

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EASTON, PA.,

ON THE DAY OF

THE ANNUAL THANKSGIVING;

November 27, 1851.

BY THE

Rev. GEORGE BURROWES,

PROFESSOR OF LANGUAGES IN LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE CONGREGATION.

EASTON, PENN'A:

PRINTED AT THE EASTON SENTINEL JOB OFFICE.

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DEUT. 8: 10.—*When thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee.*

As we come together in the house of God, this morning, we have reason to “enter into His gates with thanksgiving and into His courts with praise, be thankful unto Him and bless His name.” The changes of another year have passed over us; the beauties of spring, the attractive scenes of summer, the mellow hues of fruitful autumn have given place to each other in succession and to the cheerless landscape of winter; while amid this general decay and desolation in nature, our blessings and enjoyments have stood unchanged. How few of our mercies have been withdrawn; how many good gifts of a kind Providence are still clustering around our way. True, there are hopes which have not been realized, anticipations that have failed; there are firesides at which some well loved presence of former gatherings will not be found; there are sorrows which have thrown their gloom on the heart; but as individuals and as a community we still find the cup of our blessings running over and the good Shepherd yet leading us beside the still waters of the purest earthly enjoyments in the green pastures of this goodly land of freedom’s home. The lines have indeed fallen unto us in pleasant places; we have a goodly heritage. With our land we are satisfied. We have no craving for a better country; we know there is on earth no better country. We feel that ours is truly a land of promise; that our eyes see, and our ears hear, and our hearts feel what the great and good, the martyrs in the cause of human rights, have desired but never been permitted to behold. In the midst of this profusion of blessings, let us then give heed to the admonition, “When thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee.”

But what makes this so good a land? so rich, so happy, so desirable a country? Is it the extent and character of the regions embraced within the limits owning our laws? Our territory and our institutions surpass those of the boasted republics of antiquity. Attica, from which spread abroad the Athenian power, was a promontory by no means fertile; little more than fifty miles in length; with an area of seven hundred square miles and a population of five hundred and twenty thousand, of whom four hundred thousand were

slaves. One-third of the grain consumed was imported. Their chief food was bread, meat, fish, cheese with some of the more common garden vegetables; these with wine, milk, and honey formed nearly the whole range of their diet. Tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, spirits, beer, butter, rice, potatoes, oranges, tobacco, oats, and rye were not known nor cultivated in Greece or Italy.

The Roman empire contained about one million six hundred thousand square miles, while our territory is of an area double this extent. The city of Rome was in circuit about thirteen miles, with a population of two millions three hundred thousand, of whom nearly one million were slaves. As agriculture was much neglected in Italy, most of their grain was imported, and Egypt alone furnished annually in the time of Augustus nearly five millions of bushels, a sufficiency for only a third of the year. While immense wealth was possessed by a few, the lower classes of free citizens were supported in great measure by the largesses of the emperor; the law of debtor and creditor was so severe as to give their Shylocks, under certain circumstances, literally the pound of flesh; there were but four thousand persons worth more than fifteen thousand dollars; and only two cities that could furnish five hundred citizens passing that sum. Their common schools, where the mass of the people got their whole education, taught nothing besides reading and arithmetic; they were without newspapers, without post-offices, without public lines of travel; and such was the state of things, that with all the show of power, the destruction of the legions under Varus in Germany though numbering only fourteen thousand infantry, shook the empire to the centre, filled the imperial city with terror, and drove the emperor to distraction. The navy of the United States could annihilate all the fleets ever possessed by these ancient republics.

In contrast with them, how superior are the endowments of this country on all points affecting the true power and glory of nations. Stretching along the Atlantic sea-board through more than twenty degrees of latitude, our territory expands westward to the Pacific ocean nearly four thousand miles, embracing variety unparelled of climate, resources, scenery and soil; on our northern border are the hardy animals of colder latitudes; on our southern boundaries cluster the riches of tropical climes; between these are the agricultural resources of temperate zones, inexhaustible mineral treasures, and tracts richer than the Indies in gold. Are these the gifts of a kind Providence which make this so desirable a country? Nay, he has given us nobler blessings than even these. Every intelligent patriot feels,—how invaluable soever these things, these are not our country. There are on earth, landscapes as beautiful, valleys as fertile, as balmy airs, and as sunny skies, where the unhappy millions are turning with breaking hearts, and broken spirits, and tearful eyes towards

this as the land of their hopes, their desires, their rest. While deeply thankful for all the natural advantages lavished in profusion on our territory, each one of us feels,—Our institutions these, these are my country. Their institutions it was that gave the glory to Greece, to Rome, to Palestine; these are now the glory of England; these are in our own country the centre of the affections of every true American heart.

These institutions are no ephemeral shoot; they are the growth of ages.—Every thing great and valuable takes time to mature; and principles like those of our own government, which have attained their power by a gradual development running through generations, may give well grounded hope of withstanding threatening dangers and prolonging their influence far into the future for blessings to millions yet unborn. The survey which reveals the origin and excellence of our institutions, opens at the same time in the heart a reasonable and unfaltering assurance of the stability and perpetuity of our Union. The constitution and confederation of these states has a far earlier origin than the date of the stamp-act or the battle of Lexington. How much time and labor were spent in the forests of Lebanon and in the quarries of Pentelicus in preparing the materials for the temple of Solomon and the Parthenon: thus this glorious fabric of civil and religious liberty had been in progress for ages before it rose on the view of the world, like the temple of Diana at Ephesus receiving contributions from various nations,—like the second temple of the Jews carried forward amid difficulties and discouragements, when the builders were often obliged to work with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other. All the foregoing changes and revolutions of the world have been made to bear on the foundation of the American republic. Its corner-stone is the word of God. This was laid when the scriptures were deposited on earth by the hands of God manifest in the flesh, while over it the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy.

At the Reformation the work took a fresh start. The struggle went forward in England for a long time before transferred to this continent. The contest was the same; the theatre of it was changed. The American Revolution was but the winding up of the conflict which had brought Charles I. to the scaffold. The battle was for civil and religious liberty; it was fought not for England and America alone, but for the benefit of mankind. Civil liberty cannot be kept from following in the tread of religious freedom. The Reformation was the setting free of the human mind and conscience. Hence these countries have made the greatest advances in true liberty, where the principles of the Reformation have operated with least hinderance. England had the honor of being chosen by Providence as the citidel of the reformed faith and refuge of His persecuted saints from all parts of Europe. When the govern-

ments of France and Spain formed with the countenance of the Pope the famous Catholic League for exterminating Protestantism, unsatisfied by the atrocities inflicted on the saints caught before escaping from their country, these tyrants were at great trouble and expense for arresting them in their retreats among foreign nations. Afraid to make these attempts on the free soil of England, these rulers demanded that their Protestant exiles should be delivered up as criminals escaped from justice. To the honor of England those demands were refused. Great offence was thereby given; and this was one of the reasons alleged in the papal bull for excommunicating Elizabeth. With chagrin deepened by disappointed vengeance and in fulfilment of the vow devoting his life to the extirpation of heresy, the king of Spain determined to subdue England, and for this purpose prepared the great Armada. France too was drunk with the blood of the saints on other occasions than St. Bartholomew's. These different countries were thereafter to be rewarded, —the one for giving more than a cup of cold water to disciples of Jesus, the other for shedding without stint or mercy the blood of the suffering followers of Christ. Had they come from the lips of a prophet the words of John Knox could not have more perfectly foreboded the truth, when on hearing of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, in a sermon shortly before his death, he desired the French ambassador to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him in heaven, that the Divine vengeance would never depart from his house, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace, unless repentance prevented the Divine judgments. Here is found the key to the different and remarkable dealings of God with those nations since that period. During the wars of the French Revolution, no countries suffered more than France and Spain, none suffered less than England. While they were bleeding at every pore, England enjoyed a remarkable protection. The sons of the sires who had destroyed the Spanish Armada, annihilated the combined navies of France and Spain at Aboukir and Trafalgar. The only country in Europe on which the armies of revolutionary France did not set foot was England; the only important capital they did not enter was London. Egypt was taken from them by capitulation to the English. The first fortresses wrested from the empire of Napoleon, were Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz, stormed by the English. The first overthrow of the imperial armies in a fair field, was by Wellington at Salamanca. The soil of that France which had been the terror of Europe, was first invaded by Wellington advancing from the Pyrenees. The army which put an end to that war of five and twenty years, by crushing the power of Napoleon, was the English army at Waterloo. On no one thing was the heart of the French emperor more anxiously set than on humbling England; yet he was not able to inflict a single

great overthrow on Britain during the whole of the conflict, and at its close had the humiliation of seeing his capital occupied by her army, himself a captive in her hands, and France owing at some future day to her magnanimity the possession of his idolized remains. This remarkable protection was extended to England because she had been the depository of those principles of Protestantism and liberty which having been there first nurtured, were transplanted to receive their full development in this western world. France and Spain were ahead of her in laying the foundation of empire in Canada, Florida, Louisiana, and Mexico, as well as in the East Indies; but of all these they have been deprived by a race inheriting the blood of Britain, and carrying with them her Protestant religion and better laws. After the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena, a remnant of his Old Guard numbering about two hundred men, formed a military colony in Texas for eventually revolutionizing and subjugating Mexico. Providence, however, frowned on the enterprise and soon dispersed them, reserving for our countrymen the honor of overspreading the same territory thirty years later with republican institutions, and of dictating peace in the Mexican capital. The same Providence which watched over those principles with such care in Britain, from the Armada down to Waterloo, has guarded them with equal care on our own soil; and has thus given us from the past, an assurance of Divine protection for the future. By England, we mean the people of the three divisions of the United Kingdom; a Protestant Irishman was the leader of her Protestant armies to victory; the Scotch and Irish regiments never faltered in the hour of danger; and in the fiercest of the conflict at Waterloo, the swords of the Life Guards blazed not farther in advance than those of the Inniskillens and Scotch Greys.

The principles of liberty thus protected by Providence in England and developing gradually amid the conflicts of her civil commotions, her parliaments, and her courts of law, grew with fresh vigor when transferred to this soil, and soon ripened into our present glorious government. To this, all foregoing ages and revolutions have been made to contribute;—Judea her inspired wisdom and outline features of a model republic; Greece her elegant literature; Rome her civilization and laws; England her free institutions; Christianity its conservative and controlling power. Like the celebrated Corinthian brass reputed as formed from a fusion of various metals and thereby making a compound more precious than even gold,—the fusion of these principles thus drawn from all times and ages, has produced a fabric of civil government better adapted to the wants of the world at large, more precious, than even the civil polity of the Jewish theocracy.

We thus see our institutions are founded on the scriptures and religious

principle. The Christian religion first taught the world sympathy with the masses. Unlike the religion, the philosophy, and the legislation of antiquity, which were for the initiated, the noble few,—this is fitted for meeting the wants of the down-trodden and neglected multitude who have been too generally governed as though made for the ambition of those in power. Christianity is in its nature essentially democratic. It teaches that “all men were created free and equal;” and proclaimed from the first in the midst of proud philosophic Athens, “God that made the world hath made of one blood all nations of men.” Acts, 17: 26. Says Tholuck, “The cultivated heathen were offended at Christianity precisely for this reason, that the higher classes could no longer have precedence of the common people;” the testimony of Montesquieu is, “Christianity is a stranger to despotic power;” and in the words of De Tocqueville, “The religion which declares that all are equal in the sight of God, will not refuse to acknowledge that all citizens are equal in the eye of the law. Religion is the companion of liberty in all its battles and all its conflicts, the cradle of its infancy and the divine source of its claims.” “Christianity,” says De Witt Clinton, “is in its essence, its doctrines, and its forms republican.” It is adapted to the comprehension of the people; to make the people happy, and to make them happy, not by making them slaves, but by bettering their condition and making them free. It is as precisely adapted to undermine and destroy tyranny as light is fitted to displace darkness; and in the same way, not by overthrowing despotism as Sodom was destroyed by a tempest of fire from heaven, but by rising on their deeds of darkness like the morning dawn imperceptibly leavening the whole heaven with its glow and going on brightening unto the perfect day. It began among the poor. Its author was one of the common people. Among these was he popular; not many wise men, not many mighty, not many noble believed on him. It was the common people who heard him gladly. Mark, 12: 37. In announcing his commission, he said, “Jehovah hath annointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor:” and as proof of the divinity of his mission, he appealed to the fact that not only were the dead raised, but the poor had the gospel preached to them. Matt. 11: 5. It is adapted to make the common people capable of governing themselves. A republican form of government is undesirable for a degraded and vicious population; for a people possessing due intelligence and moral principle, it is the best possible. Christianity makes men able to rule themselves by substituting instead of the terror of standing armies an enlightened intellect and conscience, with the fear of God.

By men influenced with this fear was our country originally settled and the fundamental principles of our government laid. They came to these shores for enjoying the religious freedom which the Reformation taught was their

right, but which they were made to feel could not be found in Europe. Hither they fled, not in search of gold, not through ambition of conquest or of founding an empire, but for seeking an asylum for the undisturbed worship of God. Still does the unchangable King of nations act on the principle, "Them that honor me, I will honor." 2 Sam. 2: 30. To them was that principle applied. Aiming only at the honor of God by a spiritual worship and service, he conferred on them the honor of being the founders of this home of freedom and refuge for the oppressed. How different the asylum they here opened, from the asylum opened by Romulus. The latter was for screening the vicious and desperate from the just penalty of their crimes; the former was for sheltering from persecution for conscience sake those of whom the world was not worthy. Here was collected, instead of a band of outlaws, the best blood of Britain and France, in the outcast Huguenots and Puritans. Pure religion was the pillar of fire and cloud,—unseen indeed to the eye of sense but brightly visible to their eye of faith,—which went before them in their passage through the sea and into the wilderness. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, by the free act of the soul without subjection to the rule of an ecclesiastical noble, was the basis of their religion; and that religion was the corner-stone of their civil polity.

The advances of countries in liberty have been in proportion to the prevalence of the Bible and the influence of the Bible among the masses. We speak not of countries nominally christian: they may be so without being under the power of the scriptures. And of all tyrannies that is the worst which throws out from the christian system everything not subserving its enslaving aim, and putting what remains, in alliance with human policy, subjects the man to a despotism which clutches with a deadly grip his conscience. Not christian countries but Bible countries are and ever must be free. For this reason was Judea far, very far ahead of the nations of antiquity in freedom; and the only two free governments on earth at the present time are the United States and England, where the population is something more than merely overshadowed by the name of christianity,—where they are leavened by an influence from the word of God carried into almost every family, enforced from innumerable pulpits, and brought home with effective power to multitudes of hearts by the Holy Spirit. Those hearts are the hope, the salvation of our country. The light of the world, the salt of the earth, they are equally the centres from which are diffused the influences for counteracting the darkness and corruption under which, like all other republics, ours must fall. Not on the noisy, bustling politician, not on the man with protestations of patriotism continually on his lips but with ambition and office in his heart, not on those whose devotion to politics absorbs all other feelings, and who would

with sincerity of heart, though with mistaken judgment, substitute a licentious socialism for the living purity of religion;—not on these, but on the unobtrusive friends of Jesus Christ, those who have taken up and are perpetuating in our midst the principles of the Puritans, the distributors of Bibles and tracts, the colporteurs, the sabbath-school teachers, the christian congregations, the pulpits of our land,—on these rest the hopes for the perpetuity of our institutions and empire. Their influence is not the less effective, not the less felt, because unassuming and unnoticed.

“Stillest streams

Oft water fairest meadows. The proud world
That as she sweeps him with her whistling silks
Scarce deigns to notice him, or if she see
Deems him a cipher in the works of God,
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours
Of which she little dreams. Perhaps she owes
Her sunshine and her rain, her blooming spring
And plenteous harvest, to the prayer he makes
He serves his country; recompenses well
The state beneath the shadow of whose vine
He sits secure, and in the scale of life
Holds no ignoble, though a slighted place,
The man whose virtues are more felt than seen.
Must drop indeed the hope of public praise;
But he can boast what few that win it can,
That if his country stand not by his skill.
At least his follies have not wrought her fall.”

Moreover, let us reflect that our institutions have been founded by good men and bought with precious blood.

“None

But such as are good men can give good things.”

The recollection of the virtues, sacrifices, and sufferings of those who bled in our cause, feeds and keeps pure the flame of patriotic feeling; and when these cease to be cherished, devotion to our country will decline and our national glory perish. In dwelling on their deeds, we have not the pain of seeing the men base while the exploits are striking; we view with admiration noble ends attained by noble means and by noble spirits. There is to every generous heart pleasure in acknowledging an obligation; and the depth of the pleasure will be in proportion to the greatness of the benefit conferred. Who does not feel happy in thinking of the men of our Revolution and acknowledging their worth? There is in this a three fold satisfaction,—the pleasure just noticed, that which springs from surveying the excellence of moral sublimity, and that arising from the knowledge that both these are combined in those whom we call ours. The men of '76 are as superior to those of other ages as are their principles and institutions. They were men actuated not by ambi-

tion, not by pride, not by passion, but by principle. Notwithstanding their many grievances,—compared with the oppressed multitudes then in France, they enjoyed a kind and lenient rule from the mother country. The tax which roused them to resistance was a trifling matter; it was against the principle therein involved, that they took up arms. Hence throughout the struggle the absence of treachery, fanaticism, and criminal ambition. Among them was found but a single traitor. The great names of antiquity grow dim under the superior lustre of the presence of these worthies. Miltiades the conqueror of Marathon, Themistocles the hero of Salamis, Pausanias who led the Grecian host at Plataea,—these were patriots after the type of Benedict Arnold. Among the actors of the French Revolution, among the marshals of the Empire, there was hardly a man possessing anything deserving the name of principle, except Maedonald; and this he owed to his Scotch blood.

While others rouse the public mind by appealing to the love of glory, there is present in the Anglo-Saxon race a predominating sense of duty. Wordsworth's noble ode to duty is the expression in fitting poetry, of a national characteristic. The heart of the French soldier might be stirred by the appeal of Napoleon to the forty centuries beholding from the tops of the Pyramids their actions; nothing could be better fitted to inflame the enthusiasm of those sprung from the same stock with ourselves, than the last memorable signal of Nelson,—England expects every man to do his duty. The patriots of the Revolution had the same blood in their veins; and from the time the sword was drawn till it was returned to the scabbard in triumph, through adverse and prosperous fortune, in hours of brightness and gloom, they never swerved from their principles, never forgot that posterity, that the world, that future ages were with anxious interest expecting them to do their duty. How nobly that duty was done, we are allowed this day to see and feel. With them, self held a secondary place. It was the expression not of the sentiments of an individual, but of the feelings of the army, of the time, when a patriot raised from the field where he had fallen, said, "I die as I have always wished to die, the death of a soldier contending for the rights of man." There was never such an army, such a corps of officers as those associated with Washington. Doubtless there have been men as brave. The bald quality of courage is, however, a very common endowment among men, and found nowhere in greater perfection than in bosoms where every virtuous and generous feeling has been petrified. In their excellence, bravery was a secondary ingredient. It was bravery amid such a glorious cluster of moral qualities, that constituted their worth.

Was I right in saying there never was such an army and with such officers? Nay, history tells of one, the army of Cromwell. The two were armies of

different ages indeed and countries, but belonging to the same great cause. They fought for the same principles, only at different periods of the same revolution. The American Revolution was the closing scene of the struggle which was in progress in England two centuries ago. Never had a cause such advocates, defenders, and leaders, whether in Parliament or Congress, in command or in the ranks, in the cabinet or in the field. To John Milton was committed the sacred trust of pleading this cause in the presence of Europe and of posterity. And nobly has the trust been fulfilled. To this task, then so unpopular, this venerable man hoary with pious virtues and overshadowed with a halo of literary fame pure as that gathered over the shepherds of Bethlehem, brought a genius great in native vigor as that of Homer, but laden with intellectual riches Homer never knew. With arguments grand and faultless as his own magnificent prose, has he placed beyond all controversy the right of the people to call to account tyrant kings, the liberty of the press, and other points now universally received as axioms of freedom. Hampden, a man "to whom the history of revolutions furnishes no parallel or furnishes a parallel in Washington alone," was the parliamentary leader of this movement. Its soldiers were Cromwell and Washington,—that Cromwell over whose memory political hatred and kingly debauchees threw so black a veil, but to whose fame posterity is now beginning to do full though tardy justice,—the only man who ever retained amid the same political power so pure and fervent a piety,—the man "without whom liberty would have been lost not only to England but to Europe."*

A like spirit actuated the leaders, the deliberative assemblies, and the people in both contests. The words of Milton concerning his own country at that crisis, might be considered a description of our own: "What nation or state ever obtained liberty by more successful or more valorous exertion? For fortitude is seen resplendent, not only in the field of battle and amid the clash of arms, but displays its energy under every difficulty and against every assailant. During the mighty struggle, no anarchy, no licentiousness was seen; no illusions of glory, no extravagant emulation of the ancients inflamed them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives and the sobriety of their habits taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty; and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience. Relying on the divine assistance, they used every honorable exertion to break the yoke of slavery." The scene is sublime when this blind old man having with the power of his logic, his burning thoughts and glowing words completely crushed his antagonists and thereby scattered forever the spell hanging around the name of king, looks forward to coming ages with

*Merle D'Aubigne.

the eye of a prophet, and exclaims, "Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost: and that the people of this island are transplanting to other countries a plant of more beneficial qualities and more noble growth than that which Triptolemus is reported to have carried from region to region; that they are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations." In closing this second defence of the people of England, he says, "If after such a display of courage and vigor, you basely relinquish the path of virtue, if you do anything unworthy of yourselves, posterity will sit in judgment on your conduct. They will see that the foundations were well laid; but with deep emotions of concern will they regret, that those were wanting who might have completed the structure." Those were not wanting who might complete the structure. They were raised up in what was then this distant western wilderness. What had been so gloriously begun by Milton, Hampden, and Cromwell, was taken up and even more gloriously finished by Washington and his compeers.

The name of Washington already belongs to the world. Among the constellations of illustrious characters of the past, he shines as the morning star amid the stars of heaven, and like this glorious light, the harbinger announcing that the day of freedom is breaking and the shadows of despotism are fleeing away. English toryism admits that "Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate, that it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amid transatlantic wilds, to such a man." His character approaches as near as human infirmity will admit, a perfect model of the great and good. It is like one of those finished pieces of statuary which would not at first strike the vulgar gaze so strongly as many a piece of meaner workmanship combining some fine strokes of art with many deformities. This appears most beautiful on a close examination and to a correct critical eye.

"One shade the more, one ray the less,
Had half impaired its nameless grace."

No observer however acute and fastidious can point out any defect in this development of human greatness. Where do we see grandeur so chastened by humility; patriotism, by self-renunciation; military fame, by humanity, and worldly glory, by piety. He was brave without rashness; firm without cruelty; patriotic without ambition; and pious without reproach. To depreciate the talents while admitting the goodness of Washington, does no injury save to the detractor. One of the greatest minds of England pronounces him "the greatest man of our own or of any age." Guizot says, "He did the two greatest things which in politics man can have the privilege of attempting,

He maintained by peace that independence of his country which he acquired by war. He founded a free government in the name of the principles of order and by reestablishing their sway." No commander ever achieved so much for mankind with such slender means and so small an amount of human suffering. He was never at the head of hundreds of thousands of men, yet his military operations though on so limited a scale, compared with the campaigns of the old world, show nevertheless very great ability. "The statue of Hercules cast by Lysippus, though only a foot high, expressed the muscles and bones of the hero more grandly than the colossal figures of other artists."

His greatness appears no less in what he did not than in what he actually performed. Peace has its triumphs as well as war. No fields of battle can be invested with such grandeur as the two simple closing scenes of his military life. The parting of Napoleon with the relic of the old guard at Fontainebleau has more theatrical show but less sublimity, than the affecting farewell of Washington with his officers at Frances' hotel in New York, when amid tears from those who had never faltered in the darkest hours, and with his own emotions too strong for concealment, he said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." In keeping with this was the resigning of his commission to Congress, a scene grand in its simplicity, which as meeting us in the rotunda of the Capitol no American heart can contemplate without tears.

"Such graves as his are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no age or creed confined,
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind."

What though in our country we have no work like the Parthenon, and the statue of Minerva or of Jupiter Olympius? We can take the stranger into a nobler fabric, the temple of constitutional freedom, and point him to the incarnation of more than the wisdom of Minerva, than the grandeur of the Olympian Jupiter—WASHINGTON. And those grouped around him as associates whether in the duties of civil or military life, present a bearing and elevation of character worthy of the majesty of the central figure in that glorious group. On every occasion like this, let those good men be held in affectionate remembrance. When an enemy in command of a British frigate moving up the Potomac to bombard our Capital during the last war, could, on passing Mount Vernon, lower his topsails in reverence for the illustrious dead;—let us with deep thankfulness to Heaven, turn aside with our children, and confirm our love of country while dropping a tear at his venerated grave.

Again,—let us remember these institutions and this territory have been given us in trust for the good of the world. Benefit confers obligation; and

the principle, "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," is equally true of nations. After securing its own happiness, every nation is bound to advance, according to the dictates of wisdom and prudence, the general happiness of the world. Other empires have had their mission: the United States have been raised up for guarding and extending the blessings of liberty to the oppressed and enslaved of the world. Hence the extent of territory entrusted to us and the remarkable manner in which this territory was held in reserve by Providence till the fulness of time had come. As all men are not fit for republicanism,—instead of setting up this form of government amid the volcanic elements slumbering in the populations of Europe, to be overthrown as in France and become a derision to mankind,—God has reared a republic here by drawing hither the best blood of the old world who were capable of founding and giving it stability: this done, He seems to say to the down-trodden of every people and clime, Yonder may you find a refuge from tyranny and enjoy the most perfect freedom possible on earth. Whose heart does not warm at the thought that we have been able even now to welcome to our shores the Hungarian exiles, and send one of the finest models of a steam frigate to bring their leader in triumph from under the very batteries of European despotism, for receiving here more than a kingly welcome. No wonder that when he came on the deck over which floated the stripes and stars, and saw around him the batteries of the American navy manned by stout hearts and strong arms ready to defend freedom as personified in him her persecuted son, he should have paused with emotion and found utterance choked with tears.

Contrast this country as the asylum of liberty, with Russia as the champion of despotism, and think which holds the more enviable position. The ancients looked with interest for the rising of a constellation reputed to have the power of hushing the tempest and tranquilizing the sea: over the turbulent waves of popular commotion and the angry tide of tyranny, that constellation has arisen; it burns in our national stars which seem to have been given not without design for our emblem as the beacon of the world. On seeing those stars, many rejoice with exceeding great joy. Going up with a steady rise, they have yet dropped no one from their number. We have not the pain of searching there for some lost Pleiad; we see the beauty of the group steadily increased by new stars in succession breaking on the view. Our country is the cynosure of the oppressed of the world. And we feel assurance it will continue to go upward with a steady rise, not like those southern constellations a little while above the horizon, then going down in continued gloom; but like the pole star, never to set; or like the morning star, the forerunner of that dawn of coming glory to which prophecy has so long pointed, when

darkness, oppression, and tyranny shall find no shadow of death where to hide themselves, and the divine light of heavenly truth which has made us free, shall throw its rosy mantle over all lands, and people, and tongues. My country,

“I love thee,—when I see thee stand,
The hope of every other land;
A sea-mark in the tide of time,
Rearing to heaven thy brow sublime.
“I love thee,—next to heaven above,
Land of my fathers! thee I love;
And rail thy slanderers as they will,
With all thy faults, I love the still.”

Over the formation and development of these institutions, a kind providence has hitherto watched with guardian care. He who from heaven protected these things in the tender germ, amid the bloodshed of Europe, and when borne by the tempest to this unbroken wilderness;—who raised up such men in the hour of trial;—who interfered so manifestly, almost miraculously, in our struggle for independence; who guided our armies in the field and our representatives in their deliberations;—He is continuing to protect us, and during the past year, has shown his love by confirming amid threatening dangers the perpetuity of the union, and turning the counsels of its enemies into foolishness. That the integrity of the Union shall be threatened, must be expected; that all such efforts will be frustrated, the past gives us good reason to hope. Institutions which like these have been the growth of ages,—which have their basis on the truths taught in the scriptures,—which have been given in trust for the benefit of the world,—which have been so clearly guarded by a divine hand,—are not doomed to speedy overthrow or decay. Let the friends of the Union be true to their charge and to heaven, and all will be well. Civil government is at best a compromise; our Union was founded by compromise, and only by measures of compromise can it be upheld. Any act for dissolving the Union is more than ordinary treason. It is treason against the interest of liberty and humanity throughout the world and in future ages.

Fanaticism is a thing of one idea, at the mercy of blind and impetuous passions; patriotism is a spirit of enlarged views and generous sentiments, ever happy to sacrifice private interests and preferences for the public good. This looks to the welfare and success, not of its own little society, or sect, or neighborhood, but to the welfare of the country as a whole. The true patriot is the man who loves his whole country. To this he is willing to sacrifice his private feelings and gain, his hopes of political preferment, and even his life. He uses his best exertions for obtaining the enactment of the most salutary

laws ; but when laws are passed not according to his mind, he bows to their supremacy until able to obtain by constitutional means their repeal ; or failing in this, continues to stand manfully by his country, and discountenance under all circumstances, even the appearance of resistance to the constituted authorities. He will not forsake the ship of state and leap into the sea, do what injury he can to the vessel, strive to break it into fragments, or to fire the magazine, because it may not be steered or worked entirely according to his fancy, or because he cannot have regulations repealed that were in force when he came on board ; but feeling his interest indented with the safety of the whole, he will acquiesce in the will of the majority, and leave the direction of affairs in the hands where it has been entrusted. His is the sentiment of Decatur, " Our country, may she always be right ; but right or wrong, our country." May this principle ever be ours. No one sect, no one society, no one state, constitutes our country. The assemblage of all these forms the nation ; and hence the design of the government is to consult the interest, not of any one of these as dis severed from the others, but of the whole so far as that interest can be promoted by such compromises according to the constitution as may benefit them thus in union. Far be it from us to be so influenced by selfishness and fanaticism, as to allow a wrong, or even an oppressive act to turn us against our country. In such a spirit, there is more of the temper of Arnold than of those faithful with Washington. When our country may seem to err, we will stand by her with greater faithfulness, and use efforts the more strenuous for correcting by legal means the error,—bowing with submission to the supremacy of the laws, and making ours the principle, Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our whole country.