

AN
ORATION ;

Delivered at Cheshire, Massachusetts,

July 5, 1802 ;

ON THE CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN
INDEPENDENCE.

CONTAINING

SEVENTEEN SKETCHES AND SEVENTEEN
WISHES.

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BY JOHN LELAND.

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The second edition.

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An Oration, &c.



THE creation of the world, the deluge of the earth, the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, the founding of Rome, the birth of *Christ*, the flight of Mahomed, and other important events, have given rise to certain eras from which dates have been fixed, ceremonies instituted, and days appointed to perpetuate the remembrance of those interesting events.

The *Revolution of America* has been an event which (simply as a human revolution) has promised more for the cause of humanity and the rights of man than any revolution that can be named.

The *Revolution of France* yet hangs in awful suspense. Whether that enterprising people are to gain any thing at last, after all their unparalleled exploits, except the change of rulers, either in the civil or ecclesiastical department, is very uncertain, according to present appearances. Should it finally terminate on the side of *liberty* and *right*, still the change in America may be considered as the first vital spring of that reform. Their alliance and communication with Americans, enkindled the spark of liberty among them, which had long been covered with the ashes of *despotism* and *superstition*.

The American revolution therefore may be justly esteemed the returning dawn of long lost liberty, and the world's best hope. Here the people decide their controversies by their voices and not by the cannon's awful roar — by small pieces of paper and not by the instruments of death. Here our *chief magistrate* resides in his house and rides abroad without a guard of armed soldiers, being shielded by the affection of the people. Well may the day be celebrated on which the iron bands were broken and liberty to America was proclaimed. Well may the man be viewed in an endearing point of light who drew the declaration and fills the highest post of honor and trust.

To-day this august assembly have convened to reflect

on the past and present condition of this growing empire ; and in order to assist that reflection I shall submit the following sketches :

I. When the much admired policy of Britain had sunk the nation into a debt of 280 millions sterling, she claimed the right of governing the trade of America for her own profit, and of taxing the American colonies at pleasure, without the consent of colonial representatives. To force the Americans to this subjection, their ships and troops were sent to our coasts to burn our towns and shed our blood. America had nothing to plead but her *right* and the help of her *God*. 25 years this very day have elapsed since that instrument was formed (the Declaration of Independence) which separated the United States from Great Britain, her policy, her debts and her fate. This just, modest, bold, decent declaration, was made at a time when the British lion was roaring on our sea-coasts, and the war-whoop and hatchet were infesting our frontiers. Feeble and presumptuous as the United States appeared to foreign nations, yet after a 7 years struggle they gained the point for which they fought, and Britain lost the American empire and augmented her debt to 320 millions. Since that period, by their splendid victories, their debt has been increased to 700 millions. Were the United States at this time British colonies—add the 5 millions in America to the 12 millions of Great Britain and Ireland, and the debt equally distributed among all ages and sexes would be about 180 dollars per soul, or 9 dollars for every finger and every toe. This debt in silver would amount to more than 95078 waggons would carry, allowing a ton to each waggon,* which would fill the road in a string about 900 miles, allowing 3 rods to each waggon.

II. But to return ; during the 7 years struggle, there were some such manifest interpositions of divine Providence that to pass them by in silence would be a crime. In the middle states, the scene at Trenton is one. The American army was reduced to a handful ; the British

* This calculation is made upon the scale of £ 3 sterling being 31b Troy, and that 17 lbs. Troy are equal to 14 lbs. Averdupois.

had but little to obstruct them, and to all appearance the cause of America was lost. But behold, the scale turned in a short time. The Hessians became prisoners—the British generals were foiled—Princeton felt the prowess of American troops—the spirit of America revived, and hope gleamed through the land. Let our chief commander have his due—let the troops have their reward—but give unto the God of armies the ultimate praise.

III. In the northern states, the check at Bennington and the conquest at Saratoga were most notable. *Burgoyne*, with the flower of the British army, had pushed his conquests from Quebec to Skeensborough, and all things bid fair for him to establish a line of posts from Canada to the city of New-York, and thereby cut off all communication between the southern and eastern states: a detachment from the main army was sent to Bennington, near which place they were met by Americans and defeated. The scene was tragical. While the roads were crowded on one side with the inhabitants fleeing for their lives, they were occupied on the other side by the militia, flying to meet the foe. The defeat near Bennington was soon followed by the surrender of the whole army at Saratoga. Those who never look beyond second causes may ascribe the glory to *Warner*, *Barnum*, *Stark*, *Arnold*, *Lincoln*, or *Gates*; but those who believe in the superintendance of Providence will render the glory to America's God.

IV. The southern states exhibit a like picture. Charleston was taken and in possession of Britons—*Gates* was defeated at Camden—the enterprising *Tarleton* flew over the Carolinas like an eagle—the tories were numerous and vindictive. But soon a change took place. King's Mountain seems to have been the pivot on which the scale turned, after which the defeat of *Tarleton* at the Cowpens took place. How nearly the prisoners taken by *Morgan* were retaken, and how singularly they were twice secured from *Cornwallis* by the swell of the rivers is remarkable. After this, *Cornwallis* dearly bought a piece of ground at Guilford with British blood, which

yet he could not hold; but abandoned his post and with a circuitous rout came into Virginia, and left the Carolinas as a field for *Graves* to display his military skill in—who in a short space cleared those states of every Briton and silenced every tory. After *Cornwallis* had traversed a considerable part of Virginia he took his stand at York-Town. Several things appeared; providential at this place. 1st. *De Grasse* came into the Chesapeake with a French fleet, so that his lordship could not retreat with his vessels. 2d. When he attempted to cross York river, to escape by land, if possible, a remarkable storm of wind prevented him. 3d. During the siege, in that sickly season of the year, had the rains been as usual it is highly probable that great dearth would have been in the camp; but not one drop of rain fell during the whole siege.

“Ye clouds of heaven d’th’ no rain,
The great Jehovah said,
“Till haughty Britons all are slain,
Or bow the stubborn head.”

Soon after his capture, proposals were made and preliminaries of peace were drawn, which were finally ratified. America was now acknowledged as an independent republic, composed of democracies in confederation, to hold rank among the nations of the world.

V. Since that memorable era in 1783, America has experienced two semi revolutions. In the time of the contest the support of the army and securing the independence of the states absorbed almost all things; but when the contest closed it was found that the articles of confederation were entirely too lax to secure those blessings that were bought with blood. Hence arose the necessity of altering the political system. This reform of police established a national government in all its parts, restricted however to certain specified articles. In these articles, where the national government was to operate it was complete: legislative, executive, and judicial powers, were contained in its provisions; and on all other objects each state retained its sovereignty. This change was effected without war or bloodshed, and without any alarming confusion, and renders memorable the year 1788.

VI. Nothing is more common than to see *parties* in governments. The *ins* generally are grasping after more power, while the *outs* are complaining of oppression. Deprive an *in* of his office and he cries out "the church and state are ruined." Put an *out* into office, and government grows better and better every day. These remarks are too often verified, but very far from being universally true. In America, where land is abundant and labor very lucrative, the temptation to be in office greatly decreases. There are few if any gifts or offices in these states (considering the necessary drawbacks) which exceed the profits of labor. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that there is a greater proportion in America who form their judgment of government from *reason* and not from *interest* than is the case in Europe. Yet in these states men of equal talents and opportunities have and still do differ in opinion; and this difference is so radical that the two parties have lately appealed to the sovereign people to decide the controversy, which has effected a kind of revolution.

VII. When men in private life or public office err in rare instances, charity will cast a veil over those errors; but when the fixed course of conduct is wrong, neither charity nor candor should be silent, even granting that while they pursue the course of error they sometimes hit upon that which is right. That our national administration, for several years anterior to March 1801, was wrong in its career, admits of no doubt in my mind. Notwithstanding the immense sums collected by external taxes, yet the debt increased. An army and a navy were raised, when there was no more prospect of war than there is at the present moment: and that rigor and distinction which has cursed the *old* world cast a malignant aspect upon the *new*. Had the ruling party been 40 instead of 4 years in making their advances on the rights, liberties and purses, of the people, they might have gained their point; but, happy for us, they sung lullaby too loud, and started the drowsy child before it was fast asleep.

If we compare our present administration with what pre-

ceded for several years, we shall see economy instead of extravagance—saving in the room of wasting—diminishing of taxes and not increasing of them—lessening of salaries and not swelling of them—recalling foreign agents and not sending them where they can be of no service—disannulling useless courts, and not creating them for their own profit when they have nothing to do—a regard for the rights of the people, and not a design to trick them out of their native blessings—freeing labor as much as possible from burthens—securing the liberty of speech and the liberty of the press, instead of the reverse, &c. when these things are considered, we may with good propriety say, “that the late change has been as radical in its tendency as that which took place in 1776.” And that these things have taken place is undeniable, confessed by all except those who are determined to confess nothing good but what accords with their high notions of aristocracy.

VIII. There is a foible among men, expressed by the words *I told you so*. When any occurrence turns up, if a man can say *I told you so*, he supposes he establishes his character as a man of sagacity and forecast. The high toned party have been telling us for several years that themselves were the only friends of our government—that the republicans complained on purpose to get the *ins* out and get *in* themselves—that should it be the case, there would be no more economy in government, no lessening of taxes, no sinking of the debt—they are therefore determined not to believe that there is any change for the better, for if they believe it they cannot preach *I told you so*.

It looks as if every friend to his country would rejoice to see that debt which was created to gain our independence honestly and wholly paid. While Britain boasts that her *credit* is good, let the boast of America be that she has no *creditors*.

IX. If editors of newspapers were genuine friends to their country they would be fair and impartial; but such papers are rare; hence the readers of them are dupes to party zeal. There are but a few men in the states who have access to the official documents, or the laws that are

enacted, except what teem through party gazettes, where they are so mutilated and commented upon that the readers are biased and held in ignorance. Jackalls hunt the prey for the lions, by whom they are rewarded with the offal; so some printers are hunting for their employers, by whom they are supported.

X. The federal party are constantly exclaiming that the republicans are all deists; or if not, yet they all unite to undermine religion, law, steady habits and good order. Let these charges be fairly examined. The federal party includes the old tories, those who admire a state established religion, and a few others. The republican class contains those who fought, not only to be independent of Britain, but also from that policy which governs her; those who contend for the civil and religious rights of all men, and some beside. As *deism* is an opinion about religion, and not so much connected with government, the deists might be left out of the question. However, as they are not omitted, they shall here be considered. The federalists and deists agree in one point, viz. they both believe that if christianity is not protected by law it will fall to the ground. But then they disagree in their *wishes*—the federalists wish that what they call christianity may stand, but the deists wish it might fall. The republicans and deists agree in the counter part, viz. that it would be delivering the world from one of its greatest curses to have all legal establishments of religion abolished. But their conclusions are diametrically opposed to each other: republicans believe that pure christianity would gain much by such a dissolution, but the deists suppose it would utterly fall. As for a *religion* of cruelty, *laws* to enforce it, and the *steady habits* of persecution, the republicans do wish to undermine; and if deists unite with them in this wish they are so far right. It is true there are some who call themselves republicans who suppose that religion is an object of civil government, and under its control; but such men *hold with the Hare and run with the Hound*—and how they can reconcile the business of *fighting with the Dog and whipping the Cat* at the same time I know not.

It is almost enough to tickle sobriety itself to hear the clamor of some federalists about *good order* and *religion*, when at the same time their *disorder* is such as to be no great commendation to any religion: so peacocks raise their shining feathers, but walk on shameful feet. It almost makes us believe that they are conscious of their sins and dangers and therefore wish others to have religion to prevent their own damnation: so a man once gave his parson a guinea a year that he himself might freely swear.

XI. The late marvellous work of God in Kentucky, has been echoed through federal and republican papers: it is well attested, and cause of rejoicing. There are in that state 4 Baptist associations; to one of them (the Elk-horn) 3,011 joined in one year—and I have good authority to say that as many as 10,000 joined in all the associations, besides the vast numbers that joined the Methodists and Presbyterians. But what shall we say to these things? Kentucky was settled at first upon the plan of religious liberty, like Pennsylvania and Rhode-Island, and has continued so until the present time. Kentucky has been a democratic state, and boldly cried out against the measures of the late administration. Kentucky had no laws to support *teachers of piety, morality and religion*, and yet the Lord of Heaven has blessed them marvellously. That God blesses sinners is acknowledged with humble praise; but when he blesses them with his grace he makes them virtuous; and that this change has been evident in Kentucky, is owned by all. How then comes it to pass that Kentucky is still a democratic, disorganising, unconstitutional state? Mr. Brackenridge is a senator from Kentucky, and the whole representation of that state is democratical. We are therefore reduced to the necessity of believing that democrats can be religious, or that the accounts of the great reform in Kentucky are all false. Can there be an instance given where there has been a like display of God's power in any state in the Union which has left the people as generally federalists?

XII. Under the late administration, if a man called in question the constitutionality or expediency of any law or

measure, he was charged with irreligion and sedition; but now, forsooth, it is become virtuous to condemn all that is done by government. Some say that if the President had acted according to his inaugural speech they should have had nothing to object; but I know not of an instance wherein he has transgressed the sentiments of that speech. Had he retained all the officers which he found in office, he would have disappointed that majority which promoted him, and likewise committed himself to the opposition party to reproach him for being too cowardly to change men or measures or stick to his friends. The truth is, the federal *ins* made their calculations to be *eternal ins*; and those three letters, *O, U, T*, have been made a handle of to raise a mighty fog. Notwithstanding several millions of dollars have been saved and appropriated to the payment of debt, yet they condemn, because they were determined to condemn, the present administration.

XIII. The late session of Congress has dismissed about 500 officers, by the modification of the judiciary and dismissal of the internal taxes. While other congresses and the former administration talked about economy and sinking the debt, the present reduce those words to practice. Can the citizens of the United States be so blind to their interest as to reprobate the only line of conduct which can make and keep them a free people? They cannot—they will not. The President wishes to have the discretionary power of the executive department limited by legislative acts. The secretary of the treasury recommends the same. This is language almost new to the world, and will surely meet with the approbation of the people, just as fast as the false gloss of federal newspapers is removed. When we contemplate that nearly all the unimproved land belonging to the U. States lies in the republican hemisphere, populating fast, we have rational ground to believe that the republican interest will continue to triumph. But who can look into futurity? The depravity of human nature, the restless propensity of man after novelty, the fate of other nations, and the maxims of revelation, all conspire to check our soaring prospects, and warn us to be

still and know that the Lord reigns king of nations. I shall therefore close this part of the address in the words of the wise man—“Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man: for God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or bad.”

XIV. When equitable laws are administered by a magistrate in whom the people place confidence their yoke is easy and their burden is light. The satisfaction which they feel will stimulate them more to part with their property for public purposes than rigor and force will from a tyrannical administration, unless the tyranny is so complete as to prevent all opposition. A striking instance we have of this in the history of *David* and his grandson *Rehoboam*. The liberality in the days of David is astonishing; the provision funded for the building of a superb temple for Jehovah was immense. David, as king, contributed (exclusive of timber, stones, iron, brass, costly and glistening stones, &c.) 100,000 talents of gold, and 1,000,000 of talents of silver. If a talent is 62 lbs. Troy, the offering exceeded 2,000,000,000 of dollars. The princes likewise cast into the fund 5,000 talents of gold, and 10,000 talents of silver—which surpassed 75,000,000 of dollars. Besides this, David, of his own private property, advanced 3,000 talents of gold and 7,000 talents of silver—more than 45,000,000 of dollars—which sums form a total of more than 2,200,000,000 of dollars. But when Rehoboam (at the instance of the young men, who were swarming in his court like locusts, gaping for the loaves and fishes) undertook to stop the remonstrances of the people and subject them to his sovereign will, by sedition *robbers* and excise *scorpions*, the people revolted; and when the provisional army was raised to force obedience, for want of guns the people made use of stones and stoned the excise officer who was over the tribute to death. It may be added, that the building of the tabernacle as well as the temple, and the repairing of the temple were done by free-will offerings and not by force.

XV. You have taken notice that some men are always

contending for the energy of government, while others are pleading for the rights of the people. On this I shall remark, that man has no right which stands in opposition to his *social duties*: no right to exercise his *liberty* to destroy the *right* and *property* of his neighbor: no *right* that frees him from his proportionable part of the burders of government and the restraints of just laws. Those who are always contending for the *energy of government* generally have some office under that government, either in their own hands or the hands of their friends, which makes the government a profit to them rather than a burden, and wish that profit to be secured by energetic laws. While many on the other hand, who plead for the *liberty of men*, too often use their liberty for *an occasion to the flesh*.

Generally in a revolution, for a time, the laws are too lax, which often drive the people to the opposite extreme, not stopping at the proper centre. Soon as ever government is energetic enough to protect the lives, liberty and property of the community, the people should use the utmost vigilance to prevent the intrusion of officers. I would as soon give my vote to a wolf to be shepherd as to a man who is always contending for the energy of government to be a ruler. I conceive our national government to be strong enough, and yet provision it made therein to counterpoise all the powers that may be abused. Let the people keep awake, and danger flies. It is not long since the people of these states were becaimed in their spirits; they left government in the hands of their servants, and reclined on the bed of domestic ease; but thanks to kind Providence, the servants fell out about the loaves and fishes, and contended so loud that they waked the people from their slumbers. Let the dangers which we have just escaped make us more watchful, with *heed, hie, and look out*. And when our hoary heads shall lie slumbering in death may our sons and successors take warning, and never forget the inactive jolly of their ancestors.

Disdain mean suspicion, but cherish manly jealousy; be always jealous of your liberty, your rights. Nip the first bud of intrusion or your constitution. Be not devoted to

men ; let measures be your object, and estimate men according to the measures they pursue. Never promote men who seek after a state established religion ; it is spiritual tyranny, the worst of despotism. It is turnpiking the way to heaven by human law, in order to establish ministerial gates to collect toll ; it converts religion into a principle of state policy, and the gospel into merchandise. Heaven forbids the bans of marriage between church and state ; their embraces therefore must be unlawful. Guard against those men who make a great noise about religion, in choosing representatives. It is electioneering intrigue. If they knew the nature and worth of religion they would not debauch it to such shameful purposes. If *pure* religion is the criterion to denominate candidates, those who make a noise about it must be rejected ; for their wrangle about it proves that they are void of it. Let honesty, talents, and quick dispatch, characterise the men of your choice ; such men will have a sympathy with their constituents, and will be willing to come to the light that their deeds may be examined. Remember that the genuine meaning of republicanism is *self government* ; if you would then be true disciples in your profession, *govern yourselves*. The man who has no rule over his unruly passions is no republican. He who will swear prophanely, drink to excess, cheat his neighbor, speak falsely and scandalise his fellow-creatures, is no republican, let his profession be what it will. Such republicans, like ferry-men, look one way and row the other. If you are republicans indeed you seek the public good. Be looking out then for objects of charity. Let the widow and fatherless meet your kind assistance, and the blessing of him that is ready to perish fall upon you. Let the naked and hungry share of your favors—the sick and afflicted your hospitality—and let the case of poor prisoners and slaves excite your pity and stimulate your prayers.

XVI. I already anticipate an objection to the method which I have pursued in this Oration. The objection is, that “ the subject has been too frequently changed.” I own the subject has frequently changed ; but king Solo-

mon changed his subject seven times as often in the book of Proverbs; and yet that book is justly esteemed so highly that the golden verses of Pythagoras and the Morals of Seneca claim no comparison with it. I have also a later example. The honorable senate of Massachusetts, in the late session, when answering the governor's speech suddenly elope from their subject and take that opportunity to declare, "that the freedom of the people is best secured by the independence of the judiciary." If kings and senators give the example, the present speaker hopes for indulgence. But why should the senate take that opportunity to declare their opinion? I know not; ask them, they are of age and can answer for themselves. It was however no great compliment paid to Vermont, R. Island and *Connecticut*, in which states all the judges are annually chosen. But I conclude that the butt end of it was aimed at congress, for repealing the judiciary law of midnight darkness. As kings and senators hop I will skip, and in my turn say, that the late repeal of the judiciary law was constitutional and expedient, and has given a tone to our government worth more than all the gold of Ophir. The language is, that *all* officers, directly or indirectly, are amenable to the people. If the repeal of that law destroyed the constitution, as some said, why did not every man return home? What had they to do there if the constitution was lost? They knew better—they acted otherwise. Not a single fed. of 2,000 has quit his post; all stick, like horse-leaches, at the veins, and will stick as long there is a drop of money, blood, in the body, unless they are removed—and when that is the case they roar and yell like greedy wolves. "Pause! pause! for heaven's sake, pause!" and behold the inconsistency of federal folly.

XVII. As kind Providence has been so propitious, in appearing in behalf of America so often and so wonderfully, we have grounds to hope that it will still interpose, again and again. A great number of thousands of people within the U. States are still held in lasting slavery. The poor creatures have made several attempts to gain their lost liberty, but have failed, like the Poles. This evil

chiefly abounds in the middle and southern states. Poor creatures: is there no liberty for them? must they forever drag the galling chain of vassalage under their despotic masters? How would every benevolent heart rejoice to see them all emancipated from slavery, and enjoy that little pittance of freedom by nature due to them. May Heaven move on the minds of their masters, and open a way in providence to bring them out of bondage with the consent of their masters and consistent with good policy. As personal slavery exists chiefly in the southern states, so religious slavery abounds exclusively in three or four of the New-England states. Here the rights of conscience are made articles of merchandize, and men who differ in opinion from the majority of a town have to buy them. Here the majority vote away the money of the minority for religious uses at pleasure, and the legal relief provided for the minority is so intricate in its nature, and so precarious in its final issue, that generally heavy costs fall on those who strive to gain what usurpation has taken from them. Tyranny is always the same. *Pharaoh* said to *Moses*, "Go ye and serve the Lord, but let your flocks and herds be staid." *Massachusetts* says, "Go ye and serve the Lord, but pay for building the parish meetinghouse and the salary of the teacher of piety, morality, and religion." And men must pay their money according to a *legal* assessment, and draw it back again by a *legal* process, in order to be freed from the society which is dissented from, because they govern their religious concerns in a *legal* form. The most explicit language of the *Pharaoh* of *Massachusetts* is, "Go ye and serve the Lord, but serve him as the majority do." Be incorporated by law and become bodies politic—make use of the tool which we are fond of—kill yourselves, and we will not kill you. O that the day, the halcyon day, may come, when the chains of personal slavery and the manacles of religious despotism may be broken asunder and freedom and religion pervade the whole earth!



AS it is my custom on our anniversaries to retire from company as soon as the public exhibition is over, I shall now express a number of *Wishes*, in the form of *Toasts*, which voluntarily flow from my heart, then conclude and retire.

1. *The World at large.* May truth and friendship overspread the earth, and may all nations be freed from war, oppression, personal slavery and religious tyranny.

2. *The People of the United States.* May they be virtuous, industrious, and wise, free from the intrigues of lawyers, deception of doctors, holy fraud of priests, and imposition of lying printers.

3. *The United States.* May the 16 links be all of republican gold, and form an indissoluble chain. Let them adopt the policy of no nation, but improve upon them all.

4. *The President.* May the First Consul of France learn wisdom of the President of the United States for a finishing stroke to his victories. As for old and foolish kings, they will not be reproved.

5. *The Legislature.* Short sessions, few laws, and goodwaste.

6. *The Judiciary.* Let judges know that they are as amenable to God, to law and to the people, as other men.

7. *The Treasury.* May the treasury be supplied with a frugal sufficiency for the exigencies of government; but let the great treasure be in the hands of the people, each man being the treasurer of his own earnings.

8. *The Revenue.* Let the resources of the nation run freely when necessity calls; but let private right and public economy secure the dam and the gate.

9. *The Navy and Militia.* May the time quickly come when there shall not be a ship of war on the seas: till then, let every vessel be allowed to arm in its own defence, and let the same be extended to voluntary companies that may see cause to build navies for trade. But why should government be at the expense to guard the speculations of individuals? However, if the condition of the world justifies an American navy of war, may it bring the piratical States on the coast of Africa to national justice.

May the militia always be in readiness but never needed.

10. *The Debt.* May the debt of the United States be discharged with speed and punctuality—and let not the people be deceived by having the funds established for that purpose put to other uses.

11. *Commerce.* May our exports be so great and our imports so small that the balance of trade may be in our favor.

12. *Agriculture.* Let Americans improve the extensive, fertile land, which the Almighty has given them, and not amuse themselves with the whimsies of circumscribed islands.

13. *Literature.* May our schools, academies and universities, diffuse abundance of light and knowledge abroad, and produce a long list of sages and patriots, whose souls shall so widely expand that they shall know something more than just how to decline a noun and conjugate a verb.

14. *The American Indians.* May the scalping-knife and hatchet be interred in the earth, and their fertile soil be cultivated by themselves. May they exceed their white brethren in honesty, liberality and religion.

15. *The Territory of Ohio.* May the new state be properly organized by the year 1804, and cast 4 republican votes into the box at the next presidential election.

16. *The Gospel.* The only hope of man: may it prevail every where in its virgin purity, free from the legal apparatus and traditional complexion which have long covered its native beauty. May the combination of rulers and priests, church and state, be dissolved and never re-unite.

17. *The Day.* May it be kept as the birth day of our independence, with that gratitude and joy which become freemen and christians.

I CONCLUDE—I retire. I hope nothing will be done this day that will disgrace the republican or the christian.