

No. 4

William Hunter Jun^r

ORATION

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF PROVIDENCE,

ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1823, BEING THE

Fiftieth Anniversary

OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE :

BY WILLIAM HUNTER.

SECOND EDITION.

PROVIDENCE :
Smith & Parmenter, Printers.
.....
1826.

.....

RHODE-ISLAND DISTRICT, &c.

[L. S.] Be it remembered, that on the sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and in the fifty-first year of the independence of the United States of America, SMITH & PARMENTER, of this District, deposited in this office a title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, viz :

“ Oration pronounced before the citizens of Providence, on the Fourth of July, 1826. being the Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence. By WILLIAM JUNTER.”

In conformity to an act of Congress of the United States, entitled “ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned ;” and also to an act entitled “ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned, and extending the benefit thereof to the art of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints.”

Witness,

BENJAMIN COWELL,
Clerk of Rhode-Island District.

GIFT
ESTATE OF
WILLIAM G. NIVES
APRIL, 1940

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Providence, July 5th, 1826.

HONOURABLE WILLIAM HUNTER;

SIR—The undersigned Committee of Arrangements, in the name of the citizens of Providence, tender you their unfeigned thanks for the eloquent and appropriate Oration pronounced before them on the 4th instant, and respectfully request a copy for publication.

It is not in mere compliance with custom that we make this request. Your production embodies facts which are a source of honest pride to every son of Rhode Island; and we wish the remainder of our fellow citizens to share the pleasure of those who witnessed its delivery.

We have the honor to be your obliged and obedient servants,

R. G. ALLEN,
JOSIAH WHITAKER, } Committee
N. S. DRAPER.

Providence, July 6th, 1826.

MESSRS. R. G. ALLEN, JOSIAH WHITAKER, N. S. DRAPER, Committee, &c.

GENTLEMEN—I comply with your polite request, but with extreme reluctance. My address was unworthy of the occasion, and undeserving of your encomium. If it possessed any interest, it must have arisen from the recital of these facts, drawn from authentic authorities and records, illustrative of the character of our state: To some of these authorities and records, I shall refer in a short appendix, which, with your permission, will be annexed to the address.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient,

Faithful servant,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

Wretchedly printed.

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ORATION.

I have been admonished, Fellow Citizens, that I have been guilty of an imprudent, if not an improper act, in accepting your too partial invitation, to address you on the present occasion.

It has been urged, and with a friendly voice — what literary honour can be acquired by the presentment of an exhausted theme? what benefit can arise, by the repetition of old, acknowledged truths? As to literary honour, I answer, I do not seek it. It would be *worse* than vanity on such an occasion, to make an effort for applause; and as to the repetition of acknowledged truths, it is delightful to recognize and enforce them. It is delightful to bring back recollections that are endeared to us, by the merits, the sufferings, and the successes, of our forefathers; to awaken from their sweet repose, those stern emotions, those mighty purposes, and those heroic passions, that achieved our country's glory, and secured our present happiness. Every

thought, and feeling, that gave rise to the independence of our country, are lodged in the bosoms of all who hear me : an overstrained effort at novelty or prettiness of phrase on this occasion, would be as repugnant to taste as to truth. He who would address you with the humble hope of affording satisfaction, ought to act on the beautiful Platonic theory, which supposes the perfect form of every idea to be pre-existent in the mind, and which is only developed and rendered audible, by the sympathy of occasion, and the instrumentality of language. A glance of the mind's eye, at once intuitive and introverted, will convince you that on the tablets of your own hearts, are written as by the finger of God, those eternal truths which gave impulse to our revolution, and triumph to our independence. These truths by you never can be repelled as thread-bare, or unbeloved even if worn to tatters; they will always be as the garment of good repute, bright as the sacred vestment of the prophet, glittering with heavenly light. You can again and again look at the person, or even the resemblance of a dear friend, a patriot hero, or a sainted sage.— You know there are some topics, which are so noble and commanding, that like the peculiarity in the appearance of our Washington, the impressions of ~~the~~ sacred awe and severe delight, are never effaced, even by frequency of intercourse. No. If I must assign the motive for my being

here, and confess that feeling, which conquered an inexpressible reluctance to make this sort of exhibition of myself again, upon such an occasion, I avow it was a superstitious, or, if you will accord it, a pious emotion of gratitude.— This is the Jubilee of our Independence, and I was overwhelmed by the reflection, that I was as old as that—that I had from my birth, breathed, not only the pure air of English freedom, but the purer, of American liberty and independence. That born amid the convulsions and distresses of my country, I had lived to witness its tranquility and prosperity; had been a witness of its wonderful progress in arms and arts; had seen its scanty population, grow as it were, under my own eye; had traced its immense acquisitions in territory, in commercial opulence, in manufacturing industry, in literary acquirement, and reputation; and, above all, had seen its advance in moral elevation and improvement.

It is not necessary to dwell on the history of our independence. It is astonishing that this history was written, precisely written, before that independence was achieved. I allude to what, at the time, was deemed a phrensicd oration of Wilkes, in the House of Commons, in 1775, on the motion of Lord North to declare the province of Massachusetts in a state of rebellion. He was indeed, “not only animated by ardour, but enlightened by prophecy.”

For he exclaimed—^{Know} “How then, a successful resistance, is a REVOLUTION, not a rebellion. Rebellion indeed, appears on the back of a flying enemy, but revolution flames on the breast-plate of the victorious warrior. I fear, that from the decision of this day, the Americans will rise to independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states; for they build on the basis of general liberty. The Americans will triumph—the whole continent of North America will be dismembered from Great Britain, and the wide arch of raised empire fall. Within a few years the independent Americans will celebrate the glorious era of their revolution of 1775, as we do that of 1688. They will have their jubilees and their CENTENARIES.” How could the result, be otherwise? The colonists, our forefathers, lived in that ~~strange~~^{giddy} period of their country, when principles of religious and political freedom, as opposed to those of the hierarchy, and the crown, were in perpetual conflict, subject to alternate triumph and defeat. The votaries of freedom, were animated by hope that made the heart glad, and only so cast down by disaster, as to fix an immutable affection to their own great, good cause, and an unconquerable hatred to that of their adversary. These principles never could be forgotten. Time and security would mitigate their excess, more

deeply rationalize, but never eradicate them. They were not learnt by rote. Before their time, they had not been digested in some convenient code, or articulated in some condensed creed. The principle was taught and impressed by the occasion; it was suggested, as if from inspiration, during some pious address to Heaven, or from a real or imaginary response to that address, whispered to the inward man. It was sanctified by battles, whether victorious or fatal; it was equally brought out and confirmed by prosperity and adversity. It stabilized its votaries, in the palace or the tower; whether sinking as victims to the despotic energy of Arch Bishop Laud, exercised through the Inquisition of the Star-Chamber or the Court of Commission, or sitting as regicides in the pomp of awful power, at Westminster. The unbroken, undaunted spirit, which fills all the prose-writings of Milton, filled in a more or less intense degree, the hearts of our forefathers, the primary colonists. To such men, (thanks to royal foresight) were given charters, which, though intended to make them mere corporations subject to the crown, in truth bestowed the potentiality, and, at their distance from inspection, the actual exercise of the forms and functions of a free constitution, in full imagery of that of the mother country. It was in vain that, in after controversy, we were told by

special pleaders that we were mere corporations, and entitled only as to a high privilege, to hold our lands of the crown in free and common socage, as of the royal manor of Greenwich in Kent. It is surpassing belief (though, having reference to the result, not deplorable) that so little should have been known of the progress of sentiment and opinion, and that too of men who were accurately familiar with all the old country had done for freedom; who knew themselves to be rightfully entitled to all the liberties and privileges of that country; men who were imbued with the spirit of Magna Charta, who revered the provisions of the statute of free talliages, the petition of right, and the trial by jury, and who adopted at a breath, and felt themselves acquiring and possessed of, the habeas corpus, the act of settlement, the doctrines of 1488, and every other improvement in the freedom and extension, or security of the rights of the subject, as they were adopted, acquired and possessed at home. Yes, what they were willing to call, and did, unoffended, and unoppressed, always call home. But always aware, that they had not merely a nominal or legal home, but a dearer Home---at Home, in their own country, amid their own families, their parents, their wives, their children. That the colonies were, those on whom most had been bestowed, but mere corporations, seems, in cold judicial

review, one of the strongest arguments of the Crown Lawyers against what they called our pretensions and usurpations. Yet what miserable pedantry, what presumptuous dealing with futurity, what a moon-stricken fatuity it was, what a fortunate fatality, that ministers and statesmen, should have contrived the slight frame-work of a legal corporation, to hold in restriction the expansive power of freedom, springing from principles of such seed and root, planted in such a rich and congenial soil, cherished by such suns, fanned by such breezes, cheered by such auspices. It was as absurd, as to plant the acorn of the British oak, in a flower vase, and bid it not burst its boundaries; but to remain stationary in pretty dwarfishness, as if it were not destined to strike its root to central earth, to shoot with aspiring top to heaven, with every zephyr that waved, every storm that shook and shattered its branches, but tending to fix, and corroborate, and elevate it. After giving us this frame-work of institution, fortunately they let us alone. They traced not our steady progress to stability, to prosperity, to self-estimation. In the deep solitudes of our forests, apart from all the world, we were secretly and silently preparing the massy materials of the edifice of our future freedom and renown. We were nourished by neglect. Our limbs expanded the more freely, because they

were not kindly swathed and swaddled. Our blood flowed in a purer and stronger current, because we were unpampered by dainties, and our sleep that of a giant, training for combat, was the sweeter and sounder, because unblest by the lullabies of affection, or the lenitives of skill and care. But when attention was directed towards us, we were regarded but as a subordinate community, and that, connected with a greater, must from the nature of things, be subject to the extremes of pride and power. In all matters of controversy, it would of course be decreed, that the weaker was in the wrong. It was impossible said one of the earliest and deepest thinkers on this subject, to reconcile the unwieldy ~~and~~ haughtiness of a great ruling nation, habituated to command, pampered by enormous wealth, and confident from a long course of victory and prosperity to the high spirit of free dependencies, animated with the first glow and activity of juvenile heat, and assuming to themselves as their birth-right, some part of that very pride which oppressed them*. That the greater community (not indebted to the greater territory) should have so far forgotten its own history on the great point of the contest, should have risked every thing to enforce taxation without representation, is only to be accounted for by that delusion, which ever makes

* Edmund Burke.

power forgetful of right, and persuades it with blinded selfishness, to convert the victory which valour and fortitude and Heaven accorded to the oppressed in one era into the means of oppression at another; and this too in a cause less doubtful than their own; under circumstances less equivocal; upon blameless victims, who had never, in all their perils and necessities, even by temporary acquiescence, given a semblance of right to this unconstitutional demand; which soon filled and rounded itself into the declaration, at once pompous, impotent, and tyrannical, of a right on their part, to subject the colonies to unconditional submission, in all cases whatsoever. Independent of this primary and paramount question of taxation, the whole scheme of colonial connection was erroneous, of itself tending to abuse; and it was abused.— Every new act of trade was calculated to enlarge the advantages of the metropolitan power, and to restrain and enfeeble the colonists.— To break loose from such a yoke, to burst such shackles, was no more than the instinct and impulse of Nature; the unavowed but the stern, silent, but solemn resolve, of bold hearts and vigorous minds, who delayed its execution, only until prudence justified resistance, and foresaw success. We defied a gigantic power, just at the moment it had been taught its own strength, and while Europe was crouching beneath it.—

We were literally an infantine nation. We had neither fleets, nor armies, nor organized scheme of finance, no universally operative power to enforce taxation or obedience. Something better than a Delphic Oracle must have inspired the determination to resistance. Human calculation was against us. • It was Heaven or madness that impelled us. In our feeble unprovided state, it was either a lie and a delusion, the act of one possessed of devils, or it was truth and prophecy, uttered from the mouths of babes and sucklings. Independence was declared. A nation was born, in perfect and mature form. And it was not only a well formed, but an armed nation. To give a better use to the allusions of mythology than they deserve, we may without exaggeration say ; that it was Minerva springing out, at the blow, from the brain of Jove, in complete panoply. It was wisdom and courage, emanating from, and strengthened by, natural, and honest, and mighty power—a people's will, the product and the object of a people's affections. All was done that man dare do. So far all was effectuated that we hoped, and, strange to tell, what every civilized, though enslaved nation of Europe hoped. But we had almost mistaken our aspiration, for our ability. The difficulties we encountered were immense, and, in looking back to the period of our Declaration of Independence, we have sensations

altogether different from those usually attending the successful termination of a brave and perilous adventure. We have these sensations the stronger, in proportion as we study more carefully the history of that day, and consult the signs of those times. When we measure the space, we look with fearfulness and shuddering, at the leap our Congress made, from one side of the fissure of the precipice, to the other. If we had not succeeded, it was too certain the chasm that would have engulfed us was deep, and dark, and interminable, but by degradation and slavery. The pressure for our Declaration of Independence, its propriety and wisdom, nay its absolute necessity, arose from our peculiar situation. We wrestled manfully till we were faint. We wanted steel and gold, "war's prime engines." By the Law of Nations, unless we were in name, and by self declaration at least, an Independent Power, we could not form foreign alliances, or procure foreign aid, of men, of money, and arms. We were, it must be confessed, wonderfully favoured by what a heathen, even Cicero or Cæsar, would call, good fortune; but which we in a spirit at once more meek and enlightened, are bound to attribute to Providential aid and interference. But if it was decreed that we should finally triumph, it was likewise decreed that we should suffer—^{we} actually suffer. That we should be sickened by suspense, and

hope deferred. That we should long abide in the desert, before we reached the promised land. The great interest of our story arises from the inadequacy of our means, not to accomplish what we did, but even to save ourselves from irretrievable ruin. There were moments in our affairs, when the stoutest hearts must have been dejected, if not appalled—moments, when, but for the infatuation of the enemy, the great cause of America and Freedom—had perished. Moments, when, if the enemy had acted, they would have found us disbanding one army, and in vain endeavouring to embody another, within point blank shot of their cannon. Moments, ay ! days, when they would have found us without ammunition enough to sustain an half-hour's contest ; when, half famished, and more than half naked men, must have submitted; however reluctantly, and indignantly, to their fate. But why overcast the day of jubilee with such gloomy confessions? Is it for the purpose of taming our national pride? of dampening our national ardour? No, it is with the sole view of deepening those emotions of gratitude towards Heaven, which, penetrating every heart, ought to constitute the true indulgence and luxury of this auspicious day. It is with a view of inducing you to dwell habitually upon the merits and sufferings of our revolutionary army, which never have

been, never can be duly appreciated. We can hardly believe, what yet we acknowledged to be proved. To the private indigent soldier, we have rendered tardy justice. But as to the leaders, it appears to me we must disbelieve what we know; else a proud and generous nation, would before this have done them justice; not compassionated them, on the score of indigence; not rewarded them, under the name of bounty; but paid them, on the grounds of merit and contract. They who forebore on account of our inability, have a right to their due, from the plentitude of our present means. The victories, the sustained military operations of our commanders, derive a double glory from the instruments with which they were obtained; and, in spite of the exploits which have since emblazoned the page of military history, the merit, the praise, the wonder of their's remain. Victory produced alliances; and the acute sagacity, and the refined policy of the ministers of Lewis the 16th; the chivalrous enthusiasm of La Fayette and other congenial spirits, brought us powerful aid. Spain and Holland were on our side, the rest of Europe, neutral, or favourable. Our cause excited universal interest. The first blows struck in our war, in an obscure village of a remote, and almost unknown country, seem to have been heard all over the world. The inhabitants of Europe

seemed roused as from the trance of ages, and soon from anxious spectators, became generous and animated actors. We had as our friends, and fellow combatants, the patriotic and chivalrous spirits of Poland—Pulaski and Kosciusko. The gallant and accomplished Fersen of Sweden. The tacticians and disciplinarians of Austria and Prussia, De Kalb and Steuben. We mustered in our train the flower of the French nobility. The mind of Europe was with us; and we received from every philosopher, poet, or patriot of the day, cheerings of gratulation. They wept at our disasters, they rejoiced in our victories. They felt it as their own triumph, when, for the first time, in the annals of man, the parent and the sovereign power, acknowledged by the treaty of 1783, the rightful independence of the reproached, rebellious child, and the rightful establishment, in full sovereignty, of a new empire.

If the birth of our nation was in 1776, the baptism was in 1783; and the sponsors were our late great enemy, the King of England; our magnanimous allies, the Kings of France and Spain; their High Mightinesses, and his Serene Highness, the Stadtholder of Holland. The guests who thronged the festival, were ambassadors, and lords, republicans and monarchists, whigs and tories; the descendents of English Puritans and Independents, and of the

exiled French Protestants. They acknowledged, not only the child's name and birth-right, but in ample and precise settlement, fixed its estate, of almost boundless territory, and secured to it its rents, revenues, issues and profits, in indefeasible fee-simple for ever. But I abandon the grander theme, of the general and national history of our revolution, and in defiance of rhetorical precept, descend to particulars. I approach a more minute, but not less interesting subject.

What part, ye men of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, did ye perform in this splendid drama ? What does your primary formation and institutions suggest, as characteristic, and prophetic, of your resolves, labours, and struggles, in this mighty cause ? I rejoice that the answers to these interrogatories will all tend to your honour, and honest self-estimation. Let us, then, for a moment, test American principle by the Rhode-Island standard. Let us withdraw our eyes from the workings of the mighty enginery, of complicated and tremendous power, as presented by the entire United States ; and elucidate the principle, as in a lecture-room, from the little model. Let us withdraw our dazzled gaze from the extended epic painting of National glory and prowess, crowded with personages, lighted by the volcanic blaze of battles, and shaded by darkening clouds of sorrow and

disaster, and look with endeared emotions of tenderness and love, at the **MINIATURE** of our parent state. By the very precepts of taste and art, to perceive the full and best effect, we must contemplate the grand national picture at a distance. But on the miniature we can fix a nearer and intenser gaze. It is the miniature that we hang round our necks, that we press to our lips, that we hug to our hearts. Men of Rhode-Island, ye are the descendants of those who were twice pilgrims; the descendants of the victims of a double persecution. This fact of your origin has shaped your whole political character, influenced all your political movements, from the time of your feeble association, "poor stricken deer," in the depths of the forests of this then houseless land, to the present moment; and may God grant it always may so influence, and direct you. Ye are the descendants, equally with the best of those who take pride from this descent, of those puritans and independents, who fled from religious persecution in England, in the hope of enjoying religious freedom here. Why your forefathers did not, could not, enjoy it, is a dark passage in the history of a sister state, which we would gladly expunge, if it were not a record necessary to prove your genealogy and birth-right. It is a subject, on which we ought to speak rather in sorrow than anger. I will not speak in my

own words at all, but I condense the history of this strange anomaly of human thought and conduct, in a single sentence of a great authority—Edmund Burke. “They who in England,” says he, “could not bear being chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters, than they scourged their fellow refugees with scorpions.” The contrast of this is your history. Roger Williams, the founder of Providence Plantations, the learned and popular divine of Salem, insisted for freedom of conscience in worship even “to Papists and Armenians:” with security of civil peace. He was banished in 1634–5, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth. You know the rest—I dare not dilate upon it. The water of that spring near which he took refuge, overlooked from the neighbouring hills by armed, but to him harmless savages, ought to be on this day the exhilarating beverage of his descendants—more exhilarating and heart-cheering, “than costliest wines of Chios or of Crete.” Mrs. Hutchinson, who, as Cotton says, “was once beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses,” with Coddington, and all her train of Antinomians, were disfranchised and banished, and in their place of refuge the great island of Aquidneck, Rhode-Island, passed in solemn resolve, the earliest and the most strenuous declaration of

the principles of perfect freedom in religious concerns, the world had ever known.* The third and last, but not less interesting foundation by those primary associations that formed this state, all proceeding from the same persecution, and the same manful opposition, was the settlement of the Grotonists, on lands purchased of Shaw Omet, the Sachem of the Narragansetts. These are the men of Kent, the settlers of the town of Warwick. If ever there was a complete and victorious vindication against the sarcasm, that our ancestors were so barbarous, as not to be capable of good sense and good English, it is furnished by the paper issued by the owners and inhabitants of Shaw Omet, dated 28th October 1643. This paper was addressed to certain men styled Commissioners, sent from the Massachusetts supported by an armed force, whose names, they say in contemptuous defiance—"we know not." That paper is heroic, and Homeric; Demosthenian, but superiour to Demosthenes. "If you come," say they, "to treat us in the ways of equity and peace, together therewith, holding a rod over our heads, in a band of oppression; be assured that we have passed our childhood in that point, and are under the commission of the Great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage, but to acquit

*Note A appendix.

ourselves like men. We strictly charge you hereby, that you set not a foot upon our lands, in any hostile way, but upon your perils, and that, if any blood be shed, upon your heads shall it be: And know, that if you set an army of men upon any part of our land, contrary to our just prohibition therein, we are under command, and have our commission sealed, all ready to resist you unto death. For this is the law of our God, by which we stand, which is written in all men's hearts, that, if ye spread a table before us as friends, we sit not as men invecive, envious, or mal-content, not touching a morsel, nor looking from you, who point us unto our dish, but we eat with you, by virtue of the unfeigned law of relations, not only to satisfy our stomachs, but to increase friendship and love, the end of feastings: So also, if you visit us as combatants, or warriors, by the same law of relations we will resist you unto death." But their courage could not save them from overwhelming force, ~~overwhelmed~~^{prevented}, however, by the basest treachery. Gorton, and his associates, Green, Holden, and others, were imprisoned; and Gorton was condemned as a blasphemous enemy of the true religion and its ordinances, adjudged to be confined and set to work, and to bear such bolts as may hinder his escape during the pleasure of the Court; but should he break his confinement, then to suffer

death.* Do you not perceive in this paper, and the history connected with it, the hereditary spirit of our own Nathaniel Greene? his character moulded and influenced by traditionary lore? Have you not already, in the workings of your own spirits, anticipated this remark, and the purpose and moral of this part of my discourse? Do you not perceive, Freeman of Rhode-Island, that the basis of your political institution, was not merely toleration, but a perfect freedom in matters of religious concernment? No nice exceptions, no insulting indulgences, which, while they allow the exercise of voluntary worship, deny the right, and pretend to confer a favour—deface the consistent beauty of our plan. Every aspirant to Almighty favour, in the sincerity of his devotion, has a perfect, unobstructed, inobstructible right, to seek it in the way he thinks fit. He may choose the simplest or the richest form. He may drink the waters of life, in rude simplicity, from the palm of his hand, from the chrysal cup of reformed episcopacy, or from the embossed and enchased golden chalice of papal gorgeousness. Your ancestors announced this opinion and enjoyed its legal exercise, long before the able and amiable Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore, or the sagacious and benevolent Quaker William Penn, adopted and enforced it. In this

* Vide Appendix, note B.

great discovery, you have the incontestible merit of priority. This is a glory of which you cannot be robbed, a glory which no historian dare pass by unnoticed; though he may be born in a land which reluctantly eulogises, what it secretly ~~exalts~~^{admires}, the proud pre-eminence in effectuating that, which has contributed to the repose and felicity of mankind, more than any other discovery or declaration; saving that of the Gospel, whence it was borrowed, and from which it necessarily results. For we have its clear authority for the assertion, that “where the spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty,”—and that his service is perfect freedom. This freedom is not only unconquerable, but it must conquer. Opposition to it makes martyrs, but never slaves. Its advocates, like Saint Paul are firm, self possessed, and self devoted; while its oppressors, like “Felix, tremble.” It inspires old age and tottering infirmity, with juvenile and undaunted courage; and bids it say, as did the venerable Polycarp at the age of 90, to the brutal Herod; “I will not desert the Lord, who never deserted me.” It braces up the martyr, while the fires are kindling around him, and impels him, like Cranmer, to hold out his hand to meet and defy its rage. It inspired humility itself, in the person of Wenlock

Christerson,* before the Massachusetts Court, to appeal to the judicatories of their common country, and to demand, "what statute of England it was, that condemned a Quaker to death?" Where this principle is, there is a largeness of thought, a loftiness of conception, that naturally breaks the way, and opens the avenues to political rights and enjoyments. Wherever this freedom exists, political freedom co-exists. This is not too broad a position, but at any rate fearless of contradiction, we may assert that civil and political liberty, cannot be long securely maintained, without religious freedom. What man can deem himself free, when in the primary concern and consolation of his present, and the hopes and fears of his future existence, he is shackled by authority, debarred from light, and taught to shrink from a vagrant uprising thought of non-conformity to the prescribed Creed, as blasphemy and enmity towards God? Political Freedom, with cautious, not with timid step; though with her person half concealed, and the brightness of her glory veiled, attended in the train of the protestant Reformation in Europe. In the North American Colonies, she marched with a fearless and defying tread and bearing, and, with a voice sometimes loud and dread, sometimes soft

*Appendix, note C.

and composed, scattered dismay over her foes, or breathed hope and condolence to her votaries; because her way was opened by her pioneer—because she was strengthened, sustained, and invincibly secured, by her heaven-born sister, religious freedom.

I am apprehensive that these thoughts may be deemed too vague and general, and, in some degree inapplicable to the present occasion. But this is the Jubilee of our Liberty and Independence, and the orator of this day ought to be, what Shakspeare has defined man, “a creature holding large discourse, looking before and after.” I assure you, if they do at first seem episodical, they are connected with the main story. These thoughts, burst as from their natural and purest fountain, your history; the origin, rise, and progress of your institutions. You never would have been, you never could have been, what you have been, and what you politically are, unless for the principles of religious, always followed and accompanied by those of political freedom. They both were equally and simultaneously adopted and consecrated by your institutions. Your ancestors always had a spirit, and a daring, an original, unaccommodating character, an insurgency and elasticity of mind, which cannot otherwise be accounted for. We deny it not. We always have been in Rhode-Island reproached for heresy, both religious and

political; which word heresy, being rightly interpreted, unless I have forgotten my Greek, from which language the word is derived, means the atrocious offence, of the assertion of a man's own opinion. The spirit of these remarks, emanates from our legislative history. The charter ultimately procured by the talents, address, and good fortune of Clark, under the form of a corporation, has all the essentials of a well-tempered democracy. The king, after he granted it, virtually excluded himself from any interference with it. He had no vice-roy, he had no veto on the laws of the colony. We endured not his actual or constructive presence. We felt his power hardly at all, his influence rarely, but always benignantly and beneficially. In the first session of the Assembly under that charter, and indeed before it had passed through all the ceremonies of a royal grant, we anticipated and settled that topic of controversy, which a century afterwards convulsed the world. In March 1663, in an act for declaring the privileges of his majesty's subjects, it was enacted, "that no tax shall be imposed or required of the colonies but by the act of the General Assembly."* When Andros, under the commission of James the 2d called for the surrender of our charter, we did not surrender it. Though

* Appendix note D.

we bent before the storm, we did not break down under it. We preserved the charter as the talisman of our being, the palladium of our rights, the idol of our affections. Awaiting the revolution of 1688, we temporized, and though the charter had been, so far as irregular power could do it, annulled, after that glorious event, viz. the revolution of 1688, we went on acting under it, without clamour or apology, as unharmed and unforfeited. When the mother country was in the right, or we thought it so, nothing could surpass the energy and enthusiasm of our patriotism. Under the fascinating influence of the administration of the elder Pitt, we sent 500 men into the Canadian expedition.— We assisted, and more than in our proportion assisted in the seige and conquest of the Havana. The truth is, that our consciousness of military merit and fortitude, was taught us by that Canadian war. We were received, and at first despised as provincials; but we were Yankees and learnt rapidly. We frequently relieved our royal and courtly associates, from the effect of error and panic, by the skill of our just taught, almost self taught officers; and we sustained them by the unbroken fortitude, or the hardy enterprise of men, who habituated to the exercise of self opinion, and prompt in invention of all the means necessary to an end, and undaunted in their execution, knew not despair or sick-

ness of heart. This fact is of much more importance in the history of our revolution, than has been assigned to it. We had fought by the side of British officers and soldiers, and though we did not in the result despise them, we were by no means taught to despise ourselves. This was true in a certain sense of all the colonies, but the feelings arising out of these transactions, operated much more decidedly in Rhode-Island, on account of the immense disproportion of our levies, compared to our population. This was the secret cause of our not being dismayed by the threats of regular troops, of the king's forces, of fleets, that would batter and conflagrate our towns. We were unintimidated by fulminations of devastation, and extermination. Here, in Rhode-Island, we spurred on the contest. We had spirits that were solicitous to hasten events, and render battle inevitable. In cool review such daring appears incredible, and would still seem mere fatuitous or head-long rashness, if we did not know that men of consideration, who had much to risk in fortune, character and domestic happiness, were foremost in these feelings and the enterprizes to which they led. We were pre-eminently a commercial colony. Before the enactment, or during the negligent enforcement of the English Laws of Trade, we grew up with prodigious thriftiness. The new system adopted after the peace of 1763, not only checked our

commerce, but indicated a systematic design of oppression. Of this design, we had an intuitive conception, and to it an invincible repugnance. It has lately, not two months ago, been stated by a British minister in the House of Commons, "that however the attempt at taxation might be viewed as the immediate cause of the American explosion, yet the train had been long laid, in the severe and unbending efforts of England to extend more rigourously than ever the Laws of Trade. "Every little case," he says, "that was brought before the Board of Trade, was treated with the utmost severity."* The two really great cases that occurred, originated here. The first was the attack at Newport on the 17th June 1769, of the armed revenue sloop Liberty, whose captain had been guilty of some oppressions and enormities. She was attacked by a band of unknown people, who cut her cables, let her drive on shore on the point, where they cut away her masts, scuttled her, carried both her boats to the recently planted Liberty Tree, at the upper end of the town, and burnt them. The second was the affair of the Gaspee on the 9th of June 1772. The first blood that was shed in the revolutionary contest, by that very act begun, stained her deck, and it was drawn by a Rhode-Island hand. Yes, the blood of lieutenant Duddington, was the first blood drawn

* Huskisson's Speech 12th May last.

in the American cause. The scene of the transaction is within our view, and you have now in this assembly, four of the lads, now veterans, who were zealous and foremost partizans, on that brave occasion. How powerfully permanent is the effect of early principle and habit, how indestructible the cast of original character! How true it is, that "as the twig is bent, the tree inclines." From all I know of these gentlemen, and I have known a good deal—from all their merits and their peculiarities, I should have said, that these were the men, that were engaged in that enterprize. They are they, who on the proposition of their patriotic leader, John Brown exclaimed, "we are the boys that can do it."

We are obliged to read in our own American books, disquisitions, almost controversial, on the question, "who gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution," as some in degrading metaphor have chosen to express the thought. I have been compelled to listen upon this topic, to inflated declamation, rather than just argument, from grave senators, on the question, whether Virginia or Massachusetts struck the first and decisive blow. The debate, in feigned mutual difference, and sweet complacency, always proceeded on the thought, that those two most important and meritorious states, solely begun, sustained and accomplished the revolu-

tion. That all the other states, had hardly an interest or a participation. Rhode-Island and the Gaspee it was always convenient to forget. It is from foreign, and impartial historians, that we are reminded of the relative importance of that deed, which first impressed a bloody hue on our proceedings, and doomed its perpetrators, if the virtue of the country could have permitted their detection, to irremissible death. Hear what Governor Huteson says on this subject. In a letter to commodore Gambier dated Boston, June 30th, 1772, he states—“Our last ships carried you the news of the burning of the Gaspee schooner at Providence. I hope if there should be another like attempt, some concerned in it may be taken prisoners and carried directly to England. A few punished at execution-dock, would be the only effectual preventive of any further attempts.” In another letter to secretary Pownall dated August 29, 1772, he says. “People in this province, both friends and enemies to government, are in great expectations from the late affair at Rhode Island, of burning the king’s schooner, and they consider the manner in which the news of it will be received in England, and the measures to be taken as decisive. If it is passed over without a full enquiry and due resentment, our liberty people will think they may with impunity commit any acts of violence, be they ever so atro-

cious, and the friends to government will despond, and give up all hopes of being able to withstand the faction. The persons who were the immediate actors, are men of estate and property in the colony. A prosecution is impossible. If ever the government of that colony is to be reformed, this seems to be the time, and it would have a happy effect, in the colonies which adjoin it." Again, September 2, 1772, he writes to Samuel Hood, Esq. that—"Captain Linzee can inform you of the state of Rhode Island colony better than I can. So daring an insult as burning the king's schooner, by people who are as well known as any who were concerned in the last rebellion, and yet cannot be prosecuted, will certainly rouse the British lion, which has been asleep these 4 or 5 years. Admiral Montague says, that Lord Sandwich will never leave pursuing the colony, until it is disfranchised. If it is passed over, the other colonies will follow the example." I hope that the importance of these singular and authentic documents, in some degree expiates the offence of tediousness, in referring to them. As to the effect produced by this daring act, and its baffled prosecution, the dread of ministerial vengeance, and the deep but calm determination to meet that vengeance, I must depend on tradition, and appeal to the recollections of the few survivors, of that portentous period. The effect was uni-

versal. The flames of the Gaspee seem to have been not only seen, but felt throughout the continent. There were signs abroad which prognosticated a hurricane. Creation seemed oppressed for a while with a dead calm. The sky was cloudless, but the sun was red. The stars seemed enlarged. Stilly sounds issued from the clefts of the earth, and the sea rose without wind into vast waves. But the will of Rhode Island was fixed. Independence, unqualified independence, its aim, and it proceeded accordingly. In 1774 you did an act, if possible, more positive, daring, and decisive, more unequivocally indicative of your war-like spirit and your determination to be independent. You rose, as the British lawyers said, from common felony to high and atrocious treason. As soon as the proclamation, prohibiting the importation of arms from England, was known here, you dismantled the king's fort at Newport, and took possession of 40 pieces of cannon. All our leading men, not only had at heart, but avowed the same sentiment as that contained in general Greene's letter to governor Ward, then a member of the first Congress, dated on the 4th June, 1774, at the camp on Prospect hill. "Permit me," says he then, "to recommend from the sincerity of my heart, ready at all times to bleed in my country's cause, a declaration of independence, and call upon the world and the great

God who governs it, to witness the propriety and rectitude thereof." We anticipated Congress in the declaration of independence; for, by a solemn act of our General Assembly, we dissolved all connexion with Great Britain, in the May previous. We withdrew our allegiance from the king, and renounced his government forever, and, in a declaration of independence we put down in a condensed, logical statement, our unanswerable reasons for so doing. I draw my facts from records, nothing is coloured or exaggerated. What, then, would be the conclusion, if you were a jury impannelled on oath to give a verdict, with these facts so proved upon the question, who gave the earliest impulse to the revolution? But no, you cannot be a jury. You are deeply interested in honour and reputation, which on such a question constitutes the very and the true interest. But those who are disinterested, those who are even adverse, foreign writers and statesmen, and even a present minister of Great Britain, have settled the case in your favour.

Our conduct in the war, was in perfect keeping with our previous character. The news of the battle of Lexington, reached this town on the evening of the same day, the 19th of April, 1775. In spite of the evasions and vacillations of the Governour and lieutenant Governour, three days after you poured your hasty levies of militia, a

large detachment into Massachusetts. In the same year you raised and had in service 1200 regular troops. You afterwards raised three state regiments and this from a population of about 50,000 souls--an astonishing fact! According to Gibbon, the calculation confirmed by the experience of all ages, is that a community that sends into the field more than the one hundredth part of its population, will soon perish from exhaustion. You did vastly more than this--voluntarily more than Bonaparte in his severest conscription ever dared demand. The truth is your spirit was high and warm, your generosity reckless, your soaring, romantic. It is one of the few evils amidst the innumerable blessings of a confederacy, composed of states of unequal territory and population that the small must from the nature of things, contribute more in proportion than the larger state; it can be more easily congregated and excited. The flashes of sentiment are conducted from one to another, and to the whole with electric celerity. The citizens are prompt in the performance of what they promptly resolve. They bear the burden, they fight the battle, they shout the victory, and returning from its well fought field, descry the tardy contingents of larger and perhaps wiser states, plodding their cautious way to see, to admire and perchance to envy, what has been done.

You took high ground by your members in Congress, as to the mode of conducting the war. You endeavoured to give it a naval cast. Distinguished for your commercial marine, and for the enterprize and intrepidity of your mariners, you felt the necessity and urged the expediency of naval military exertion. The first little fleet, the germ, the nautilus of our present naval character and fame, was commanded by a native Rhode-Islander, commodore Esek Hopkins, who surprized New Providence, captured the governour, lieutenant governour and other officers of the crown, seized a hundred pieces of cannon, and carried off all the munitions of war from the island. The island was occupied for weeks, and with what is and I hope ever will be the characteristic of American and Rhode-Island commanders, with a most scrupulous respect for private property and individual feeling. Without striking a negro, without insulting a woman, without frightening a child, "beauty and booty," were not their watchwords. Surely these are instances enough to illustrate what was the American principle, as tested by the Rhode-Island standard. But many more might be cited.

Our geographical position is peculiar. As our ancestors long ago said in their address to Charles 2d, "we are situated in the heart of your majesty's colonies." Rhode-Island prop-

er, the head of the Narragansett Bay, in every war, must be the point of contest. Its unrivalled harbours must be filled with fleets. Its little territory covered with armies. Of New England it must be the armed front, the barricaded door. In regard to New-York, as the sentinel of Long Island Sound, its proper defence and occupation, its retention from an enemy, are essential and indispensable, to the safety of that great city and state. It is equally so in regard to the Chesapeake; for Rhode-Island is just at that striking distance for the infliction of a blow, by joint naval and military operation, which naval and military sagacity has always preferred. Rhode-Island in a relative and connected point of view, in regard to the safety of the whole country in the opinion of scientific men, of our own and foreign engineers, ought to be an object of the most exact, unceasing, and liberal care, of the general government. She is like the fabled sea-nymph, described in the Grecian anthology, and depicted on antique gems and cameos, of exquisite exility of form, but whose long, slender, and streamy arms, embrace in their graceful fold, a hundred other islands and shores.

My humble attempt, hitherto, has been that of suggesting the general national spirit that led to, and effected, our revolution, and the particular, but efficient share that, from institution.

character, and pre-disposition, Rhode-Island contributed to the main design. This last attempt, will be blamed, as fostering a delusive vanity, and deceptive self-esteem. But if individuals have a natural right to feel a generous consciousness of a pure and virtuous ancestry—if the Romans placed in the vestibules of their houses, the statues of their progenitors, that they might, by beholding them as they passed, be excited to a rivalry of their excellence, surely you as a state have a peculiar and indubitable right, to indulge in a state pride. It is justified from the purified and pious motives which impelled to your primary institution, as a body politic, and which conducted, continued, and upheld you, in the same direction, through all your difficulties, dangers, and distresses, through good report and evil report, even unto the end. That, which in the individual is a selfish or absurd vanity, diffused, mitigated, and generalized by a community, is patriotism—the cement of union—the spring of virtuous emulation—the nurse of lofty thoughts, and the impulse to heroic deeds. Rhode-Island has had, as yet, no historian; of our heroes and sages it may indeed be said—“they had no poet and they died.”

But it will likewise be said—“You have uttered truths in regard to our neighbour, which, from policy and comity, from a sort of pious

fraud, ought to have been repressed in pious silence. You have opened wounds, which ought long since to have been closed." I shall be reminded from Burke, who said, when justifying the crimes of kings, that "there is much of history that ought to be forgotten." I might in the spirit of Rhode-Island defiance say, "I thought otherwise, and therefore acted otherwise." Enlightened, scientific, and literary Massachusetts, at the present day, and long before the present day, under the ameliorations of opinions, produced by the reasonings and examples of Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, William Penn, John Locke, and Thomas Jefferson; under their own reformed constitution, under the influences of the constitution of the United States, enjoys now nearly as pure and perfect a religious freedom as any state. They marvel as much as we do at the strange delusion of their fathers. They impute it as we do, to the spirit of that age, which, out of sincere piety and deep erudition, engendered the monster bigotry. They treat it as an epidemic of the human mind, and so do we. They feel as little concern to account for their hanging Rhode-Island Quakers,* upon no evidence of wrong, as the hanging of their own people, and the best of their own people, soon afterwards, for witchcraft, upon what they called spectral evidence,

* Appendix, note G.

obtained by torture. We cannot account for these things, nor can they. "The motions of the heavenly bodies can be known to the end of centuries—the impulses of the human heart cannot be known from day to day." But at this day, such is the diffusion of light and liberality, that the most powerful appeals to human reason, the most impressive displays of divine benevolence, the most powerful defences of religious and general intellectual freedom, issue from the Massachusetts press, and from the Boston pulpit. Is it unjust, or ungenerous, to suggest, that one of the most powerful and talented champions of these true opinions, one who has extorted praise from the Quarterly, and written in successful rivalry of the Edinburgh Review, is a native of Rhode-Island. That the spirit he breathes is that of his forefathers? That his infant mind was trained by his grand-father, a signer of the declaration of Independence? If that flower of theological literature has exhaled the fragrance of renown over American letters, let it be recollected that it is sustained in its noon-tide lustre, because it was freshened by our morning dews, and sea-born zephyrs.

Chronology, perhaps propriety itself, would dictate, that I ought to fill up the space from 1776 to the present hour, with a review of the vast and various events that fill, deform, or em-

bellish, that marked space, that luminous tract of human existence. But to do this would be to write the world's history. To condense even the appropriate matter, so as to be fit for your acceptance, would surpass the compressing energy of Tacitus or Montesquieu---ordinary abilities must, and do shrink from such hopeless and endless labour. It was our revolution that has made the history of the world what it is for the last fifty years, and rendered that period worthier of profound meditation than all the rest of history besides. That revolution was like the spirit of God moving on the face of the waters. It produced a new creation of political mind---it engendered prodigious events---it regenerated, accommodated to itself, annulled, or endeavoured to annul, all that was contradictory to its elementary principle---the assertion of the rights of Human Nature. But to encompass in the mind's grasp, all its political effects, to study or explain, how it has and does influence foreign and remote nations---makes the brain ache with intensity of thought, and sublimates imagination to evanescence.--- France and its tremendous revolutions ; Spain and its appalling destiny ; Its emancipated colonies now republics modelled after our own likeness. Greece with her woes and wrongs.--- Greece calling on our great name, as she strikes her desperate, I hope not feeble blow, invoking us

as she writhes in her agonies. All these mighty themes, with all their associated trains of reflection, would crowd upon and overdo the mind. If in passing from what actually has been, and is, in hope of sweet refection and repose, we suffer ourselves to be lapped in the Elysium of prophetic reverie, and permit the splendid visions of reformed Europe, of civilized Africa, of christianized and invigorated Asia, of Greece doubly endeared by triumphant emancipation, to unfold themselves in blissful futurity; like the wings of cherubim overspread with gold, and starred with gems of radiant and heavenly hue—dazzled by excess of light we are equally overcome; the surcharged soul sinks under its extacies; the fired and phrensied brain can endure it no longer, and we shriek out with the maddened bard, “visions of glory spare my aching sight.”

But if possible, let us be tranquil and composed. To confine that review to our country, would present such a series and complication of facts, principles, parties, factions; of so many hopes disappointed, so many predictions falsified, of so many unforeseen results, of so many undeserved and even unsolicited blessings; that the mind, fixed upon a particular topic, is lost in abstraction, or endeavouring to touch, hardly to settle on all, is distressed by the variety and exhausted by the continuity of pursuit. If time and space would permit, it would be useful and

instructive, I cannot say delightful, to dwell on that distressing period of our history, from the ratification of the peace of 1783, to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It would be more instructive and at the same time unexceptionably pleasant to dwell on the history of the formation of that constitution, to “linger with fond delay” upon the elucidation of its principles, uniting as they do Liberty with Order, security to the people’s rights, and enlightened obedience from the people, to the authorities they themselves constitute. A constitution, enacted by the people themselves, providing for the general welfare, promotive, if rightly understood and practised, of domestic harmony ; lifting us above foreign controul or foreign alliance, enabling us to disregard foreign annoyance and scornfully to defy foreign subjugation. It would be at once useful and delightful to review and to eulogize the administration of Washington. To approach nearer to our own times, might be treading on debateable ground. It might raise at least an apprehension, that something casually said, or indirectly insinuated, might trench on the sacred rights of individual opinion. I hope that nothing of this sort, violative of my own prescribed course, has been as yet done. No, let us stop here, not from mere dread of offending, but in the spirit of true charity and mutual forbearance. Let us on this day, if on no other, be

animated by “that perfect love which casteth out all fear.” This is the sabbath of our Freedom, the Jubilee of our Independence. Let us march forth, then, with hearts penetrated by gratitude, and purified by prayer, the champions of Union, the devoted lovers of our common Country. Let us go and share “the feast of reason, and the flow of soul.” Let the conscious possession of rare political felicity, procured by rightful means, mingle with, and add new charms to our private enjoyments. Let this sentiment refine and spiritualize the pleasures of this day. Let it diffuse a gaiety over the severe brow of moral freedom. Our pleasures to-day, are those which expand the heart, and enlarge the mind—pleasures permitted by reason, ennobled by sentiment, and approved by Heaven.

APPENDIX.

Note A. This resolve can be found in the earliest Rhode-Island Records. I cannot venture to give the words from memory, and I cannot obtain a copy of the record in time for the Printer.

Note B. See Hutchinson's History vol. 4. page 117-23. Chalmers' Annals, chap. 8. 195--6, who quotes from what he calls the New England Papers Bundle, 3. p. 6.

The following paper shews on what conditions the inhabitants of Warwick were at length discharged. From the same paper, Bundle 3, p. 32.

At a general court, at Boston, 7th of the 1st month, 1643
—4.

It is ordered, that Randal Holden and the rest of that company shall be set at liberty; provided if they, or any of them, shall, 14 days after such enlargement come within any part of our jurisdiction, either in the Massachusetts or in or near Providence, or any of the lands of Panham, or Sokonoko, or elsewhere within our jurisdiction, then such person or persons shall be apprehended and shall suffer death by due course of law.

Per. Cur. Increase Novel, Secretary.

Note C. The General Court in October 1656, enacted, That all Quakers coming into that jurisdiction shall for the first offence be sent to the House of Correction and have one ear cut off, shall for the second offence undergo the same punishment, for the third offence shall have their tongue bored and shall be confined till sent away, at their own charges. Chalmers, chap. 8. p.160.

Three actually suffered these severe punishments in September 1678. Neal, vol. 4th 315--16.

When unable or unwilling to pay the expences of their prosecution and deportation, the Quakers were ordered to be sold to any of the English Plantations of Virginia or Barbadoes to answer the same. At last all "the accursed sect of the Quakers were banished upon pain of death." Neal vol 4. p. 323.

APPENDIX.

New-England ordinances abridged, 47. Four were actually condemned, and among them two women, Mary Scot and Mary Dyer.

The spirit and talents displayed by Wenlock Christison on his trial would have done honour to Sidney. Being asked what he had to say why he ought not to suffer the law, he inquired by what law they would put him to death. And the Court answering, by the late ordinance made against the Quakers; he desired to know who empowered them to make such an edict, and if it was not repugnant to the laws of England. The Governor replied there was a statute in England to hang the Jesuits. But rejoined the prisoner if you put me to death, it is not because I go by the name of a Jesuit but of a Quaker. I appeal to the judicatories of our common Country. The defence was overruled. Neal, 4. vol. 333. Chalmers 191.

The Rhode Island feelings as to religious, and the effect of those feelings as to civil concerns, is illustrated by the following extracts.

At present the general assembly Judgeth it their duty to signify his Majesty's gracious pleasure vouchsafed in these words to us, verbatim viz. That no person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be any way molested, punished, disquieted or called in question, for any difference of opinion in matters of religion and do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony. Late transcript by Mr. Gyles page 254. Antient Records from 1638 to 1670.

Secretary's office.

We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people we can hear of under the whole heavens. We have not only been long free together with all English, from the yokes of woflish Bishops and their popish ceremonies, against whose grievous oppressions God raised up your noble spirit in Parliament; but we have sitten down quiet and dry from the streams of blood spilt by the war in our native Country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor in this new colony have we been consumed with the overjealous fire of the (so called) godly and Christian Magistrates. We have not known what an Excise means. We have almost forgot what Tythes are, yea, or Taxes either to Church or common weal. Letter to the truly Honourable Sir Henry Vane at his House in Bel-eau in Lincolnshire.

Note D. See Chalmers p. 276. State Records &c.

APPENDIX.

Note E. See Schedule of Legislative proceedings May 1776.

Note F. The exertions of this State in *Sullivan's* expedition in 1777, were to the highest degree spirited; *volunteers* crowded from all quarters. See *Johnson's Life of Greene* vol. 1. p. 110. *Greene* pledged himself under the protection of the Guns of the French fleet, to lodge his troops within the lines of the enemy, p. 113. D'Estaing and the French fleet however did not sustain us, but went to Boston. *Greene* reaped only the honour of a well conducted retreat. An *English* writer says of him on this occasion—"Though he was most vigorously pursued, and vigorously attacked in every quarter, where ever an opening was made, yet he took his measures so well, and had chosen his posts so judiciously that although much honor was claimed and deserved on both sides, he gained the North end of the Island without any considerable loss. Quoted in *Johnson's Life of Greene* vol. 1. p. 114.

In 1780, when the French fleet under admiral *De Tier-nay*, and the French troops under *Rochambeau* were at *Rhode-Island*, *Massachusetts* liberally, but *Rhode-Island* in her usual disproportion, sent four or five thousand men who all took the field with great ardour and perfect willingness. *Rochambeau* retained only two thousand, and sent the rest back to their ha vests. *Rochambeau's Memoir*, *American Register* vol. 2 p. 160.

Note G. See an account of the *European Settlements in North America* vol. 2, pp. 150-1-2-3-4-5.



Owing to the despatch used in printing this address, the typographical inaccuracies corrected below, together, perhaps, with a few others, unavoidably occurred.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 6 line 3 from the bottom dele "our." page 8 line 1st for "How" read "Know." page 8 line 2 from the bottom for "strong" read "stormy." page 10 line 13 from the bottom for "1788" read "1688." page 14 line 2 from the top for "nor organized" read "no organized." page 15 line 2 from the bottom for "actually" read "acutely." page 23 line 9 from the bottom for "succeeded" read "preceded" page 12 instead of "that the greater territory should have have forgotten," read "that the greater community," (not indeed the greater territory.) page 25 line 6 from the top instead of "evinces" read "envies" page 32 line 4 from the bottom for "difference" read "deference." page 12 line 13 from the bottom for "unwielded" read "unwieldy."