

A
S E R M O N,

DELIVERED IN THE
NEW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, *NEW-YORK*,

JULY FOURTH, 1795.

BEING THE
NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE
INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA;

AT THE REQUEST OF, AND BEFORE, THE MECHANIC,
TAMMANY, AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES,
AND THE MILITARY OFFICERS.

BY SAMUEL MILLER, A. M.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCHES, IN THE CITY OF *NEW-YORK*.

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1795.

New-York, July 8th, 1795.

SIR,

THE *Mechanic, Tammany, and Democratic Societies, with the Military Officers, have appointed us to return you their united and sincere Thanks for your animated and patriotic Sermon, preached at their Request, on the 4th Instant, being the Anniversary of American Independence.*

We are further directed to request a Copy for Publication.

We are, Sir,

With Respect and Esteem,

Your's, &c.

WILLIAM BOYD,
THOMAS L. KIP,
JOHN STRIKER,
BENJAMIN EGBERT.

The Rev. Mr. Miller.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T,

SEVERAL Paragraphs in the following Discourse, though in the original Copy, were omitted in the Delivery, for want of Time. This, however, the Author supposed, by no means precluded their Introduction here. With all its Defects, he submits it, without Apologies, to the Candour of **THE PEOPLE**, to whose best Interests he would consecrate all his Ministrations.

A

S E R M O N.

E X O D U S xii. 14.

AND THIS DAY SHALL BE UNTO YOU FOR A
MEMORIAL—

PERMIT me, my fellow citizens, to congratulate you on the return of this DAY—A day which completes another year of freedom to our favored land—A day on which were laid, by the venerable patriots of America, under the all governing hand of JEHOVAH, those foundations of peace, liberty, and independence, which we enjoy—A day, therefore, in many respects, one of the most interesting that ever marked the annals of the world.

The twentieth year of the important æra, which we now commemorate, hath, this morning, dawned upon us. After this long experience, we have still reason to hail its return, and to rejoice in those events, which the season recalls to our view. After a lapse of time, in which the fervour of re-

volutionary feelings, has given way to rational enquiry, and calm conviction ; we have still ample, nay, increasing ground to rise up and call it blessed. We have still reason to say, with joy, *This day shall be unto us for a memorial ; we will keep it a feast of gladness, throughout all our generations.*

The day mentioned in our text, is that on which the children of Israel were delivered from Egyptian slavery, and escaped from the oppressive hands of the tyrant Pharaoh. The history of their injurious and cruel bondage, and of their happy deliverance are too familiarly known, by all whom I address, to need a formal recital at present. Nor shall I detain you by attempting to state the obvious analogy between their liberation, and that which we this day commemorate. Let it suffice to observe, that if they were bound by the express command of God, to keep as a sacred memorial, the day on which they came up out of Egypt ; we are bound by reason, by religion, by patriotism, by every solemn tie, never to forget the DAY, which proved the commencement of so many distinguished blessings to our land.

A *memorial* is something which recalls, in a direct and forcible manner to the mind, the cha-

rafter or transaction to which it refers. Now although the splendid and glorious scenes which this day brings to our view, are too interesting, and too important to be ever wrapped in total oblivion, by beings capable of reflection ; yet it is proper to do something more than barely to *remember* them. It is pleasing, and it is useful, at stated seasons, to bring them *home to our bosoms*, and *in a deliberate and solemn manner to recognize their importance*. This is not only an employment highly grateful to the patriotic mind, but it is much more ; it is a tribute which we owe to our **GOD** ; it adds new life to a flame, which gratitude commands us to keep always burning ; it cherishes and extends the influence of a spirit, which should forever animate the breasts of freemen.

Let this day, then, be to us a memorial in two respects.—Let it serve to recal to our minds, and practically to impress on our hearts, a sense of our national **BLESSINGS**, and of our national **DUTY**.

I. Let this day be a memorial of our national BLESSINGS.

In taking a view of these, you might be led back to the important period, when our venera-

ble fore-fathers left the unhallowed shores of oppression—braved the dangers of the ocean—surmounted all the hardships of an howling wilderness—and reared, in the forests of this western world, the first mansions of liberty. You might be presented with a view of their numerous and complicated sufferings, and the manifest interpositions of providence for their support and preservation. You might listen to a recital of the various steps, by which small and dispersed settlements rose to extensive, compact, and happy societies; and, nurtured by the divine beneficence, grew into consideration and eminence. You might be led, in short, to review the whole history of this growing country, from the earliest period of its population by Europeans, to the memorable time, when a place was given us among the independent nations of the earth.

But this would be taking too wide a field for the limits of the present address. It will be necessary to confine our attention to those events, and those distinguished blessings, which stand in more immediate connection with the anniversary which we celebrate. These may be summed up under two general heads.—Our emancipation from Britain—and the numerous important advantages, which have flowed from that grand event, as their source.

When the people of the United States, in Congress assembled, affixed their hands and their seals to the solemn DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE which has been just read in your hearing, the world beheld them with amazement : and even many of our own citizens, under the influence of a natural timidity, trembled at the sight ! Who could behold, without the highest solicitude, a few infant colonies rising up to oppose an herculean foe ; and daring to engage the gigantic greatness of a wealthy and a haughty power ? Unskilled in the “ disgraceful science of human butchery ; ” unfurnished with the instruments of carnage and death, and unsupported by any other arm, than that of the MIGHTY ONE OF ISRAEL, they crowded to the banner of freedom ; proclaimed defiance to the thunder of their enemies ; and repelled without dismay, the cruel invaders of their inestimable rights.

To trace the progress of this contest, through all its varied and irregular steps, is neither necessary nor possible, at present. It were unpardonable, however, to omit observing, that the instances of divine interposition in our favour, through the whole course of the arduous struggle, were too signal and illustrious to be forgot-

ten by the most careless; and too numerous, not to fix in grateful astonishment, the most unfeeling mind. For seven years, our land exhibited a succession of scenes, equally unexpected, wonderful and glorious. You saw a glow of enthusiasm, which language fails to describe, pervading and actuating every bosom. You saw an army enduring every imaginable hardship, without relaxing in its attachment to the cause for which it was suffering. You saw the counsels of our enemies infatuated, and their wisest plans disconcerted, in a manner almost miraculous. You saw the life and health of the illustrious **COMMANDER IN CHIEF** remarkably and graciously preserved. You saw powerful **FRIENDS AND ALLIES** raised up for us, on terms of unexpected advantage. You saw us rise, like Antæus, vigorous from every fall. You saw us led on from time to time, to conquest and triumph; until, at length, the fair fabric of freedom was completely reared over the tomb of tyranny.

But why do I detain you with this exulting review? Many of those who are this day indulgently listening to the speaker, were sharers in the toils, and actors in the triumphs, which have been mentioned. Many who are now within these walls, could describe, in the glowing language of

experience and of *actual vision*, what has been so feebly and superficially noticed. Tell us, ye venerable Assertors of the rights of man ! tell us, for you alone can properly tell, how ardent the sacred flame, which, at that eventful period, possessed and governed your souls ! Paint to *us*, whose age forbade us to be agents in the important scene, what you felt, and what you saw ; what noble principles inspired your bosoms, and what heroic exertions you were enabled to display. That, like you, should the voice of national danger call us, we may prove ourselves worthy of the descent which we boast.

Large, indeed, is our debt to all those, whom GOD hath honored to be the INSTRUMENTS of securing our independence and national felicity. Many of them, alas ! fell as martyrs in the cause, and sealed our glorious emancipation with their blood. But a large proportion have lived to taste the blessings for which they fought ; and to enjoy those inestimable rights, for which they risked their all. Let us never suffer this day to pass over our heads, without calling to mind their services and their virtues. From the highest and most conspicuous, to the lowest and most obscure, they have all DESERVED WELL OF THEIR COUNTRY. They are entitled to our affectionate

remembrance and regard. Their names, and their heroic exploits shall never be forgotten, while gratitude has a place in the bosoms of Americans; or while this land continues to be the abode of free men, who know how to value, what has been so dearly purchased.

But we proposed to consider this day as a memorial, not merely of our emancipation from the tyranny of an unnatural parent; but also of the numerous rich blessings to which that grand event has given rise.

There is, indeed, a propensity in the human mind, to ascribe to particular favorite events; much more than really stands in connection with them. We are too apt to view an interesting era, or a signal transaction, as involving more numerous, and more important consequences, than there is just ground to admit. But in the case before us, we can scarcely go too far; or attribute more to the event in question, than the closest enquiry will warrant. The most impartial mind will readily grant, that a *large share* of our happiness as a people; and the *whole* of our national dignity and rank, flow from the proceedings of that glorious day, when the venerable sages of America rose, and pronounced her INDEPENDENT and FREE.

It is owing, under providence, to this bold; but necessary separation, that the UNITED STATES have assumed a high and honorable place among the nations of the earth; or rather, have, in many respects, risen above them all. It is to be ascribed to this, that they have made such rapid advances; in every thing that tends to promote the welfare and happiness of civil society. However great our natural advantages, they would all have been in vain, had the shackles of British power continued to bind and restrain us. Like a promising youth, whose genius and talents are cramped by a cruel and selfish parent, we must always have continued a spiritless and groveling people. Industry would have been discouraged; and like labourers in a vineyard not our own, we should have lived under the contracted views, and unambitious hopes of hirelings and slaves.

But behold the happy effects of freedom, shining resplendent throughout every part of our land! no sooner was the struggle over, by which the galling yoke was broken in pieces, and cast from our indignant necks, than these, before gloomy colonies, began to assume a new and promising aspect. Fruit-

ful fields appeared, where thorns and briars lately grew ; and beautiful villages were spread over those plains, which until then, had only served as miserable mementos of our poverty and thralldom. And although the relaxation and debility of the political body, which soon succeeded to the violent struggle it had made during the war, gave rise to many discouragements, and shewed the inefficiency of the plans which were originally formed; yet these evils were as short-lived as the causes which gave them birth. By the peaceable and deliberate adoption of a more effectual CONSTITUTION, and by the happy influence of this excellent government, the tottering fabric of public confidence has been repaired ; the salutary *bonds of social union* have been strengthened ; the administration of impartial justice has been restored ; and every avenue to national importance, and the *felicity of individuals* opened wide.

In short, from the period of our separation from Britain, we may date the commencement, and distinctly trace the progress of most of those blessings which we enjoy as a people. Then were sown the seeds of that elevated expansion of mind, and that ardent love of freedom, which have ever since distinguished and adorned the

American character. From that moment, commerce lifted her drooping head, and looked forward with joy to the prosperous times which she has since experienced. Then agriculture, and the mechanic arts, were placed upon a basis, upon which they have already risen to a high degree of improvement, and still promise much higher advances. Then the interests of science emerged from the clouds, which until that hour had sat thick and deep upon them, and began to shine forth with new and encreasing brightness. Then, in a word, were established that EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS ; that civil and religious freedom ; that reign of law ; and all those genuine republican principles, which are calculated to call forth the best energies of man ; to make the wisest application of the human faculties ; and to build up the fabric of national happiness.

This recital of the happy consequences of our separation from Britain, is not designed, either to *feed our vanity* as a people, or to *fill us with bitterness* towards the nation from which we have withdrawn. Nothing more is intended, than, that, on the day consecrated as a memorial of the blessings which have been recounted, we should realize their existence, and feel their value,

Nothing more is wished, than to bring into view every circumstance which tends to enhance the value of these distinguished favors, that your gratitude for them may be the more fervently excited. Americans! if you would be faithful to yourselves—if you would be faithful to your posterity—if you would be faithful to your God, keep in your breasts a lasting monument of these things. Never forget, and especially on THIS DAY, never forget, the various dangers from which you have escaped—the numerous difficulties which you have been enabled to surmount, and the grievous oppression from which you have been rescued. But while you cherish an habitual remembrance of your deliverance from these evils; cherish also, a spirit of *forgiveness* toward the *author* of your injuries. Let no malignant passions rise, to tarnish your devout gratitude, or to defile your patriotic joy.

But, THIS DAY should not only remind us of our national BLESSINGS—We proposed also to consider it,

II. As a memorial of our national duty.

Unto whomsoever much is given, said our Lord, of him shall much be required. This declaration is applicable, as well to *communities* as to *indivi-*

Duals. In proportion to the number and value of the blessings heaped upon us, and the privileges we enjoy as a people, are the solemnity and weight of our obligations to a suitable conduct. How much more may be rationally expected, and justly demanded from us, than from the subjects of an African, or Asiatic tyrant, who, under chains, drag out a few miserable days, or sleep their lives away, without properly understanding, and therefore, without truly estimating their rights! They know not the sweetness of liberty, for they have never tasted it. They can judge but feebly of the horrors of despotism; for they have never seen any thing with which to contrast the odious object. They, of consequence, must have very indistinct conceptions of political duty; for rights and duties always go hand in hand. But with regard to us, my fellow citizens, the case is widely different. The light which we enjoy, and the privileges with which we are surrounded, give rise to a variety and extent of duties, which there is neither time to delineate, at full length, nor ability to urge with sufficient force. A few of the most obvious and interesting shall be selected, and offered to your consideration.

The **FIRST** duty of which the annual return of this day should serve as a memorial, is, to **REALIZE AND ACKNOWLEDGE THE SOURCE**, from whence the national blessings, which we celebrate, have flowed. Who first put it into the hearts of our venerable and illustrious patriots, to cast off the yoke of oppression, and to oppose the encroachments of a haughty power, with such firmness and decision? Who nerved the arms of our brave citizens in the conflict? Who inspired our legislators and commanders with wisdom and with valour? Who gave us powerful **ALLIES**—encouraged our suffering army—crowned them with signal victories—and conducted us to a glorious peace? Of whom is it that we are **THIS DAY** surrounded with so many blessings; and are permitted to keep it as a memorial, with joy and gladness? Surely these are all the **LORD'S DOINGS**. It is true, these great events have been brought about through the medium of human instruments, and second causes: but while we regard them with becoming gratitude, let us look beyond them, to the **PRIMARY AGENT**. Sublime and heroic as their exertions were, they would all have been in vain, without the support and direction of **HIM** who sits as governor among the nations. *Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the*

South ; but God is the Judge ; he putteth down one, and setteth up another. Give unto the Lord, therefore, O ye kindreds of the people ! give unto the Lord glory and strength. Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name.†*

Americans ! never forget Him who made you what you are. Never suffer yourselves to lose sight of the hand, that has been so often made bare for your salvation. Jehovah will not relinquish the honor of his government, nor will he give his glory to another. If you forget him, he will forget you. If you slight the Omnipotence, which has been your shield and buckler, you will be made to bend before it, by a weight of wrath. *For pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.‡* Let us, then, take good heed to ourselves, that we love the Lord our God. Let us avoid all arrogance and presumption ; and look to Him as our SUPPORT, PROTECTOR and GUIDE. For all our success and prosperity, let us give Him the glory. In every undertaking, instead of resting in an arm of flesh, let us go for strength and wisdom to His throne. And in all our ways, let us acknow-

* Psa. lxxv. 6, 7. † Psa. xcvi. 7, 8. ‡ Prov. xvi. 18.

ledge His sovereign rule.* Thus may we expect a continuance of his blessing, and confide in his preserving care. For, *behold, the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him ; upon them that hope in his mercy.*

ANOTHER duty, of which the return of this day should remind us, is SUITABLY TO ESTIMATE THE NATIONAL BLESSINGS WHICH WE ENJOY. With regard to most of the favors which a bountiful God bestows upon his creatures, it may be said, that their true value is rarely realized until they are withdrawn, and the consequences of their loss appear. When the most precious jewels become cheap and common, they sink in our esteem ; and the fairest objects in creation, fade in the eye that is admitted to familiar and unrestrained vision. This is too much the case with our national blessings ; they are so rich, plentiful and common among all classes of citizens, that few consider their intrinsic

** That there is an acknowledgement of God incumbent on society as such, will not be denied, by those who are friends to any religion at all. It must, therefore, have given sincere pleasure to every serious mind, that the citizens of the United States were lately called, by the Chief Magistrate of the Union, in an interesting state of public affairs, to make such acknowledgement, in an explicit and public manner. May America never want Magistrates, who will be disposed at all proper seasons, to call her to a similar duty ! May she never be destitute of citizens, who will rejoice in every opportunity of complying with such a call !*

importance. But remember, that Liberty, with her large train of attendant blessings, disdains to dwell among those who respect her not. She will never tarry long with a people, who venture to flight her dignified character.

Would you know then, my fellow citizens, the value of our national privileges and blessings? Consider, for a moment, what they cost us;— a tedious war—immense treasures—and the richest blood of our countrymen. Think, also, how high they have already raised us, among the nations of the earth. Under their auspices, we have made advances in political grandeur and felicity, more rapid than the world ever witnessed before. Think, moreover, with what ardour our fellow creatures have struggled for them in all ages, and how much they have suffered, to obtain even a distant view of such glorious objects. But, above all, if you would realize the true value of these blessings, look round on the state of other nations, and behold them distracted with the din of arms—overflowing with blood—or shaken from their foundations with internal discord! Behold the greater part of the European world, either groaning under the horrors of war, or else withdrawing from the field, through inability any longer to continue the def-

tructive conflict ! Behold, in short, three-fourths of the human race, bound in chains, and submitting their necks to the feet of idiots and monsters, who feast on the miseries of man ; and who blush not to claim a divine authority, thus to scourge and trample on their fellow creatures ! Behold these things ! and then say, whether the blessings which we this day commemorate, do not shine with additional lustre ? Contemplate this feint picture of human misery ; and then say, whether you do not return with tenfold more delight and exultation, to these peaceful shores, where every man sits under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and has none to make him afraid ?

A THIRD duty of which the return of this day should be to us a memorial, is, QUIETLY TO ENJOY AND WISELY TO IMPROVE the political blessings which have been conferred upon us. However excellent our form of government ;— however numerous and rich the privileges under which we live ; they will avail but little, unless they are used in a temperate, virtuous, and becoming manner. Political happiness will be sought in vain, either where liberty is turned into licentiousness, or where the rights and privileges of free men are not asserted, and used with be-

coming dignity. Innumerable mischiefs will arise here, if we turn *either to the right hand or to the left*. They who will not submit to equitable laws and strengthen the hands of a wise government, stab the vitals of the body politic, and undermine all social happiness; while those who can sit, with a cold indifference, and see their rights infringed; or who seek not redress, when it can be obtained in a constitutional manner, deserve to be stigmatized as traitors to their country.— Now, wisely to enjoy and improve our national blessings, is, to avoid both these extremes. It is to use that liberty to which we have been called *not as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servant of God*. It is to cultivate principles and manners conformable to the republican government of which we boast. It is, in one word, to assert and maintain our rights in such a manner as will most effectually tend to promote the good order, peace and happiness of society,

Political prosperity resides, not in the words and letters of the *Constitution*; but in the temper, the habits, and the practices of the people. The one may exhibit a fair and promising aspect; while the other may present a view humiliating and odious in the extreme. Behold the striking contrast between the *MAGNA CHARTA* of Great

Britain, and the actual administration and state of that kingdom! In the one, the noble and dignified front of Freedom appears—but when we turn to the other, we are astonished to find Oppression standing in triumph, and almost every political grievance in its train!

With us it rests, then, to make the rich gifts of Heaven, which we this day commemorate, contribute to our real happiness; or to pervert them to the worst and most destructive purposes. With us it rests, either, by a wise choice of public officers—by a ready submission to wholesome laws—by moderation, industry, and every republican virtue, to promote the true welfare of society; or else, by an *opposite course*, to convert blessings into curses; and the most delicious nectar, into gall and wormwood.—With us it rests, to convince the world, by fair experiment, that enlightened freemen can govern themselves; or to furnish the enemies of freedom with an occasion to speak reproachfully, and upbraid us as the contrivers of visionary schemes.

THE LAST duty that shall be mentioned here, of which the annual return of this day should remind us, is, to WATCH OVER THE INESTIMABLE

PRIVILEGES WE ENJOY, AND ENDEAVOUR TO TRANSMIT THEM, NOT ONLY UNTARNISHED, BUT HIGHLY IMPROVED, TO THE LATEST POSTERITY,

In this happy country, sovereign power resides with the people. It is theirs to pull down and build up, to construct and to destroy. This being the case, it belongs to the body of citizens at large, under Providence, to keep safely the treasury of Freedom, and, of all that has been given us, to lose nothing. So that, if privileges be abused; if power be usurped; or if our government become corrupt and oppressive, we have none but *ourselves* to blame. *Ours* is the task to cherish and confirm the blessings of peace, liberty, and independence, which we enjoy; to defend them against the attacks of open enemies, and the machinations of secret foes; and to guard against every thing that is calculated to diminish their influence,

Would you, my fellow-citizens, fix heaven-born Liberty for ever in the land she has chosen? Then cultivate the same principles, and always keep in operation the same causes, which originally gave her birth. Liberty is a living principle. She lives in the temper and disposition,

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in the sentiments and feelings of the people. As long as she exists and flourishes there, she will rise superior to the powers of the world, and bid calm defiance to the fury of every foe. But when she ceases to maintain this residence, whatever props and contrivances may be used for her detention and support; whatever plans may be devised to conceal her decay, we may bid her farewell for ever. In order, then, to preserve and transmit uncorrupted to your children, the blessings of liberty, in which you this Day rejoice; be virtuous, industrious, and upright, in your respective stations. Fly from yourselves, and discourage in others, every species of corruption, faction, and party rage—by which so many fair political edifices have been humbled to the dust. Seek social peace, harmony, and love, by every means in your power. Frown into annihilation vice in every form, and pursue, with unremitting ardour, that righteousness which exalteth a nation. For, believe it, without the general prevalence of virtue and good morals, among all classes of citizens, it would require an “annual course of miracles” to preserve your freedom.

But whatever may be the prevailing character of the people at large; still, if the seats of go-

vernment be filled with corrupt and unprincipled men, there is no less danger of destruction to our Republican Fabric, If we, implicitly, and without observation or enquiry, commit the management of our public affairs, to the selfish, ambitious and designing; there will soon be an end of genuine freedom, and of all political happiness. Let every member of the community, then, esteem it his duty, to watch with care the conduct of all those to whom power is entrusted.—Bear in mind, that in this imperfect and depraved state, the most exalted human characters are to be considered as fallible; and therefore should always be treated as if they were *capable of doing wrong*. Be attentive, then, to the conduct of every officer in government. Carefully avoid, indeed, giving indulgence to suspicion or mistrust of any, but upon the most satisfactory evidence; as few things have a more unhappy influence on the peace and comfort of society, and I may add, on the existence of republican government, than this. But never give up your right to keep a watchful eye on the servants of the public. As long as this right is used in a becoming manner, it will be a terror to *bad men only, who hate the light, neither will come to the light, lest their deeds should be reprov'd*. And when you observe any to abuse the trust committed to them; when you perceive them

to sport with your inestimable rights, or to sacrifice the public good, to their own aggrandizement—assert the sovereignty of the people, by depriving them, in a constitutional manner, of their perverted power; by degrading them, with the calmness and dignity of freemen, from those seats which they are found unworthy to fill.

And let the Magistrates and Legislators of America remember, that to them, in a particular manner, are intrusted the rights of their fellow-citizens, and the happiness of their country. Let them remember, that in their hands are deposited the sacred treasures of Freedom; and that upon their official conduct, under Providence, in a great measure, depend our national prosperity, and the perpetuity of our free government. Let them remember, that he who sacrifices the public good, at the shrine of his own popularity or fortune; he who sports with a single right, or barter away a single privilege of his constituents, is not only unworthy of their confidence; but is also, thereby, striking at the root of his country's happiness; and may be preparing, though in a remote manner, and though he realize it not, chains and misery for millions yet unborn.

Again; in order to the security and perpetuation of Liberty, in these flourishing Republics, it is of

the highest importance that there be a GENERAL DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE among all classes of citizens. The dæmon of slavery delights in the horrors of darkness—before the light of truth, he flies precipitate; and when knowledge shines around, he hides with shame his odious head. Let each successive generation, then, be carefully instructed in the rights and duties of man; and this enemy of social happiness will attack you in vain.* Educate your children in the manners, the feelings, the principles, and manly ardor of Americans; and they will always be able and disposed to trample down the risings of arbitrary power. Train them up in the knowledge and practice of that religion, which is calculated to produce and secure both spiritual, and political Liberty; and they will always know how to estimate the blessings of freedom.† Often recount to them the

** The establishment of public schools, and making their support an object of legislative attention, is so plain; and intimately connected with the welfare of all republics, that neither proof nor illustration on the subject are necessary. Of such establishment, the Eastern States have set us an honorable and useful example. The States of New York and Pennsylvania seem to be about engaging in a similar plan; and every State in the Union, it is hoped, will soon be wise enough to attend to the important object. May we yet see the time, when good education shall be extended to every class of citizens; and when a TEACHER OF YOUTH shall be esteem'd one of the most important and respectable members of civil society!*

† The author is not one of those who imagine political Liberty to consist in freedom from all restraint, even that of morality and

wonderful works of the Lord, and the great deliverance which he hath wrought out for us; and they will know where to look for future safety and happiness. Teach them to despise the crowns and sceptres, the haughty pretensions of family and blood, and all the pageantry of power, with which little minds are carried away; and they will always rise against their introduction to these republican climes. Teach them to revere the God of Heaven as their King; and they will despise submission to earthly despots. In a word, instil into their minds that noble enthusiasm in favour of freedom, which animated the breasts of American patriots, at the period which we now commemorate; and they will ever be free!

Upon the whole; let me repeat the important truth, that it depends upon ourselves, under God, how long we enjoy that liberty, and preserve inviolate those rich blessings which we possess. If we become a corrupt and vicious

law. He therefore, considers the man who opposes religion, and who fights against christianity (the only genuine system of divine truth) as an enemy to his country. He is persuaded that nothing has so great a tendency to promote and establish real Liberty, as the practical influence of this system. He never expects the happy arrival of the period of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, until the triumph of evangelic truth shall become universal also.—How far, then, the floods of infidelity and vice, which are pouring in on every side, forebode well to the liberties and happiness of this country, he leaves to the consideration of his fellow-citizens.

people, I foresee all the horrors of monarchy fast approaching: I foresee the odious insignia of slavery coming forward at no great distance; I hear the rattling of chains, forging for my beloved countrymen: I see the genius of Liberty retiring to weep over our ruin.* But if, on the other hand, we suitably estimate, and wisely improve the blessings of which we are put in possession, we may reasonably indulge the highest expectations of a continuance and daily encrease of our national felicity and glory. We may confidently anticipate the period, when we shall rise to a degree of political eminence, which statesmen have long contemplated in theory, but never yet beheld.

The present aspect of the world is wonderful, and above description affecting! We behold nation rising up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. We behold the minds of men, especially in Europe, in a state altogether unprecedented, and producing events the most amazing.

** Whenever vice and corruption become general in the United States. When the people bargain and trade away their votes. When the officers of government deal in the same traffic, buying and selling offices and power. In a word, when the spirit and soul of Republican government dies, the foundation of Monarchy will be laid. Should these evils ever arise among us, and prevail (which God forbid!) by whatever name our government may be called, we shall be the worst of slaves; because we shall have the name of freemen.*

All human calculation about the consequences, seems to be utterly at an end. What designs the Governor of the Universe is carrying on, we know not. The christian patriot, however, cannot help indulging the confident hope, that all these things are designed to banish tyranny from the earth; to establish the reign of civil and religious liberty; to second the exertion of those who are struggling for their rights; to support the banner of freedom not only in those TWO REPUBLICS which have lately cast off the yoke, but also throughout all lands; and to hasten the universal prevalence of righteousness and peace. But, whatever may be the event, *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice.* Our duty, as a people, in these circumstances, is incontrovertible and plain. It is to FOLLOW PEACE WITH ALL. It is quietly to enjoy, and wisely to improve our precious rights; but boldly to resist every impious invader. It is to pray for, and to seek our own happiness, and the happiness of all mankind.

Finally, my fellow-citizens, remember, that though not in our national capacity, yet as individuals, we are all candidates for eternity. In a few days, empires, kingdoms, and republics, with all their boasted greatness, shall be swept off the stage of time, and be seen no more for ever.

But we have immortal souls: We have a spiritual part, which shall survive the general ruin, and outlive all the ravages of time. There is a kingdom which is not of this world, offered and secured to all the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ. There is a glorious exaltation tendered them, without money, and without price. To this felicity and glory, then, let each of us aspire! And while we despise earthly royalty, let it be our highest ambition, to be kings and priests unto God, even the Father, through riches of free grace in Christ Jesus, our Lord and Redeemer.

A M E N !