

THE MEANS
OF
NATIONAL PROSPERITY

A

S E R M O N,

DELIVERED AT LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT,

ON THE DAY OF

THE ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING,

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SERMON

ECCLESIASTES V. 9.

Moreover the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field.

THE most obvious truths are frequently the most overlooked. No fact is more manifest, than the dependence of society upon the labours of the husbandman; and no fact, of so much importance, is perhaps less realized. In an extended machinery, where every movement obeys one mighty impulse, the reality of the power may be obvious, and the apprehension of it be prevented, by those very movements, which are the evidence of its energy. In like manner, the employments of men are so various, from the throne downward, and our eye is so filled with this variety, that agriculture, the spring of this extended action, is liable to be thrown into forgetfulness, by the abundant evidence of its power. But let the sun for one year withhold his ordinary smiles, and the clouds their accustomed treasure, and the earth her increase, and the paralytic shock, extended to every limb of the body politic, will quickly indicate where is the seat of life, and what is the spring of motion. When the fields languish, no substitute for their product can be found, and our dependence upon God and the husbandman is realized.

Convened at this time, in accordance with the dictates of religion, the exhortation of the supreme executive of the state, and the immemorial usage of our fathers, to render praise to God for the mercies of the past year, and associated in this employment with a greater portion of the nation than have ever at one time observed this delightful anniversary, I have thought that the *means of national prosperity* might be an appropriate subject of contemplation.

The general nature of the subject will not, it is presumed, prevent our interest in it, when it is considered that the present is a period of great embarrassment, brought upon us in a time of peace and of great fruitfulness of the earth: brought upon us of course by our own indiscretions, and demanding the efforts of the government, and the families of the nation, to apply a remedy.

An outline only can be given in the illustration of so extensive a subject; but if that be correct, your own discretion may supply the filling up. Among the means of national prosperity, we mention,

First—*The encouragement and successful prosecution of agriculture.*

There is no wealth of nations which is not obtained from the earth, and no wealth yielded by the earth but as the consequence of cultivation. The curse of barrenness can neither be repealed nor mitigated, but by the hand of industry; while at

her touch the earth opens her bosom and pours out her munificence. The indolent cannot prosper. Their affairs will rush into confusion, and end in nakedness and shame. Inspiration has told us, ages since, what the providence of God has not to this day failed to verify: "The hand of the diligent shall bear rule; but the slothful shall be under tribute." "He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand; but the hand of the diligent maketh rich." "The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns;" he is always embarrassed in his affairs, and moves onward as if cutting his way at every step through an hedge of thorns. "He that is slothful in his work, is brother to him that is a great waster." "The desire of the slothful killeth him, for his hand refuseth to labour;"—his desire is abundance of idleness, and it prevents exertion and destroys him.

"The slothful man saith there is a lion without, I shall be slain in the street."—The efforts of industry are as terrific to him as the thoughts of meeting a lion. "Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep the idle soul." "By much slothfulness the building decayeth, and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through." "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep. So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man." "The soul of the slothful desireth and hath nothing; but the soul of the diligent shall be made fat." "The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold—therefore shall he beg in harvest and have nothing." "I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding—and lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down." Did any of you ever behold such a farm? Never, in the hand of a diligent man; and never otherwise, in the hand of the slothful. The passages recited disclose the invariable laws of Providence in respect to the consequences of industry and sloth. Forests will not fall, and harvests will not wave, without labour. The family composed of inefficient members cannot thrive, and the nation composed of such families must be tributary to those nations whose policy protects and stimulates national industry.

The product of agricultural enterprise, remaining after the wants of the husbandman are supplied, is the sustenance and the means of wealth to that whole portion of society devoted to other employments. If the husbandman has nothing to spare, by whom shall the professional man be fed? What raw material shall the artizan manufacture? Or what product of industry shall the merchant barter? Cut the sinews of agricultural enterprise, and reduce the ambition of the husbandman to the simple supply of his own wants, and you consign to famine every professional man, stop the movement of every machine.

silence the hum of business in cities, furl every sail opened to the favouring gale, and recal from the ocean every ship, to rot in ignoble indolence beside the dock. The surplus product of the farm is the spring of universal activity, without which civilized society would fall back upon barbarism.

Agriculture may be encouraged, by awarding honour to the employment, in accordance with its utility; by associations and premiums for the collection and dissemination of agricultural knowledge, and by the excitement of a spirit of improvement in all kinds of husbandry, by the improvement of roads, the construction of canals, and multiplication of the various facilities of inland navigation, and by wise acts of legislation, calculated to secure to the husbandman a steady market and a fair price.

With respect to honour, as an encouragement to industry, I intend not merely verbal applause: much less offering incense to pride. By honour rendered to the agriculturist, I intend that practical estimation which gives to him his relative place and weight in society, according to his intelligence, his virtues, and his usefulness.

That employment which God assigned to man in a state of innocency, and re-enjoined upon him after his exile from Eden, and the commencement of the work of salvation, which is so congenial to health, courage, strength of body, vigour of intellect, patriotism, piety, morals, domestic enjoyment, and national wealth, ought not to be in equity, and will not be in policy, regarded as second in respectability to any employment whatever. Much less can it be regarded as a vulgar or mean employment.

Slaves may toil at the crack of the whip, and tenants in despotic countries may receive with gratitude from their landlord the privilege of ignoble industry. But freemen, the enlightened, independent owners of the soil, will not cultivate the earth in disgrace. That portion of the population best qualified, by vigour of intellect and capacity of knowledge to guide the process of national agriculture, will escape from it to other employments more honoured. The consequence will be, that these will be overstocked, and that agriculture will languish, both for want of hands to till the earth, and for being thrown into the hands of the least intelligent and vigorous class of the community. I intend that honour, then, which leaves the way open to the farmer, to the best society and to the highest public honours of the nation; not without appropriate qualifications, merely because he is a farmer, but unobstructed, whenever qualified, by any relative disgrace attached to the employment. I intend that estimation of the agriculturist which shall illustrate the proverb, "Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men."

To supersede the necessity of repetition, I would here observe, that the honour due to the husbandman should be awarded upon the same terms to the mechanic and manufacturer, and to that entire class of the community who sustain their families and bless their country by manual labour. That nation cannot be prosperous and free, whose labouring population are consigned to relative ignominy. The hard hand of labour must not be the token of disgrace, but the badge of honour. The Romans prospered while toil was honourable, and were enslaved only when the sword and the sceptre fell into the hands of the effeminate. Let the road to honour and influence be open alike to all classes of society, and the competition be that only of intellect, knowledge, enterprise, and virtue; while ignorance, indolence, and immorality, constitute the only impediment to public favour; and the heart of national industry will be cheerful, and the arm of national industry will be strong, and the consequence will be, contented families, and national wealth.—We shall have no mobs of discontented labourers to annoy us—and no standing armies to protect and enslave us.

Agricultural societies bring together the respectable agriculturists of a district, give them a place in the public eye, and convince the respectable characters of the other departments of society to pay to the husbandman their tribute of respect. They tend also to increase judicious experiments, to quicken the eye of observation, to collect and disseminate the scattered results of individual experience, as well as to afford that excitement to industry, which honour and profit fail not to afford. Those countries of Europe, which have carried their improvements in agriculture to the highest state of perfection, have resorted to such associations, and experienced their benign effect.

The improvement of roads shortens often the distance to market, increases the amount transported, diminishes the muscular toil, and other wear and tear, of transportation, while it increases the value of the surplus produce, and diminishes the price of imported articles. Those, therefore, who improve the highways of their country, stand high on the list of national benefactors. That enterprise especially should be honoured with public approbation, which connects the profit of the present generation, with the comfort and advantage of ages to come. The Appian Way, paved by the Censor, whose name it bears, remains in many parts entire to this day, after the tread of more than two thousand years; and there are bridges which have witnessed for ages the descending flood, and borne across them the labours of industry.

Canals, connecting rivers and lakes with the ocean, break down the distance of three or four hundred miles land transportation, bring the market to the farmer's door, and save millions annually, as the increased reward of industry, and as capital for more extended enterprise.

By the application of steam to the navigation of rivers, the most rapid currents are overcome, and the same bark that bore down the flood the abundance of harvest, brings back the reward augmented by the cheapness of the transportation, and the rapidity of the return.

I have mentioned a steady market, and a fair profit, as among the encouragements to be afforded to agriculture. No human skill can indeed control the elements, or regulate the seasons, so as to secure the equable fruitfulness of the earth, in this or other climes; or so control the family of nations as to prevent the fluctuations of demand and price, occasioned by the interchange of peace and war. But much may be done, by a wise policy, to check these fluctuations of the market, and especially to withhold them from extremes, which are destructive to national industry. No calamity is greater than a capricious market, baffling the sober extended calculations of industry, and converting the husbandmen of a nation into a body of speculators. Tempting at one time, by high prices, to adventurous purchases and lavish family expenses, and then by the glut of the market and the fall of produce, dashing the hopes of thousands of families, and rearing upon their ruins a moneyed aristocracy. A steady market, and a fair profit, for the product of the field, is among the greatest national blessings, and noblest objects of national policy. Like the steady attraction of the sun, it keeps up the motion of surrounding bodies, and like his light, diffuses cheerfulness and activity through all the works of God. With these remarks in view, I am prepared to say,

Secondly—*That the protection and encouragement of manufactures is essential to national prosperity.*

Manufacturing establishments, by the introduction of machinery and the division of labour, save time, and give us the consequences, while they save the sustenance and wages of increased population. They afford employment also to classes of the community which would otherwise be idle, or less usefully employed; call into action the diversity of talents with which God has endowed men, and lay open to the active mind of enterprise a greater choice of employment, and more powerful excitements to industry. But the vital utility of manufactures consists in their subserviency to agriculture, by affording to the husbandman a near and steady home market, and by diminishing the competition of exported produce in foreign markets, increasing the demand and the price. It gives him the advantage of two markets instead of one. The home market a steady one, and the foreign market less fluctuating and more productive than if glutted by the entire surplus product of a great agricultural nation. In the mean time, instead of quickening the industry and augmenting the resources of other nations, we stimulate the industry and augment the capital

of our own nation. We secure the entire fast capital of the manufacturer, and all the circulating medium, necessary to keep his machines in motion, and to speed the plough, beside the whole annual profit of manufacturing the raw material. A single fact will make the subject plain. In England the annual proceeds of her manufactures of cotton, woollen, linen and leather, amount to £85,000,000 sterling. The cost of the raw material is £22,000,000 sterling, and the gain in value, by manufacturing the raw material, is £63,000,000 sterling. Now suppose that England could acquire from her own territory this whole raw material; would it be her wisdom to neglect her own agriculturist, and send this 22,000,000 sterling abroad, to stimulate the agriculture of other nations?—Or having on hand the raw material, will she send them three thousand miles across the ocean, and pay for the transportation, and re-transportation, and 63,000,000 sterling beside for the manufacture, and drain herself to bankruptcy of her circulating medium, to pay the annual debt? Could England at this rate have sustained her navy upon every wave, and stood collected in her strength against the assault of the civilized world, and at length have subsidized one half of it to fight her battles, and conquer for her universal peace? England better understands the way to wealth. By protecting her agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, she has laid under contribution the world around her, and made herself mistress of nations. National industry is national wealth. That policy which secures productive employment to the greatest portion of the population of a nation, consults her highest prosperity. But this can be accomplished so effectually, by no means, as by making the manufacturers of the nation the customers of the farmer, and the farmers the customers of the manufacturer. If we would be independent in reality, of other nations, we must encourage agriculture, by the steady demand of a home market, and secure within ourselves the capital which results from the manufacture of our own raw materials. The foreign market is always precarious and partial from the vicissitudes of peace and war, plenty and want, as well as from restrictions upon imports endlessly varied by nations to protect from foreign competition the industry of their own subjects. In this manner, foreign nations exert an efficient legislation over our substance, and raise or sink the value of our property, often from fifteen to fifty per cent. Such a state of uncertainty, and subjection to foreign caprice, no nation ought to endure. In time of war, if we depend on foreign markets, our produce is often excluded from its accustomed market, and our supply of imports, made necessary by habit, comes to us, at enhanced prices, and finds us with our produce rotting upon our hands, and without the means of purchase.

But the most fatal evil of dependence on foreign manufactures and foreign markets is, the temptation to overtrading, and the drain of specie from the country, to pay the balance of our imports above our exports. A state of things more ruinous than war; and which at this moment is filling the land with bankruptcies and distress, beyond the calamities of any war in which we have been engaged.

A civilized nation cannot conduct its business by barter.—There must exist a circulating medium, the representative of property, to a sufficient extent, to answer the purposes of the exchange of property. But where, by the importation of foreign manufactures, a debt is contracted abroad, to a greater amount than the surplus of raw materials will pay for, the difference must be paid in specie. This will occasion annually a diminution of the solid circulating medium; and this, an increase of paper credit, as extensive, and for as long a time as the folly of the borrower and the capital of the banks will permit. This abundance of paper currency depreciates the support of all who live upon a specific moneyed income, tempts to adventurous speculations in trade, and to indiscreet expenses in the family, while, by the smiling aspect of seeming prosperity, it hides from the thoughtless multitude the day of destruction. For the banks, at length, alarmed at the disappearance of specie, which the adverse balance of trade has borne to other lands, and at the extent of credit to which the desire of gain has tempted them, retrench at once their discounts, and call upon their customers to pay their debts. These, the vendors of foreign manufactures over the face of the nation, call upon the consumers to pay their debts. But the paper medium is retrenched, and the solid medium of trade is gone, and the payment in money cannot be made—and in lands and other kinds of capital it cannot be made but at a sacrifice of one half and two thirds of the real value. And now commences a scene of failure and fraud, and sacrifice of property, of blasted hopes and family distress, of national embarrassment and stagnation of business, which beggars description. This evil is radical in the system of hiring other nations to manufacture for us; for as long as 22,000,000 sterling of raw material costs 63,000,000 manufactured, and we have only the price of our raw materials to pay the hire of foreign workmen, to whatever extent we trade, a moneyed capital must leave the country to pay the adverse balance. A steady stream of money, entering the country at one end, would wind its way through it, and find its way out of it, in spite of standing armies to prevent. Whereas, if our wants are supplied by our own manufactures, though we should overtrade, the debt is contracted among ourselves, and the representative of property is at hand, to facilitate the sale of solid capital at a fair price; and then the only evil will be, that they who live beyond their

income must part with their capital : and, if they will not consent to retrench their expenses, must go down to poverty. But no such earthquake as now rocks the nation, and throws in many places the income and capital of the farmer, merchant, and manufacturer, into one common heap of ruin, can possibly exist in a time of peace and of prolific agricultural enterprise. For though we are in debt, our distress is not occasioned by want of capital enough to pay our debts, but by such a want of circulating medium, as that fast property cannot be sold but at a destructive sacrifice. The recurrence of such a state of things, manufacturing establishments in our own country would to a great extent prevent, and no other remedy would seem to be adequate and permanent.

To say that families must be more industrious, and live within their income, is good advice, which I intend to inculcate ; but to expect that the families of a nation will do this, in the presence of a market stocked with cheap foreign merchandise, and so limit by their discretion the national consumption, as to prevent the balance of trade against us, and the drain of specie to pay it, is to dispense with our knowledge of human nature, and build castles for national security upon the air. The same families, when the smarting of their folly has passed away, will repeat their folly ; and other families, that every year come upon the stage, will tread heedlessly on, in the footsteps of their predecessors.

If there ever was a subject which demanded governmental wisdom to prevent the evils of individual indiscretion, amounting to national calamity, it would seem to be that of limiting the national consumption of foreign manufactures, by fostering our own, thus preventing the adverse balance of trade, and securing the steady presence of a circulating medium, adequate to the exigencies of national enterprise.

But the only adequate encouragement to manufactures, and safeguard against periodical embarrassments, would seem to be the protection of manufactures, by such duties on imported fabrics as shall exclude the great capitalists of Europe from a destructive competition with our infant establishments.

The voluntary preference given to domestic manufactures by patriotic associations and individuals, though honourable and desirable, can never be made sufficiently universal to prevent the inundation of the market from abroad, or sufficiently inflexible and enduring to resist the temptations to cupidity, where policy makes temporary sacrifices to undersell, with the view of remuneration, when our establishments are in the dust.

None of the great manufacturing establishments of Europe have arisen without governmental protection, from the effects of foreign competition ; nor with all their experience, strength of capital, capacity of credit, and extent of custom, dare they

expose them, even now, to foreign competition. They stand as the apple of the eye, environed by prohibitory and protecting acts of legislation. But if these immense establishments, in the maturity of age, and sustained by such capitals, cannot stand before competition, how shall our establishments rise from infancy to manhood, in the face of such gigantic opposition.

Is the demoralizing influence of manufacturing establishments feared? A statistical account of pauperism and crimes, in three counties of England, most decidedly agricultural, and three the most decidedly manufacturing, furnished by Colquhoun, decides, that in the three manufacturing counties, the paupers are eight in an hundred, in the agricultural about fourteen in an hundred, and that in the manufacturing counties there is one criminal to every twenty-five hundred, and in the agricultural, one to every sixteen hundred ; completely overturning the received opinion concerning the immoral tendencies of manufacturing establishments, as drawn from the experience of England. But if in England their effect were peculiarly adverse to morality, it would not follow that in this country their effect would be the same. No reasoning is more conclusive than that which includes, as its premises, matters of fact, and yet none through inadvertence is more liable to fallacy ; for to be valid, the same causes must be attended by the same circumstances, to justify the conclusion that they will produce the same effects. England, stocked by a dense population, and destitute of adequate agricultural territory, and manufacturing for herself and half the world beside, employs in manufacturing establishments a much greater proportion of her population, than we for our own supply should need to employ ; and these, too, are thrown together in compact masses, while ours, invited by favourable stations, the presence of raw materials, and a market, will be extended through the nation. The weight of our population will always be agricultural, and our manufacturers, intermingled with agriculturalists, will not assume the specific character, or contract the vices of a dense population, devoted to manufacturing employments. By intermarriage, also, with other classes of society, and by enjoying with them the same rights of suffrage, and means of mental improvement, and moral instruction, they will constitute a vigorous, useful, and honourable portion of the great family. But the decided answer to this objection is, that a capricious foreign market, the glut of foreign merchandise, and the balance of trade against us, and the drain of specie to pay that balance, exert upon the nation an influence superlatively demoralizing.

Where at the present moment is public confidence at home or abroad? Amid our wide-spread bankruptcies, what temptations to fraud, speculation, swindling, conflagration, theft, robbery, and murder, exerting a more destructive influence

upon national morality, in one year, than ages of successful manufacturing industry.

Is the tax feared, which the domestic manufacturer would impose, if favoured by a monopoly of the home market?

That monopoly, if enjoyed, is granted by the suffrage of a thousand consumers to one manufacturer. If he abuses the privilege, and practises extortion, the same suffrage, that excluded foreign competition, can let it in upon him, and so certainly will do it, that he must be more than covetous to afford the provocation—he must be insane. But the entire monopoly of the home market is not to be desired or expected. The existing power of capital and of machinery is not equal to the national demand. The encouragement to be desired, is that which shall rescue from ruin, and put into lucrative motion, existing establishments, and so guarantee the fostering hand of government, as shall encourage such a gradual investment of capital and extension of machinery, as shall meet ultimately the exigencies of the nation.

Is it still apprehended that even such partial protection, as would secure the increase and ultimate establishment of manufactures, will raise the price of manufactured articles?

This effect can be but momentary. The rapid extension of manufacturing establishments, to meet the demands of the nation, would soon throw into the home market such a supply, as that the competition for sale would reduce domestic products to a fair price. This is the effect in England, where the monopoly of the home market is entire. In no nation are domestic manufactures offered cheaper.

This is now the effect, in our own country, of those minor branches of manufacture, which have escaped the jealousy and competition of foreign capitalists, until they have come into a quiet monopoly of the home market. But do the manufacturers of such articles practise extortion? They supply the market on as favourable terms as foreign manufacturers would do. Granting, then, a momentary rise of manufactured articles, in consequence of protecting duties, this would be compensated to the nation collectively, by a better home market for agricultural produce, and by exempting us from the exorbitant war price of foreign merchandise, as often as wars shall embarrass our intercourse with Europe. But is a great question of national policy to be decided, by the narrow calculations of covetousness?—or on the broad basis of its own merits, as it shall affect permanently the solid interests of the nation? The policy of government ought to be prospective, and every generation ought to live, in part at least, for the benefit of those who shall come after it. The generations who have preceded us, in clearing the soil, forming roads, and founding governments, colleges, and schools, have sustained an ample taxation for our benefit—and at the point of the bayonet, and by a copious shedding of their

blood, have conducted to us the stream of national prosperity. Shall we arrest this noble stream on its way downward to other ages? or refuse to cast into it a tributary drop, which our avaricious thirst cannot draw back before it leaves our own horizon? If manufactures are naturally constituent parts of national industry, and essential to the perfection of national prosperity, a wise government will protect them with inflexible decision; for the point is settled, that without governmental protection they cannot prosper.

Will the higher price of labour in our own country render it impossible for our manufacturers ever to afford us their merchandise as cheap as it can be introduced from abroad? That inequality may be more than balanced by a more extensive use of labour-saving machinery, than consists with European policy; by the expense saved in the transportation and re-transportation of the raw material and manufactured product, and by the higher taxation which the European capitalist is obliged to pay on his capital and income. But beside this, it is a fact that those domestic manufactures, which have gotten possession of the market, are those which depend most on manual labour, and yet are sold as cheap as imported articles of the same kind.

Is the diminution of the national revenue feared as the consequence of such duties upon foreign imports, as shall protect domestic manufactures?

If manufacturing establishments are sources of national wealth, their gradual introduction cannot so impair the revenue, as to forbid their protection? It is a calamity, that so great a portion of our national revenue should be the sport of winds and waves, and dependent on the caprice of other nations, and gone the moment we most need it. A partial substitute would be desirable. And when a sufficient power of manufacturing capital is accumulated in our country, that may easily make up the desideratum of impost. The manufacturers of England more than refund the impost lost by their protection. They are her tax-gatherers, by which the world around her is laid under contribution, and her boundless resources created.

Is the occupancy of our new lands, and the encouragement of agriculture thought by any to be more desirable than the introduction of manufacturing establishments?

The rapidity of our emigrations, and extension of our agricultural territory, is itself a national evil, demanding a remedy, instead of an increase.

The prosperity of a nation depends on the moral qualities of its population, the vigour of its institutions, the relative proportions of its materials, and the compactness of its organization, by means of which, one heart may beat the pulse of life to every extremity, and one arm extend protection and control to

every member. But such a state of society cannot be created by the fever of emigration, which inflicts on the older settlements the debility of consumption, and extends to the new ones the bones and sinews only of society, without flesh and skin to cover them. As fast as we can extend the institutions of civilized society, so fast it may be safe to extend our borders; but to do it beyond this, creates national debility, instead of strength. This nation, so extensive in territory, so powerful in resources, so energetic in enterprise, so highminded in independence, cannot be held together and governed by force merely. Ties of blood, and kindred institutions and interests, must lend their amalgamating influence. But these ties, by rapid emigrations, are weakened, and strengthened only by the more slow and regular march of well organized society. Had this nation been peopled at first by adventurers who rushed upon our shores in quest of land and agriculture, leaving schools and religious institutions to lag after them, as they might volunteer their aid, and find their way, we had scarcely been rescued from barbarism. And even now, if we push prematurely a vast population into distant wilds, in a state of half formed society, we shall, ere we are aware of it, create a nation for our neighbour and rival, fierce, heady, highminded, to teach us our folly, by eternal wars, and a protracted frontier of desolation and blood. When the calamity of unprotected manufactures shall have driven off our population so rapidly and so far, as to have broken the alliance of kindred sympathies, and institutions, and interests, our folly will have produced its results without a remedy.

The true policy of the nation would seem to be, to occupy our vacant lands at home, by a regular encouragement of industry, and a regular growth of all the constituent parts of society: thus to augment our disposable capital, secure the presence of a circulating medium, and such a steady demand at home, for the product of the field, as may consist with a regular course of national industry. And as to the extension of our borders, this may be done as the surplus population of the old settlements shall demand, and with such rapidity only, as that the hand of charity, the favour of government, and the exertions of the emigrants themselves, shall enable them to carry with them the elements of a good state of society. Such an occupancy of our vacant lands, manufactures will not prevent, but will greatly favour. The political health, and cheerfulness, and capital of the older states, will enable them to extend the helping hand of charity to their brethren who emigrate; and their aid, and the sameness it will give to their habits and institutions, with those of the land of their nativity, will render that land still dear to them, and bind the extremities to the heart, by joints and bands which no ordinary convulsion will burst asunder.

But dispensing with all this calculation, what is to be gained by the extension of agricultural territory, without manufacturing establishments? Only the same evils extended to the wilderness subdued, which drove our hardy population into it. The more you extend agriculture without manufactures, the more you increase your debt abroad, by the consumption of foreign merchandise, and sink the value of your exports, by the increasing surplus of the farm, which every year holds increased competition in foreign markets. You may as well recommend to the lunatic tormented by his shadow, to *go back*, to escape its persecution, as to recommend emigration as a remedy for the evil of dependence on foreign merchandise and foreign markets. So long as we purchase abroad more than our surplus product in raw materials will pay for, we must make up the deficiency in specie, and that will create want of capital, which will cripple great undertakings. And when banks, to parry the evil, have augmented it by a credit, dangerous to their existence, and are compelled to collect their debts, then will commence again and again, ten times in a century, a scene of embarrassment and bankruptcy, which will shake the nation to its centre, and render it for ever feeble and dependent, however extensive its territory, or copious its resources of soil or men.

Thirdly—*The existence and encouragement of commerce* is required as a means of national prosperity.

The industry of a nation of agriculturalists and manufacturers, will support itself, and produce a surplus for exportation. The power of capital and of machinery, adequate to the supply of the nation, will no more stop at the line of domestic supply, than the agriculturalist will limit his exertions to the supply of his own family. But to keep the plough and the loom in motion, this surplus product must find a demand in some foreign market; and falls, of course, into the hands of the merchant, whose employment leads him to understand the wants of nations, and like the wind, to supply the vacuum by pouring in the superabundance of his own country. By this means, we collect the rich products of other climes, in exchange for our own, and keep in constant vigour the spring of national industry. Man, indolent by nature, needs a stimulus to industry, more powerful than the supply of his own wants, to put into steady requisition all his powers. This stimulus, commerce affords, by laying open the prospect of indefinite gain, in the disposal of the surplus produce of labour. It is this single excitement, applied by means of commerce, that keeps awake and puts in requisition the energies of the world. Subtract it, and soon a scanty supply for domestic use would be raised, and indolence, and profligacy, and barbarism would ensue. This branch of national enterprise, both as an encouragement to agriculture and as a means of national revenue, has experien-

ced, from the beginning, the fostering care of the government, and will doubtless continue to experience that protection and favour, which its importance demands.

Fourthly.—*Literary institutions and scientific men*, are essential to national prosperity.

The effect of science, upon the best interests of a community, is not so universally appreciated, or so easily illustrated to popular apprehension, as the effect of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, partly because its tendencies are not as obvious, and partly because its effects are not so immediate or so embodied in any one great result.

The influence of science is rather, like the light of heaven, a cheering, all-pervading influence; or, like the purified atmosphere, diffusing, imperceptibly, health and vigour, or, like the gentle dew, descending in silent munificence upon the abodes of men. There are objects of vital consequence to nations, beside agriculture, the arts, and commerce, to which those devoted to these employments cannot attend, and which, upon the principles of the division of labour, must be committed to other hands.

The common school education of a nation is of immense importance. But literary institutions are the fountains whence the streams of knowledge descend through the higher schools, to those which bless every town and village. Literary men, mingled in due proportion with other members of the community, are the natural guardians of national education, whose influence, in legislation and in their respective local spheres, is the leaven that leavens the whole lump. Without colleges, the branches of English education, obtained in academies, and the higher order of common schools, would soon cease, for want of competent instructors. The elevation which these give to common school education would fail; and national education would fall into the hands of men less and less qualified to enlighten the minds of freemen, until darkness, visible, would rest upon the land. A great proportion of all the graduates of our colleges devote themselves, one year at least, to the instruction of youth. How powerful and important must this constant impulse of our colleges be, in the great work of national education!

The health of a nation is an object of immense magnitude. An enlightened practice in the healing art is like the brazen serpent lifted up, among the expiring Israelites, while ignorance and rashness, which always exist in partnership, are like the fiery flying serpent, let loose to sting and destroy. This vital interest of a community can be safely committed only to men of enlightened minds, expanded by reading, disciplined by study, and conversant with the laws of the animal system and the power of medicine.

The framing of laws, to favour the successful movements of

national industry, in the accumulation and preservation of property, is a subject of great intricacy and difficulty; demanding the attention of an order of men, whose sole employment it shall be, to stand upon an eminence, and survey at one view the complex movements of national labour, and the relation of one nation with another, and with the world; and to provide protection and encouragement to the busy millions, whose employment precludes such comprehensive views and mature counsels. A single impolitic law may be more disastrous to national industry, than a long war. A single article in a treaty of England with Portugal blasted for ever her extended manufactures of woollen, dried up an important stream of national wealth, and rendered her, ever since, tributary to the power that overreached her, in negotiation.

The intelligent and impartial administration of justice is of immeasurable importance to a nation. Nothing can be more fatal to public industry, than insecurity of property.—The fairest and most fertile portions of the earth, by the insecurity of property, are turned into barrenness. In Egypt, Greece, and Palestine, because of the oppressor, the fig tree has ceased to blossom, and fruit to be found in the vines; the labour of the olive has failed, and the fields yield no meat; the flock is cut off from the fold, and there is no herd in the stall.

Nothing can guard against such insecurity of property, but equitable laws, faithfully administered, by judges learned in the law, and the aid of advocates, enlightened, and above chicane. The decisions of English and American jurists exert every moment a powerful and benign influence upon almost half the world—an influence, not confined to the immediate effect of their decisions, but, by the operation of general principles, extending security to the whole amount possessed by nations.

In what nation did ever agriculture itself arrive at its best estate, without the co-operation of scientific men, in the invention or improvement of implements, or in the conducting of experiments, in reference to soils, manures, and the management of flocks and herds? In what nation did the mechanic arts ever flourish, or commerce and navigation prosper, but as science lit her lamp, and led the way? What land did civil liberty ever protect and cheer, upon which the son of science did not shed his beams; and where did the Church of God ever arise, and shine, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners, where science did not lend her aid to explain and enforce the reasonable service of God?

Subtract from the agriculturalist, the mechanic, and manufacturer, the merchant, and professional man, the illumination which science has shed upon his path, and the business of the *civilized world* must stop.

The extermination of science, by the incursion of the north-

ern barbarians, brought upon the Roman empire the dark ages of superstition; as the revival of letters, which preceded the reformation, brought the nations back to day, and produced, by the blessing of heaven, all the civil and religious liberty, which at this moment inhabits the earth.

The national prosperity, resulting from an enlightened jurisprudence, is millions to one of the expense incurred in the support of colleges for the education of civilians. The single discovery of Jenner, and consequent expulsion of the small-pox ultimately from the family of man, will leave to the world, in life and active labour, more than all the expenses of all the colleges on the globe. The machine of Whitney, (an alumnus of Yale College,) for cleaning cotton, brings to our doors every yard of that fabric at a reduced price, and saves annually more to the nation than all the expenses of Yale College, from its first foundation to this day.

All the important concerns of society, described under this head, are, by common suffrage, consigned to men, who have been qualified, directly or indirectly, by the efficacy of our literary institutions. Let me not, on this subject, however, be misunderstood, as I have been heretofore. I do not say or believe, that no man can be qualified for usefulness in the learned professions, but by a public education.—My meaning is, that literary institutions are the *means, without which*, the facilities of a private education would not exist, adequate to the exigencies of the nation. Our ancestors were wise on this subject, and laid the foundations of colleges contemporaneously, almost, with the foundations of their own dwellings.—And the legislature of this nation, guided by a policy that demands our confidence and gratitude, have made ample reservations of land, in territories yet to be inhabited, for the encouragement of colleges and schools.

Finally—*The institutions of the Christian religion* are an important means of national prosperity.

Intellect, power, and wealth, are not happiness, but alike the means of happiness or misery, as they are wisely improved or are perverted. Their destination depends upon the heart; upon the national will. But this, depraved as a man is, no laws of men have been able to withhold, from deeds of destruction, where ample resources have furnished the means of dissipation. The history of nations is a record of enterprise and wealth, of luxury, dissipation, and death. There is no safe way of raising a nation to wealth and power, but at the same time that you make it great, to make it good. It is God only, speaking to the heart by his word, institutions, and Spirit, that can cause the sun of national prosperity to stand still at its meridian height. Abundance of wealth, in the hands of an irreligious nation, is the sword of suicide in the hands of a madman. No flood of

wealth can equal the power of dissipation to scatter. No vigour of constitution can resist the poison of sin, and no policy evade those judgments, by which God, as the moral governor of nations, avenges his abused goodness. If the culture of the earth, then, be important, how much more important is that culture of the heart, upon which the correct disposal of the whole product of industry depends? Is the breed of animals worthy of attention? how much more worthy of attention is the breed of men? Are commerce and manufactures sources of national wealth? alas, where the national heart is neglected, they pour their ample treasures *into a bag with holes**. And what is national intellect, however improved, perverted by a heart desperately wicked, and abandoned to its own lusts?—National wealth, without national morality, is ruin. But by what means more appropriate can that morality be secured, than by those institutions, which the wisdom and benevolence of God have provided for that purpose? What should prevent legislators from favouring the institutions of religion, as a means of national prosperity? May not the fear of God be promoted by legislators, without superstition? and may not his institutions be honoured, without persecution or fanaticism?

Give to the institutions of religion their place in that system which God has ordained, to make nations great, and they will be the power of God and the wisdom of God, for national prosperity. They will rid us from strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood. Our sons will be as plants grown up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace.—Our garner will be full, including all manner of store, our sheep will bring forth by thousands and ten thousands; our oxen will be strong to labour, and there will no breaking in or going out, or complaining in our streets. Happy is that people that is in such a case, yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord. Be wise then, therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed, ye judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry and ye perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.

But if the institutions of religion are important, as the means of national prosperity, how much more important are they, when we consider the life of man as the embryo of immortality; and in what rapid succession the whole population of a nation is swept into eternity! Are kings and governments immortalized, by that beneficent administration, which consults the welfare of successive generations in time? What glory and honour shall be rendered to those, whose policy, including the highest good of their subjects, in time, exerts upon them, in another state of being, a benign influence which will be enjoyed for ever?

* Haggai i. 6.

† No destructive emigrations

From the preceding account of the means of national prosperity, it appears, *That there is no collision of interest, or foundation for envy, between the several classes of men, whose exertions are required to promote the general welfare of a nation.*

They are all parts of one whole, and so mutually dependent on each other, that if one prospers, they all prosper, and if one suffers they all suffer, and if not immediately, yet inevitably, in the course of events. There is no agricultural interest at war with the commercial or manufacturing interest; and no interest of science or religion, which does not include the prosperity of the entire community. The farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the faculty of colleges, the instructors of schools, the physician, the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, and the divine, are constituent members of the great family, and indispensable to its highest prosperity. The constitution of man, and of the earth, demands this division of labour.—All cannot be farmers, for who, then, would purchase the surplus product of the earth? and without a demand, who would raise it?—and with only the excitement to labour, of providing a supply for his own family, who would escape from the imbecility of sloth, and the vices of idleness? Nor can all be manufactures; for who then would provide the raw material, or sustain the labourer? Nor can all be devoted to science, or the learned professions. Nor can all be rich, so long as God has moral purposes to answer, by having the poor always with us, or gives men, in various degrees, intellect, bodily vigour, health and providential favour. Indeed, wealth is a relative term; expressing a more than ordinary amount of property, and can no more become universal, than the whole earth can become one mountain or one valley.

As to the relative honour, attached to the different employments of men, in a state of civil equality, like our own, it can be only that which results from the relative utility of different employments, or the voluntary respect paid to talents and office for the public good. He then is an honourable man who serves his generation faithfully, in the employment to which, in the providence of God, he is called; and he who, from the elevation of wealth, or office, looks down with disdain on the labouring classes of society, is a man of a weak intellect, or of a bad heart. In this country, where our greatest and best men rise often from poverty, and usually from the labouring classes of society, that upstart nobility, which despises the level from which it has just arisen, and to which, as the wheel rolls, it will soon return, is supremely ridiculous and pitiable. Whose blood, in this land of freedom and industry, has not flowed through the heart of a farmer or an artizan? and who

does not exult in his honourable and athletic ancestry? The man who is ashamed of it is a fool.

On the other hand, he who is not contented with the useful and respectable station in society, assigned him in the providence of God, but fosters in his heart murmuring and envy, is moved to discontent by the same pride which he censures in others, and, if elevated to wealth, would exhibit probably the same contempt of poverty, and the same ridiculous vanity, which now so annoy him in others. This spirit, which lusteth to envy, is pride, murmuring at the inequalities of condition, incident to civilized society, and the constitution of things, which God has ordained. It is as odious in itself, as hateful to God, and as mischievous in its effects upon society, as the same pride is when it is enabled to array itself in haughtiness, by means of wealth or official consequence. It is also the deprecability of unrighteousness, for multitudes indulge it, and never dream that, in all their philippics against pride, they are inspired by pride and moved by envy. It exists, unseen, often in the sanctified heart. It occasioned to the apostles some of their earliest and greatest difficulties in the primitive churches. It exists still in the church of God for a lamentation, and will exist for a lamentation, it is feared, till the more ample measures of grace in the latter shall teach Christians to be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and in whatsoever state they are, therewith to be content. No instruction seems adequate to bring to the heart under its influence a conviction of its own naughtiness—And no change in the constitution of society can take place to remove the provocation. *The death of pride, by the reign of grace in the heart, is the only remedy.—The fault is in the heart, not in the constitution of society, or in the providence of God.* All cannot be head, or eye, or ear, in the human body, and yet there is no cause for schism, or discontent, at the relations and employments which God has assigned to the different members. In like manner, God hath set the members of civil society, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. If they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of thee,' nor again the head to the feet, 'I have no need of you,' for God hath tempered the body together by mutual dependencies and honours, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another.

The man, who, to answer the purpose of ambition or irreligion, avails himself of this pride of the human heart, to alienate from each other the different classes of society, is more execrable in his deeds than the assassin or the incendiary. The one kills at once a single victim, the other afflicts the entire community, with a poison that perpetuates the exasperations and

spasms of a living death. The one lays in ashes cities that can be rebuilt, the other kindles in society a fire, as if fed from beneath, which, like the burnings of the volcano, no storms nor floods can extinguish, and which not unfrequently extends its ravages through many generations. Especially are the interests of society vitally assailed, when the *pious* are industriously alienated, and the *ministry of reconciliation* is made the object of suspicion and the butt of scorn. I intend not that religion, by such hostility, can be destroyed; but that its salutary influence upon society must be limited, in proportion as scorn and distrust are extended, is self-evident. Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, and avoid them, for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and, by good words and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple. Remember the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, 'every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.' Such is the unhappy selfishness of man, and the jealousy of his pride, that it is easy to alienate and difficult to unite the members of the great family. Men without talents or honesty can engender strife, and conduct a nation to destruction. But talents and wisdom, and integrity and virtue, are required to elevate a nation to prosperity and glory.

It is equally manifest from what has been said, that *there is no collision of interest, or cause for jealousy, between the different sections of this nation.*

The highest aggregate of national prosperity will carry to every section of the union, and to every dwelling, the highest amount of relative wealth and enjoyment. Whatever temporary advantages may be reaped by a local policy, adverse to the general prosperity, will end in ultimate injury to the favoured portion.

Indeed, so terrific are the consequences of national dismemberment, and so glorious are the prospects before us of national energy, well directed, that if a compromise of local interests were demanded, it would be compensated a thousand fold, by our exemption from the wars of rival neighbours, and the mischiefs, in that case, of European intrigues and armies, and by a stream of blessings more deep, and broad, and inexhaustible, than ever flowed through a nation. No nation ever possessed in a higher degree the means of national prosperity.—An ample territory, fertility of soil, variety of climate and product, a sea coast of three thousand miles, facilitating foreign commerce, fisheries, and the coasting trade, and though separated by mountains, this physical cause, adverse to our unity, is overcome by our rivers, canals, coasting trade, and steam navigation, which create unparalleled facilities of national intercourse. This vast territory is to be tilled by freemen, a race as hardy,

intelligent, and enterprising, as ever turned the soil. The surplus of our raw materials falls into the hands of artizans, not surpassed in ingenuity, and soon not to be surpassed in skill, by any on the globe; and the surplus of their labour, and of the farm, beyond what they consume, falls into the hands of merchants, whose enterprise knows no limits. In the mean time, we have no rubbish of feudal ages to remove, or remaining, to embarrass. We commenced our national existence in a state of civilization. The whole land was before us, to frame our laws and fashion our institutions, as experience and an enlightened intellect should dictate. Our colleges, academies, and schools, have given us able men in the professions, and have diffused intelligence to an unparalleled extent among the common people, and their power may be indefinitely augmented, to meet the exigencies of the nation.

The bible and the institutions of Christianity are with us, and the heart and hand of every denomination of Christians are now engaged, to give to every family, and to the nation, the entire benefit of their moral influence. Thus circumstanced, the government of a nation, which is so soon to number its hundreds of millions of population, ought not to be embarrassed in its policy, by the bickerings of local covetousness, but ought to be left, with the illumination of concentrated wisdom, to lay broad and deep the foundations of our future glory. Indeed, no compromise of local, temporary interest is demanded by that policy which will conduct to national prosperity. In every part of the nation, manufactures may rise, and busy commerce, inland and foreign, distribute our surplus, augment our capital, give energy to industry, improvement to roads, patronage to arts and sciences, vigour to schools, and universality to the institutions of religion; reconciling civil liberty with efficient government; extended population with concentrated action; and unparalleled wealth, with national sobriety and morality. Give, then, to the government of our nation the confidence which they ought to possess, and demand of them only that they put in requisition the physical, intellectual, and moral resources of the nation, and if they are faithful to their trust, they will make us the greatest, wealthiest, happiest nation, that ever dwelt upon the earth.

It is also manifest, from the preceding discourse, that while no voluntary economy in the family can remedy the balance of trade against us, created by the consumption of foreign manufactures, or shield the manufacturer from a ruinous competition, *it is not in the power of government to render a nation of improvident families great and happy.* Those habits of dissipation, which have squandered the wealth and paralyzed the energy of other nations, are coming in upon us. This encroachment, nothing but individual and family discretion can effectually

ally prevent. To accomplish this, it is indispensable that children be early accustomed to profitable industry. That nation is becoming effeminate, in proportion as the number of families are increased, who merely consume, but add nothing to the stock of labour. These families are also the pincers of dissipation, letting in upon us the fickle flood of fashion, creating envy, and tempting to ruinous expense. And these same are the aristocracy of supercilious indolence, who would throw into relative disgrace the labouring classes of the community, a nation's wealth, and strength, and virtue.

Upon us, then, the members of this society, as a part of the nation, devolves the duty of setting our own houses in order, of checking, by our example, the innovation of expensive and gaudy fashions, of maintaining simplicity of living, and resisting that expensive luxury, which is creeping in under the cover of festivity, and the hospitalities of friendship, and of rearing up our families in habits of useful industry. To us it appertains so to conduct the education of our children, that what is bestowed upon the exterior shall be subtracted neither from the head nor the heart, nor from bodily vigour. Polish is beautiful, but it should be laid on solid materials. The happiness of domestic life depends, on substantial realities of care and labour. The young man who is too indolent or too proud for useful activity, is in the road to ruin, and the daughter of folly of the same sentiments and habits is fit only to be the companion of his sorrows and disgrace. Far from our dwellings be the calamities of an effeminate education; but let piety rather, and cultivated intellect, and habits of industry and economy, prevail in them, and each succeeding anniversary will find them in the grateful enjoyment of that blessing of the Lord that maketh rich and addeth no sorrow.