse themselves, and dismiss the holy messengers, the heavenly visitants, with coldness and neglect; though importuning the spouse with an, open to me my beloved; my sister, my dove.

But after the present period of deism and sceptical indifference in religion, of timidity and irresolutism in the cause of the great *Emmanuel*, perhaps there may arise a succession of civil magistrates, who will not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, nor of patronizing his holy religion; with a generous catholicism and expanded benevolence towards all of every denomination, who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth; patronizing it, I repeat, not with the insidious views of a *Hutchinsonian* policy, but from a rational and firm belief and love of evangelical truth. Zion's friends will rejoice in Zion's welfare: and the *religious* as well as *civil* patriot will shine in the faces of the future *Moses's* and *Joshuas* of this land. So shone it in the first governor WINTHROP, and so shineth it in a WASHINGTON. Yea, I glory in believing and knowing, that there are many now in the public magistracy of this and the other states, who feel with that illustrious and most excellent governor, upon whom rested much of the spirit of *Samuel* and *David*, and of *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*, I mean *Nehemiah the Tirshata*, who, with *Moses*, esteemed the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of egypt, who was of so pious, so noble, so patriotic a spirit, such a lover of his country and the true religion, that he preferred the very *dust of zion* to the gardens of *persia*, and the broken walls of *jerusalem* to the palaces of *sbushan*.

Whenever religion is erected on the ruins of civil government; and when civil government is built on the ruins of religion, both are so far essentially wrong. The church has never been of any political detriment here, for it never has been vested with any civil or secular power in new-england: although it is certain, that civil dominion was but the second motive, religion the primary one with our ancestors, in coming hither and settling this land. It was not so much their design to establish religion for the benefit of the state, as civil government for the benefit of religion, and as subservient, and even necessary towards the peaceable enjoyment and unmolested exercise of religion—of that religion, for which they

fled to those ends of the earth. An institution is not made for the laws, but the laws for the institution. I am narrating an historical fact, not giving a position or principle, which by shrewd politicians may be abused to justify spiritual tyranny, and to support the claims of the pontificate over all the civil states, kingdoms and empires in christendom.

The american *Nehemiah*, the opulent and pious Governor WINTHROP I. and the other first magistrates of the several new-england republics, were men of singular wisdom and exemplary piety. And, God be thanked, the senatorial *assembly* of this happiest of all the united states, still embosoms so many *Phinebas's* and *Zorobabels*, so many religious patriots, the friends of Jesus and his holy religion: and that the Messiah's cause is here accompanied with *civil government* and the *priesthood*—allusively *the two olive trees upon the right of the candlestick* (the churches) *and upon left; the two golden branches, which through the two golden pipes, Moses and Aaron, empty the golden oil out of themselves,** and diffuse their salutary influence of order and happiness through the community.

As to nominal christianity, I have no doubt but that it will be upheld for ages in these states. Through the liberty enjoyed here, all religious sects will grow up into large and respectable bodies. But the congregational and presbyterian denomination, however hitherto despised, will, by the blessing of heaven, continue to hold the greatest figure in america; and, notwithstanding all the fruitless labors and exertions to proselyte us to other communions, become more numerous than the whole collective body of our fellow protestants in europe. The whole proselytism of new-england in particular, for 60 or 70 years past, has not exceeded eight or ten thousand, while our augment in that term, by natural increase, has been half a million. The future difference in our favour will be far greater, even admitting a tenfold increase of proselytism. We anticipate, with pleasure, the growth and multi-

* Zech. iv. 11.

plication of our churches. God grant that we may not, like the seven churches of asia, have a name to live, while we are dead. Happy will it be for us, should we become a holy people, zealous of good works. For it is undoubtedly the will of heaven, and especially after the recent salvations of the Most High, that we should be *a holy people unto the Lord our God*.

It is greatly to be wished that these principles of our common christianity, might be found in general reception among *all the churches* of these states.

The trinity is unity, in the one undivided essence of the Great JEHOVAH.

The sacred scriptures are of divine inspiration.

In the immense universe, two little systems of intelligences, or orders of being, have lapsed: and that unhappily we have the dishonor of being one of them.

The second person of the co-eternal trinity, having assumed human nature, made a real atonement for sin, and by his vicarious obedience and sufferings, exhibited that righteousness and vicarious merit, by which alone we are forgiven and justified.

The holy ghost is equally a divine person with the father and the son, sharing with them divine, supreme, equal and undivided honors.

True virtue consists in a conformity of heat and life to the divine law; which is as obligatory upon christians as if eternal life was suspended on perfect obedience.

The internal principle of holiness essentially consists in DIVINE LOVE, a disinterested affection for moral excellency, a delight in the beauty and glory of the divine character, that is, the supreme LOVE OF GOD. And connected with, and issuing from this, is a joyful acquiescence in his will, a rejoicing in his sovereignty, and universal dominion.

While salvation and pardon is of free grace, the retributions of eternity will be according to our works.

Whenever I find these principles, with others connected with them, and the *real* belief of them evinced by an amiable life, there I judge the essentials of christianity to be found, and thither my charity and benevolence extends, with equal ardor and sincerity, be the religious denomination as it may. Of these, the doctrines of the DIVINITY of the Lord Jesus, and his real vicarious ATONEMENT, are the most important, the *jachin* and *boaz*, the pillar truths of the gospel, the *articuli stantis & cadentis ecclesie*.

This was the system of theology brought over from the other side of the flood, by our pious forefathers, now with God. The more this is realized in a state, the more will its felicity be advanced. For certainly the morals of christianity are excellent. It enjoins obedience to magistracy, justice, harmony, and benevolence, among fellow citizens; and what is more, it points out immortality to man. Politicians indeed usually consider religion only as it may affect and subserve civil purposes: and hence it is mighty indifferent to them, what the state of religion be, provided they can *ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm*. No thing is more common than to see them, in every country, making use of sects for their own ends, whom they, in their hearts, despise and ridicule with supreme contempt. Not so the christian patriot, who, from his heart, wishes the advancement of christianity, much less for the civil good than for the eternal welfare of immortal souls. We err much, if we think the only or chief end of civil government is *secular happiness*. Shall immortals, illuminated by *revelation*, entertain such an opinion? God forbid! Let us model civil society with the adoption of *divine institutions*, so as shall best subserve the training up and disciplining innumerable millions for the more glorious society of the church of the first-born! Animated with the sublime ideas which christianity infuses into a people, we shall be led to consider the *true religion* as the highest glory of a civil polity. The christian institution so excelled in glory, that the mosaic lost all its glory. So the most perfect secular polity, though very

excellent, would lose all its glory, when compared with a *kingdom wherein dwelleth righteousness*, a community wherein the religion of the divine Jesus reigns in vigour and perfection.

Let us institute a comparison of religions in three different polities, which will sufficiently represent the state of the whole world. And may that spirit, which justly springs from such a comparison, animate all, whether in humble life, or in the most elevated stations among mankind. We may consider three contiguous empires of the same civil polity, all alike as to the social virtues, laws of justice, benevolence, and the morals of civil society—for I mean to institute a very liberal and candid comparison. On the one of these shall be established the *idolatry of the BONZAS*, as a specimen of all the idolatrous religions: *Deism* shall cover the second: and of the unidolatrous religious, I will select for the third, not the *mahometan*, not the *jewish*, but the *christian*, in its purest *apostolic form*.

As to the first, the species of idolatry is indifferent, whether *antient* or *modern*, that of the *Druids* or *Zoroaster*, of the *Bramins* or *Romanists*, or lastly, that of the great *LAMA*, of *Potola*, which is the most extensive, as well as most splendid, religion on earth, being the religion of one third of the human race. Let us select the last: it has for its basis, in common with all other idolatrous systems, adoration and worship, of some kind or other, to an hierarchy of celestial spirits as our intercessors and protectors under the supreme God. These have been, in all ages, the *MAHUZZIM* of *Daniel*; who predicts the apostasy of the church to the worship of Mahuzzim departed souls, invisible spirits as intercessors with God. This is the real basis of all idolatry, antient and modern. These were the *Baalim* and the *Heroes*. And it is just indifferent, whether we sacrifice and pray to *Hercules* or to *St. Paul*, to the thirty thousand gods of athens, or the saints of the calender, as advocates with the Father of the Universe. Now let the inhabitants of an empire be resolved into religious assemblies and convocations, for the sacrificial worship of these inferior divinities,

with a splendid *ceremonial* and *priesthood*. Who does not see, in these enlightened realms, that all this is religious delusion, a transfer of worship to the creature from the Creator—who may well say, *who hath required this at your hands?* If it be said that supreme worship is not rendered to the saints of the pontifical canonization: so neither was it by the ten tribes, all of whom, but eight thousand, kissed the calves and worshipped the numerous *Baalim*, *Heroes*, or *demi-gods*. Dr. Middleton has shewn that the specifical worship, with a change of names only, is paid at *rome* to the modern canonized saints, as to the deified heroes of the antient romans and greeks. The last effort of the *philosophers* against christianity, was in the time of *Julian*, and they subordinated the whole system of ethnical worship to the worship of the supreme Being, asserting that as christians acknowledge the ministry of angels, so they held with the ministry of genii that of deceased and departed spirits, who must be supposed to retain a peculiar affection for their families, cities and kingdoms on earth; especially for those who should have referred themselves to their protection and intercession with the Deus O. M. the supreme God. Thus they defended themselves upon the very same reasoning, as that upon which the christian idolatry is defended. We are directed to ask the prayers of our fellow christians on earth; and by parity why should we not ask their prayers in heaven, where they must be supposed to have far greater influence? And if we are direct to treat one another, and especially great benefactors of our country, with public respect while here, why not by parity continue this respect and the symbols of honor to them in heaven? What a beautiful gradation is here, it is said, in the ethnical and christian worship of ascription of gratitude to inferior and powerful intercessors? And how does it tend to keep alive in our minds and impress them with glorious ideas of that grand, august, and beautiful system of agency and subordinate administrations, in the great government of the one Great Supreme? How beautiful the subordinate mediation of *angles* and *saints*, under the all-comprehensive me-

diation of the blessed JESUS, thro' whom all worship, adoration and homage is to ascend to the Sovereign of the Universe! Let us be assured that the romanists think themselves to have great reason for the adoration of the superior powers.

Adjacent to this, an empire of the same excellent constitution, shall be overspread with DEISM exclusively. And to give the idea the most candid extent, perhaps beyond the desires of a *Tindal*, or even of a *Shaftsbury* the amiable *Confucius* of deism, not to mention the smaller and more desultory geniusses of a *Hume*, or a *Voltaire*, neither of whom had any more taste of judgment in religion, or moral reasoning, than *Cicero* in poetry, or *Cibber* for the drama:—I say, to give the fairest idea of perfect deism, let the people of this empire be resolved into occasional, but not too frequent, worshipping assemblies for worshipping the God of nature, under the direction of the illuminated brethren, or of some right worshipful brother: and also to thank God for his goodness in this life, and or a certain prospect of a blessed immortality, if there should be any; when, perhaps some noble minds, spirits of elevated and sublime genius, of bold, refined, and independent sentiment, might descant upon the common principles of social virtue and benevolence. I have certainly done justice to deism; *although we bear nothing of pardoning mercy*, because truly we need none—such being the excellency and dignity of man, who, as *Phocelides* saith, is *the image of God*, that he well answers the end of existence, merits reward, and must hereafter be happy under the all-comprehending, the most benevolent administration of the universal FATHER. How pure and sublime is natural religion!

CHRISTIANITY shall be the establishment of the third territorial empire. And to preclude the sectarian prejudications from disturbing the clearness and calmness of the mental perception, let any one overspread it with the BIBLE christianity, according to his own idea. I for myself might overspread the whole with the congregational churches; being not simply

satisfied, but sure, from a thorough perlustration of all ecclesiastical history, that they are nearly apostolical as to *doctrine* and *polity*. And let this justice further be done, that religion shall reign in the hearts and lives of the people at large; and that it be the great and harmonious endeavour of the ruling characters and influential personages through the state, both by example and precept, to support such a reign of virtue and holiness. All that is valuable and truly excellent in the other empires, is embraced; and in addition, we have discoveries, and offers, and assurances, great in the confession of all men, if true, and glorious beyond description, infinitely momentous indeed, and infinitely surpassing what is to be found in all the mythologies or moral systems around the globe. But I do not enlarge.

Ten thousand myriads of ages hence, in which of these three, would the *civilian*, the *patriot*, the man of *religion*, wish to have been found? In which to have acted his part?—for most certainly they are not indifferent—and in advancing its glory, to have exerted the talents and activity, with which the Author of Nature had blessed him?

Which of these governments is it probable would most contribute to the secular welfare, and be attended with the greatest dignity, and even the greatest worldly splendor? But above all, which most subservient to eternity and its momentous concerns? In which, as a school of institution and discipline, should we enjoy the happiest advantages for immortality? Which of these empires would be the favorite of JESUS? Or is he indeed an unconcerned spectator of human affairs? If not, why should we doubt or hesitate to give the preference to the *christian republic*? If revelation be not true, it does us no hurt: we are as safe and as well off as others, having all their *moral virtue*. But if revelation be true, it is *true exclusively*, and therefore to be attended to at peril. This is no proof: but it is reason for exciting our attention to its evidence, both in *miracles* and *prophecy*, as well as in a certain *internal beauty and glory* opened

by heaven upon a benighted world:—Peradventure with other happy millions we may be also blessed to perceive it to be, not a *cunningly devised fable* (as was conceived by that impious pontiff, who could exclaim *eheu! quantum lucrifecit nobis hæc fabula christi?*) but the wisdom and power of God, to have issued from the fountain of unerring wisdom and consummate benevolence. Which will be the case, the happy fact, the moment we perceive the evidence of the one single fact of the RESURRECTION OF CHRIST, after his undoubted crucifixion:—a fact testified by eye witnesses, and supported by evidence (preserved in memoirs, which have come down to us with greater authenticity than *Justin* or *Tacitus*) evidence, I say, overlooked indeed, but never overthrown, and which at once will support the whole glorious superstructure of christianity.

But I need pardon that I should institute this comparison in a christian assembly, and in a country where we seem to be in no danger of idolatry, and where, God be thanked, Deists are very thinly sown, although, like another set of men among us, of illaudable and invidious description, they magnify themselves into legions.

I have supposed all religions equal as to virtue: and that civil virtue is the only end of civil society: but I must resume both these mistakes. Vices and every species of wickedness are found, more or less, to enter into the essence of all religions, except that of divine revelation. If christians are wicked, and even should they surpass the gentiles in vice, their religion never taught them so. But the very institution of the festivals of the ancient gods and goddesses directly taught the most impure obscenities and libidinous revellings. And this is continued to this day in the East-Indies. An indian *Bramin* ARUNASALEM, a Pandarum or Priest of *Tarmaburam*, was converted to christianity in 1765: upon which the college of Pandarum sent him a letter to reclaim him. Too long, says he in his reply, too long have I been a witness to public lewdness in the sacrifices and worship of your pagodas or temples. My con-

science told me these institutions could [81] not come from a pure and holy God. O my God! how do I lament that I have been 28 years thine enemy. No ablution, no sacrifice of *Lingam* can wash away sin and purify the soul: the blood sufferings and sacrifice of JESUS *Nadar* the redeemer, alone cleanse from all sin.*

* In an account of his conversion, written by himself, he says, “I was much scandalized by the profane and immoral service performed in our Pagodas. At Supramanciam, a famous pagoda three leagues from Goa, the image of a serpent with seven heads is worshipped: at a certain festival, three girls of the most beautiful shape dance before him, stark naked, in sight of an innumerable company of spectators. At the sacrifice of Satty, men and women eat and drink together, and afterwards mix promiscuously. Daily are entertained in our pagodas the dancing girls, which are professed prostitutes, who sing, at morning and evening sacrifices, the impurest songs, and offer in their pagodas, with the obscenest language, their persons to the spectators, and invite them to lie with them.

“All this the feelings of my heart told me could not come from the eternal God, whom reason, and the still voice of nature, proclaim to be a holy being.—However, since our whole nation is zealously attached to this worship, I stifled the clamours of my own conscience, thinking that if it was really wrong, so many thousands of people could not follow it.

“When I visited you (the Rev. Mr. Hutteman, danish missionary) and heard the Wedam, religion of Parabara-Westu (Jehovah) the mists of my understanding began to clear up, and all that you said of the perfections of God, and the manner to worship him, was immediately approved by the silent voice of reason and conscience. All the doctrines which your Wedam proposeth, lead directly to the honor of the holy God: may his name be blessed forever! It describeth man as he really is, sinner and guilty; it rejects the unavailing atonements performed by a miserable, sinful wretch.—The holy and dreadful sufferings of JESUS Mattiaster (reconciler) have atoned for the violated rights of the divine government. Your wedam enables a man to curb and subdue his passions—and makes a man in love with holiness and the spirit of Jesus. It contained the clearest revelation of life and immortality, and such grand promises, that are more than sufficient to bear us up in the course of a christian, virtuous life, notwithstanding the discouragements from a wicked world.—It is, therefore, my firm resolution to embrace this wedam, to live and die in it. I have weighed the Malabor religion against it; but, alas, the former is too light.

This with a survey of the state of man in all ages, may shew us that *ethnic* morals do not merit the high encomiums, the rapturous eulogies, which some have given them. Nor are *deistical* morals very promising. A world, a universe full of *Roch-*

“PARABARA WESTU, creator of the universe, have mercy upon me! oh how do I bewail that I have been twenty eight years (Born 1737—Converted 1765) thine enemy!—JESUS NADAR, redeeming Lord, impute thy blood unto me, and procure me the forgiveness of sins. Thou spirit of holiness, sanctify my heart, and form me into the likeness of the blessed Jesus. Amen.”

Whereupon the college of Pandarams, at Tarmaburam, wrote him a very flattering and expostulatory letter. In which, among other things, they say, “it is needful to write many words to a man of your understanding.—Remember, Arunasalem, your change is like a king turning Pareiar. What have you wanted among us? Had you not honor and subsistence sufficient?—Consider, Arunasalem, the noble blood of the TONDAMAR from whence you spring.—The moment you receive this letter, return again to this place. May Siwen give ye understanding.”

To which the christian convert returned this answer: “The grace of Parabara Westu, who is Jehovah, the living God, the very blessed creator and preserver of the universe, fill the souls of all pandarams at tarmaburam. I have received your letter, and have read the contents with true compassion.” And then renders his reasons, and adds—“My heart melts within me. I weep over you. Fourteen years have I been witness of your infamous worship in your pagodas, and I am in my conscience convinced, that you are in the road that leads directly to hell and eternal ruin. How holy, how majestic is GOD described in the wedam of the christians!—Come, my dear friends, and worship, with me the God that made you. Be not deceived, to expiate your sin by washing and sacrifice of Lingam: the christians alone have a sacrifice worthy of God. When I think on your blindness, my heart pitieth you. You know the integrity of my life; and you never heard scandal of me. Could you then think that I would renounce the religion of my fathers, without conviction of it a falsehood and dreadful tendency? The God of infinite compassion hath delivered me, wretched sinner, out of satan’s captivity. Your promises of honor and riches, touch me not. I have the hopes of an everlasting kingdom. You also can inherit it when you will repent.—Turn to the living God. So writeth Arulananden, formerly a Pandaram, but now a disciple of the blessed JESUS.” Who does not love this sincere, this amiable convert? Who does not wish that his example may be of extensive influence among the hundred millions of india?—See the letters of the danish missionaries, 1765.

esters and *Chesterfields*, what would it be? Characters, which may blaze their moment in an earthly court, but can never shine in the court above.

Modern deists—but why do I say modern, for the very fraternity is but of yesterday—the deists have more lately improved and adopted *suicide* and *fate* into their system; holding it in common with the Bramins of Asia, and the aulic chieftains of Africa. We might trace the matter of suicide thro’ a tract of ages, from *Calenus* the indian philosopher, who from the funeral pile laughed at Alexander the great, to that sublime genius, that deistical madman, who lately “stole away” out of life with his wife and four children at once, “closing the eyes of six persons, out of perfect humanity, and the most endearing fondness and friendship.”*

Sir *William Temple*, *Salé*, and other learned deists, fond of depreciating christian virtue by comparisons, have extolled and celebrated the *mabometan*, *chinese* and other oriental morals, as far superior to the christian. But the learned historiographer Principal *Robertson* asserts with historic verity, that upon the comparison of europe in particular in its *gentile* and *christian* ages, her morality will appear to have been greatly improved and meliorated, and that the ethnic morals fell far below the christian. While we have to confess and lament the vice rampant in christendom, we have reason to believe that the more christianity prevails in a country, civil society will be more advanced, ferocious manners will give way to the more mild, liberal, just and amiable manners of the gospel.

Be it granted that in all countries are to be found men of integrity, honor, benevolence and excellent morals even where vice has a prevalent reign, to the greatest excesses of a general licentiousness; yet supposing a community, a kingdom, a

* William Beadle, who, professing himself a deist, on the eleventh of December, 1782, cut the throats of his wife and four children, and then pistoled himself.

world overspread with such characters, with the finest morals of a *Socrates* or a *Confucius*, what would be the moral state of such a country, in comparison with one overspread with the reign of the christian morals? I mean in perfection.

How much soever we may admire the morals of *Plato* or *Epictetus*, they are not to be compared with those taught by *Moses* and the divine *Jesus*. Nor are we to conceive that civil virtue is the only end of civil government. As the end of God's government is his declarative glory in the holiness and happiness of the universe; so all civil government ought to subserve the same end. The most essential interests of rational beings are neglected, when their secular welfare only is consulted. If therefore we defend and plead for christianity, from its secular and civil utility only, and leave it here, we dishonor religion by robbing it of half, nay its greatest glories. It serves an higher purpose. For altho' it subserves the civil welfare infinitely beyond the morals of deism and idolatry, yet it also provides for the interests of eternity, which no other religion does. It opens to us the most grand and sublime discoveries concerning God, reconciliation with him, and the reunion of this lapsed world with the immense universe. Discoveries momentous and interesting beyond conception! Without which we are left to perfect incertitude, if not totally in the dark with respect to eternity and its vast concerns.

Should we have recourse to the *goodness of God*; yet of all beings, angels would think, that man should be the last, to reason from the benevolence and goodness of the universal parent, to the impossibility of his offspring being involved in future ill, when from thence we might equally reason against the existence of present ill. If some distant seraph, who never knew nor heard of ill, should reason thus, it would be no marvel, perhaps: but that we, with all our sins and sufferings about us, should go into such reasonings, is the height of folly, the absurdity of absurdities! And why should that infinite goodness preserve the numerous millions that die in finished, though

half punished vice, that did not preserve the lives of those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell—who did not avert the desolations of *Lisbon*, *Naples*, *Herculaneum* and *Palermo*? Cast thine eyes thither, O man, *remember the battle*, and *do no more*.*

If instead of reasoning from the works and word of God, and thus ascending upwards into Deity, "*we take the high priori road*, and reason downwards 'till we doubt of God."† If by inductive reasonings from the perfections of God to what *can* and what *cannot* be, we should among other things boldly conclude a TRINITY, and the incarnation of the external WORD absurd nullities, and yet it should appear in another state, that a crucified JESUS sits at the right hand of the Majesty on high; how would these mighty sensible characters, these fine geniusses, these sublime foolish reasoners be disappointed? May I be forgiven a very earnest sollicitude here?—having myself pasted thro' the cloudy darksom valley of scepticism, and stood on the precipice, from whence I was in danger of taking a juvenile leap into the irrecoverable depths of deism. For so rare are the FORBES'S and the JENNINGS, the instances of emancipated real infidels, that *nulla vestigia retrosum*,‡ may be inscribed on the temple of deism. Knowing these dangers, I pity from my heart, and almost bleed at every pore, for those who are caught in the vortex, and are captivated with the wiley satirical delusory and deficient reasonings of deism. Elevated with the pride of mental enlargement, of a supposed untrammelled understanding, they ascend aloft above the clouds of prejudices into the pishah heights, from whence they fancy that they see all *religions the same*, that is, equally nothing but priestcraft and artificial error. Whereupon they complement themselves as endowed with a superiority of discernment in morals, with high sensibility, sentimental and liberal ideas, and charm themselves with other fine self-applied diction, which in truth only cloaths the tædium of weariness of half discussed unfinished inquiries; or

* Job xli. 8.

† Pope.

‡ No return from hence.

perhaps the hope that at worst the want of certain knowledge may pass with God, if there is any, as a sufficient excuse for some of the doubtful levities of life.

But errors in judgment, it is said, will be of no account with God. In ten thousand matters they may not. We may trifle on many things; but on the things that respect eternity, the things of religion, it is too solemn, too dangerous to trifle. Although most religions are false and ridiculous, there may however be one, which we must renounce or trifle with at our peril. For if revelation be true, as most assuredly it is, it is in Jesus only that we have eternal life. Infidels, and those excessively benevolent christians, who consider all religions alike and equally ridiculous, do well, in their calmer moments to ponder those words of the eternal Judge, Mat. x. 33. WHOSOEVER SHALL DENY ME BEFORE MEN, HIM WILL I ALSO DENY BEFORE MY FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN. Where then will a *Judas*, and a *Beadle* appear? Step forth, thou *Herbert*, the father of deism; come hither ye *Bolingbrokes*, *Tindals*, *Collins's*, *Humes*, *Voltaires* with all your shining abilities; and that disappointed group of self-opinionated deniers of the Lord *that bought them*, with that cloud of deluded followers, who *would not that I should reign over them*—evanish from my presence, with all the light of your boasted wisdom, into the blackness of darkness forever and ever! On what principles can the despised, the amiable JESUS withhold or recede from so awful a sentence, so tremendous a denunciation!

How infinitely happier they who, believing their *cord with God giveth of his Son*, have received him, and are become the sons of God? Is it nothing, is it a small thing to be initiated into the glorious idea of God and the trinity revealed in the scriptures, to contemplate the hierarchy and government of the universe and the high dignity of that most illustrious personage, who is our *intercessor, advocate and sovereign*? Shall this light come into the world, and we neglect it? And shall it

be said that these views do not animate a sublimer virtue than the motives taken from civil society? Shall the consideration of being citizens of a little secular kingdom or community, be equally animating with those taken from our being citizens of the august monarchical republic of the universe! But I must desist, with only observing that the United States are under peculiar obligations to become a holy people unto the Lord our God, on account of the late eminent deliverance, salvation, peace and glory, with which he hath now crowned our new sovereignty. Deut. iv. 34.

I have thus finished the two heads upon which I at first proposed to discourse. And I shall not further trespass upon the patience of this very honorable auditory, by an application: but close with the addresses usual upon this anniversary solemnity.

To Governor TRUMBULL.

I beg leave in the first place, with the greatest honor, the most profound and dutiful respect, to address myself to his excellency the Governor of this State.

May it please your Excellency,

We account ourselves happy, most illustrious Sire, that by the free election and annual voice of the citizens, God hath for so many years past called you up to the supreme Magistracy in this common-wealth. And while we rejoice that this State embosoms numerous characters equal to the highest offices of government: yet should this day's election fall again upon him, who, according to the interpretation of his name,* Jehovah hath *given us*, it would diffuse a joy through the United States. And should you now resign the chair, you would enjoy the reflection that you had been carried through a scene of the most distinguished usefulness, and lived to see the end of the war and establishment of American liberty and INDEPENDENCE.

* Jonathan, Jehovah-natan.

It is observable, that, by a particular turn of genius and a peculiar discipline in early life, God often prepares great characters, for that future usefulness and eminence, for which they are designed in the world. This was conspicuous in the instances of *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Daniel*: neither of whom in youth, thought that they were training up for the eminent spheres of action in which they afterwards moved.

Endowed with a singular strength of the mental powers, with a vivid and clear perception, with a penetrating and comprehensive judgment, embellished with the acquisition of *academical*, *theological*, and *political* erudition, your Excellency became qualified for a very singular variety of usefulness in life. Instituted in the *sciences*, the *hebrew literature*, and *theology*, you was not only prepared for the sanctuary, but being expert in all questions touching the law of your God, you became qualified to judge how we the Ministers of the Gospel under your government ought to *behave ourselves in the house of God*; while it has pleased God to call you up to other services in civil life. Thus the great *Melchizedec* was priest of the Most High God, and King of *Salem*, So *Moses*, tho' of the tribe of *Levi* and *learned in all the wisdom of egypt*, was called of God to be King of *Jeshurum*.

An early entrance into civil improvement, and 50 years* service of our country, with an uncommon activity and dispatch in business, had familiarized the whole rota of duty in every office and department, antecedent and preparatory of the great glory of your Excellency's life, the last eight years administration at the head of this commonwealth,—an administration which has rendered you the *Pater Patriæ*, the father or your country, and our *dulce decus atque tutamen*.

* 1783, elected representative.
1740, elected into the council.
1766, elected deputy-governor.
1769, elected governor.

We adore the God of our fathers, the God and father of the spirits of all flesh, that he hath raised you up for such a time as this,* and that he has put into your breast a wisdom, which I cannot describe without adulation—a patriotism and intrepid resolution, a noble and independent spirit, an unconquerable love of LIBERTY, RELIGION and our COUNTRY, and that grace, by which you have been carried through the arduous labours of an high office, with a dignity and glory never before acquired by an American Governor. Our enemies revere the names of TRUMBULL and WASHINGTON. In honoring the state and councils of Connecticut, you, illustrious Sire, have honored yourself to all the confederate Sister States, to the Congress, to the Gallic empire, to Europe and to the world, to the present and distant ages. And should you now lay down your office, and retire from public life, we trust that you may take this people to record, in the language, in which that holy patriot the pious SAMUEL addressed *Israel*, and say unto us—*I am old, and grey-headed—and I have walked before you from my childhood unto this day. Behold, here I am, witness against me before the Lord:—whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you. And they said thou hast not defrauded nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any mans hand. And he said unto them, the Lord is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, he is witness.*†

May you receive a reward from the supreme Governor of the Universe; which will be a reward of grace. For although your Excellency might adopt the words of that illustrious governor NEHEMIAH, and say, *think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people,*‡ yet your ultimate hope for immortality, will be founded in a more glorious merit, than that atchieved by mortals, in the most illustrious

* Esth. iv. 14.

† Sam. xii. 2.

‡ Neh. v. 19.

scenes of public usefulness. May the momentary remnant of your days be crowned with a placid tranquility. And when you shall have finished your work on earth, may you be received to the rewards of the just, and shine in the general assembly of the first-born through eternal ages. Amen.

To the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR and COUNCIL.

With great respect would I next address myself to his Honor Lieutenant Governor GRISWOLD, and the rest of honorable COUNCILLORS of this State.

May it please your Honor, and the other Members of the honorable Council.

That senatorial order must be truly important, which stands upon the general voice and election of the public at large, because it must comprehend men of such public and conspicuous merit, as to be known among all our tribes, men of approved *patriotism* and *wisdom*, as well as *popularity*. We esteem it our happiness that our GOVERNORS and our NOBLES proceed from ourselves. When we consider the trifling and inferior characters of the most of the venal counsellors in the late royal governments, when compared with the solid wisdom of the council of this state, we may be convinced that a legislature, standing upon the free election of the people to be governed, bids fair to ensure more wisdom and incorruptibility, than if in the appointment of the most august sovereigns in the world.

We glory in it, that this state has at all times furnished gentlemen, in the appointment of the people, of abilities equal to every department and branch of dominion, whether *legislative* or *executive*. It is particularly happy, that men impressed with the feelings of the people, of great knowledge in laws and jurisprudence, in the civil polity especially of this state, have hitherto been and still are found at the council board, in the military departments, and in the highest judiciary tribunals of this commonwealth.

This state has ever preserved a grave, sensible and weighty council, in a pretty delicate situation indeed, but of great prudence and influential wisdom. It is this council which combines and consolidates the whole commonwealth.

The general anniversary election dictates annually the general sense of the community. And while a notation to a considerable degree, though not by constitution, yet by usage, and the mutability of human passions, and in the course of events, does in effect take place, we have been happy however, and I hope always shall be, in the retention of a number of antient and venerable counsellors, to transmit the wisdom and experience of their predecessors, and to give a steady and immutable complexion to the succession in the general assembly, especially as to the capital matters of *law*, *liberty* and *government*.

We glory in you, gentlemen, as our crown of rejoicing. We securely confide our liberties and safety, the *civil*, *religious* and *literary* welfare of this republic to your superintendence. We pray God, that in all our momentous deliberations and resolutions, you may be guided by the wisdom from above, by the mighty Counsellor the Prince of Peace. Amen.

To the House of REPRESENTATIVES.

It is my duty in the next place, to pay the tribute of public honor to the respectable and numerous body of the lower house of assembly, the second branch in the honorable legislature and sovereignty of this state.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.

Your house is already formed standing on the free, local elections of a free people. From the character of your constituents, we doubt not you bring with you the love of liberty, justice and public right. Assembled from all our tribes to consult the public good, so far as this is left to your judgment, you will act with well-informed wisdom and integrity; while so far as

you know the minds of your constituents, may we not presume that you will hold it your duty to act and represent their judgments, be your own as they may. You have matters of high moment to attend to, and some of a very insidious nature. Besides matters of *internal government*, a liquidation of the expenditures of the war, *finance, revenue, funds*, are some of the subjects before this assembly. It is not impossible but you may perceive some hovering genius, something of an anti-american spirit, flitting about, and at times alighting upon some within the walls of the senate. Will you not hunt it down, and send it to the shades? May you all be inspired with a real, hearty and uncorrupted patriotism, and firmness in the cause of liberty and independence. Let an independent liberality of sentiment, and reverence for right and equity, reign in this branch of the senate: that the world may see that the administration of the united branches, combined in the sovereignty of this state, is conducted with a certain plain but noble dignity and majesty.

This assembly at every session for eight years past, has been full of the most anxious and weighty concerns, for our bleeding country. But this house is no more called to raise armies, or amidst the most complicated distresses, to devise means for their support. What a load, what a burden and weighty care has devolved upon this house thro' the war? But these conflicts are at an end. And you will be now called to the arts of peace, and to promote the welfare and aggrandizement of our country.

And while this honorable house is attending to the *secular* concerns of civil government, may we not humbly wish that you would not repudiate the idea of being *nursing fathers* to our spiritual Israel, the church of God within this state? Give us, gentlemen, the decided assurance, that you are friends of the *churches*, and that you are the friends of the *pastors*, who have certainly, in this trying warfare, approved themselves the friends of *liberty* and *government*. Your predecessors 100 years ago accounted this among their principal honors. They were solicitous to promote *religion* and *learning*, and to give suitable encouragement to both.

And in this connexion will it be forgiven me, if I humbly recommend YALE-COLLEGE to the smiles of government? Through the good hand of our God upon us, we may truly say, in the language of the sons of the prophets to Elisha, *behold now, the place where we dwell is too strait for us*.* May we not humbly ask of the public, that they would be pleased to build us another house, or the necessary edifices for the reception and accommodation of the youth, but about one *third of the* students being provided for in the present college edifice? Was I not so nearly connected with it, I might say with truth, what has often been told me by others, that there is not a state upon the continent, but would account such a seat of learning, in whose hands so ever it might be, as an illustrious ornament to their community.

A trust may be well executed, when the end of the trust is answered, altho' there may have intervened some mismanagements. Small bodies as well as great, not even *Congresses* and *Assemblies*, and may I not add not even this honorable assembly excepted, are not only frequently aspersed and censured, but have sometimes erred:—so perhaps have the governors of the college: when however upon a candid inquiry, it may be found, that in money concerns they have managed with an unexampled frugality, even to parsimony,—that never was there more done to purpose with so small means in a literary institution—and that the college is at present in a pretty flourishing state. At my accession in 1778, the number of matriculated undergraduates in the four classes, was 119; and this current year they have been 251.† And in point of scholarship

* 2 Kings vi. 1.

† There are ten colleges in the united states, from New-England to Virginia inclusive: besides two intended ones in the Carolinas. The numbers of undergraduates in the most considerable are estimated as follows:

Founded		Undergraduates
1636	Harvard Coll.	150
1698	William and Mary Coll.	100
1746	Jersey Coll.	60
1750	Philadelphia Coll.	30
1769	Dartmouth Coll.	80

and literature, I hope we do not fall very far behind the other sister colleges in america.

How happy, were its foundations and employments adequate to the civil and religious purposes of this institution? An enlargement of the public library, a complete apparatus for experimental philosophy, premiums for stimulating genius in every branch of literature, endowments of professorships especially those of *philosophy*, *law* and *medicine*, would be of inconceivable benefit in the liberal education of youth. These things I doubt not will be effected in time: but the literati wish to see them accomplished in the present day.

The college has often since its foundation,* experienced the liberality and smiles of the general assembly; for which it is always ready to return and repeat its thanks and gratitude. Some unhappy differences of sentiment (together with the war) have interrupted the stream of public munificence. But is there no balm in Gilead to heal the wound; is there no way to accommodate and adjust matters, so as to conciliate the friendship of the state towards its university?

The state of Holland, in the midst of their expensive wars in the cause of liberty, founded and endowed the university of *Leyden*. Should this state be pleased to endow two or three *professorships*, and appoint a board of civilians to elect the professors in concurrence with the present corporation, and see that the monies granted by the state were applied to the use to which they were appropriated by the general assembly—might not this give satisfaction?

But I trespass upon your patience. All the great interests of this state, whether as a separate sovereignty, or in its connexion with the united states, are entrusted to you. A very weighty trust! You have a thousand pious prayers going up for you daily at the throne of grace. You have all the patriots saying, be strong O ZOROBABELS! you have all the ministers in-

* A. D. 1700.

culcating obedience to you. And may you above all, have the influential guidance of unerring wisdom, to render you acceptable to the multitude of your brethren, to make you eminent blessings in your day, and reward you with immortality and glory in the world to come. Amen.

To the MINISTERS.

And now I turn myself to the PASTORS of the churches.

Reverend and beloved Brethren.

I have not assumed upon me to dictate to the civil *magistracy*, nor do I dictate to the *sacerdotal* order: albeit I might speak to the most of my brethren present, as being such an one in years, as Paul the aged. Condescend however, holy brethren, to receive a humble address from one who, loves the order with a sincere and fervent affection, although *pantoon toon bagioon elakisto elakistoteros*.

Permit me then to say, that, while we do not fail to inculcate obedience to the magistracy and laws, and recommend to our people the election of a pious magistracy; our principal work is not secular but spiritual and divine. Let us with the greatest assiduity devote ourselves to our Lord's work, as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace. Let us preach the divinity and unsearchable riches of Christ, and salvation by his atonement; that theological system, which places the whole of redemption upon free grace—a grace free as to us, tho' merited by the holy Redeemer. Let us search the scriptures for the real evangelical verity: and inquire, not so much for new theories in divinity, as what truths were known and realized in *faith* and *life*, by the primitive christians of the apostolic age, and the three first centuries; and believe that no other system, no other doctrines are essentially necessary to carry men to heaven in these ages, than those which enable the myriads of holy martyrs to seal the testimony of Jesus with their blood.

There is but one true system of theology, and this has been equally known in all the christian ages. For altho' great im-

provements and discoveries are daily making in philosophy and natural sciences, yet there have been no new discoveries in divinity, since the apostolic age: I do not mean merely no new revelation, but of the innumerable latent truths concealed in the bible (and there are infinitely greater treasures hidden there than in nature) none have been perceived in later ages, but what have been as clearly discerned by the contemplative theologians of all ages. The sentiments are the same, tho' clothed in different diction. Philosophy, as I said, is improving, nor has the progress of civil society yet reached its summit: but divinity, I apprehend, has been long at a stand, having ages ago come to the highest perfection intended us at present by heaven; which did not design any further improvement in it, from the sealing of the vision till the second coming of Christ. In the millennium these hidden treasures will be brought forth. But for the preceding period, divinity will be and remain at a stand, except perhaps that towards the close of it, the prophecies will disclose themselves.

Religion has had and will have different fashions, even where it is still essentially the same. Previous to the tenth century, the writings of St. *Augustin* gave an extensive complexion to theology: afterwards *Lombard's* collection of sentences of opinions of evangelical divines: but he was shoved into neglect by *Aquinas*, who reigned umpire till the reformation. *Luther* followed *Augustin*, and *Calvin Aquinas*. The real theology of *Melancthon*, *Calvin*; archbishop *Cranmer* and *Owen*, was one and the same.

We despise the *fathers* and the pious and learned divines of the *middle* ages: pious posterity will do the same by us; and twirl over our most favorite authors with the same ignorant pity and neglect:—happy they, if their favorite authors contain the same blessed truths.

I rejoice that God has hitherto preserved a learned and evangelical ministry in these churches. The theology in gen-

eral reception, comprehends all the excellent things of our common christianity. And if some *burekas*, some fancied discoveries, should be burnt up in the day of the Lord, yet there will be left as great an abundance of precious stones, of the tried and pure gold of truth, as in any part of the world. Indeed we have gotten all the light of christendom, and we need no more. We have enough: we are wealthy in sacred knowledge. We may spend long lives, in making ourselves masters of that vast treasure of sacred wisdom, which holy men of great light have attained. May I comprehend with all saints the height and depth of this knowledge, may my God possess me of this treasure, and I am content. All this knowledge, to the greatest extent of the human limit, has been gotten and acquired over and over again and again. Like other science, to every generation it seems new, while it is only possessing the knowledge familiar to our predecessors.

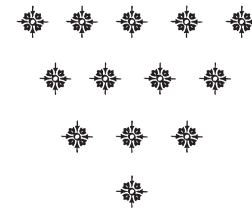
Moreover, charity, union and benevolence are peculiarly ornamental in the ministerial order. Let us cherish these amiable graces in ourselves and others. Let us be faithful. And the nearer we come to the solemn moment when we must render our account to God the Judge, the more may we be quickened and animated in the ministry; and think no labor, no assiduity too great, nothing too much to be done for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, nothing too much for the cause and kingdom of him who hath loved us to the death. May you, holy brethren, *be strong in the grace which is in our Lord Jesus Christ*: may the work, the pleasure of the Lord prosper in your hands: may you be honored of Jesus to *turn many to righteousness*. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, may you receive a crown of glory which fadeth not away. Amen.

To the Assembly at large.

And now, my fellow citizens of this independent republic, my fellow-christians of every order and denomination in this assembly, and all you that fear God and hear me this day, give audience.

The Most High planted our fathers, small handful, in this Jeshimon: and lo! we their posterity have arisen up to three millions of people. Deut. x. 22. Our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us, the marvellous things God did for them; but our eyes have seen far more marvellous things done for us, whereof we are glad and rejoice this day. Should our ancestors look down from the high abodes of paradise into this assembly, and attend to the things which we have been this day commemorating, methinks they might catch a sensation of joy at beholding the reign, the triumph of LIBERTY on earth! Hitherto has *our bow abode in strength*, and our *arms been made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob*. And while amidst the festivity of this anniversary election, we congratulate one another and our country upon the cessation of hostilities, and that having fought the good fight, our warfare is ended: let us not fail to look thro' Providence up to the God of Providence, and give glory to GOD the Lord of Hosts, the God of our fathers; whom *let us serve with a perfect heart and a willing mind*. Let us cultivate and cherish the virtues of the *divine* as well as *civil* life, bearing in mind that we are all hastening to that period wherein all the glories of this world will be swallowed up and lost in the glories of immortality. Be it our great ambition, our incessant endeavor, to act our parts worthily on the stage of life, as looking for and hastening to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. May we be prepared for the solemnities of a far more august assembly, than the most splendid assembly on earth. We are ardently pursuing this world's *riches, honors, powers, pleasures*—let us possess them, and then know that they are *nothing, nothing, nothing*. They serve a temporary gratification, *evanish*, and are no more. But we cannot be dissuaded from the pursuit. Death, however, kindly ends it. Let us think that we have two worlds to live for, proportion our attention to their respective interests, and we shall be happy forever. We shall then be prepared to shine in the assembly of the just, at the right hand of the Sovereign of Life. How glo-

rious to bear a part in the triumphs of virtue, the triumphs of the Redeemer, in the last day of the great and general assembly of the universe? How glorious to make a part of that infinity honored and dignified body, which cloathed with the Redeemer's righteousness and walking in white robes, shall be led by the Messiah, thro' the shining ranks of archangels, seraphims, and the innumerable hosts of the whole assembled universe, up to the throne of God, and being presented to and received by the triune Jehovah, shall be seated with Jesus in his throne at the summit of the universe, to the conspicuous view, and for the eternal contemplation of the whole intellectual world, as an everlasting monument of sovereign grace, Eph. iii. 10, 11. *to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be known, by the church, the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord*. To whom be glory in the church through the never-ending succession of eternal ages. AMEN.



*The text presented here follows the spelling,
punctuation, capitalization, and italics of the first edition of
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