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MR. MAN'S ORATION.

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AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITIZENS OF THE COUNTY OF KENT,

AT APPONAUG, WARWICK,

JULY 4, 1838.

BY GEORGE F. MAN.

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PROVIDENCE:  
KNOWLES, VOSE, AND COMPANY.  
1838.

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Office

WARWICK, July 9, 1838.

Sir: In behalf of the citizens of Kent, we respectfully solicit, for publication, a copy of your Oration, pronounced on the anniversary of American Independence, at the village of Apponaug.

We are aware, Sir, that, in many cases, this has been done as a mere matter of form; but, in this instance, we beg leave to observe, that its historical reminiscences alone will make it a valuable document for reference, not only to our citizens, but to every American who values the preservation of our liberties.

With the best wishes for your happiness, we are, very respectfully, your obedient servants.

CALEB WESTCOTT, JR.,  
JONATHAN REMINGTON,  
ALFRED READ,  
JOSIAH BAKER, } Committee.

GEORGE F. MAN, Esq.

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PROVIDENCE, July 14, 1838.

GENTLEMEN: A copy of the Oration delivered by me, on the fourth instant, at Warwick, is at your service. Should its publication but partially subserve the purposes by you so flatteringly anticipated, it will amply compensate for any regret that I may feel in having acceded to your wishes.

Please accept, Gentlemen, in behalf of the citizens of Kent, and for yourselves, the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE F. MAN.

MESSRS. CALEB WESTCOTT, JR.,  
JONATHAN REMINGTON,  
ALFRED READ,  
JOSIAH BAKER.



## ORATION.

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WE are assembled once more, fellow-citizens, to endeavor to mark, with a distinction commensurate, in a degree, with its illustrious dignity of character, the occasion of the return of that great and memorable day upon which the founders of our Republic, who are now no more, resolved that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent, and pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor for the fulfilment of their high and perilous resolve. An anniversary the most august known in the history of mankind, it exhibits a great people forgetting all the dissensions of conflicting opinion, all the distinctions of social condition, and as the descendants of a common ancestry, the possessors of a common inheritance, the guardians of a common trust, liberty and independence, assembling together from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the solitude of the ocean, and upon the hills of Europe, to unite in thanksgiving for the establishment of their own freedom, and in prayer for the resurrection of the entombed but immortal liberties of man throughout the earth.

Without adverting to the important effects of the American Revolution, it will be merely attempted, upon the present occasion, to illustrate some of its causes, or, in other words, to take a rapid glance at England, as to America, from the discovery of the latter to the battle of Bunker Hill. From any efforts of mine, however, upon a theme so exhausted as to have almost ceased to inspire

with hope the labors of the highest genius, an enlightened audience will not be so deficient in sagacity and prudence as to anticipate much, either of pleasure or instruction.

The great commercial intercourse which existed for several centuries between Italy and the East Indies by way of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, till the hardihood of Vasco de Gama laid open a new path through the waters of the South Atlantic, by possessing the Italians with more nautical skill and geographical knowledge, with more accurate and noble conceptions of the figure of the earth than all the other modern European nations, decreed them at once the distinguishing praise of being the boldest mariners and ablest navigators of their times, together with the immortal honor of discovering and exploring a great portion of this new western world. In 1497, five years after the great Genoese, Columbus, in attempting, under Spanish auspices, to regain the Indies by a western passage, had, by the discovery of the island of St. Salvador for Spain, anticipated his discovery of the southern continent of America for the same power in 1498, John Cabot, a Venetian, in attempting, under the auspices of England, the accomplishment of the same object by a northwestern course, discovered Labrador or the coast of the United States, — afterwards explored by Sebastian Cabot, his son, as far as North Carolina in 1498, — and thus laid the foundation of the claims of Great Britain to the continent of North America.

Nearly one hundred years succeeded the discovery of North America before England made any effort to people, with her children, the vast solitudes which had thus been nominally subjected to her power; and when, to gild with a brighter ray the declining star of her Maiden Queen, the important experiment was made, the utter ruin of those intrepid adventurers, who, far from their native skies sought a distant home through the storms of an

ocean which, at that period, when the barks that encountered it were frail, — when its winds and currents were unknown, and even the practicability of a direct passage to America was undiscovered, proved only less terrible in its wrath than the darker savage that lowered on the western confines of its waters, so completely damped the ardor of the English nation, that nothing but the alluring tales of a traveller, emblazoning the riches of the west, assisted by the mellowing influence of time, could reawaken, after a lapse of twenty years, in the reign of James the First, the baffled but inextinguishable enterprise of our parent isle of the ocean.

The first successful establishment of a permanent English colonial settlement in the United States was effected in 1607, and was hailed in Europe as a signal to emigrate, by the energy of soaring enterprise, the untiring fortitude of laborious toil, the sternness of religious faith, and the enthusiasm of civil liberty. Hence the brief space of seventy-four years originated twelve of those thirteen colonies which revolutionized America, and shook to its centre the whole civilized world.

The establishment of mere agricultural communities was at first or soon became the undoubted object of Great Britain in promoting or permitting the colonization of these shores. It was her policy, at once selfish and profound, that she should take from them, upon her own terms, whatever they might produce, and that they should take from her, upon equally unfavorable conditions, whatever they might consume; that they should be an outlet for British manufactures; that she, acting like the once renowned metropolis of Curdistan, as a kind of commercial isthmus between the east and the west, should be the grand staple to furnish Europe with the productions of America, and America with the products of Europe. It was also intended by imposts, direct or indirect, upon the exports and imports of the colonies, to



enrich the national exchequer; and, by a monopoly of all the navigation and marine interests connected with the American trade, to develop and extend her mercantile and maritime resources. And it may be observed, as a fair illustration of the general efficacy of the trade laws in aggrandizing the mother country at the expense of the colonies, that, by means of even an imperfect execution of those relating to the last-mentioned branch of her policy, the augmentation of her tonnage in sixty-eight years, equalled in amount the whole of that, which, unaided by colonial industry, she was hardly able to accumulate in seventeen hundred! And thus it happened, that when, afterwards, menaced by the armed neutrality of the north, instead of clinging, through weakness, to the protecting embraces of her shores, — with her head canopied by the blazing ensigns, and her feet embosomed in the cloud and thunder, the roar and darkness of her thousand merchantmen and battle-ships, she rode gallantly forth, and, deserted of all save the interminable expanse of the silent heavens above, and of the solitary waters around and beneath, she sought, found, and told the confederated armaments of the world, that she needed “no bulwark, no towers along the steep;” that “her march was o’er the mountain wave, her home upon the deep.”

But however clearly conceived, deliberately matured, or fully determined the purpose of Great Britain might have been, she resolved that nothing but its gradual execution, attempted from time to time, as circumstances apparently concurred, should ever unfold it to America. Conscious of the nature of her designs, she intended to creep to the cradle of infant liberty amidst the stillness of a reprobated press and the darkness of dishonored learning; and, like the serpent monster of Lybia, stolen upon the slumbers of the Numidian lion, she hoped, by wreathing with coil after coil its unprotected limbs, to have rendered forever impotent the mighty spirit of her victim.

About the year 1621 appeared the earliest of those systematically successive developments of the hostile dispositions of Great Britain, which began, as it were, with faintly crimsoning the horizon, but gradually mounting upwards, kindled into conflagration more and more of the political firmament, till what was a mere speck, scarce worthy the eye of the pilgrim, broke out upon his descendants the portent of an inevitably dreadful revolution.

It seems, that, at the period last mentioned, 1621, an exportation of colonial produce from America to England, presented the latter, for commencing the fulfilment of her schemes, one of those favorable opportunities which the petty traffic of the colonies then occasionally afforded, and the temptation of improving which the mother country had found it for some time difficult, and, at length, impossible to withstand. She accordingly surrendered herself to the guidance or rather impulse of avarice, and while the colonists were yet waging a dubious conflict for existence, greeted the almost first fruits of their toil, the almost first products of American labor ever landed on the shores of England, with an overwhelming profusion of duties.

The colonists, far from desiring a repetition of this kindness, immediately betook themselves to the shipping of Holland, and, by a direct transportation of their goods to foreign ports, avoided, for the period of thirty years, in defiance of the prohibitions of the crown, the ills they had previously encountered by touching at their native land.

This conduct of the colonists was regarded by England as an afflictive dispensation on her part, and a grievous delinquency on theirs; but, like most prudent parents, instead of abandoning her offspring to the perversity of their temper, she thought it wiser to endeavor to reclaim them from the error of their ways.



For this purpose, in 1651, was passed the celebrated Navigation Act, restricting all trade with the colonies to English built ships, owned by Englishmen; which act, however, by excluding the Dutch and all other shipping except the English, was not merely intended to secure to England the duties imposed by her on colonial exports in 1621, but, as the hour had at length come, it was also designed to introduce and execute that branch of her policy which aimed at a monopoly of all the navigation and marine interests connected with the American trade. But England was not satisfied with merely requiring the colonies to carry their goods to her, in English built ships, owned by Englishmen, and to pay her a duty on them previous to their transportation for sale elsewhere, and therefore by an act passed nine years afterwards, 1660, they were commanded to sell them to her, and sell them too with that inevitable loss or sacrifice which they must incur or sustain, from all being forced to a market whose demands were greatly inadequate to the supply, and which market, therefore, could not fail to be greatly overstocked. Still the mother country could not be satisfied, till she extended to the import trade of the colonies the same restrictions she had already imposed upon their exports. Accordingly, three years afterwards, in 1663, the colonies were commanded to bring every thing they imported of the growth or manufacture of Europe, directly from England, in English built ships, owned by Englishmen, and mostly navigated by Englishmen, and for the same to pay her an exorbitant price, partly consisting of the tax which she had already assessed and collected on those goods while in the hands of the British manufacturer or merchant, and partly consisting of that excess over the regular market price, which England was enabled to exact by reason of the great inadequacy of the supply to the demand, and of the competition which all the colonies, being obliged to resort to her, necessarily produced.

In short, the language of the Trade Laws thus far was simply this: Almost every thing the colonies produce, they must carry to England, in English built ships, owned by Englishmen, and pay her a high duty for the privilege of selling it very cheap; and, on the other hand, almost every thing the colonies consume, they must bring from England, in English built ships, owned by Englishmen, and mostly navigated by Englishmen, and pay her another duty for the privilege of purchasing it very dear. Thus by the restriction of their facilities of acquiring what they needed, and of disposing of what they had, the incitement and reward of their industry were greatly diminished, although not entirely destroyed.

The trade between the colonies was still permitted to exist, but it was spared only to be greatly taxed or wholly prohibited in 1672. In 1733, the West India trade, from the extent of its restrictions, was also virtually prohibited, though it was this and the fur trade, had with the natives of America, that enabled the northern colonies to discharge the balance which was always against them in their direct commerce with Great Britain. Finally, in 1750, when, considering that the climate, soil, and produce of their native and adopted country were not materially unlike; that they possessed no staple commodity of their own growth, nor the liberty of procuring any elsewhere, to exchange for the manufactures of England; and when, also, considering that agriculture, relaxing in her claims, permitted industry to explore and traverse new and untried paths, the people of New England began to manufacture for themselves, the fixed determination to proscribe the manufactures of America, first attempted to be executed in 1699, was now enforced to the utmost practicability of its nature, by declaring the establishments abatable as nuisances, and subjecting the manufacturers to a penalty.

To an American, who has inherited, with freedom, the

spirit that preserved, maintained, and bequeathed it, it is idle to say, that these enormities of arbitrary power, styled, with the exception of the last, the Laws of Trade and Navigation, our ancestors always reprobated as wrong, and, for years, utterly despised as nugatory. Could they have been permitted to resist England alone,—could they, while struggling with her, have protected the objects of even a patriot's care from the murderous incursion of the French, Spanish, and aborigines, they would have scorned not to have staked existence in an effort to live like men, rather than brook the debasement and turpitude heroically imagined to exist in the slightest recognition of the Trade Laws. As it was, New England could never be forced to yield these laws more than the mockery of a submission; not that, till after an age of conflict between a parent's hopes and a patriot's fears; nor then, till she had proclaimed their intrinsic invalidity by subjecting them to the indignity of a formal re-enactment.

Still, the Trade Laws were fraught with consequences the most important to mankind, not only because the disaffection engendered by their enactment, and the implacable animosity enkindled by their enforcement, inconsiderable as it was, made them successively a remote and an immediate cause of the great revolutionary struggle; but also because, by originating the charter and other contemporaneous disputes, involving the reciprocal rights of the colonies and the crown, they gave birth to another remote cause, distinct from but equally productive with the former, of the same memorable contest. For so surely does one misstep persist in compel the commission of a second, that, no sooner did Great Britain complete her scheme of the Trade Laws, than she was forced, in order to execute it, to devise a plan, still more infamous, embracing in its aims the utter subjugation of America. In pursuance of this latter plan, she contended,



that the charters of the New England colonies were mere acts of incorporation, alterable by Parliament, and revocable at the pleasure of the crown! The colonists maintained, that these muniments of freedom, confirming their right to the soil and investing them with powers of jurisdiction, were solemn compacts, unalterable without their consent and irrevocable without their default. Failing in this attempt to seize the charters, the mother country next endeavored to impair their efficacy by construction; or, in the language of arms, to spike that artillery which the intrepidity of its defenders would not allow her to bear off. Accordingly, she contended, that the words in the charters prohibiting the enactment of all such laws as were incompatible with the laws of England, alluded to the *ordinary* laws of England; but the spirit of Lexington referred them to the *fundamental* laws of England, secured by Magna Charta, and confirmed by the Bill of Rights. As if to convict Old England of a systematic design to subjugate the colonies; as if to acquit New England of having originated, by her perversity, these precursors of civil strife, and to cast upon the real author of them the shame of those calamities they were shortly destined to produce, the royal or unchartered colonies were afflicted with similar dissensions as strongly presaging the necessity of an ultimate arbitrament by the sword; England alleging, among other absurdities, that representation was a privilege allowed by the crown; the colonies insisting, with equal firmness, that it was a right inherent in the people.

Such were the indeterminate relations subsisting between a pretended mother and her offspring, till the arrival of one of the most memorable eras in the annals of the latter, the year 1763, brought with it events, importing, that the last hold England had upon America was gone. The French, — who, under the guidance of Verrazano, a Florentine, in 1525, followed Sebastian

Cabot's route along the eastern shores of our continent ; and, profiting by the neglect of England to improve her discoveries, in 1535 nominally, and in 1604 actually and permanently, took possession of the Canadas; after the peace of 1745, gradually proceeded to connect them with Louisiana by a chain of posts and forts from Quebec to New Orleans, and either by themselves or their Indian allies, were perpetually burning, plundering, and butchering our eastern, northern, and western frontiers, — the French, after an arduous conflict of seven years, from 1756 to 1763, by the united arms of England and America, were completely overthrown and forever driven back to the westward of the thread of the Mississippi. New Netherlands or New York, — which was as needlessly hostile in the hands of the Dutch, as in those of our own enterprising countrymen, its capital, New Amsterdam or New York, has since been necessarily inauspicious to the commercial greatness of New England, — after being possessed by the subjects of the stadtholder for fifty years, from 1614 to 1664, — upon the ground of its having been discovered first by Cabot the younger, in 1498, and afterwards, in 1609, by Hudson, a British subject, sailing, as it was falsely alleged, under a British commission, and of the incapacity of a British subject, thus commissioned, to alienate his discoveries as his own, — had been demanded years before the overthrow of the French, and pacifically surrendered by the Dutch to commissioners of the British crown; thus sealing, at a very early period, a fountain of many disquietudes, which, unlike most of those our brave ancestors partook of, was a fountain, we hope, of ills anticipated rather than of evils felt. The Spaniard, — who, from his vicinity to the Carolinas, which he claimed as beyond the line of coast explored by Sebastian Cabot in 1498, and as first discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512, was to the south what the Canadian, similarly situated, was to New Eng-

land, and in his irruption from Augustine faintly imaged to the southerner the sufferings of his brethren at the north,—the Spaniard, to procure the restitution of Havana, ceded Britain the possession of the Floridas, and as he and the Frenchman, by a family compact, had become allied in blood as they were associated in guilt and misfortune, (neither of them having preserved unconquered nor left unstained what there he found,) they both joined hand in hand, and both, at the same time, “through Eden took their solitary way.” Exiled from the borders of the old Atlantic’s gray and melancholy waste, where his ancestors had lived through the still lapse of ages, the Indian had never intermitted a patriotism that steeped the heavens in fire and the earth in blood; but grown at last a broken, dispirited, melancholy fragment of the sublime, and overawed by the stupendous energy and inexhaustible resources of a being who had swept him from shore to shore, he either stood at a distance on the verge of the forest, gazing in silent awe and wonder at the mysterious workings of the transforming power of industry and art, or bereft of all the native sunshine of his soul, and accompanied only by the splendors of fading day, journeyed on far away up into the wilderness, as it were, to acquaint Nature, his mother, that all she had kindly bestowed, the simplicity of her child had lost.

In short, those peculiar difficulties and dangers, which, from the beginning, had hampered and harassed the colonies, and by constraining them to disguise, beneath an exterior of loyalty and submission, the rebel soul and traitor purposes of freedom, had always been the basis and sole guarantee for the perpetuity of the little authority which great Britain possessed in America, were entirely and forever gone. And yet, after having proved, by experiments made and repeated for more than a century, under every possible advantage, her utter incapacity to force upon the colonies the laws of trade or a system



of external government, so infatuated was she, as to attempt now, at this time, when every circumstance was reversed against her,—in defiance of the universal jealousy of Europe, of France burning to avenge her recent discomfitures, and of America fresh from the teachings of a long and arduous conflict,—the introduction and enforcement of the more exceptionable system of an internal form of government, or the assertion and maintenance of a right to tax the colonies without those colonies' consent. A right, which Plymouth, Maryland, Rhode Island, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, comprising a majority of the colonies, had successively negatived by the most express and solemn legislative declarations almost the moment it was possible to legislate;—a right, which, in 1680, had been practically asserted and successfully resisted in the Jerseys under the dominion of Sir Edmund Andros;—a right, the bare suggestion of whose exercise, but a short time previous, in 1754, had been indignantly and universally repelled, under circumstances which showed, beyond mistake, that no end, however equitable, could alleviate for a moment, in the eyes of America, the aspect of so obnoxious a means, because so alarming a precedent;—a right, which neither Walpole nor Chatham, though alike distinguished by a kind of supernatural potency of character, ever dared to breathe of asserting; and though the former of these men exerted so terrible an agency over the baser affections, that it bowed rebuked only in presence of the godlike empire of the latter over the nobler attributes of our nature.—And under the preposterous pretence, too, of raising a revenue in America to defray the expenses of defending, protecting, and maintaining the same! When the British ministry well knew, that Great Britain had been more than indemnified by a monopoly of its trade and the entire control of its commerce;—when they equally knew that the colonies had never refused, and

were still willing to comply with the requisitions of the crown for these purposes, — offering blood or treasure, or both, if sought through the legitimate media of their own legislatures; — when it was also notorious, that, heretofore, their zeal had so far transcended their abilities, that the mother country had refunded them, annually, nearly a million of dollars for the last five years of the French war; — when, in fine, three thousand of her young men, the very flower of New England, lay then, at that very moment, stark and mouldering under the ramparts of Louisburg, or fallen with Wolfe on the heights of Abraham!

What, then, were the immediate causes of the stamp act? To say, that the king was of an arbitrary temper; that his secret counsellor, Lord Bute, more passionate than wise, quickened and propelled the natural tendencies of his character; that his prime minister, Lord Grenville, who, to a narrowness of mind which had been fostered and confirmed by his official and professional habits, superadded the vanity of financial skill and an utter ignorance of America, was wholly unequal to the management of great affairs; and, in short, that a majority of Parliament, who should have withstood the torrent of despotism, only accelerated, by their selfishness and corruption, the impetuosity of its course; — to say all this, would be stating, it might seem to many, a very ordinary coincidence in the history of monarchy. If we add to this, the insatiate avarice of the British manufacturer and merchant, who foresaw, in the passage of the stamp act, the restoration and re-enforcement of its elder born but twin sister, the Trade Laws, but who did not perceive at first what, as their subsequent petitions and remonstrances apparently implied, was ultimately discovered, that the colonies, constituting an integral part of the empire, could not suffer without inflicting proportionate distress upon the whole; the unprincipled selfishness of the

landed aristocracy, the pillars of a state neighbored to destruction by the enormous requisitions of eternal war, and who would basely be beholden to America to ease them of a burden, which, they insolently said, that she, America, had not the spirit to accumulate;—if we also consider the natural pride of the British nation, raised to an unprecedented height by great triumphs succeeding a long depression of the national arms;—a pride, which became ferocious upon the unexpected discovery, that, by these great triumphs, they were covered with honor, but more loaded with debt, and which prompted them to oppress, while it deluded them with the belief, that, in the relative disproportion of the countries, however oppressive their requirements, America would not, or, if so hardy as to attempt it, could not, present any serious opposition to their will;—as observed, when we take into consideration all these particulars, the despotism, folly, ignorance, incapacity, selfishness and corruption of Government incited and sustained by the pride and distress of the subject, which induced, in turn, laxity of principle and callousness of heart, and a mistaken estimate of the temper and resources of the colonies, it seems as if we could discover a combination of circumstances peculiarly calculated and well worthy to have helped on, at this particular time, a measure, which, though differing in its title and avowed object from all preceding acts of Parliament in relation to the colonies, yet, being designed to increase her revenue and lighten her burdens, was, notwithstanding the disclaimer of Burke and Chatham, manifestly in perfect accordance with the settled designs and long-established policy of England, but which, whether regarded in its purpose or effects, was one of the most stupendous monuments of wickedness and folly that ever dishonored a naturally brave and philanthropic, wealthy and enterprising, free and enlightened people.



It is a fact, familiar to us all, that the stamp act was passed in 1765, under the administration of Sir George Grenville, by an almost unanimous vote in the House of Lords, and by a vote of five-sixths in the House of Commons. It is likewise familiar to us, that, in consequence of the determined resolution, indefatigable zeal, and ceaseless activity of America, its execution could not be enforced; and that, owing to the adoption of measures tending to operate upon those mercenary feelings which originally prompted, or greatly promoted, its enactment, the stamp act was repealed in 1766, under the administration of Lord Rockingham, ostensibly because opposed to political equity and the true principles of commerce, but really because it could not be enforced. At the same time, likewise, was carried, by a great majority, the famous Resolution, that Parliament had a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever! A most ominous resolve, since, as early as 1698, it was a common opinion in all the colonies, particularly Connecticut and Rhode Island, — whose charters were the least restrictive, — that Parliament had a right to bind the colonies in *no* case whatsoever. We know too, that, in 1767, under the nominal administration of Lord Chatham, but the actual management of Charles Townshend, during Chatham's illness, the subject of colonial taxation was revived, and that, with little opposition in either House of Parliament, an act was passed, imposing duties upon a considerable number of the most important colonial imports, accompanied by another act establishing a new board of commissioners, as well to secure the execution of itself as the enforcement of the previously existing laws of trade and navigation. It is equally notorious, that, by recurring to the same measures, or measures similar to those which produced a repeal of the stamp act, namely, measures for non-importation or non-consumption and non-exportation as regarded the mother country, America

again forced England to retrace her steps; and that, in 1770, under the administration of Lord North, all the duties imposed in 1767 were repealed, excepting those on tea. These were still retained, and as they were manifestly too inconsiderable to furnish even a pretext for alleging, as they did in the case of the stamp act, that they were imposed or retained for the purpose of raising a revenue in America to defray the charges of its defence, protection, and maintenance, it was now contended, that they ought be submitted to, because they were so inconsiderable as to yield no revenue! And when it was objected, that the ground of complaint was the assertion of the abstract right, and not the actual burden of taxation; that submission to the remaining duties, though inconsiderable, would be an acknowledgment of the right of taxation, which, if moderately asserted now, might still, hereafter, be enforced to the utter ruin of America, they were very gravely assured, that these duties were retained only as an evidence of the right of taxation; which right as it would not be exercised at present, so neither was it intended that it should hereafter be enforced to the injury of America or the benefit of herself! Therefore America ought to submit to it, and therefore England was determined to contend for it; — that is, for something which was good for nothing, and never would be; and contend for it, too, for that very reason, because it was good for nothing, and never would be!

Had Lord North gone to war for something which was good for nothing, and never would be, he would have differed but very little from most of those who have embarked on similar enterprises; but when he made the worthlessness of the thing the very reason of contending for it, he threw over the contemplated contest an air of originality, as regarded his lordship, which, notwithstanding the many wars before and since, it still retains down to the present day.

It is quite remarkable, that the expression, "march of mind," and the Georgian star were first seen in Great Britain about this time; but it is still more remarkable, that, in descanting upon the singular fitness of the one to mark the progress of her sages in the knowledge of things above, a British reviewer should have never observed the absolute necessity of the other to denote the progression of her rulers in the comprehension of things below. For, under Grenville, the object of American taxation was first revenue to England, then revenue to America; — under Townshend, both; — under Lord North, neither!

The war of words being ended, after raging for the period of five years, and both parties, as usual, during the time of its continuance, having either fortified their original positions with additional entrenchments, or pressing forward in the eagerness of strife, assumed new ones more in advance, America stood waiting, in tempestuous silence, the movements of her grand adversary, when tidings came through the medium of her trusty sentinels, that the tea, shipped by the East India Company at the suggestion of Parliament, was coming on, and to be sustained, if necessary, by all the power and patronage of Government. To the kingdom of Great Britain at large, and more especially to the ministers, who had watched over that kingdom till none were so poor as to do it reverence, the hour now passing, no doubt, seemed heavily laden with the shadows, clouds, and darkness that are wont to overcast the horrid interim that intervenes the incipient movement and the final acting of all unhallowed deeds. But to our fathers, whose grievous lot it was, instead of ours, to have fallen upon times that emphatically tried men's souls, and particularly to the chosen few, who, in an hour so rude, were called, by the general voice, to sustain, as pillars, on its first shock, the trembling arch of an empire resting ultimately upon the people themselves, the present was a season of unprecedented



difficulty, danger, and distress; such a sea of troubles as the eye of young Liberty never looked out upon, and which the heart can as little conceive as the tongue adequately portray. If the tea is landed, said they, the duty must be paid, the principle established, and, instead of possessing ourselves, or transmitting to others, the proud inheritance of freedom, we and our children will be broken and debased beneath the exercise of a power as boundless in extent as it is endless in duration. Nay, more; this obnoxious plant now coming, so insignificant in the eyes of a philosopher, yet destined to shake the pillars of the world, was, as it were, another forbidden fruit, and it depended wholly on the virtue of America, whether mankind were to be now politically, as, it is said, they were once morally, lost. Triumphant over sea and sky the tea finally arrived. But what are the most refractory powers of nature compared to men engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty! A professed enemy of contention, the Philadelphian was content to refrain from any further opposition than just sufficient to impress upon the instruments of oppression the expediency of an immediate return, and a necessity of the tea's reconveyance. The Manhattanese, or New Yorker, was satisfied to follow his example. The New Englander, the descendant of the pilgrims, quite as characteristically, cast it into the bosom of the deep! And as Otis, Warren, Quincy, and Adams beheld the dark blue waters receive into their chambers the thing of strife, and, indifferent to an event which would soon bring on one of the most trying and terrible struggles the children of men ever saw, relapse at last into their habitual sullenness of repose; — when they reflected, through what variety of untried scenes and changes they might pass, upon the wide, the unbounded prospect stretched before them, like those of the suspended æronaut, when he feels, the first time, the disruption of the cord that bound him

to his mother earth, their emotions must have been such as can be taught only as they were learnt, at the hazard of all we hold dear ; whilst o'er the vast assemblage of spectators there must have stolen a tremor of remorse, as, respiring from the grandeur of the scene, they were permitted to reflect, that they had urged these intrepid spirits abroad upon an element, whence it was then not improbable, and soon became certain, that some of them were destined never to return.

Things now began to wear a more clouded aspect. The attack upon the king's commissioners, at Boston, in 1768 ; upon the king's sloop, *Liberty*, at Newport, in 1769 ; upon the king's troops, at Boston, in 1770 ; upon the king's schooner, *Gaspee*, at Providence, in 1772, were events that had already transpired ; and having played back and forth, like the electric corruscations of a troubled and laboring sky, were acknowledged of all, save the devoted head, the irrepressible combustion of an atmosphere stored with accumulated wrath. And now, in 1774, the year succeeding the destruction of the tea, the seizure of the royal arms and munitionary stores at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the dismantling of the king's fort at Newport, flew, like signal rockets, from different and distant points of the Atlantic coast, which, while they told the vast inland by their trails of fire, the crisis was at hand, proclaimed by their simultaneous but unpremeditated movement, that America was one. The storm burst, the crash came, the bolt fell at Lexington. It shook America and was felt throughout the whole civilized world. The cry, that war was inevitable, straight broke from every part of New England, and the fiery south and rock-ribbed west returned, "Let it come !" Man had now successively traversed every quarter of the globe and found no rest. The name of Revolution had not yet grown stale to the common ear. Deep had not yet called unto deep in the grand jubilee of freedom.

South America, then as now, lay floating, many a league, but not then as now like some huge leviathan pursuing his gigantic play to the vast theatre of nature, but like this mighty tenant of her shores hampered, maimed, and bleeding under the savagery of its merciless pursuers, she was yielding her life-blood to the Portuguese and Spanish despot. Africa, unemancipated, was crying unto Europe, and Asia, from the Carnatic, was appealing to the same source. In Europe, Denmark, herself long cured to despotism, had but lately seen Sweden pass into the same abyss. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had scarce done feeding the first time their cannibal appetites upon the limbs of dismembered Poland. Holland, decaying, gave no signs. The Switzer amid the glaciers, in the inaccessibility of his liberty, seemed to intimate the impracticability of general freedom. The star of America climbing through cloud and battle-smoke, its silver mantle had not yet revealed to the Spaniard nor the Frenchman the terrible secrets of his prison-house. Italy, the land of Brutus, lay sunk in sloth, and the Turk was holding high carnival over the unransomed monuments of Greece. Ireland ran blood, and on England's pale-faced shore, the beacon of liberty, which had shone for ages a star amid the storms of commotion, had at last fallen into the custody of men, who seemed determined, by corrupting its consecrated aliment, to quench, if possible, its imperishable flame. But the American people arose, and, like the Israelite in the wilderness, led on by a dark cloud, went up unto Bunker's Mount, to see, if where Franklin might have snatched the thunderbolt from heaven, they could not, under the guidance of their immortal heroes, pull down the thunderer-of-the-earth.

But the millions of human beings, here and beyond the deep, whose counsels in the cabinet, whose valor in the field, or whose sympathy with the oppressor or the oppressed, made them partakers in heart or hand of the



great revolutionary struggle, departing one by one, have nearly all disappeared. A few more euns, and every lingerer, whose lids are dimly unbarred, whose ears are feebly waked to the fleeting pageantry of earth, will have been lighted beyond the regions of unrest. The tattered flag of '76 can no longer chase its staff, and the mound over which it waved has stooped its timeworn head upon the greensward that wraps the sleep of its defenders. In the solemn round of creation, throughout all the provinces of animated being, a world of new life has arisen, and the renovated landscape and splendor-teeming seashore bespeak art's emulous concurrence with nature in obliterating the memorials of the strife of a kindred people. Suffice it therefore to say, that having done and suffered for mankind beyond the recompense of earth, with bodies bruised and spirits worn, the remnant of a band thinned by every form of ill, the heroes of '76, under the guidance of their sages, "dropped on Washington" and Lafayette "the wreath of victory, and stamped on" their country "the seal of independence;" thus evincing to the world and teaching their posterity, that no aims are too exalted for Americans united within themselves, and resolved, under God,

"To live like Freemen, or like Freemen die!"