

To
James Delaney
from
his ever obed. humb. Servant
The Author

Mr. Gardiner's

O R A T I O N.

A N
O R A T I O N,

D E L I V E R E D

JULY 4, 1785,

A T T H E

REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS

O F T H E

TOWN OF BOSTON,

I N

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY

O F

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY JOHN GARDINER, Esq.

—————“ Proud aspiring thoughts but ill become
“ Weak mortals : for *oppression*, when it springs,
“ Puts forth the blade of vengeance, and its fruit
“ Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe.
“ Behold this vengeance, and remember *Greece*
“ Remember *Athen* : henceforth let not pride,
“ Her present state disclaiming, strive to grasp
“ Another's, and her treasure'd happiness
“ Shed on the ground : such insolent attempts
“ Awake the vengeance of offended Jove.
ÆSCHYLUS' *Tragedy of THE PERSIANS*, translated by POTTER.

—————“ Determin'd, hold
“ Your INDEPENDENCE ; for *That* once destroy'd,
“ Unfounded, FREEDOM is a morning dream,
“ That flits aerial from the spreading eye.” THOMSON'S *Liberty*, part v.

B O S T O N,

PRINTED BY PETER EDES, STATE-STREET.

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of BOSTON, duly qualified and legally warned, in publick town-meeting, assembled at Faneuil-Hall, on Monday the fourth day of July, A. D. 1785, 10 o'clock forenoon, and by adjournment held at the Chapel Church in the afternoon of the same day :

ON a motion, voted, That the gentlemen the Selectmen be, and they hereby are, appointed a committee to wait on JOHN GARDINER, Esq. and, in the name of the town, to thank him for the learned and elegant Oration this day delivered by him, at the request of the town, upon the anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, in which, according to the institution of the town, he considered the feelings, manners, and principles which led to that great national event ; and to request of him a copy thereof for the press.

Attest, WILLIAM COOPER, *Town-Clerk.*

GENTLEMEN,

I GRATEFULLY receive this testimony of attention from the free citizens of the place of my nativity, whose wishes it will ever be my peculiar happiness to gratify with every thing in my power ; I therefore readily give a copy of the Oration I delivered yesterday at the Chapel Church, for publication ; hoping that the good intentions and sincerity of the author will atone for the imperfections of the work.

J. GARDINER.

July 5, 1785.

To
THE FIRST CITIZEN
IN
THE WORLD,
THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.
LATE COMMANDER IN CHIEF
OF
THE FORCES OF THE FREE UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA,
THIS ORATION,
WITH THE MOST AFFECTIONATE RESPECT,
IS DEDICATED
BY HIS MOST OBLIGED FELLOW-CITIZEN,
THE AUTHOR.

A N
O R A T I O N.

“HAIL! INDEPENDENCE, hail! HEAVEN'S next best gift
 To that of life and an immortal soul!
 The life of life! that to the banquet high
 And sober meal gives taste; to the bow'd roof
 Fair-dream'd repose, and to the cottage charms.
 Of *publick freedom*, hail, thou *noblest source*!
 Whose streams, from every quarter confluent, form
 OUR *better Nile*, that nuries human life.
 By rills from THEE deduc'd, irriguous, fed,
 The *private fields* look gay, with nature's wealth
 Abundant flow, and bloom with each delight
 That Nature craves. *Their* happy masters there,
 'THE ONLY FREEMEN, walk *their* pleasing round;
 Sweet-featur'd *Peace* attending; fearless *Truth*;
 Firm *Resolution*; *Goodness* blessing all
 That can rejoice; *Contentment* surest friend;
 And, still fresh stores from Nature's book deriv'd,
Philosophy, companion ever new.
 These cheer the rural, and sustain or fire,
 When into action call'd, the busy hours.”

* The address to INDEPENDENCE, in the above lines, and with which the author opened his Oration, is a little altered from Thompson's beautiful poem intitled LIBERTY, part v.

AMERICANS, FATHERS, FELLOW-CITIZENS!

FROM an opinion, perhaps too favourably conceived, too partially entertained, by the *free citizens of the place of his nativity*, is the PUBLICK SPEAKER of *this* day, the anniversary of the INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, called upon to address you from *this* place and * to consider the feelings, manners, and principles which led to that great

of the learning and abilities of the man,

* The following is the vote of the town:—"At a legal meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston at Faneuil-Hall, on the fifth day of July, A. D. 1784. On a motion, VOTED, that the gentlemen the *Selectmen*, be, and hereby are appointed a Committee to apply to some learned and able gentleman to deliver AN ORATION on the 4th of July, 1785, that day being the anniversary of the INDEPENDENCE of the United States of America, wherein the Oration is to consider the feelings, manners, and principles which led to this great national event; as well as the important and happy effects, which are general or domestick, which have already and will forever continue to flow from that auspicious epoch.

great national event, which we now commemorate ; as well as the important and happy effects, whether general or domestick, which have already flowed, and will forever flow from that auspicious epoch.

WHEN he reflects that *he* is called upon to discuss subjects so extensive,—so affecting, so endearing to *his country*,—so important, so interesting to the world of mankind at large ; and *that* before an audience so numerous, so respectable, so illustrious as the present, he finds himself not a little agitated with fear ; he experiences an awe most unusual ; and he trembles lest he disgrace the cause *he most wishes* to honour : but when he recollects, however, that, upon this occasion, he is to address an assembly of FREE AMERICANS, whose distinguished liberal characteristick is to be ever more ready to applaud than to condemn, his fears must insensibly subside, and *decent confidence* will re-assume her accustomed seat.

WHOEVER will peruse, with attention, the faithful page of history, will find the same causes invariably producing the same effects.

PUBLICK VIRTUE, or a strong sense of our interest in the preservation and prosperity of the government of which we are members, piety towards GOD, fortitude, justice, temperance, frugality, and industry, have ever led to empire and political grandeur ; while, on the other hand, LUXURY, that most baneful and destructive disease of the *body politick*, hath ever proved, and ever will prove, fatal to PUBLICK VIRTUE, ever blast the fairest constitution, and finally pull down in ruins the strongest empire.

NEITHER the great despotick government, nor the small free republick, can withstand its baleful effects.

* WHENEVER it seizes on the vitals of a State the people become selfish, avaritious, factious, dissipated, rapacious, and effeminate, and
all

* See Montague's *rise and fall of the antient Republicks*.

all law and discipline, civil as well as military, become neglected and contemned.

AN army of poor, hardy *Persians*, under CYRUS, invaded and destroyed the once-potent empire of *Assyria*, then enervated and debased by this worst of all political diseases. In progress of time, the opulent and wide-extended empire of *Persia* became infected with the same most baleful distemper, and rapidly fell before the arms of the hardy *Macedonian Greeks*, commanded by ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE same fatal disease, in the lapse of time, spread over the *Macedonian empire* and contaminated its vitals, when, becoming incapable of effectual resistance, that empire fell a prey to the arms of the then all-conquering free-born sons of ROME.

ROME, in her youth and * manhood, the seat of piety, the purest patriotism, simplicity of manners, justice, honour, temperance, frugality, and splendid poverty, in her old age was seized with the same political disease, and, at last, fell a victim to the most infamous, degrading venality and political depravity that ever destroyed a once great and free people. When, after the conquest of *Antiochus the Great*, luxury was introduced at ROME, the *manners of the people* soon began to feel its pernicious effects; but when CARTHAGE, her dreaded rival, sunk under the weight of her all-conquering arms, and ceased to exist, an irresistible torrent of corruption overwhelmed the mistress of the world, and prepared her the ready victim of her own corrupt citizens.

ALL veneration for religion, oaths, justice, modesty, and decency, became annihilated; the love of their country, which had enabled the ROMANS to accomplish so many splendid achievements, was now no more: *money*, which alone could enable them to satisfy their insatiable, artificial wants, became the sole object of their pursuit: † *poverty*, which in the virtuous ages of the Republick, had been so truly honourable,

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was

* See appendix, No. 1.

† See appendix, No. 2.

was then become reproachful and contemptible ; the rich employed their wealth to acquire power, and their power, when acquired, in every species of violence and oppression..

IN her last stage of political depravity all the honours and offices of the State were openly set up to * sale ; and finally, when the ambitious parricide, JULIUS CÆSAR, appeared, the PUBLICK LIBERTY and the *whole empire* became the object of purchase, and the degenerate sons of ROME suffered themselves and every thing to become the property of one of their fellow-citizens..

THE introduction and progress of *freedom* have generally attended the introduction and progress of *letters and science*. In despotick governments the people are mostly illiterate, rude, and uncivilized ; but in States where CIVIL LIBERTY hath been cherished, the human mind hath generally proceeded in improvement,—learning and knowledge have prevailed, and the arts and sciences have flourished.

IN the justly celebrated city of antient ATHENS, as well as in the other free cities and States of GREECE, where nothing existed to depress or contract its elastick force, the *human mind* expanded freely, reached the sublimest heights of elevation, and by the most vigorous, the most noble, exertions, produced whatever can do honour to the heart, the head, the hand of man. *There*, under the invigorating shade of PUBLICK LIBERTY, that other TREE OF LIFE, were brought forth those exquisite works of labour, of art, of learning, and of invention, which for ages charmed the astonished world ; even the history of some of which continue to delight the more enlightened of all civilized countries at this very day ; while the inimitable surviving works of their Orators, Poets, and Philosophers, afford infinite satisfaction, entertainment, and instruction to the *modern* world. By her conquest of *Greece* ROME acquired a knowledge of, and a taste for, the more liberal arts and sciences ; nor was it long after her conquest of the polished.

* Omnia venalia, omnia exeunt in lucro. SÆL.

ed and enlightened people of *that* country before she transplanted into *Italy* most of the noble inventions and improvements of her new subjects. In both countries the arts and sciences continued afterwards to flourish, and in ROME progressively to aspire to true *attick* beauty and excellence, until that memorable æra in which the mistress of the world, by the unbounded luxury, * venality, and profligacy of her degenerated sons became unworthy longer to enjoy that FREEDOM which is ever the companion of piety, love of our country, frugality, justice, and temperance. At or about that period the improvements of the *human mind* seem nearly to have reached their meridian altitude. It was not long, however, that they remained even stationary ; for immediately after the reign of the deceitful, treacherous, ungrateful, vindictive *Octavianus*, the second despot Cæsar of the fallen Republick, the arts and sciences began to decline their languid heads.

THE horrible despotism of many of the succeeding Emperors coincided to extinguish the glorious flame of emulation, to depress and debase the free spirits of the human race, and to cast a deep gloom upon every thing liberal, great, and noble. THE PUBLICK having become the property of one man alone, no other thought the same, or any thing tending to its glory or exaltation, worthy of *his* notice or deserving of *his* attention. The spirits of men were then broken by the *wildest misrule*, and universal dejection and despondency must have prevailed among *all* of finer feeling, understanding, and taste. During the reigns of some of the despotick usurpers, if we can credit the † *Prince of Historians*, “ most hideous were the ravages of cruelty at ROME : for *there* it was treasonable to be noble ; capital to be rich ; criminal to have sustained honours, criminal to have declined them ; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction : *There* the baneful villanies of the informers were not more shocking than their mighty and distinguishing rewards” (for on them were bestowed the most honourable and lucrative offices of the Empire)

B 2

while

* Corruptere et conumpi sæculum vocatur. TAC.

† Tacitus.

while “ in every station, exerting all their terrors and pursuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things ; slaves were suborned to accuse their masters, freedmen their patrons, and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends*.” A more masterly, though a more melancholy, picture of an arbitrary, despotick government is not, perhaps, to be produced in any other history or to be met with in any other author whatever : a picture, the features of which we cannot too often contemplate, and from which we may learn to admire, to love, to be enthusiastically attached to that mild form of equal government which we now so happily enjoy, and for which, under the Almighty Disposer of all things, we are more immediately indebted to that most fortunate event, the anniversary of which we *this* day celebrate, and which every true American ought ever gratefully to commemorate.

IN such a state of things ; in such a scene of anarchy, fury, violence, and murder, as we find the *unhappy Romans* then so fatally experienced, where could the *human mind* fly for rest, where find repose, where procure shelter, from the black threatening storms of rapine, death, and desolation which were continually bursting in upon every side ? In times of such universal publick distress, in times so degrading to the human species, the instinctive faculty of *self-preservation* must have occupied *every thought*, must have engrossed the *whole attention* : no time then could have been spared for, could have been devoted to, study and calm reflection ; no time could have been indulged in the pursuit of valuable knowledge or of any laudable attainment. In the reigns of *Titus, Nerva, Trajan*, and the two *Antonines*, indeed, the gloom dispelled, and nature once more began to look gay and to rejoice, and with the reviving spirit of † *publick liberty*, ‡ eloquence, and the arts.

* Atrocius in urbe sevitum. Nobilitas, opes, omni gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitum. Nec minus præmia delatorum invidia quam scelera : cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorum potentiam, agerent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti : et quibus decrat inimicus, per amicos oppressi. TAC. HIST. lib. 1.

† Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet. TAC. HIST. lib. 1.

‡ PLENY, the younger, and TACITUS, who were most intimate friends, flourished in the bright days of NERVA and TRAJAN.

arts and sciences began to lift up their dejected heads. But, alas! these days of sunshine were short and fleeting. A tumultuous, unbridled, military government soon succeeded, when every thing appeared as dark, or, if possible, more dark and gloomy than before. Life was as insecure, and agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, finding no patrons, no protection, dwindled away, decayed, and sunk into universal neglect.

INFAMOUS as the *British Nabob-makers in the East*,—the military despots made and unmade Emperors, and in one instance, the *Prætorian guards* compelled the Roman people to submit to a state of degradation which sunk them to the level of the vilest slaves, and even to the level of the brute creation. The ROMANS had formerly *sold themselves*: this miserable privilege was now denied to them. The military villains of the * *Prætorian bands* openly sat up the ROMAN EMPIRE at publick auction, and struck off the same to *Didius Julianus*, a rich, voluptuous, worthless citizen, as the highest bidder; and thus openly disposed of *themselves and the whole Roman world* at a publick sale.

EARLY in the *fourth century* of the Christian Æra, in the reign of the contemptible Emperor *Honorius*, an innumerable multitude of barbarians from the savage wilds of the north of Europe †, like a vast flood of waters, broke in upon and over-ran the immense, unwieldy empire of ROME. Ignorant of letters, they were incapable of any considerable degree of knowledge or reflection, and of course were strangers to all useful science and to the liberal arts. Dark thick clouds of Gothick night soon obscured the fair face of science, and enveloped every trace of the polite arts, and the European world sunk gradually into ignorance, stupidity, and superstition; nor did a ray of pure literary light gleam forth again in the lapse of some hundred years.

ABOUT

* See appendix, No. 3.

† The GOTHs under ALARIC, their King, and the *Vandals*, the *Suevi*, the *Burgundi* and the *Alani* under RADAGAIUS; and afterwards the HUNS under the subtle, daring, terror-striking *Attila*.

ABOUT that memorable period when William the bastard, Duke of Normandy, invaded and * conquered *England*, by the death of HAROLD and the defeat of the *English* at the battle of *Hastings*, gleams of scientific light began to beam through the Gothick cloud and to illuminate the European world. By that conquest, the *vanquished nation* were put into a situation of receiving the rudiments of science and of cultivation, and of emerging from their former barbarous and rude state of manners. Gradual and slow, however, was the progress of human knowledge and improvement, even in the other parts of the European world until the fourteenth century, when the great designs of that benevolent Being who ruleth over all, began to ripen into birth. In this remarkable century, literature suddenly diffused itself through most parts of † Europe, *gun-powder*, the *art of printing*, and the *mariner's compass* were invented, LUTHER appeared in Germany, and a *reformation in religion* took place; and, at last, towards the close of that century, ‡ CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS discovered the great southern, and SEBASTIAN CABOT the great northern continent, of this new world, AMERICA.—For times of greater freedom however, of nobler improvement, and of more perfect knowledge was reserved the particular discovery of *this happy land*, the place of our nativity.

THE cruel civil wars that preceded the voyage and discovery of *Cabot* had deluged ENGLAND in blood, and had rendered her people ferocious and savage; nothing truly noble, truly great and praise-worthy was then to be found in that distracted country. Degrading to humanity and to *reason* was the direful contest! a people, by nature intended to be free and happy, are *there* seen tearing out one another's entrails, without remorse employing the sword, and alternately exercising § the axe and the halter upon each other, in the
worst

* See appendix, No. 4.

† See appendix, No. 5.

‡ He set sail from Cadiz the second day of August, 1492, a little before sunset, and after a passage of thirty-three days he landed upon one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. In 1498 he discovered the Continent, near the immense river *Orinoco*. See appendix, No. 6.

§ See appendix, No. 7.

worst of all causes,—in the cause of tyranny : not, like the free-born sons of ATHENS and of SPARTA, gloriously braving death in the cause of *freedom* and of their country * ; but contending, with malice and rancour implacable, to set a despot of the one house or of the other family upon the disputed throne. Had the calm, mild voice of unerring REASON been duly heard, the poor, ignorant, deluded people would have receded from the disgraceful contention convinced that to *them*, the consequence of the brutal conflict, *slavery*, was the same, whether a tyrant of the *House of York* or of *Lancaster* prevailed. But, alas ! *their* minds were then debased by slavery † ; *their* understandings were clouded with ignorance, bigotry, and error. *Villenage*, that bitterest fruit of *feudal policy*, was then still in full force in ENGLAND : *freedom* was then unknown in that unhappy kingdom. KING and *subject*, LORD and *vassal*, RELIGIOUS CLERGY and *prophane laity* were then the principal distinctions of men. By *tenure* the *Lord* was bound to attend the KING in his wars for a certain number of days, ‡ and, in like manner, by a similar law of bondage, was the wretched *vassal* compellable to follow and serve his LORD in those wars.

UPON the 22d day of August, in the year 1485, the *Earl of Richmond*, afterwards known by the name of KING HENRY THE VII. fought at *Bosworth Field*, and by the defeat and slaughter of the merciless tyrant and bloody usurper § RICHARD the III. cleared his way to a throne, to which he had no perfect, *legal* title ; in a few months after he married the Princess ELIZABETH, the *heiress of the House of York*, eldest daughter of the deceased King, EDWARD the IV. and thereby forever closed the bloody contest between the || *red* and the *white rose*. From this marriage proceeded a Princess, by the name of *Margaret*, who in 1502 intermarried with *James, King of Scotland*, in right of whom, after a lapse of an hundred and eighteen years, succeeded to the crown of ENGLAND one of the most pedantick, ridiculous, contemptible, || infamous tyrants that ever abused, that ever disgraced a throne.

IN

* See appendix, No. 8.

† See appendix, No. 9.

‡ For sixty days.

§ See appendix, No. 10.

|| See appendix, No. 11.

IN the reign of HENRY the VII. *commerce* began to lift her head in *England*, the arts and sciences to bud, and manufactures to be encouraged; a revolution in the *manners* of the people began to take place and paved the way for a revolution in the system of government; the *Commons*, who had been generally in a state of ignorance and dependance upon their *feodal* Lords, began to be enlightened by science, and the whole kingdom to entertain a more just opinion of the dignity and rights of mankind. But it was not till the reign of the famous Queen ELIZABETH, who mounted the throne in 1558, that commerce was known to flourish, learning to grow into general esteem, and the *Protestant religion* to be really established in that kingdom. Bright and, in general, happy was the distinguished long reign of that * affable and popular Queen, who, by her vigorous exertions in the cause of LIBERTY enabled the oppressed States of *Belgia* to throw off the intolerable yoke of the bigotted tyrant, PHILIP the II. of *Spain*, and fully to establish their independence. The introduction and progress of freedom attended the introduction and progress of science, of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and the fair tree of LIBERTY now first began to blossom in ENGLAND; *Virginia* was discovered by Sir *Walter Raleigh* and was attempted to be settled, and the land we now dwell in was found out by *Gosnold*. No Sovereign ever held the sceptre in ENGLAND who appears to have gained such an universal ascendancy over the affections of the people as ELIZABETH, nor any of their Monarchs so sincerely and affectionately to have loved that people.

UPON her decease succeeded JAMES the VI. of *Scotland*, son of *Mary Queen of Scots*, by ~~Robert Earl of Darnley~~ *Darnley*, her husband, as generally asserted, though, as some suppose, by the Italian fiddler † *David Rizzio*. Dismal and humiliating to the English was the contrast between their late affable, magnanimous, native-born Queen and this ungracious, timid, despicable pedant from the north: violent were the animosities of some of the great men and Nobles of the English nation towards this conjurer of a King and those swarms of his countrymen

* See appendix, No. 12.

† See appendix, No. 13.

Henry Stuart, Lord

try-men which he transplanted into his new dominion, suddenly elevated to places of power and profit, and to titles of the highest honour and distinction. The vain disposition of the pedantick Monarch, who imagined himself possessed of inexhaustible learning and of never-failing judgment, prevailed upon him to join the impious, sycophantick * lordlings of the church, and from a *Judge* to turn a personal, loquacious, and furious *advocate* against the Dissenters, then denominated *Puritans*, of whom were our enlightened, manly ancestors. After having argued as *an advocate*, and as a *Judge* determined, against those men who knew that the *liturgy of the church of England* was little more than mere translation of the old Popish mass-book, and that too many of the forms and poppish ceremonies of the Roman church was retained in the church of their native country, JAMES issued two proclamations, the one commanding *Jesuits* and *Popish Priests* to leave the kingdom; in which, however, he intimated that *he would have a regard to tender consciences*; the other enjoining the *Puritans* to a strict conformity to the *established church*, and in which he gave *them* no hope of any, the least indulgence. Weak as was this contemptible Monarch, he had so much sense, however, as to know that *prelacy* in a *monarchical government* is ever an useful engine, a strong prop, of its maker and master, the *King*; nor was he so destitute of reflection as to forget that the *Bishops* were daily complimenting him with *unlimited power*, while the Dissenters opposed his *king-craft*, nonsensical tenets of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, with the doctrines of law and the indubitable right of liberty of conscience in matters between God and their own souls. The intolerant zeal of a tyrannical † high priest, supported by arbitrary principles of an impolitick King, soon produced a severe prosecution of the Puritans, and many families, among whom were the first of our pious ancestors, were compelled to fly from their friends, their relations, and their native land, and to seek for liberty and rest in foreign countries. The first church of our ancestors with their venerable pastor took refuge in *Holland* where, finding the *manners* of the people more licentious than *they* thought

C

consistent

* See appendix, No. 14.

† Archbishop *Bancroft*, who succeeded the adulating, priestly, sycophant *Whitgift*. See appendix, No. 15.

consistent with true piety, after a few years residence, they first formed the resolution of seeking an asylum from *royal* and *prelatick* tyranny in the wilds of this new world. Having a firm reliance upon the goodness and mercy of their God, they embarked for *Hudson's River*, committed themselves to the raging element of the sea, and resolutely determined to live or to die FREEMEN. Their *manners*, formed by letters and a religious education, and exercised in the schools of affliction and oppression, were pious, simple, frugal, decent, patient, resolute. HE who neither slumbers nor sleeps,—HE who directeth *all* things in the heavens and in the earth, covered them with HIS almighty wings, and in his wisdom decreed that this then dreary wilderness should receive the determined fugitives.—Strong to labour and patient of fatigue, the dark, thick woods of the ancient forest fell before them, and the country around them soon began to blossom like the garden of Eden. Conscious of the grateful duties they owed to their Common Parent and Benefactor, they soon regulated the publick offices and ceremonies of religion, and, sensible that the *manners* of a free people depend greatly upon *knowledge* and *publick instruction*, they wisely instituted publick free schools for the education of youth in every part of their settlement, the benefits of which we all feel the effects of even at this very memorable day. Thus began the settlement of this country, not by fellow-subjects *sent out* under the authority, patronage and protection of the parent-state, but by an oppressed, *a persecuted sect of christians*, who had been compelled to fly their native country and seek for shelter and protection, first in foreign States, and afterwards in the wilds of this then uncultivated land.

ENGLAND, for THE KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN did not then exist, had no hand in the settlement, contributed nothing towards its expenses, and was so far, as a nation, from protecting the then infant settlements of NORTH-AMERICA, that, jealous of our growing strength, by *Royal proclamation**, numbers who were eager to enjoy the *natural rights of man*, with all their numerous families, were then prohibited from leaving that Kingdom; and in the subsequent
reign

* See appendix, No. 16.

reign of the priest-led, uxorious, dissembling, execrable tyrant CHARLES the I. many, intending to embark for this Commonwealth, were stopt by the prerogative writ of *ne exeat regno*. By the vigour of their own free minds, and by the unremitting diligence of their own labourious hands, was this our native country entered upon, subdued, and possessed by our resolute, pious, and free ancestors, who, sick of the tyranny of Kings, Priests, and Nobles here flew for rest; and much dissatisfied with the cruel, unjust, English-Gothick law of descent, determined to interweave some of the juster laws of the *Jewish Republick* with the fairer parts of the *Common Law of England*, and thereby form a system of jurisprudence, better adapted to promote EQUALITY, and a more equitable distribution of property among the fellow-citizens of the same *free State**.

It does not appear that we received any assistance from ENGLAND in our bloody wars with the Savages, that she afforded us any protection or troubled herself much about us until the reign of the prodigal, profligate, royal idol CHARLES the II. Then the country had so increased in people and in commerce that it attracted the rapacious eyes of the ministerial harpies, who soon discovered an anxious inclination to quarter their hungry minions upon, and to draw a revenue from, the descendants of those very persons whom the tyranny and bigotry of English Kings and of English Bishops had driven from their native country and cruelly compelled to seek an asylum in the then uncultivated wilderness of *America*.

THE infamous *Edward Randolph* came over from ENGLAND in the year 1676; but because the independent FREEMEN of this country, conscious of their own dignity, received him not with all that humble submission with which slaves receive their haughty master, he immediately conceived, and ever after retained, a most inveterate hatred to the people and to the government of this Commonwealth, wrote to his abandoned Sovereign, his Ministers and Bishops, made several voyages to ENGLAND and back again; like many of his more modern brethren,

* See appendix, No. 17.

brethren, most grossly misrepresented the actions of our manly ancestors and of *their* Government in *church* and *state*; wrote and talked, and worked, and wriggled himself into places of profit and trust; associated with a few unprincipled traitors who then disgraced this their native country; nor ever ceased his vile, malicious labours until he had overturned the then mild, equal government of MASSACHUSETTS*; and in the stead thereof procured an arbitrary tyranny to be here established. His iniquitous, base triumphs, however, lasted not long; for, in less than three full years, the false accuser and his despot friend, the royal Governour, Sir *Edmond Andross*, by the stern hand of unrelenting justice, were hurled headlong from their new seats of lawless power and avarice.

THE sacred fire of liberty was smothered for a while nor shewed abroad its cheering light, but still it was not quite extinct: in former days it had been carefully preserved, and highly cherished by our virtuous ancestors, and it had been seen to flame most bright before the eyes of their *well instructed* descendants. The annihilation of their chartered rights by the tyrant JAMES the II. the last *male Monarch* of the detested house of *Stuart* that disgraces the annals of *English history*, the restrictions of their trade, the *restraint of the publick press*, and the oppressions, exactions, and insolence of the new exotick Governour, of the unprincipled *Randolph*, and of the other royal minions, roused the people into action and kindled up the dying sparks of PUBLICK LIBERTY, which soon burst forth with irresistible violence and withered all those enemies of FREEDOM and of MASSACHUSETTS.

• UPON the 18th day of April, 1689, the inhabitants of this country suddenly rushed to arms, under the conduct of the gallant young † NELSON marched to the citadel, and there compelled the tyrant, *Andross*, to surrender up the fort and government at discretion, together with *Randolph* and all the traitors who had fled there for protection.

A REVOLUTION, unknown to them, had two months before taken place

* See appendix, No. 13.

† See appendix, No. 17.

place in *England*, and the Prince and Princess of Orange, with the approbation of the nation, had step't into the vacant throne of the va- grant tyrant JAMES the II*.

THE new King and Queen granted us a new † charter, our country again flourished and increased, the *manners* of our forefathers were pre- served, and the rising generation imbibed and cherished the same inde- pendent spirit of freedom which had so conspicuously distinguished their virtuous ancestors, the publick seminaries of learning were pro- tected and encouraged, and the *whole body of the people* were instructed in letters and in the rudiments of useful knowledge.

THE same cause still produce the same effects,—and the *manners* and principles of our people, formed by the same modes of education, thank GOD ! even at this day, are nearly similar to those of their great forefathers.

IN no part of the habitable globe is learning and true *useful* know- ledge so universally disseminated as in *our native country*. Who hath ^{this,} seen a native adult that cannot write ? who known a native of the age of puberty that cannot read the bible ? In what other land do the com- mon country people who bring their produce to the daily markets, so readily calculate, and by a *memoritor arithmetick* so dully ascertain the various prices of the numerous commodities they vend ? Where are the people who so universally interest themselves in all publick political matters as our fellow-citizens at large, and our hardy yeomanry in par- ticular ? Who are better acquainted with the various, daily trans- actions of the earth than the whole body of this people ? Who debate more freely ? Who, in general, conclude more justly ?—and to whom are we indebted for these invaluable advantages, for the distinguishing characteristick of a knowing and enlightened people ? Under GOD, we certainly derive all these benefits from the piety, wisdom, and pru- dence of our renowned forefathers, who, sensible that the manners and principles of a people depend upon education, took care, by the estab- lishment

* See appendix, No. 20.

† See appendix, No. 21.

blishment of publick schools, to instruct every one in the knowledge of letters, religion, and civil liberty.

FROM the time of the *new charter* nothing happened among us so material as to merit our particular attention at present. In the succeeding reign of Queen ANN, the last of the *Stuart* name that filled the English throne, an event, however, of the greatest importance to us and to the ENGLISH took place. In the fifth year of the reign of that Queen a statute passed for the * union of the two kingdoms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND; by the fourth article of which, it is declared that “ALL the subjects of the united kingdom shall have full freedom of trade and navigation to any port within the united kingdom, and *the dominions thereto belonging*; and that there should be a *communication of all other rights* which belonged to the subjects of either kingdom.”

By this article our *tender, nursing mother*, as she has been most falsely and impudently called, without consulting our legislative bodies, or asking the consent of any one individual of our countrymen, assumed upon herself to convey, as stock in trade, one full undivided moiety of *all the persons and all the estates and property of the FREEMEN of AMERICA* to an *alien* who will prove an harsh, cruel, and unrelenting step-mother. Then, too much blinded with foolish affection for that country whose oppressions had forced our stern, free-minded progenitors into these remote regions of the world,—into an howling and a savage wilderness,—like children, not yet attained to the years of reason and discretion, who inconsiderately suppose their parent ever in the right, our predecessors sat quiet under the arbitrary disposition, nor once murmured aloud at the unnatural, and to us iniquitous, transaction.

OUR new parent, GREAT-BRITAIN, then made our † Kings, appointed our Governours, and *kindly* sent many of her needy sons to
live

* It took place on the first of May, 1707.

† By the third article of the act of union, the succession to the monarchy is to be to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover, in default of issue of the then Queen Anne.

live upon the fruits of our toil, to reap where neither *she* nor *they* had sown, and to fill the various offices which she had generously created here, for *her* and *their* own emolument. Every twentieth cousin of an ale-house-keeper who had a right of voting in the election of a member of Parliament was cooked up into a *gentleman*, and sent out here, commissioned to insult the hand that gave him daily bread. Although greatly displeas'd with these injurious proceedings we submitted to the harsh hand of our unfeeling, selfish step-mother, nor once remonstrated against *these* her unjust, her cruel usurpations.

GREAT-BRITAIN involved herself in a war with Spain and France, and, considered as a part of her property, we became entangled with *her* enemies, with whom *we* had no reasonable cause of dispute. Out of revenge to her, those enemies annoyed our trade, and, from the then formidable harbour of *Louisbourg*, the French threatened annihilation to our fishery.

IN that critical, and by us unsought for, situation, OUR COUNTRY flew to arms, and with a small determined host of hardy men, unexperienced in the more regular rules of war and of modern attack, in less than three months, compelled the veteran soldiers of France to surrender their once supposed impregnable fortresses to the resolute, persevering yeomanry of New-England*.

IN the conquest of Cape-Breton, the undaunted, bold, enterprising spirit of our stern forefathers appeared eminently displayed in their intrepid sons: AMERICA rejoiced, MASSACHUSETTS gloried in her children, and the European world stood astonished at the unexpected, great event.

OUR good and *tender-nursing* step-mother soon discovered her paternal regard for her darling offspring, and shortly after that conquest, without condescending even to ask or solicit *our* consent, restored to *her* enemy the well-known DURKIRK of NORTH-AMERICA. It may
be

* See appendix, No. 22.

be asked, by what right did GREAT-BRITAIN so arbitrarily dispose of the conquest of our arms ? By the same right which she afterwards so openly avowed, so arrogantly ENACTED, that “ SHE had a right to bind AMERICA in all cases whatever *.” A right by which all our lives, our liberties, and our properties were asserted to be at her lawless disposal, at her merciless domination ; by which she could transfer or sell every person in AMERICA and all their estates to the Sultan of the East, the Emperor of Morocco, or to any other despot of the Asiatick, or of the European, world.

SUPPOSING that MASSACHUSETTS was a colony originally sent out, supported and protected by GREAT-BRITAIN, which I do not, I cannot, admit ; yet it by no means follows that she could legally or honestly exercise, the right she had assumed over us. “ Colonies” say the † Corcyrean Embassadors to the Athenians, “ are not sent out to be the SLAVES, but to be the EQUALS of those that remain behind ;” and Flaminius the Roman Pro-consul of Greece, in the Senate of Rome, after his return from his government, tells the Embassadors of King Antiochus that “ colonies were not sent into Æolis and Ionia to be held in slavery by Kings but to spread that ancient nation over the world ‡. How different were the notions and declarations of those illustrious ancients, in regard to colonies, from those entertained and ENACTED by our late ungracious step-mother !

EARLY in the reign of GEORGE the II. the British Parliament passed an act “ for the more speedy recovery of debts in his Majesty’s plantations in America,” whereby a new species of evidence, unknown to the common-law of ENGLAND, was introduced here, and an *ex parte* affidavit or deposition of any hired or perjured villain was made to bind the property and the person of every American on this side the Atlantick, while none other than the *viva voce* testimony of the witness himself present in the open court of law in ENGLAND, could be admitted to establish any fact or demand against a native or even a foreign resident in that country.

* See appendix, No. 23.

† Thucid.

‡ Liv.

country *. Our manufactures were soon injuriously restricted, the free use of the common element, *water*, was prohibited to us, and the working up our own raw materials also in some cases was denied to us : injuries and oppressions great and grievous, but, when compared with the intolerable badges of slavery enacted in the succeeding tyrannical reign, light and trifling.

IN 1756, another war was declared by GREAT-BRITAIN against FRANCE, excited by a number of clamorous, interested British merchants, who had been accumulating enormous fortunes from the tobacco trade, the fur trade, and the trade of the southern colonies, as they were then denominated.

AMERICA joined hand in hand with her harsh step-mother, and, assisted by the superiour abilities of one great † statesman, enabled her to carry her flag triumphant throughout the four quarters of the globe. Before this war closed, the good old King died, full of years and full of glory, when the bright days of Britain began to darken, and were soon to be obscured with clouds, and storms, and tempests which were to shake her Empire to the centre.

A YOUNG, proud Monarch, of puny genius and of pigmy talents, with an unfeeling heart and an unrelenting obstinacy, succeeded GEORGE the II. who now determined to raise his minion of the detestable House of *Stuart*, to the first offices of the State, and permit him to ride over the heads and disgrace the persons of the ablest Counsellors and of the noblest families in ENGLAND. Every true whig and friend to the revolution of 1688 was soon marked out, and devoted as a publick enemy, almost every officer of government in ENGLAND was changed in the space of a few months, and in less than three years a venal Parliament was bribed, most openly, to sanctify a shameful peace.

D

LIKE

* See appendix, No. 24.

† The late Earl of Chatham, then Mr. PITT.

LIKE all his family, an enemy to PUBLICK LIBERTY, the tyrant minion turned his baleful thoughts toward this fair land of *native freedom*, resolved to blast the fruits of all our great-forefather's care. It is true indeed that the indignation of the English e'er long compelled the wretch to quit his *publick station*, to fly from open day, and skulk behind the throne.

THERE sheltered and protected from the storms of patriots and of injured FREEMEN he provoked his royal pupil, and all his base, mean tools of power to plunder us by act of Parliament, and boldly to assert that we were not entitled to any sort of right but what our selfish step-dame might be pleased to give us. Finding that you called aloud for law and justice, and insisted on the rights of free Americans, by * Governours of his own choice and of *his own country*, and by a *standing army* he determined to subjugate AMERICA to a most lawless domination.

THE dire effects of the standing army quartered in this town you all but too well remember !

THE night of the fifth of March, 1770, is a night much to be remembered !—It was a night of horror and of the blackness of darkness ! The innocent, unarmed inhabitants of this peaceful though much-injured town then fell victims to the brutal violence of the mercenary slaves of GEORGE the III.—To every species of insult, at last was added this infernal outrage. Methinks, I realize the terrors of that night !—I see your streets contaminated with murder and with blood ! methinks, I hear the confused noise of small-arms, rage, and tumult ! I see the base, savage-ruffian drive the remorseless steel through the warm brain-pan of the lovely, hapless youth—the fallen, dying Maverick !
methinks

* Four governments, in the American islands and on this Continent, were disposed of to four Scotchmen, on one and the same day, one of whom was afterwards the *James* Commissioner *Johyon*. How pleasing must it be to the whole realm of *England* to view her two *Scotch Chief Justices*, the Earl of *Manlyfield* (the *Evangelist* *Murray*) and Lord *Loudborough* (the *villigible* *Sweeney* *Walter Lorne*) who was to free with the black-bill and laugh, at the COCK-PIT, in defending the *hypocritical traitor*, the *parricidial* *Tora* *Boydell*, and in bedauling the truly excellent Doctor *Franklin*.

methinks I hear the quick, shrill shrieks of matrons and of maids, while “groans the sad earth, resounds the rattling sky.”

BUT, lo! appears the matchless, dauntless patriot, ADAMS, the stern, determined father of our glorious revolution, surrounded by a noble band of brave compatriots of this insulted town.

HUSHED is the spreading tumult!—Instant they form a firm, long line of march.—In sullen silence, as they pass the British guards, “deliberate valour breathes in every soul” and thoughts of deep revenge fire every manly breast. To the solemn temple of their GOD the slow procession moves—and there,—

“In full convene the city Senate sit,
“OUR FATHER’S spirit sul’d the firm debate*.”

’Tis there resolved that “every British troop shall instantly retire.” None dares to disobey:—the appalled military cut-throats fly the town, and peace and order once again resume their ancient seats.

NEW modes of extortion are soon again devised in BRITAIN, and a more numerous military force is sent from thence to awe you into submission.

THE pure flame of liberty, left brightly burning by our first forefathers, now kindles up anew. Close to the muzzles of the cannon of their men-of-war, the devoted tea is thrown into the ocean, and the insolent tyrants and *traitors* of the new-fangled Board of Customs fly for safety and hide their miscreant heads among the British troops. GREAT-BRITAIN shuts your port,—deprives you of the mercantile †element which the kind Parent of the Universe made for you; vainly tries to desolate *the seat of publick virtue*; and still to do more, destroys, like JAMES the II. of the tyrant *St. James’s* chartered right.

D 2

* From Mr. Allen’s poem lately published with the volume of *British Oration*. The gentleman will soon publish his poem entitled *Bunker’s Hill*, which will, I am sure, do as much for himself, and convince the British that true classical English poetry is not to be produced in this little island only.

† See appendix, No. 25.

YOUR feelings now are all alive : and you, ye virtuous sons of freedom, BOWDOIN, HANCOCK, ADAMS!—* HANCOCK, ADAMS, BOWDOIN!—illustrious names ! for ever-honoured, ever-dear ! withdraw from the polluted town, and meet your new-formed Senate in the fields.

SOON the *willing freemen* train to arms, resolved to save their country, or perish in the great attempt †.

AT last the flames of open war burst forth. The mercenary troops in darkness march for CONCORD, and unprovoked discharge their murdering arms upon our unoffending countrymen. Rage and revenge then fired each firm, undaunted breast. Our hardy yeomen rush to fight ; and, though but poorly armed, they drive the foe. “ *Percy, and Douglass*” the supposed “ *confident against the world in arms ‡*” are soon compelled to fly, and hide their vanquished heads within this town.

FROM every part the sons of freedom quit the plough, and, with their rusty swords and long-unpolished guns, march eager to surround the vaunting, though late vanquished, foe.

BUT soon the deadly contest wears a darker face.—From their beleaguered garrison the Britons now pour forth, to drive our raw militia from their slender lines near *Bunker's* gently rising hill §. Now, now, ye virtuous sons of great forefathers, forget not whence ye sprung ! shine forth !—in native valour shine !—remember, and avenge your slaughtered brethren !

BUT see !—In all the dazzling pomp of military parade the embattled foe draws near ! their silken banners wave resplendent to the sun ! their burnished arms gleam dreadful through the field ! from sea,—from
land,

* See appendix, No. 26.

† The minute-men.

‡ *Shakespear*. A personification of England and Scotland.

§ See appendix, No. 27.

land, their furious cannons roar, discharging iron thunderbolts; while bursting bombs in deadly shivers fly around the slender, threatened lines: and thick, dark clouds of volumed smoke and vast, broad sheets of rushing flame and sparkling fires, from close adjoining, desolated *Charlestown*, rise.—Amid this solemn, dreadful scene, with more than Spartan valour steeled, intrepid still our vengeful yeomen stand! they *mock at fear and are not affrighted, neither turn they their BACKS FROM THE SWORD* *.

Now, almost hand to hand, the foes, too confident, display their dreadful front; “full of deliberate valour bent on daring battle.”—At once five hundred fiery messengers of death, from freedom’s sons sure aim’d, fly thick amid the bold assailants. In heaps on heaps the regulated bands now fall! The proud invaders stop:—they pause.—Again, like rattling rail, but barbed with fire, the deadly bullets fly.—The Britons break,—and slow retire. Shame, rage, and fell revenge recall their foiled, their shattered troops.—Again they form,—they march deliberate, resolved to storm the lines.—Another, and another storm of vengeful fire bursts on them:—again, they feel the leaden, fiery death:—they bleed, they drop;—again they break;—they fly.—Once more their bold, intrepid chiefs recall their galled, disordered troops, and make one desperate effort more.—Again the battle bleeds; nor do fair freedom’s sons give way till their whole stock of ammunition’s quite expended.

REGARDLESS of his precious life, disdaining shameful flight, the illustrious † WARREN falls, his country’s hero and his country’s pride!—What though within these hallowed walls his mouldering relicks lie, without a sculptured stone to mark the spot, yet shall *his* fame be known, *his* memory live, to latest ages!

‡ To pay superiour honours to those who have devoted their lives
in

* Job.

† See appendix, No. 28.

‡ See the Oration of PERICLES at the funeral of the Athenians who fell in battle. THUCYD,

in fighting for their country is a debt of justice. The eloquence of a MORTON, within this sacred temple, hath been exerted in this noble cause, and he hath commemorated, in manly strains of eloquence, the exalted character, and the glorious death of the heroick WARREN; but as the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men, WARREN'S fame, HIS glorious actions are deposited in *universal* remembrance, far superiour to marble monuments, local inscriptions, or funeral eulogiums.

THE daring intrepidity of such young troops though so poorly armed, so meanly clothed, and the dreadful, desolating slaughter experienced from them in the late battle induced the haughty sons of *Britain* to think more favourably of those whom they had hitherto been taught to despise as timid dastards in the field of war.

* ADAMS and HANCOCK are soon after this singled out and proscribed by name.—Illustrious friends of liberty, rejoice!—distinguished patriots, hail!—whene'er, in future times, the faithful page of history shall unfold, *your names* shall shine resplendent as the planets, while every generous mind will shrink abhorrent from the spiteful, impotent proscriber.

AND now, to wound your feelings to the very quick, the barbarous despoilers seize your sacred temples †; religion is prophaned.—The sacred fane where oft your pious fathers met to worship the kind GOD of their salvation is polluted;—where trod, in holy reverence, the pious feet of the devout christian, now resounds the rattling hoofs of training horses and the sharp, keen lash of torturing whips; where grateful hymns and loud hosannas had oft ascended to the immortal King, now, from her hellish trump, PROPHANITY poured forth her horrid oaths, and vile obscenity re-echoed all around. The publick faith of treaty is basely violated by ‡ GAGE, and your fellow-citizens are oppressed, insulted, plundered, imprisoned.

THUS,

* See appendix, No. 29.

† See appendix, No. 30.

‡ See appendix, No. 31.

THUS, my fellow-citizens! were your feelings tortured, and your rights invaded and retrenched beyond a coward-sufferance*.

THANK GOD! “the smiling dawn of happy day presents a prospect clear †.” Seeing our besieging troops possessed of the *heights of Dorchester*, and dreading the just vengeance of a people driven mad by oppression, the brutal sons of violence for ever quit the town;—they leave *our shores and fly for Halifax*.

NOT many months after this flight, the enemy covered the seas with his ‡ fleets, and transported a vast army of *native* and of *foreign* mercenaries to desolate our country.

ONE knows not which most to execrate,—the base, unfeeling despot of *Hesse*, who sold his wretched people, or the blind, vindictive, obstinate, despotick dealer in human flesh who purchased those military slaves for the truly laudable purpose of butchering his subjects, and of irradicating from AMERICA every trace of PUBLICK LIBERTY.

BUT the great, the important day is come; let the world of man rejoice! Congress *declare*, and their illustrious President, the late proscribed HANCOCK, our beloved townsman, *proclaims*, that “we abjure the British tyrant, and that AMERICA is sovereign, free, and independent!”

O GLORIOUS act of noblest free-born souls; which soon will give peace, liberty, and safety to our much-injured country, and *here* will open a secure asylum for all the oppressed of every nation under heaven!

TIME will not permit me now to particularize all the brilliant actions,

* See appendix, No. 32.

† The beginning of a song in the oratorio of *Judas Maccabeus*.

‡ At the time of the battle of *Long-Island* there were seven hundred sail of transports with twenty-eight sail of British men-of-war lying at anchor a little below the city of *New-York*.

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joy the benefits, the *perquisites* of the feud. I acknowledge that there seems to be some semblance of reason in this : but for what reason is the right and privileges of primogeniture still continued and now in force in England, seeing that all *feudal* tenure and *military services* have been so long abolished ; that the common law declares that *cessante causa cessat effectus*, and *cessante ratione legis cessat etiam ipsa lex* ? The only reasons that can be given, I should suppose, are, that it was the usage of their fore-fathers ; that it is very proper in a monarchical government, and that even an unfeeling fool has a right to dispose of his own as he sees fit, and of sacrificing nature to vanity, if he thinks proper so to do.

OUR manly ancestors *knew* that *equality was equity* ; and *their* principles were truly *republican* ; but *believing* the Mosaic law to be of *Divine institution*, they thought themselves *obliged* in conscience to make some distinction between the eldest son and all the other children : they therefore assigned to the eldest son a *double portion* of all his father's estate, real and personal, in conformity to the 17th verse of the 21st of Deuteronomy. In the abstract of the code of laws prepared for the *Commonwealth of the Massachusetts-Bay*, printed in London in 1655, and republished in the 3d vol. of *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 161, &c. chap. iv. sect. v. " inheritances are to descend naturally to the next of the kinne, according to the *law of nature* delivered by GOD ;" and cites *Numb.* 27. 7. to 11.

VI. " If a man have more sonnes then one, then a *double portion* to be assigned and bequeathed to the *eldest sonne*, according to the law of GOD," &c.

FEARING that the explicit enacting of these laws might give umbrage to the *monarchical kingdom of England*, which then *claimed* a jurisdiction over them, in the *GENERAL LAWS of the Massachusetts colony*, revised and published by order of the *GENERAL COURT in October, 1658*, they wisely omitted to specify these *particulars*. They begin their law-book as follows :

" *FORASMUCH* as the free fruition of such liberties, immunities, privileges, as *humanit*, civility, and christianity call for, as due to every man in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of churches and commonwealths, and the denyall or deprivation thereof, the disturbance, if not ruine of both.

" It is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, That no mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stained, no mans person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any wayes punished ; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any wayes indamaged, under colour of law, or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, established by a General Court, and sufficiently published ; or in case of the defect of a law, in any particular case, by the word of GOD. And in capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to that word, to be judged by the Generall Court." Where, by the word of GOD, they clearly designated the *Mosaic law*. And, in fact, the law of inheritance and of descent in *this* country has ever been to all the children, in equal distributive parts, except the eldest son, who has always received his *double portion*. The father also inherits the son *here*, which is not the case in *England* ; for *there* he is excluded from succeeding to his son's inheritance. The reason of this exclusion is purely *feudal* as appears from *Wright's tenures*, fol. 185 to 186.

No. 18.

RANDOLPH came from England to Massachusetts, with a letter from King *Charles the II.* " to the Governor and Magistrates of the town of Boston," for so was the letter directed ; and with copies of petitions and complaints from *Maion* and *Gorges*, about the extent of their patent line : and he had directions from the lords of trade to enquire into the state of the colony in other words, to act as a spy. For all the particulars of this mimical genius, we refer the reader to *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay*. In his letter to King *Charles the II.* among other things, he complains, that the Governour and all the Council but *three* continued covered while the king's letter was reading, whereas *he* had pulled off *his hat* as soon as the letter was begun to be read, and his example was followed by the three only. He mentions in this letter, that one day, when he was paying a visit to the Governour, he observed to the Governour, that he had taken notice, since his arrival in *Boston*, of several ships having come in from *Spain*, *France*, the *Streights*, *Canaries*; and other parts of Europe, contrary to his Majesty's laws of trade, &c. " That the Governour freely declared to him that the laws made by his Majesty and his Parliament, obligeth them in nothing but what

what consists with the interest of that colony." In the same letter he mentions a discourse between himself and *Josiah Winslow*, Esq; Governour of New Plymouth, wherein, according to *Randolph*, Governour *Winslow* expressed his great dislike of the "magistrates of Boston to your Majesty's royal person, and your subjects under their government," &c. "That during my stay at Boston I made acquaintance with severall of the chief inhabitants and some of the magistrates and did particularly informe myself of the humour, disposition and affections of the people, and found the principal inhabitants, some whereof are the chief officers of the militia, and the generality of the people, complaining of the arbitrary government and oppression of their magistrates and doe hope your Majestie will be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing your own royall authority among them and govern them according to your Majesties laws. And many of the better sort did intreat me to represent this their condition to your Majestie, not daring publickly to expresse their desires or complaint by petition, because of the severity and arbitrary proceedings of their rulers, and that many of them have been sufferers for petitioning formerly." After this he returned to England, and in 1678 came back again with a commission as Inspector and to make seizures, and bring informations for breaches of trade. He went back again the next winter to renew his complaints, and returned in 1681, with a commission as *Collector*, and *Surveyor*, and *Searcher* of the customs in *New-England*. In April, 1681, he had the insolence to set up a protest on the Exchange in *Boston*, against the acts of the Court. He afterwards brought to *Boston* the King's letter of the 21st of October, 1681, complaining "that the Collector had not been able to execute his office to any effect." It was therefore required, "that fit persons be sent over, without delay, to answer these complaints, with power to submit to such regulations of government as his Majesty should think fit." Very pretty indeed! Agents were accordingly sent to England; but *Randolph* followed them. The Governour had desired him to do nothing to the prejudice of the colony. He promised "that if they would make a full submission to his Majesty, he would endeavour to procure his Majesty's royal pardon, and the continuance of their privileges, so far as that they should have liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion, and that no money should be raised without the consent of the people." What impudence, what insolence in this low fellow!

He exhibited to the Lords of the Privy Council articles of high misdemeanor against a faction in the *General Court*, sitting 15th February, 1681. After this *Randolph* had the audacity to return, and brought with him the death-warrant of the government, a *quo warranto*, in 1683. The charter was vacated the following year by judgment being entered up for the King, and the country in a manner deprived of all government until 1686, when the *Rose* frigate, in the month of May arrived from England with a commission to *Joseph Dudley* as President, and to divers others of the Council to take upon them the administration. On the 19th day of December, 1686, Sir *Edmund Andross* arrived at Nantasket, in a fifty gun ship, commissioned by *James* the II. Governour of *New-England*, and he appointed among other vultures, the incendiary *Randolph*, to be of his Council; whom he also appointed licenter of the presses. Sir, *Edmund*, against the wills of the proprietors, made use of a meeting-house to perform the service of the church of *England* in; and he threatened to shut up that meeting-house, and to punish any man who gave two pence towards the support of a non-conformist minister, if he was refused the use of that meeting-house. *Randolph* had the insolence to reprove and threaten the Governour of *Plymouth* for exacting taxes from the Quakers for the support of the ministry in that Colony. Several congregations had agreed to set apart days of thanksgiving on account of *James's* proclamation for a general religious toleration. The tyrannical Governour forbade them. He told them they should meet at their peril, and that he would send soldiers to guard their meeting-houses; swearing upon the *E-vangelists* (*libro tacto*) a thing never known here, and not in practice ever after, and which was then introduced by the Governour and his associates; and such as refused so to take an oath in that mode were fined and imprisoned. The fees of office were multiplied and were also extortionate. *Randolph* was made Secretary, and he farmed his office to *West*, who extorted larger fees than even *Randolph* had exacted of *West*, of whom he once complained, when he was his deputy, that he ran away with a hundred pounds a year of his dues. The charter being vacated, the people were told that they had now no right to their lands and that they must petition and take out patents for their estates. The like hath since been practised in other parts of the British dominions. Enormous fees were demanded for these patents by the rapacious Governour and his associates; and with four or five of his Council Sir *Edmund Andross* laid what taxes he pleased. Petitions were presented to the King and his Ministers against these proceedings, and for liberty to have an House of Representatives, but as little regard was paid by *James* II. and his Ministry to those petitions, as by *George* III. and his Ministry, to the petitions preferred a few years since by Congress and by several of the Legislative Bodies of the late Colonies. In a letter to the *Bishop of London*, *Randolph* advises the fining sufficiently of *Danford* and *Richard's* (two of the faction as he calls them) by the King, "and well if they escape so, they can go to work for more." He presses

presses the Bishop "to send over able and sober Ministers, that we (himself and his brethren of the church of England) will contribute largely to their maintainance, but *one thing will mainly help* when *no marriages hereafter shall be allowed lawful but such as are made by the ministers of the church of England.* In a letter to the Earl of Clarendon he says, "His Majesty's *quo warranto* against their charter and sending for *Tho. Danforth, Sam. Nowell*, a late factious preacher and now a magistrate, and *Dan. Fijber* and *Elisba Coke*, deputies, to attend and answer the articles of high misdemeanures I have now exhibited against them." &c. "will make the whole faction tremble." Again, in the same letter, "I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have consideration for all my losses and money laid out in *prosecuting seizures here in 1680.*" Again, "My Lord I have but one thing to remind your Lordship, that nothing their agents can say or do in *England* can be any ground for his Majesty to depend upon." And in the same letter, "Their forces are very inconsiderable, more for shew than service. *I will engage* with five hundred of his Majesty's guards to drive them out of the country." Forgetting what he had said in his answer to several heads of inquiry concerning the state of New-England in 1676; wherein he set forth, to the fourth quere proposed by the Lords of the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantation, "that they have no standing army, but their trained bands are twelve troops of horse and six thousand foot; each troop consisting of sixty horse besides officers, are all well mounted and completely armed with back, breast, head-piece, buffe coat, sword, carbine, and pistols, each troop distinguished by their coats. The foot also are very well furnished with swords, muskets, and bandoliers." "Their late wars have hardened their infantry, made them *good firemen*, and taught them the *ready use of their arms*;" and also admits that their whole force is equal to forty thousand men. Yet this incendiary, who wished to desolate Massachusetts, could drive them out of their country; that is, could with the greatest ease drive the whole forty thousand men, among whom were these six thousand seven hundred and twenty good firemen, completely armed, and who knew the ready use of their arms, out of this country with only five hundred of his Majesty's guards. This naturally brings to our recollection the assertion of the vain boaster who a few years since made the Commons of Britain believe that he could go through *America* with five thousand British troops. Attempts have been made with bodies of British troops much more numerous, who have delivered up themselves and their arms to their despised *Americans*. In a letter to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury *Randolph* mentions it having being said in the Privy Council by some noble Lords in their (our country's) favour "that provided they might have liberty of conscience in matters of religion, they would voluntarily submit to have one of their meeting-houses to be disposed of by the President and Council for the use and exercise of the religion according to the *church of England*," and that this was said, in answer to a motion, made by the Arch-bishop, that one of their *meeting-houses* in *Boston* should be ordered to be set apart for that purpose." And in the same letter he "humbly represents to HIS GRACE, that the *three meeting-houses* in *Boston* might pay *twenty shillings* a week apiece, out of their contribution towards the defraying *our church* charges; the same being less per annum than each of their ministers receive." I shall quote no more of his letters but refer the reader to the appendix in the 3d vol. of *Hutch. Hist.* where, if he loves New-England, or regards the natural rights of men, he will find his breast swell with indignant resentment against this meddling, selfish, base, tyrannical wretch.

No. 19.

Mr. *John Nelson*, a young gentleman of Boston; he was of a good family, and a near relation to Sir Thomas Temple.

HUTCH. HIST.

No. 20.

THE Proclamation of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, ~~to be the~~ King and Queen of *England*, &c. is dated 15th February, 1688, as appears from Parliamentary Debates, vol. 11. p. 264, 265.

No. 21.

THE new charter, of King William and Queen Mary, bears date the 7th day of October, in the third year of their reign.

No. 22.

THE armament sailed from *Nantasket* Road, in the bay of Boston, on the 24th of March, 1745; and the island of *Cape-Breton* with its before-supposed impregnable fortifications of *Louisburgh* surrendered on the 17th

17th day of June following. The army consisted of three thousand two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of commission officers, from *Massachusetts*; of five hundred and sixteen, including officers, from *Connecticut*; and three hundred and four from *New-Hampshire*; three hundred from *Rhode-Island* did not arrive until after the place had surrendered. Our men knew nothing of regular approaches, they took the advantage of the night, and when they heard Mr. Baskin (an engineer in the British service) propose zigzags and epaulements they made merry with the terms and went on void of art, in their own natural way.

HUTCH. Hist.

N. B. In what may relate to New-England, *Hutchinson* is followed substantially, though, perhaps, not every where in the same form of words.

No. 23.

By the *Declaratory Act*, as it hath been called, the Parliament of *Great-Britain* enact "That the Colonies and Plantations in *America* have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependant upon the Imperial Crown and Parliament of *Great-Britain*; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, and Commons of *Great-Britain*, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of *America*, subjects of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, "in all cases whatsoever."

No. 24.

THE act of the British Parliament—For the more easy recovery of debts in his Majesty's plantations and colonies in *America* passed in the year 1732, the V. Geo. the II. By this statute it is enacted that after the 29th day of September in that year, "in any action or suit then depending or thereafter to be brought in any court of law or equity in any of the said plantations, for or relating to any debt or account, wherein any person residing in *Great-Britain* shall be a party, it shall and may be lawful to and for the plaintiff or defendant, and also to and for any witness to be examined or made use of in such action or suit, to verify or prove any matter or thing by affidavit in writing, upon oath, unless Quakers, and then upon solemn affirmation before the Mayor or Chief Magistrate of any city, borough, &c. in *Great-Britain*, where or near to which the deponent or affirmant shall reside and certified and transmitted under the common seal of such city, &c. shall be allowed to be of the same force and effect, as if the deponent or affirmant had appeared and sworn or affirmed the matters contained in such affidavit or affirmation viva voce in open court, &c."

any of
 IT is true there is a clause in this act for the punishment of persons who should be guilty of perjury in such affidavits or affirmation. But what benefit could accrue to an American from that clause? How could he convict the party of perjury? He could not do it without carrying his witnesses to *Great-Britain*, there indicting the criminal, and there producing his witnesses face to face, in open court. It may be a question whether the late revolution has not worked an annihilation of that act of Parliament here. It is a matter worthy the attention of every legislature of the UNITED STATES whether all evidence so taken ought not to be admissible in our courts until *Great-Britain* shall enact a law of reciprocity, and admit in all her courts, at home and abroad, similar evidence taken here, as equal to the viva voce testimony of witnesses attending in open court?

No. 25.

By the *Boston port-bill* nothing was to be water-borne within the harbour. It is better known among us, perhaps, by the name of the *starvation-act* than by any other name.

No. 26.

HIS Excellency *James Bowdoin*, Esq. our present worthy Governour, was at one time President of the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, and was also President of the Convention for forming our present most admirable Constitution; Mr. *Hancock* was President of the first Provincial Congress, he was President of the second national Congress; and he signed the glorious Declaration of Independence; hath been elected Governour

remour of this Commonwealth from the time of our present happy Constitution to the last year, when his health compelled him to resign.—At present, he is one of the Representatives for the town of Boston, and was lately chosen one of the Delegates in Congress from this State. Mr. *Samuel Adams* or the honourable *Samuel Adams*, Esq. is known by character, throughout the world. He was in the Provincial Congress and in the great national Congress, and he generated the *Declaration of Independence*. He has been President of the Senate ever since the new Constitution until the present year, when he resigned, and took a seat in the Privy Council of this State.

No. 27.

THE battle was really fought on *Breed's Hill*, which is much lower than *Bunker's Hill*; and indeed the rising of the ground is so gentle that you scarcely can perceive it. One would have thought from the account published, ten years ago in the *London Gazette*, that it had been a high, steep mountain, and that the intrenchments were amazingly strong. A rail fence ran across the field;—the new troops pulled up another rail fence, and fixed that parallel to the first fence, at about two feet distance, and filled up the vacancy between with new-mown hay which was making in the field. This was the tremendous breast-work. The redoubt in which *Dorset*, or rather *General Warren* was killed, was behind, at a little distance from the breast-work, and was not finished. About five hundred Americans was the number actually engaged, and they killed and wounded near fifteen hundred of the enemy. I have had it from British officers, who were present, that they never saw so severe a fire while it continued. The *Yankees* had no proper muskets, their pieces were not of the same bore and not one in twenty had a bayonet. There were several farmers there who had never before seen or heard a cannon fired, and this can be proved by incontestable evidence, if necessary.—Though many had leather shoe-strings and wore leather aprons, yet they were all good marksmen, and could hit their bird even upon the wing.

It is astonishing that our raw militia should so resolutely stand the terrible cannonade and bombardment of the Britons, from the Somerset of 64 guns, their frigates the *Lively* and the *Glasgow*, from their gun-boats in *Mitick* river and *Charles's* river, and from their battery of heavy cannon and bomb-battery on *Copse Hill*. There appears to have been a capital mistake or error committed on both sides. It now seems to have been a piece of madness in our men to have crossed the peninsula in order to take possession of a place where there was no water, and where they might be surrounded and have their retreat completely cut off; and on the other side we cannot account for the conduct of the British in attacking, as they did, when they might have completely secured the peninsula, and compelled every man in twenty-four hours to have surrendered without firing a shot; as they had neither water nor provisions.—But it was to be otherwise:—and we now see, and acknowledge with gratitude, the over-ruling providence of that gracious Being who humbleth the proud, and turneth into foolishness the wisdom of the wise.

No. 28.

GENERAL *Warren* being a fire-mason, was treated after the flight of the British to Halifax, by the brotherhood, and was brought to Boston, and re-interred there, in the *Chapel Church*, then called the *King's Chapel*, when *Brother MORTON* pronounced his funeral oration.

No. 29.

SEE General *Gore's* curious proclamation, excepting from his general pardon those wicked rebels, SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANCOCK.

No. 30.

THAT beautiful, elegant, new *meeting-house* in *Brattle Square* was made use of as a barrack by the British, the *Old-North meeting-house* was pulled down and used for fire-wood, and that noble, spacious building the *Old-South meeting-house*, by General *Burgoyne*, was turned into an hypodrome or riding-school, although, as it is asserted, a carpenter of the town offered to erect as large or a larger building for that purpose, without expence to the British government, if the General would spare that meeting-house. The General perhaps had a particular dislike to that meeting-house, as the annual Oration on the massacre of the Fifth of March, 1770, had been regularly delivered there, and the town-meeting was adjourned to that

meeting-house when it was resolved that all the British troops should quit the town. It was curious enough to transport a regiment of horse from Britain, and then to be under the necessity of sending upwards of three thousand miles for their provisions, *America* not furnishing oats or hay to these strangers; and this might fret the General. He might be vexed also at the boorish *Yankies* who would not permit him to exercise his horses out of the town. Whatever might be his provocations, it is however with regret that truth obliges us to condemn a gentleman of General Burgoyne's knowledge and learning in this scandalous and barbarous transaction, and in so wantonly burning the deserted town of Charlestown. The fact is undeniable that there was not one American militia man in that town at the time it was set on fire, by a carcass thrown from Copsie-Hill (where General Burgoyne commanded) upon the meeting-house of that wantonly-destroyed, ancient town. Every one of the inhabitants but one had quitted the town early in the morning, when they found the men of war began to fire upon Breed's-Hill, and he, a poor idiot, who, as an object of charity resided in the Alms-House, was the only person left in the town when the meeting-house was set on fire, and the whole place then nearly destroyed. It might have been sport and a *fine sight* to the British General, but it was ruin and an heart-beaking appearance to the numerous, helpless proprietors and inhabitants, many of whom then lost their all. About twenty houses only escaped the flames that day, and those were set on fire and destroyed by the *humane* Britons on the next day, Sunday. When *Titus*, the Roman General, besieged *Jerusalem* he, though an Heathen (as *Josephus* tells us) repeatedly and earnestly entreated the Jews to let him *save* their temple; but they refused to hear; they first set fire themselves to the galleries of their temple, and most obstinately persisted to resist every effort of *Titus*, until the Romans were at last compelled to destroy that glorious building. Even the barbarous *Goths*, under their King *Alaric*, when they sacked Rome, A. D. 410, shewed a regard to humanity and religion; they respected the churches as holy and inviolable sanctuaries; and they received with reverential awe the consecrated plate and ornaments. If the Britons wished to irritate and exasperate the *New-England* men, there was no method so effectual for that purpose as that of destroying and polluting their places of publick worship.

No. 31.

DURING the siege of Boston General Gage entered into treaty with the inhabitants of the town, and agreed that if they would deliver up their arms to him they might go out with their goods and effects. He received the arms and then refused to comply with the terms, availing himself of the pitiful evasions and contemptible little, lawcraft of a since fugitive conspirator.

No. 32.

THE insults which many of the inhabitants received from the officers and soldiers of the British army, and from many of the Tories who have now the modesty to shew their fronts among those very people, cannot be very readily forgot. Among the rest, that polished and most amiable, upright patriot and clergyman, the late most worthy Dr. COOPER, was insulted in the open street by a British officer. The death of this divine orator was universally lamented.

*“ Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus
Tam chari capitis? Præter lugubres
Cantus Melpomene; cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum cithara dedit.
Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sepe
Urget? Cui pudor, & justitæ seror
Incorrupta fides, nullaque veritas,
Quandæ ullum invenient parem?
Malis ille bonis febilis occidit.”* HOR.

No. 33.

THE British nation will not believe that near 10,000 Americans were destroyed in their infernal prison-ship, the *Jersey*, at *New-York*, that the surgeon of the prison-ship at *Rhode-Island* was paid half a guinea ahead for those who were *buried*, and that of course he pocketted as many half guineas as he could, nor will they credit the murder of *Beelar's* light wife, in cool blood; although they do believe that the Savages killed

killed Miss *Mc Crea*. These Savages, I think General *Burgoyne* says, in his pompous proclamation, he had *under his command*, and threatens to let them loose.

No. 34.

GENERAL LINCOLN, from a country gentleman, in the late war became an excellent officer, of the greatest suavity of manners, of most intrepid courage and unshaken patriotism. General KNOX, from a very reputable bookseller in Boston, turned out as great an artillery officer as appeared in any army or nation engaged in *America* during the war, and is now the Secretary at War of the United States. To General STUBEN, *America* is greatly indebted for instructing her officers and soldiers; the Baron was an Aid to the King of Prussia, and is perfectly well skilled in tactics. General GATES is well known as the Conqueror of *Burgoyne*; and as to General GREENE, he is acknowledged to be one of the first officers on the Continent; like King *William the Third*, he was more to be dreaded after a defeat than before a battle.

No. 36.

ALTHOUGH the nation, which have totally changed their *manners* within the last thirty years, is detested in *America*; yet truth must acknowledge that there are many most excellent individuals in *Great-Britain*; justice must admit that they have among them many characters truly great, illustrious, and exalted, which do honour to human nature; who are warm friends and bold assertors of the unalienable rights of mankind, and who are entitled to our veneration and regard.

No. 37.

IN a drizzling, rainy day, the last fall, three country girls rode through the town, one in a green-cart with vegetables, having a plume of feathers nodding over her head; another, dressed in a like ridiculous, absurd manner, was riding her horse with provisions to sell in her panniers; and the third, upon her panned horse, had her head disguised by a garland of foreign, artificial flowers.

No. 38.

“FOR as luxury is contagious from its very nature, it will gradually descend from the highest to the lowest ranks, till it has ultimately infected a whole people. The evils arising from luxury have not been peculiar to this or that nation, but *equally fatal to all* wherever it was admitted. Political philosophy lays this down as a fundamental and incontestable maxim, that *all the most flourishing States owed their ruin, sooner or later, to the effects of luxury*; and all history, from the origin of mankind, confirms this truth, by the evidence of facts, to the highest degree of demonstration.”

MONTAGUE'S *Reflections on the rise and fall of the ancient Republics*, chap. 5.

No. 39.

“AT Rome, besides the general institutions, the Censors prevailed on the magistrates to enact several particular laws to preserve the *frugality of women*. This was the design of the *Fannian, Licinian, and Oppian laws*. We may in *Livy* see the great ferment the Senate was in, when women insisted upon the *revocation of the Oppian law*. The abrogation of this law is fixed upon by *Valerius Maximus* as the period from whence we may date the luxury of the Romans.”

MONTESQ. *Spirits of Laws*, vol. 1. chap. xiv.

A VERY considerable revenue might be raised by taxing luxurious dress: for instance, the use of silks, gauzes, &c. If the owner of a coach, or chariot is made to pay four or five pounds a year to the State, for the liberty of indulging *his vanity*, ought not every wearer of a silk gown, silk clozk, silk stockings, gauzes, feathers, &c. to pay in proportion? the wearers of gold and silver lace, excepting officers, soldiers, and sailors, might well afford to pay something for the liberty of appearing singular. Our wise forefathers had two laws, the one made in 1651, the other in 1662, to restrain *excess in apparel*; wherby

“persons wearing ribbons; or great boots (leather being so scarce a commodity in this country) lace, points, &c. silk hoods, or scarves, the Selectmen shall have power to assess such persons so offending in any of the particulars abovementioned in the country rates, at two hundred pound estates.” *Massachusetts Colony Laws, fol. 5, 6.* “The poorer a State is, the more it is ruined by its relative luxury; and consequently the more occasion it has for relative *sumptuary laws.*” — *Montesq. Spirit of laws, vol. 1. chap. 5.* The luxury of superstition, as far as relates to mourning, is again beginning to spread among us. Thank God! it is chiefly among the Tories and the despisers of a republican government that we see the sable garb of external sorrow now re-assumed. Would it be amiss to tax their *insolence*; to lay a smart tax upon all mourning but the scarf or crape round the arm and black ribbons? *Montesquieu, vol. 2. chap. 7.* treating of the luxury of superstition says, “nor is it proper for religion to encourage expensive funerals. What is more natural, than to take away *difference of fortune* in a circumstance, and in the very moment, which equal all fortunes?”

No. 40.

THE COURT or Great Council of the *Amphictyons* was instituted by *Amphictyon* the third King of *Athens*, and consisted of deputies or delegates from twelve States of Greece; each of which sent two deputies. According to Archbishop *Petter* they held their court or assembly at *Thermopylae*; but according to the writers of the *Universal History* it was held at *Delphos*. *Goldsmit's* faith, that this Council was the chief bond of union with Greece, and was appointed to be held twice a year at *Thermopylae* to deliberate for the publick good. All offences against religion, all instances of impiety and profanation, all contests between the Grecian States and cities came under the particular cognizance of the *Amphictyons*, who had a right to determine, to impose fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war against those who offered to rebel against their sovereign authority. See *GOLDSMIT'S Grecian Hist. vol. 1. fol. 10, 11.*

No. 41.

No persons have suffered more from this base passion, *even*, than our late excellent army. An honest, rough, awkward tradesman or farmer who went into the army, returned from the same, a well-dressed gentleman, of easy carriage and of address far superior to his old neighbours and acquaintances; and this hath excited in the minds of the more base and contracted this little dirty passion, which hath operated strongly to keep them out of their just duct.

No. 42.

ALTHOUGH I am sorry to differ in opinion with any gentleman whom I regard, yet I must say I shall ever continue to think that the strict observation of the Sabbath, in this country, hath had, and ever will have, a very great influence upon the manners of the people; the greater part of whom have no other day for reading and for gaining instruction. The Sabbath was ordained to be a day of rest for man and beast, and also of religious duties and exercises for the former. Our forefathers kept it *strictly*; our own immediate parents observed it religiously; from the first settlement of the country to this day, the Legislature of this Commonwealth hath enacted that it shall be observed attentively. Surely no gentleman of sense and reflection would wish to insult the feelings of an infinite majority of the community; no good citizen would wilfully attempt to trample upon the laws of his country. Those laws say, the Sabbath shall not be spent in publick riot and dissipation, but decently and in publick worship. Therefore, no gentleman that reflects one moment on these things, would wish to show the example of turning it into a day of frolic and idle diversion; and no foreigner that is informed that it is against the laws of that country which protect him in his life, liberty, and property will attempt to violate that day.

ERRATUM.

Page fourth, paragraph third, line first, For sixteen thousand men, read six thousand men.