

NATIONAL GLORY.

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT BRUNSWICK,

ON THE DAY OF THE NATIONAL FAST,

AUGUST 20, 1812.

BY WINTHROP BAILEY, A. M.

“ _____ quique arma secuti

“ Impia _____

“ Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Dives.”

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1812.

DISCOURSE.

PSALM LXXXV, VERSE 9.

That glory may dwell in our land.

THE writer of this Psalm was a true friend to the best interests of his country. The whole excellence of his character, however, was not comprised in patriotism. He was as ardent in piety, as warm in gratitude, as humble for sin, as earnest for divine mercy, and as firm in his reliance on God, as he was zealous for the welfare of his nation. His attention was not chiefly directed to the prosperity of a particular class in their secular pursuits. To promote the wealth, or to secure the superiority of the planter, the merchant, the farmer, or the manufacturer was not his main design. The end, which he pursued, was more important; the views, which he entertained, were more noble and enlarged; the principles, on which he acted, were more benevolent and extensive. The object of his wishes was that combination of circumstances; that union of private and general success with the prevalence and influence of moral habits, and the means, dispositions, and effects of religion, in which the true glory of a nation consists. This kind of patriotism is not, like the other, the production of a selfish and worldly disposition. It is the genuine offspring of that supreme love to God, which ensures a suitable regard to other objects, and without which every thing, wearing the semblance of virtue, is materially defective.

To this class of patriots every good man belongs. It is not his object to promote a party, or to secure an office. It is not his design to render this rich, and that dependent. His heart is fixed on the true welfare of his country; this he discerns; this he steadily pursues. So far as measures appear doubtful, he hesitates; if they are advantageous, he supports them; if detri-

mental, he opposes them. He, however, adopts no unlawful measures either in supporting, or in opposing. He is as far removed from violence on the one hand, as from pusillanimity on the other.

This love of country is exceedingly different from that clamorous and boasting zeal, which is often manifested by the worst men ; not for the good of the community, but for the support of a favorite party, or of a few individuals, who have no other merit, than that of skill in deception. In a country, which embraces any considerable number of inhabitants, there will always be men, who are ready to build themselves up on the ruins, or at the expense of the public ; and there will always be many, who may be brought to act, either honestly or dishonestly, in concert with them. Men of this stamp, though destitute of a disposition to respond to the devout wish of the psalmist, that "glory may dwell in our land," are often abundant in their professions of genuine patriotism ; and commonly begin their career by calumniating those already in power, and by insinuating, that more prosperous times would be the consequence of choosing different men, and adopting different measures. These men either do not see, or they do not regard the welfare of the country. They either have not wisdom enough to discern, or they have not integrity enough to pursue that, on which the happiness of the community depends.

The glory of any land can be nothing distinct from those circumstances, which tend to promote the happiness of the inhabitants. If this happiness is secured, that glory is manifested ; if this happiness is diminished or destroyed, that glory is obscured or annihilated. National glory is therefore the aggregate of individual prosperity and happiness. Nations are of course as dependent on God, as individuals ; and no one can be a patriot in the highest and best sense without that pious disposition, which the psalmist discovers. Without this disposition a person must be indifferent to the most valuable interests of his countrymen, though he may be friendly to their success in concerns of an inferior nature.

Let us consider, in the first place, what conduces to the glory of our land ; and, secondly, how a good citizen will endeavor to promote it.

First, in order that "glory may dwell in our land," we must have good constitutions and laws ; and these must be strictly regarded and enforced. That those constitutions, which form the basis of our civil government, and are the safeguard of our liberties and rights, are wisely framed and happily calculated to secure those important ends, is admitted by those, who would be considered the friends of the American republic. That the great body of laws, which our legislatures have enacted in conformity to the constitutions, tend to promote the same design is, I believe, generally maintained by those, who are best qualified to judge. If these constitutions were rejected, and these laws annulled, the glory of our land would depart ; and every encroachment upon them, by the rulers or by the people, in some degree tarnishes that glory. If our legislators frame laws, which are unconstitutional ; and if our citizens seek to evade those that are just, our national honor cannot be unsullied. The glory of our country is not secured by the best laws on paper ; they must be written upon the hearts and regulate the actions of our citizens. Otherwise, they will only serve to show our want of virtue, and to proclaim our disgrace to the world. Where is the honor of that country, or of that society, which has good laws, but which has not firmness and integrity sufficient to enforce them ; and in which there is such a prevalence of remissness, of vice, and of wicked men, that these laws must, in fact be suspended ? Such a state of things indicates a degree of degeneracy, which is altogether incompatible with true national glory.

Secondly, in order "that glory may dwell in our land," our rulers must possess wisdom, integrity, and patriotism. Persons of weak intellects are unfit to be placed in important and difficult stations ; and, when the spirit of equality so rages, that mental qualifications are disregarded, and men without understanding and without the necessary information are raised to office,

because they happen to be of this, or the other party, the honor of the nation is gone.

Integrity in rulers is as indispensable, as wisdom. Without the latter, they are incapable of doing good ; without the former, they will certainly do mischief. When a man, destitute of honesty and moral principle, is entrusted with an important office, his example will do more injury, than it otherwise would. He will, if possible, make that office profitable to himself, at the hazard of the public good ; and he stands, as a national herald, proclaiming to the reproach of the people, that they love, and trust, and honor such vile men, as himself.

Patriotism is also essential in rulers. Those, to whom we commit the management of our public concerns, should be strongly attached to the welfare of the country, and should be under the influence of no passion, which is hostile to that welfare. It is in the nature of things impossible for that man to be a true patriot, who is governed by the desire of obtaining an office. The question with such a man must always be, not what is good for my country, but what will probably secure me that station. If this object can be gained by flattery, by bribery, or by any other contemptible or dishonest method, he cares not what becomes of the country ; he would join any party, and profess any principles, which would secure his election to office. You violate a moral obligation, and you are injuring your country, when you support a man, who is known to be seeking an office. It ought to be known in our republic, that, if a man have desires for an office, the best way for him is to keep those desires to himself ; for the glory of our country is sullied so far, as we elevate those, whose ruling passion it is to be elevated. In support of the sentiments advanced under this head, the scriptures are clear and decisive. " Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness. Confidence in an unfaithful man in time of trouble is like a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint. As a roaring lion and a ranging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people. The

prince, that wanteth understanding, is also a great oppressor. When the wicked rise, men hide themselves. The king by judgement establisheth the land ; but he, that receiveth gifts, overthroweth it." If then you would promote the honor and welfare of your country, give no support to those, who are destitute of wisdom, honesty, or patriotism.

Thirdly, in order " that glory may dwell in our land," the people must be diligent and virtuous. A nation of indolent men must be without honor. They cannot preserve their independence ; they cannot procure the comforts and conveniences of civilized life ; they cannot possess those dispositions and feelings, without which man is degraded to a level with the brutes ; they must fall under the influence of those vices, which will certainly bring them into disgrace and ruin. Industry is inseparably connected with the prosperity of a country. Whatever diminishes the former necessarily diminishes the latter. Every idle person, therefore, is in reality a foe to his country. Though his individual influence may not be sensibly felt, yet, should all imitate his example, the nation must be ruined. Besides, indolence is rarely found alone ; it is generally the concomitant of some vices, and these are directly hostile to the welfare of the community ; these degrade the individual, and therefore cannot throw lustre on society. What honor could be attached to a nation of profligates, drunkards, duellists, swearers, defrauders, and rioters ? All such characters, therefore, should be regarded as doing nothing for the honor and welfare, but much for the disgrace and destruction of the country. In order to maintain national reputation, the people must be active and diligent, honest and temperate, peaceable and kind ; they must shun every vice, and practise every virtue. In proportion as the opposite course is pursued, the glory of the land must fade. This accords with the declaration of the prophet. " Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel, for the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth. nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. By swearing, and lying, and killing,

and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood. Therefore shall the land mourn, and every one, that dwelleth therein, shall languish." When similar enormities are committed in our own land, can we rationally hope to escape the divine vengeance ; can we reasonably expect, that, without a great reformation, our national glory will be continued ? The preceding observations may show with what feelings we should regard laws and restrictions, which tend to check the spirit of activity and enterprize ; which serve to divert the attention of the people from those laudable pursuits, to which their habits, their interest, and their situation invite them ; and which entice them to idleness, dishonesty, and perjury.

Fourthly, in order " that glory may dwell in our land," encouragement should be given to all useful pursuits, arts, and sciences. It is wisely ordained that different men should have a taste and a genius for different employments. By the combination and the vigorous action of these various members in the body politic, the convenience, the enjoyment, and the beauty of the whole are promoted ; and each one should be allowed to assume such a posture, and to increase to such a degree, as the nature of the case and the general good require, without compulsion and without restraint. An innocent occupation of one kind should not be cramped in order to produce an untimely and forced attention to another. Each individual should be left to the free exercise and application of his own talents in that way, which, consistently with the principles of morality and the good of others, his own inclination and interest dictate. In this way the various arts and pursuits will spontaneously assume a form and proportion more conducive to the public good, than any, into which they could be moulded by legislative interference.

Hence the impropriety of all those regulations, which prevent, either absolutely, or by imposing enormous duties, the introduction of articles of foreign growth and manufacture, under the pretext of encouraging among ourselves a greater degree of attention to particular pursuits. This answers a purpose in the commu-

nity, similar to what would be accomplished in the human body, by destroying the sight, for the sake of improving the faculties of hearing and feeling. Both are unnatural ; both may be beneficial in particular parts of the system ; but both are highly detrimental to the beauty and welfare of the whole. The glory of a land must fade, when industry is turned out of its natural channels ; when private sagacity and individual enterprise are shackled and suppressed by public edicts. If an individual finds it for his interest and has an inclination to engage in any lawful pursuit, he should be encouraged ; his prosperity and success add so much to the sum of general happiness. In this way and in this only can all those branches of industry flourish ; all those arts be cultivated ; and all those sciences attained, on which the honor, the prosperity, and the harmony of society depend.

Fifthly, in order "that glory may dwell in our land," we must not form an alliance with modern Antichrist. Those, who unite with the great enemy of God and man, must expect to share in those awful judgments, which a righteous Providence will inflict on him. That the government of France is opposed to religion, and the rights, and interests of mankind, there can be no doubt ; and in America we can yet express this opinion. Notwithstanding the pompous and extravagant pretensions of the French emperor, and his servile flatterers in styling him the avenger of the rights and the protector of the liberties of the people, yet he is the "man, than whom none ever rose to more power, or was less scrupulous in the means of its acquisition, or more unrelenting in its exercise. Emperor of the West, King of Lombardy, Protector of the Helvetic and Rhinish confederacies, Sovereign Leige Lord of Italy and Dalmatia ;—there is not one of his titles, which does not bring before the mind a long, dark, and bloody train of acts of perfidy and usurpation, of treachery and violence."* There can be no honor, there must be

* General Repository and Review ; No. III. Printed at Cambridge—page 110.

eternal infamy in being united with such a nation, as this. Where is the national glory of those, who have joined the standard of this oppressor? When Asa, king of Judah, made a league with Benhadad, king of Syria, a prophet was directed to say to him "because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and not relied on the Lord, thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand. Herein thou hast done foolishly; therefore from henceforth thou shalt have wars."

We must expect to suffer the vengeance of heaven, if we rely for aid on the Emperor of France. "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." If it be asked, why I attempt to excite hatred against that nation; the reply is, because they are in the highest degree hateful. You ought not to wish that the French might be miserable; on the other hand, you ought to desire their reformation and happiness; but, according to their present character, as a nation, you ought to hold them in utter abhorrence. The man, or the government, that can be pleased with them, must be the enemy of God and the foe of mankind. They are robbers; they are murderers of an enormous size. "The unequalled profligacy of the French government, its defiance and contempt of all the obligations of justice and truth, joined to the prevalent infidelity and general prostration of morals in the French nation, present France as an object of horror to the civilized and christian world." Any "voluntary connection with a government and people so perfidious, profligate, and corrupt is of itself sufficient to draw down upon our country the judgments of heaven."

But, since the paper, which is considreed as giving the views of our present administration, expressly states "that our government will not, under any circumstances, that may occur, form a political connection with France"; and that the idea of such a connection, "as an expedient to extort justice from England, is

created with disdain by every person, connected with the government"; we may surely take it for granted, that neither of our political parties think favorably of such an alliance; and that the sentiments expressed in the following paragraphs, taken from a late eloquent address, are the common sentiments of our countrymen.

"French brotherhood is an idea big with horror and abomination. Up to that point no duty or principle requires us, and no power should compel us, to go. It is engraven on our hearts and mingled with our blood, that we will have no communion or fellowship with that power. We will never consent, that her unhallowed hosts shall spread over our paternal fields; that they shall violate these temples, raised by the hands and made vocal with the worship of our fathers; or that they shall profane the ground, where the bones of New England's ancestors lie enshrined.

There is no common character, nor can there be a common interest between the protestants, the dissenters, the puritans of New-England, and the papists, the infidels, the atheists of France; or between our free, republican institutions, and the most merciless tyranny, that ever heaven suffered to afflict mankind. Let the nation be named, that is the ally of France, and not her slave; let the degree of submission be marked, with which she will be content; let the line be drawn between French usurpation and national independence, which she will not pass. What people hath come within the grasp of her power, that hath not been ground to powder? or hath communed of her principles, or received the bribe of her friendship, that hath not been covered, like the mercenary servant cursed of the prophet, with a leprosy as white, as snow? Hath any nation or government, monarchy or republic, ventured within the den of this Monster, and returned? The fields of half Europe are whitened with the dried bones of human beings, slaughtered by this inexorable tyranny. From the extremity of Italy to the Baltic sea; from the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube, can you place your foot on one inch of ground, and say, you stand on

the soil of a freeman? Can you, in that whole space, point me to one man, whether king, prince or peasant, that holds life or property by any other tenure, than the tyrant's will? Can you show me, within the tremendous sweep of his arm, one institution of religion, not profaned; or of learning, not prostituted? One fountain of moral instruction, not corrupted? One barrier of purity and virtue, not demolished? Or one principle of justice and natural right not obliterated?

If there be any among us, so infatuated or stupified, as not to shudder at the prospect of French alliance, let them come and behold the nations, that lie mangled and bleeding at the foot of the tyrant's throne, in a mixture of moral and political ruin. If they will not hearken to the warning voice, they may yet perhaps be shocked into some feeling by the evidence of their own senses. Let them approach and look into the horrible pit of European suffering and calamity. Although they will not hear Moses and the prophets, they may yet believe, when they draw near to the brink of the gulph, and with their own eyes look into the condition of the damned.

But if it be in the righteous counsel of Heaven to bury New England, her religion, her governments, and her laws, under the throne of foreign despotism, there are those among her sons, that will never see that event. If, by the vigor of their counsels and the free exposure of their lives, they cannot avert, they will at least never endure it. They will not taste the bitterness of the cup. They will not be among the sufferers, when that viol of Heaven's wrath shall be poured out. Before that hour comes, an honorable exit will be opened to them from the land of their fathers. They cannot perish better, than standing between their country and the embraces of a ferocious tyranny, hated of man and accursed of God. At the appointed time they will embrace that martyrdom, not only with fortitude, but with cheerfulness, resolved in all events, that when they shall, for the last time, behold the light of that sun, or look on the pleasant verdure of these fields, it shall not be

with the eyes of slaves and subjects of an impious despotism.”*

Sixthly, in order “that glory may dwell in our land,” we must defend and enjoy “the freedom of opinion, and the liberty of the press.” Glory will not dwell with that nation, which relinquishes these sacred rights. The moment this birthright of freemen, this first of our civil privileges and defence of all the rest, is given up, we are under the dominion of a tyranny, whether having one head or many is not important. No man of moderation will plead for the privilege of abusing rulers, or private citizens any more, than for the privilege of using prophane language; but every man, who deserves the name and the rights of an American citizen, will oppose the doctrine, that we must either speak in favor of public measures, or not speak at all. This is a doctrine, which has been practically opposed by every political party in America. If there are any among now us, so abandoned, so inimical to the dearest interests of our country, as to maintain this slavish principle, they might find, on the continent of Europe, a government more congenial to their feelings; they might there live under the practical influence, and enjoy the comforts of that doctrine, which they here attempt to support.

Seventhly, in order “that glory may dwell in our land,” the institutions of religion must be observed; and the means of grace enjoyed. In proportion as we encroach upon the Sabbath, and neglect the word and the public worship of God, in the same proportion must our national glory diminish. We are highly favored in being allowed to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences, and according to our own views of the Sacred Oracles. But, if from this, or from any other cause, we take occasion to neglect the worship of our Maker, and those invaluable religious advantages, which we enjoy, our disgrace will be more indelibly stamped, and more loudly pro-

* Webster’s address; delivered at Portsmouth, N. Hampshire.

claimed, than that of any nation, which practices all the foolish and horrid rites of paganism. Ours will be the disgrace of ingratitude ; the disgrace of rejecting the clearest light, and of abusing the choicest favors. God punished his ancient people by desolation, captivity, and dispersion, because they slighted and perverted the warnings, which he gave them, and the means of grace, with which he favored them. On what ground are we to expect greater lenity, if we tread in the steps of that rebellious people ? Let it be deeply and solemnly impressed on the mind of every one, that those, who disregard the institutions of religion, are not the friends of their country. The correctness of their political creed will not shield them from the imputation of doing that, which is rapidly and powerfully tending to the ruin of our nation. It is in the highest degree absurd to suppose that those, who violate the Sabbath, and neglect the means of moral and religious instruction, are endeavoring to promote the welfare of their fellowmen, or the honor of their country. And it is to be feared, that not a little guilt is attached to us for raising to office men, who have manifestly no regard for the institutions of our holy religion. Whether the number of these be greater or smaller, it is as certain, that their elevation to office is detrimental to the public welfare, as that the wicked kings of Israel and Judah brought distress upon that nation. We are required to treat men according to their apparent characters ; and when all distinction of this kind is overlooked in the choice of rulers, and we proceed upon the principle, that devotion to a party will atone for any defect in the moral or religious character, it is an evidence, that we have proceeded to an alarming degree of corruption.

Once more, eighthly, in order " that glory may dwell in our land," there must be those among us, who fear God, and to whom he will vouchsafe his salvation. The true friends of God are the true friends of their country ; and, so long as they remain among us in considerable numbers, may we not hope, that glory will dwell in our land, and that our privileges will be contin-

ued to us ? Sodom would have been spared, had ten righteous persons been found in it. The anger of God toward Israel, in consequence of Solomon's degeneracy, was deferred for the sake of David, his father. Christ calls his disciples "the salt of the earth." While many, possessing this character, dwell in our land, may we not hope, that our country will be spared on their account, and in answer to their prayers ? We know that our salvation and our glory must come from God. "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help." The example of Elijah has taught us the efficacy of prayer in obtaining public blessings. May God always grant us many, who have a similar spirit, and who will adopt the same means to preserve and increase the true welfare and glory of our nation. It is devoutly to be wished, that we might at all times have many in our country, actuated by the same patriotism, which the sacred penman manifested in the psalm, from which the text is selected ; and that our countrymen in general could cordially unite in adopting the following sentiments. "Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt thou be angry with us forever ? Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations ? Wilt thou not revive us again, that the people may rejoice in thee ? Show us thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us thy salvation." When there are none to join in these pious supplications, then farewell, an everlasting farewell, to the glory of our land.

Having considered what conduces to the glory of our land, it remains briefly to show, in the second place, how a good citizen will endeavor to promote it.

He will regard our constitutions and laws. He will choose those for rulers, who are qualified for the important station by possessing the requisite wisdom, integrity and patriotism. He will be diligent and industrious in some useful occupation ; will shun every species of vice ; and regularly perform the various social and moral duties. He will discourage idleness and vice in every shape ; and will give his influence in support of

every useful pursuit, art, and science. As occasion may require, he will calmly and firmly express his opinion, and maintain the equal right of others to do the same. He will sacredly regard the institutions of our divine religion ; and will embrace every opportunity to attend upon the means of instruction and improvement in morality and piety. In this way will every good citizen act ; and though, by failing in some of these, a person might not become an open enemy to his country, yet he would in fact be sapping the foundation of its prosperity, and tarnishing its true glory.

Permit me to close by reminding you, my friends, that it is not sufficient for you to be good citizens in the common import of the phrase. Whatever may be the condition of your country, you will remember, that your connection with it will not be of long duration. You must attach yourselves to the great Sovereign of the universe, if you would be happy hereafter under his government. You ought to be friendly to the best interests of your country ; and you ought also to be friendly to him without whose blessing your country cannot be prosperous. It is right to feel interested in the welfare of our nation ; it is also right ; it is indispensable to be members of that holy society, on which God has promised to bestow everlasting happiness. You should devoutly pray “ that glory may dwell in our land ;” and you should prepare yourselves to dwell in glory forever.