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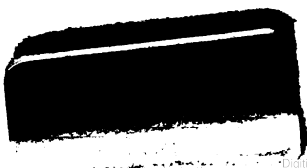


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OR

LIBERTY RESTORED:

*A POEM, IN TEN BOOKS,*

BY THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

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*Æneadæ in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.*

*Æn. viii. 648.*

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Baltimore:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN VANCE AND CO.

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.....  
1809.

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“ Gentlemen have been too liberal in dealing out reflections against me ; in any question where *England is right, I will support her ; where she is wrong, I will oppose her injustice ;* and in advocating the just cause of America, or of any other power against the injustice of England, *I say I am advocating the cause of my country.* I am not the advocate of America—I am not the advocate of France, but the advocate of my country, *because I am the advocate of justice.*” Whitbread’s speech upon the orders in Council, March 6, 1809. *Morning Chronicle.*

“ I feel a sort of enthusiasm in favour of America, not only on account of the origin of the people, but also on account of the noble stand they made for their Independence.” Lord Erskine, February 15, 1808. Debate upon the Orders in Council. *Cobbett’s Deb. x. 473.*

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**PREFACE.**

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**IT** is an observation of professor Schütz, that the objects which Æschylus appears to have had in view when he wrote his patriotick tragedy of Prometheus, were to confirm the Athenians in the ardent love of that liberty which they so enviably enjoyed, and to inspire them with an utter detestation of despotism, and a determined resistance to oppression. In the voluptuous monarchy of Persia the poet saw enough to disgust him with tyranny; and the contrast exhibited between the miseries attendant upon such a form of government, and the happiness arising from Athenian freedom, was a cause sufficiently powerful to raise to an exertion almost more than human the genius of the Shakespear of Greece. Such too is the object of the author of the present work. Born and educated in a land of liberty; descended from ancestors who, in the senates of their country, have with invariable

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uniformity given their voices\* in defence of its rights, and for the preservation of its liberties, he could not but feel, in common with every British patriot, his whole indignation roused at the attempt of a weak and wicked administration to subjugate his free brethren in America, and thus not only to destroy one of the first principles of the British constitution, but to pave the way to the introduction of despotick power at home. If enthusiasm has any where influenced my pen, let the reader reflect that it is an enthusiasm if not caused, yet aggravated by the proclaimed increase of the influence of the crown, and the gigantick strides of modern corruption. Let him reflect too that it is directed to the best of objects, the recovery of the past, the preservation of the present, and the security of our future liberties. That my work will in these times escape censure and abuse, is neither to be unexpected, nor regretted; for abuse is nothing more than the malignant effusion of that corruption, against which my pen has been uniformly, I wish I could add, efficaciously employed. If some

\* See the divisions at the end of *Chandler's Debates* vol: viii. and xii.



## PREFACE.

passages of the poem should seem not immediately to relate to the period' in which they meet the publick eye, let it be remembered that those passages were written some years ago amid suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act, amid treason and sedition bills, amidst the imprisonments of learned and patriotick men, and above all under a system of spies and informers, that tended, among other evils, to diminish the chief source of human happiness, the endearments of domestick life.

In respect to the plan and nature of the poem, I have but little to observe. It will probably be remarked, as it has been of the Pharsalia, that its subject is too near my own times; be it so; the enlightened reader will perceive an endeavour to remedy that defect; and let him remember that human life is short, and had the validity of this objection been allowed, the poem would never have been written. Some criticks will perhaps object to the length of the episodes; but the same objection has been made to the best of poets in the best of times. If malice, or ignorance should suggest that the Americans were the enemies of my country, I positively deny the assertion. The American

war was the war of a corrupt administration in direct opposition to the voice of the most enlightened patriots of the British nation. The Americans have been justly called our children, and our brethren, they have boasted of Old England as their *home*\*, and the concessions ultimately made to them have manifested the original injustice of the war. They took up arms in defence of the same rights and liberties, which Englishmen themselves defended at their glorious revolution, and similar success attended both. These are not the poet's sentiments only, they are the sentiments of a Rockingham, a Saville, a Camden and a Chatham†. It is true that lord North, and his associates stamped the Americans with the name of rebels, but "the term rebel (as Mr. Fox observed in the House of Commons, March 11th, 1776) was no certain mark of disgrace; for that all the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages have been called rebels; that they even owed the constitution which enabled them to sit in that house to a rebellion."

\* See the note, b. iv. ver. 156.

† See the notes, b. iv. ver. 75. 145. 148. 153. 164. 182. 188. 203. V. 61. 96. 109. 112. 123.

In respect to the language and versification, fewer liberties have been taken than will be found in Milton, and none which are not found in him. Some phrases and sentiments may appear to have been borrowed, which have run from my pen without my knowing whence they came: others indeed I have knowingly imitated, as Virgil and Milton have done before me, from the best authors of antiquity.

The annotations are principally confined to historical proofs of the sentiments delivered by the characters introduced in the body of the work, and in judging of these characters, the upright critick will not overlook the vindication. He will reflect too that the opinions expressed are not always those of the poet; it is sufficient for me that I have no where voluntarily transgressed the bounds of historick record.

The imagery is, for the most part, the same as Milton's, and as peace and liberty are to be ranked among the best blessings of man, they naturally suggest the idea of being odious to the enemy of man.

I now dismiss my work with the consoling reflection that I have endeavoured to inculcate

the best lessons of morality and virtue : that my endeavours will be crowned with success, would be vanity to expect ; but if I fail, I shall fail in the greatest of undertakings, where success is uncommon, and the attempt pardonable.

LONDON,  
June 1, 1809.

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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK I.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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**Invocation.** Subject proposed—the restoration of Liberty. Grief of Satan, and his speech to the Infernal Angels assembled in Pandæmonium. Omen, and consequent indignation of Satan, who upbraids Moloch and other potentates of Hell. Fury of Moloch, appeased by Beelzebub. Moloch advises war. Second speech of Satan, laying open the plan of the campaign, his various deeds in America, and a portion of the history of the war. Mammon's speech, explaining his success among the hierlings of Britain, but deploring his incapability of corrupting Lord Chatham and the patriots. Other Omens. Array of the infernal host, and their departure for York-town in Virginia. Satan follows in his car.

# WASHINGTON,

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OR

## LIBERTY RESTORED.

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ALMIGHTY BEING? who on the human mind  
Hast deep impress'd the unutterable worth  
Of heaven-sprung Liberty, and didst denounce  
The curse of ignorance with all its woes  
Upon that nation which should spurn her gifts;     5  
To thee I call, and beg thy heavenly aid  
To uphold my mortal pinions while I sing  
Freedom restor'd to half the peopled earth  
By freedom's noblest bulwark, Washington.  
Say the first cause of all this good to man;     10  
What rank oppression! what despotick laws!  
What deep-laid plots of wicked ministers  
To strangle in its birth the immortal seed!  
Or, if the infernal potentates of hell

Line 14. *Or, if the infernal*—That Providence, in its dispensations of human affairs, frequently admitted of the agency of evil spirits, stands recorded in various passages of sacred history; among others in 1 Kings xxii. 20, where Ahab, the son and successor of Omri, was persuaded to go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead, by a lying spirit in the mouth of his prophets; which spirit was permitted by the Lord not only to persuade him, but to prevail also. It is re-

Have been permitted to resume awhile 15  
 Their power on earth to speed thy great design,  
 Say, for alone thou canst, which first and last,  
 In war, or council, lent his develish aid.

Long time had Satan view'd with envious eye,  
 From where in Pandæmonium thron'd he sat, 20  
 Columbia's mighty chief, at whose right hand  
 He saw Success waving her lucid plumes,  
 While Glory had descended from above,  
 And o'er his standard spread her eagle wings.  
 He saw, and griev'd, and thus to his compeers 25  
 Pour'd the foreboding tumults of his soul ;

“ Was it for this that we have toil'd so long  
 To avert the will of Heaven, and to mix  
 In all the affairs of men discord and war ?  
 Shall a mean rebel trample under foot 30

markable, indeed, that the celebrated duke of Manchester applied this very passage to those evil counsellers whose rash and headstrong politics caused that fatal war which is the subject of the present poem ; but the enlightened reader needs not to be told that, how evil soever the poet may believe such counsels to have been, his whole object in introducing his machinery is purely allegorical. *Lords' Debates, March 5, 1776, v. p. 189.* Almon.

30. *a mean rebel*- As the direct tendency of superfluous wealth, particularly in the earlier period of life, is to enervate the human mind, pointing out only *quo ducit gula*, it is not much to be wondered at that many of the greatest characters of the world should have arisen from humble stations. “ Washington's patrimonial estate was by no means considerable ; his youth was employed in useful industry—in the practice of his profession as a surveyor.” And if the reader will take the pains to enquire into the origin of the various *administrators* (for I speak not of emperors and kings) of the European governments, either at the present, or in former times, he will find it not unfrequently obscure and humble. See *Marshall's Life of Washington*, ii. p. 2, 8vo. Phillips, 1804.



Our fruitful crops of ignorance and power?  
 Say, shall a people's choice thus reassume  
 The reins of empire we so long have plac'd  
 Under the rule of proved ministers?  
 See where Columbia's endless woods rebound 35  
 With hymns of victory; see her altars blaze  
 With the rich incense of a people's joy!  
 Heard ye that shout? All heaven, and earth, and  
 hell,  
 Chaos, and night reverberate the sound;  
 'Twas to seraphick Liberty. E'en now, 40  
 Now while we thus deliberation hold,  
 The mighty foe prepares with latest hand  
 To perfect his great work: Columbia,  
 Whence we have hop'd, as from an earthly throne,  
 Preeminent to pour upon mankind 45  
 Future oppression, civil wars and strife;  
 Columbia crown'd with freedom, plenty, peace,  
 Will propogate her blessings far and wide,  
 And all our hopes be blasted with our power.  
 Hell! hear my voice! perhaps for this last time 50  
 Do I address thee; my prophetic mind  
 Forebodes some dire misfortune to my throne,

44. *Whence we have hop'd*.—If the efforts of the British ministry to subjugate America had been crowned with success, it is hardly possible to doubt the consequences that would have ensued: "either terms must have been granted to her equivalent to independence, or else a perpetual cause of war would have remained." Other nations must have suffered by these conflicts with America, as they are now benefited by the establishment of her independence. Upon this subject the reader may consult the advertisement prefixed to *Ramsay's History*; and the *Appendix*, No. IV. 8vo. Stockdale, 1793.

B

Some speedy dissolution. Brave compeers!  
 Now give your best advice; and thou, whose gold  
 Hath mightiest influence o'er the hearts of men, 55  
 Exert thy wonted power, or rather seek  
 Some new unbroken treasure, for great need  
 Have we of every succour: fall we now,  
 We are forever fallen; we rise no more."

Scarce had he said, when in the furthest west 60  
 Seraphick splendour glided down the sky  
 And over York-town halted. Vaulted hell  
 Saw the dire sign, and to its central depths  
 Groan'd. Satan shook in all his ponderous limbs,  
 And his dread tongue forgot its utterance; 65  
 While silence, still as night, held the whole host  
 Of hell's proud chiefs; until again their prince,  
 By shame and anger rous'd, thus loud exclaim'd;  
 "Moloch! why sleepest thou? Beelzebub!  
 Mammon! and all ye potentates of hell! 70  
 Rouse, rouse your energies! For shame, ye chiefs!  
 Is this the time to sleep, when all the powers  
 Of heaven and earth combine to overthrow  
 Our new-establish'd empire, and restore  
 The reign of peace and charity to man? 75  
 E'en hell itself 's in danger: saw ye not  
 The archangel Liberty with outspread wing  
 Glide thro' the western sky, and take her stand  
 Close by our foe, near York-town's sea lav'd walls?  
 That Liberty's our death! Then farewell, hell! 80  
 Farewell, our throne! Annihilation, hail!"

So spake the archfiend: indignant Moloch rose

And with fell fury struggling, and with words  
 Half chok'd in utterance thus pour'd out his wrath ;  
 "Moloch ! why sleepest thou ? Did Moloch sleep  
 When all the embattled Seraphim engag'd  
 In doubtful war on either side of heaven ?  
 Did Moloch sleep when the uprooted hills,  
 Torn from their base, with all their ponderous loads,  
 Encounter'd in mid ether, and there fixed 90  
 Arch'd o'er heaven's pavement ? Where was Moloch  
 then,

When the dread Thunderer drove his rapid car  
 O'er fallen millions, and the forked light  
 Hurl'd us down headlong from the gates of heaven ?  
 And when in hell's profound, where all the host  
 Lay floundering, did not Moloch's dauntless spirit  
 Thirst for revenge, and urge again the war ?  
 What words have thus escap'd thee, mighty prince ?  
 I never prophesied of death to hell ;  
 I never bid annihilation hail ; 100  
 I tremble not because seraphick light  
 Hath halted over York-town. If it have,  
 Moloch will meet it there. Give me my arms ;  
 This the first time that Moloch branded stood  
 With sleepy cowardice, and this the last ; 105  
 For here I swear, and hell confirm the oath,  
 That Moloch here shall not be seen again,  
 Till he redeem his forfeited repute."

He said, and swore a Stygian oath that shook  
 E'en Satan's haughty soul ; then seiz'd his arms, 110  
 While quivering horror sat upon his lips.

To them rose Beelzebub, than whom in hell  
 No spirit more fraught with wisdom's choicest  
 stores,

And thus with soothing words the chiefs address'd ;  
 " Whence this dire discord midst immortal spirits?  
 Is 't not enough that heaven and earth combine 116  
 To undermine our cause, but must ourselves  
 Accelerate our downfall, and become  
 The scorn and ridicule of all our foes?  
 What joy in heaven to see the chiefs of hell 120  
 Divided 'gainst themselves ! Beyond this place  
 We have no other hope ; 't were vanity  
 To expect external aid, when he alone  
 Who has the power to aid us is our foe.  
 Check then this rising wrath, lest punishment 125  
 Bring with it late repentance, and that portent,  
 Which not our prince alone, but all, e'en thou,  
 Brave Moloch ! not unmov'd have seen, o'erwhelm  
 Us all in one inextricable fate."

To him thus Moloch temperate replied ; 130  
 " Thy wisdom, Beelzebub ! hath set my fault  
 In clear and open view before my eyes.  
 Moloch's ungovern'd haste shall ne'er be said  
 To have endanger'd hell ; my hate to heaven,  
 Full well ye all do know, is rooted deep ; 135  
 My interests are in hell. Our wiser prince  
 Foresees some dire misfortune to our power ;  
 We all, I own it, felt unwonted pangs ;  
 My voice then is for war, for open war,  
 And if we are to die, let's die the death 140

Of unextinguish'd hate, and whelm with us  
In one eternal ruin all mankind."

Thus spake the chief, and the universal host  
In lengthen'd acclamations rang the dome.

As the fond parent, who to distant Ind 145

Had sent his only son to amass that wealth  
Which various evils teach mankind to love,  
But which mankind too frequent at the expense  
Of health and conscience heap; him when from far

149. *Of health and conscience heap*:—The allurements and temptations which have been laid in the way of the British youth upon their arrival in Bengal are so ably delineated by one, whose judgment will scarcely be called in question, that I do not think I can render a more acceptable service to those who are unwilling to overlook the means in the attainment of the end, than by presenting them with the following extract from the celebrated speech of Lord Clive, March 1772.

"The passion for gain is as strong as the passion of love. I will suppose that two intimate friends have lived long together; that one of them has married a beautiful woman; that the friend still continues to live in the house; and that the beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend; who, though in the vigour of his youth, may, from a high principle of honour, at first resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last, or fly. Now the banyan is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him to-day, gold to-morrow; jewels the next day; and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is trade. He assures him that goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the country. In this manner is the attack carried on; and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it. Let us for a moment consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to India. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known; and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to Bengal: which is usually at the age of sixteen. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune; that My lord such a one and My lord such a

The happy parent sees, whom even hope                   150  
 Had given up for lost, and ill report  
 Of founder'd merchantmen, the ecstatick flood  
 Pours from his aged eyes with nature's joy;  
 So joy'd the archfiend, when Moloch's haughty soul  
 Return'd to its allegiance; (well he knew                   155  
 His favourite's sovereign worth, next to himself  
 He was regarded as the eye of hell;)   
 And thus with gladden'd countenance rose, and said;  
 "Thrones, Princes, Powers! since thus ye have  
 decreed

one acquired so much money in such a time: and Mr. such a one and Mr. such a one so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out; and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage, that they fix upon a period for their return before their arrival.

"Let us now take a view of one of these writers arrived in Bengal, and not worth a great. As soon as he lands, a banyan, worth perhaps one hundred thousand pounds, desires he may have the honour of serving this young gentleman at four shillings and six pence per month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough; the banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town; he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid apartments or have houses of their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret. When he returns, he tells the banyan what he has observed. The banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune; he furnishes him with money; he is then at his mercy. The advantages of the banyan advance with the rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally spends three. But this is not the worst of it: he is in a state of dependance under the banyan, who commits such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to, under the pretended sanction and authority of the Company's servant." *Debrett's Debates*, vi. 219-220.

To wage in bold defiance open war, 160  
 Know that your prince approves the great design ;  
 'Tis this alone can save us, for 'tis writ  
 Within the book of Fate, that he who long  
 Hath reign'd trimphant o'er the minds of men  
 Shall reign no more: 'tis on Columbia's plains 165  
 The victor shall be vanquish'd : hence it comes  
 That the chief powers of heaven do now unite  
 To aid Columbia's cause and Washington :  
 And hell too must unite ; no petty feuds  
 Must now disgrace our cause ; concord alone 170  
 Enabled us the eternal to oppose,  
 And uproar heaven ; 'tis this alone can save  
 Our power on earth ; for 'tis to this we owe  
 Empire, dominion, principality :  
 Let hell then but unite, and hell succeed. 175  
 What though from heaven the Omnipotent suspend  
 His golden chain, and all the planets hang  
 Revolving round their centre, and there pois'd  
 Seem to endure eternal ; yet the force  
 Of hell has ne'er been tried but with success 180  
 On earth, and why not now ? Put forth your  
 strength,  
 Ye mighty chieftains ! arm without delay ;  
 Arrest these traitorous, these rebellious sons  
 Amid their mad career ; Virginia,  
 Where fate hath now enclosed them, be their grave !  
 But above all direct your choicest darts 186  
 Against their chiefs ; the warriors Lee, and Wayne,  
 Schuyler, and Putnam, prudent Sullivan,

The thunderbolt La Fayette, mighty Greene,  
 The too successful Gates, with Pomeroy, 190  
 Ward, Mifflin, Morgan, and Pulaski's might,  
 Moultrie, St. Clair, the other Washington,  
 Lincoln, and D'Estang, valiant Rochambeau,  
 Sumpter, with Marion, and Cadwallader,  
 And many warriours more. Nor yet forget 195  
 Their various statesmen, whose prudential care  
 Supplies the warriours' wants : here above all  
 Mark that sage Nestor, Franklin, whose deep mind  
 With more than Argus' vigilance pursues  
 Our intricatest movements ; he alone 200  
 Is in himself a host, a Washington.  
 Fondly I hoped in British Wedderburne

192. *the other Washington*,—Lieutenant colonel Washington.

195. *And many warriours more*.—Some few are mentioned hereafter but it would be endless to record the Butlers, Pinckneys, Knoxes, Spencers, Heaths, Thomases, Stirlings, Moores, Thompsons, Campbells, Gregorys, Trumbulls, Clintons, Maxwells, and the long list of worthies who defended the liberties of their country, and the rights of mankind.

198. *sage Nestor, Franklin*.—Lord Chatham's opinion of this great statesman and philosopher was, that he was "one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with her Boyles and her Newtons ; who was an honor not only to the English nation, but to human nature." See *Ramsay*, i. p. 153, and ii. p. 61 ; and compare Dr. Franklin's Answer to the Queries of Mr. Strahan, published in his works.

202. *Wedderburne*.—In the celebrated examination of Dr. Franklin before the privy-council, Jan. 1774, Mr. Wedderburne, who was then solicitor-general, and council for the defendants, "delivered one of the most extraordinary invectives (abounding in the most odious personalities against Dr. Franklin) that was on any occasion perhaps ever heard in the council chamber,"—"and stands upon record as the grossest insult ever offered to a great and venerable character, the most distinguished ornament of his age and country." Among



To find this sage's equal, but in vain ;  
 For Franklin when to Wedderburne compar'd  
 Is to a twinkling star the full-orb'd moon.      205  
 Mark too financier Morris, who doth seem  
 To have found the talisman of making gold.  
 Nor let from your harpyian fangs escape

other effusions of this implacable enemy of America, he scrupled not to say of Dr. Franklin—"He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye, they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritaires. He will henceforth esteem it a *libet* to be called a man of letters; *homo trium literarum*." The dignified superiority of the American philosopher never manifested itself more clearly than by the following remark; "that though the invectives of the solicitor-general made no impression upon him, he was indeed sorry to see the lords of the council, who constituted the dernier court in colonial affairs, so rudely and indecently manifesting the pleasure they received from it." See *Belsham's Hist. of G. III.* vol. ii, p. 35, 36, 114; *Franklin's Works, Acc. of Gov. Hutchinson's Letters; Ramsay*, i. 92-3.

206. *Financier Morris*.—There are few, very few individuals to whom America was more indebted for her preservation than to this eminent and enlightened patriot. At a time when the derangement of the American finances appeared irremediable, when credit and confidence were annihilated, and nothing was heard but the distresses of the army and the clamours of the people, this able politician and financier nobly stepped forward, and by "bringing his private credit in aid of the public resources; by pledging himself personally and extensively for articles of the most absolute necessity, which could not be otherwise obtained," restored order and alleviated misery. In general Greene's army he employed an agent whose powers were unknown to that officer; "and when ever it appeared impossible for the general to extricate himself from his embarrassments, this agent was instructed to furnish him with a draft on the financier for such a sum as would retrieve the urgency of the moment. Thus was Greene frequently rescued from impending ruin by aid which appeared providential, and for which he could not account." *Life of W.* vol. iv. p. 514. 618. 626-7.

The prudent Laurens, (who hath won the heart  
 Of sage De Castries,) nor that Jefferson, 210  
 In whom I see a more than common foe ;  
 Nor Rutlege, Hancock, Deane, nor Dickenson,  
 Randolph, nor Henry, Jay nor Livingston,  
 Adams nor Reed ; and numbers more too long  
 For me to mention. E'en their women, roused 215

209. *Laurens, (who hath won the heart, &c.*—Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens (the eldest son of the celebrated Henry Laurens, who was confined in the Tower of London) had been appointed by Congress, an. 1780, as their special minister to the court of Versailles, where “his superior talents as a statesman and negociator,” added to his “engaging manners and insinuating address, procured him the most favourable reception. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs,” and particularly of the marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France. See *Ramsay*, ii. 262-3. 279.

212. 214. *Hancock, Adams.*—In the proclamation issued by general Gage, an. 1775, offering pardon to all those who should lay down their arms, Samuel Adams and John Hancock were alone excepted from the benefit of it; their offences being declared “to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.—No other notice was taken by the Congress of this proclamation, than to choose Mr. Hancock president of that assembly.” *Belsham*, ii. 143; *Life of W.* ii. 288; *Ramsay*, i. 200-1.

214. *and numbers more*—Such as the Madisons, Draytons, Monroes, &c. &c.

215. *E'en their women, rous'd, &c.*—Women are patriots by nature, the American women have excelled their nature. “With ready acquiescence, with a firmness always cheerful, and a constancy never lamenting the sacrifices which were made, they not only yielded up all the elegancies, delicacies, and even conveniences, to be furnished by wealth and commerce, but, consenting to share the produce of their own labour, they gave up without regret a considerable portion of the covering designed for their own families, to supply the wants of a distressed soldiery; and heroically suppressed the involuntary sigh, which the departure of their brothers, their sons and their husbands for the camp rended from their bosoms.”

By Motte's example, and by Caldwell's woes,  
 Have stripp'd themselves of every ornament  
 To serve their country. Such then be your aim,  
 Your deadly aim! But since their chieftain's life,  
 In whom are centred all their hopes and fears, 220

The eloquent language of Mr. Burke has not failed to do them justice. "He apostrophized with a degree of enthusiasm upon the noble spirit of men, whom if they had not been rebels he would be lavish in praising; of women, who, reduced by the ruins of civil discord to the most horrible situation of distress and poverty, had constancy, generosity, and public spirit, to strip the blankets, in a freezing season, from themselves and their infants, to send them to the camp, and preserve that army which they had sent out to fight for their liberty. And shall Britons overlook such virtue? and will they persist in oppressing it?" &c. See *Life of W.* iv. p. 298. 482; ii. 164; *Almon's Parl. Deb. Nov. 1777*, viii. p. 18; *Ramsay*, ii. 172.

216. *Motte's example*,—"The British (an. 1781) had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison consisting of 165 men, to surrender at discretion." *Ramsay*, ii. 247.

216. *Caldwell's woes*,—"An incursion (an. 1780) was made into Jersey from New-York, with 5000 men, commanded by lieut. gen. Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabeth-town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability, and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence, and shot his wife Mrs. Caldwell instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children." Such is the account given by Dr. Ramsay, (ii. 182) of an act which "excited universal indignation:" but on the other side the British contended "that this lady was the victim of a random shot, and even that the fatal ball had proceeded from the militia." The reader may see the matter discussed in the *Life of Washington*, iv. 276.

And justly centred, (for not acts alone,  
 Nor words, but e'en his inmost thoughts, are all  
 Daily and nightly in their cause engag'd  
 Under celestial guidance,) since this life  
 Is thus protected by superior powers, 225  
 That be my care. What, shall we these permit,  
 Like brave Ephialtes, and the ancient Otus,  
 From potent Reason sprung, to bring again  
 The reign of Peace, and bind in links of iron  
 Our chosen friends of war? Forbid it, hell! 230  
 Let's rather urge the ravenous dogs of blood,  
 Where-e'er dispers'd throughout the peopled world,  
 From ancient Scythia, and the drenched plains  
 Of Italy, to that far-famed isle  
 By moneyed muck worms, merchant-ministers, 235

227. *Ephialtes, Otus, &c.*—Compare the scholiast upon *Homer's Iliad* 4. 385; and *Odys.* 1. 307, &c.

235. *moneyed muckworms*,—"My lords! (said the great Chatham, an. 1770,) while I had the honour of serving his majesty, I never ventured to look at the treasury but at a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *moneyed interest*.—I mean that *blood-sucker*, that *muckworm*, which calls itself the friend of government—that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by *any administration* that advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments." *Debrett's Debates*, v. 356.

235. *merchant-ministers*,—Perhaps the pernicious effect of the junction of the merchant and the sovereign is no where so clearly demonstrated as in the possessions of our merchants in India. There, from the humble factor they have become the "magnificent Dewan;" from the habiliment of the suppliant they have proceeded through the rapid steps of aggrandizement to array themselves in the imperial purple; while their whole course has been marked with the confiscation of property, the deposition of rajahs, the murder of

Embroid'd in endless warfare. Mammon! haste,  
Back to thy favour'd spot; pour out thy stores,

brahmans, and the extirpation of nations. Such has been, in one part of the world, the effect of this monstrous union, and such will ever be the effect of a government which can regulate its conduct by such an odious maxim of policy as that "*where there is treasure there is treason*." But the more enlightened part of the British nation abhor such policy: they have endeavoured to bring it to a condign punishment, and thus avert the judgment of an offended Deity. They have failed of success, and the prophecy of Isaiah must be fulfilled. See *Belsham's G. III.* vol. iii. p. 73—9. 101. 115. note. 152—164. 185; and vol. i. 220.

236. *in endless warfare.*—If we compare the number of years in which this nation has been engaged in war, with that in which it has enjoyed the blessings of peace, the balance will be found to be pretty equal. Hence one statesman has called us "a little choleric island;" and another, upon the authority of Mr. Hume, has observed "that England had too great a propensity to war, and was too pertinacious in continuing it." Nor must we omit the dying injunction of Henry IV. who advised his son, "never to let the English remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions—that all the restless spirits might find occupation for their inquietude."

I had a purpose now

To lead out many to the Holy Land;  
Lest rest, and lying still, might make them look  
Too near into my state. Therefore, my Harry,  
Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds  
With foreign quarrels.—

*Shakes. 2. Hen. IV. act 4. sc. 4.*

Various are the causes usually assigned for this supposed national propensity. Some have attributed it to our foreign dominions and our claim to the crown of France; others, to continental connections and balance of power; others again, to commercial views and the dominion of the sea. But with all due submission I shall beg leave to move the previous question, and enquire whether the nation is really choleric, unquiet, and prone to war. If I look around me, I see no signs of such a disposition. I see a virtuous, an honest, an industrious, a benevolent, and a hospitable people. I see too, what I do not wish to see, an oppressed people—a people patient, almost to a proverb, under accumulated burthens, and although ardent in the cause of liberty, yet submitting.

Thy choicest stores; lest warn'd at last by ill  
 The people's eyes be open'd, and the mist 239  
 Which North and Hillsborough have pour'd around  
 At length disperse: then will they soon grow wise,  
 Listen to Chatham, Conway, Shelburne's voice,  
 The Athenian Fox, and Burke, and Rockingham,  
 And hail return of peace: but that be thine,  
 O Mammon! to prevent. But I do wrong 245  
 To give thee this advice; a single word  
 In sounding periods echoes to the wise.  
 Nor has your prince been sparing of his toil;  
 I from the first have watched Columbia's son,  
 And mark'd him for my prey; thrice have I sped

through the delusions of sophistry, to the daily infringement of their rights and privileges. In such a people, removed as they are from the tumults of the continent, where shall be found either time, inclination, or opportunity for war? They aspire to no arbitrary power; they seek no connections but those of mutual benefit; they have provided by their laws against the bad effects of foreign dominions; they perceive that their rulers themselves have mistaken the balance of power; and they know and feel that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures are the pursuits of peace. That ministers and rulers should endeavour to excite a propensity to war, for various other reasons than the finding of occupation for restless spirits, is a truth that needs no demonstration; but it must be credulity itself that will give credit to the affirmation that such a propensity is natural to a *people*, whom the ocean separates from the continent, who boast of their free constitution, and who profess to be the worshippers of the prince of peace. *Almon's Parl. Deb.* vi. p. 23; *Belsham's G. III.* v. 295-6. *Encyc. Britan. art. England*, p. 635. See *Blackstone*, Introd. sect. 4, p. 111, and compare *Miles's Letter to the Prince of Wales*, p. 102-3.

240. *North and Hillsborough*—The former was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer during the American war; and the latter, for part of the time, secretary of state.

My choicest darts against the hero's life, 251  
 And unsuccessful thrice have I been foil'd,  
 For some superiour seraph guards the chief.  
 What else but this had sav'd his fleeting breath  
 From those assassins, who by my command 255  
 Way-laid the undaunted hero as he pass'd  
 On that fam'd mission to the Ohio forks?  
 What else but this, when midst frost, rains, and snows,  
 The driving ice jamm'd up his feeble raft,  
 And plunged him in the deep? What else but this,

257. *On that fam'd mission*—“The exertions made by Mr. Washington on this occasion, the perseverance with which he surmounted the difficulties of the journey, and the judgment he displayed [though a very young man] in his conduct towards the Indians, raised him very much in the public opinion, as well as in that of the lieutenant-governor.” The whole report of this arduous undertaking is given in the *Life of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 5; but the following extract (p. 25) will illustrate the meaning of the text; “Just after we (Mr. Washington and Mr. Gist) had passed a place called Murdering-town (where we intended to quit the path, and steer across the country at Shannapin's town) we fell in with a party of French Indians who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured that they would follow our track as soon as it was light.”

260. *And plunged him in the deep?*—“There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched; then went on board of it and set off; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so

When glorious Braddock fell, and not one chief  
 Save Washington alone escap'd unhurt ;                    262  
 What but this guardian sav'd him from our power ?  
 Not jealousy, nor envy, nor defeat,

much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water. But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold on one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore; but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it." *Ib.* p. 25-6.

262. *Save Washington alone*—"General Braddock, who possessed personal courage in a very eminent degree, but who was without experience in that species of warfare in which he was engaged—exerted his utmost powers to form his broken troops, under an incessant and galling fire, on the very ground where they were first attacked. In his fruitless efforts to restore order, every officer on horseback, except Mr. Washington, was killed or wounded; and at length the general himself, after losing three horses, received a mortal wound, and his regulars fled in the utmost terror and confusion." *Life of Washington*, i. 458.

264. *Not jealousy, nor envy, &c.*—"The Americans, the true and genuine offspring of British parents, have constantly entertained a constitutional and hereditary jealousy of a standing army: nor was Washington exempt from this feeling; he allowed its justice, though he felt acutely how much the cause of his country suffered from it. One of its evils, and not the least, was the opportunity which it gave to his rivals to indulge their own private envy under the semblance of public patriotism. Hence arose a faction, headed by general Conway, whose chief design seems to have been to supplant Washington, and "exalt general Gates on his ruin." Had this plan succeeded, the subjugation of America would have appeared inevitable. In a letter to Mr. Laurens, president of Congress, Washington thus expresses himself; "Why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents, which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitting aim to do the best which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error." Upon this subject, and upon the dreadful distresses of the army, which he says in one place "must inevitably be reduced to one or other



Nor rancorous malice, nor unjust abuse, 265  
 Not traitorous friendship, nor internal foes,  
 Not misery itself in every shape,  
 Famine, disease, and pestilence, and feuds,  
 Can shake his soul's fix'd purpose; e'en his evils  
 Serve but to raise him in the people's love, 270  
 And for their liberties, Prometheus-like,  
 He'd stand unmov'd amid the wreck of worlds.

of these three things—to starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence," see *Life of W.* iii. p. 351—373; ii. 302. 334. 340. 612-3; iv. 253. 349. 97. 468; *Ramsay*, ii. 222-3. 164. 186—9.

Upon the calumnies he suffered upon other accounts, see *Life of W.* ii. 30—1. 74; *Ramsay*, i. 261. 306.

266. *Nor internal foes*.—In the earlier period of the revolution there were great numbers "who viewed the dissolution of their connection with Britain with anxious regret.—And it was also an unfortunate truth, that in the whole country between New-England and the Potomac, which was now to become the great theatre of action, although the majority were in favour of independence, yet there existed a formidable minority, who not only refused to act with their countrymen, but were ready to give the enemy every aid in their power.—In the neighbourhood of New-York a plot to favour the enemy on their landing, and, as was understood, to seize and deliver up general Washington himself, had been formed, in which governor Tryon, through the agency of the mayor of New-York, was believed to be principally concerned." See *Life of W.* ii. 483. 466-7. 353. 596; iii. 53-4.

272. *He'd stand unmov'd*.—Among the many valuable traits in the character of general Washington, was that unyielding firmness of mind, which resisted these accumulated circumstances of depression, and supported him under them. Undismayed by the dangers which surrounded him, he did not, for an instant, relax his exertions, nor omit any thing which could obstruct the progress of the enemy, or ameliorate his own condition. He did not appear to despair of the public safety, but struggled against adverse fortune; with the hope of yet vanquishing the difficulties which surrounded him; and constantly showed himself to his harrassed and enfeebled army, with a serene unembarrassed counte-

But be ye not dishearten'd ; Washington  
 Escapes, 'tis true, the all-sweeping net of Fate,  
 Yet has the draught been copious ; Schuylkill's banks  
 Bear ample witness to the attested fact. 276  
 'Twas there the very sinews of the war  
 Had by my aid been broken, not a glimpse  
 Of what mankind hold dearest, precious gold,  
 Or glittering silver, met the human eye ; 280  
 Columbia's troops, without or tents, or shoes,  
 Or clothes, or nightly covering, took their rest,  
 If rest it could be call'd, on the cold ground,  
 Or chance some spreading branch of friendly oak  
 Shelter'd the driving snow : but when they march'd  
 Their goaded feet pour'd forth the purple stream, 286  
 And mark'd their weary way : sometimes indeed,  
 By their great leader's foresight, they regal'd.  
 In huts of mud and logs ; but even here  
 No respite could they find, for none would bring 290  
 Provision, or supply, to needy men

nance, betraying no fears within himself, and invigorating and inspiring with confidence the bosoms of others. *To this unconquerable firmness of temper, to this perfect self-possession, under the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her independence.*" *Life of W.* ii. 600-1 ; iv. 283. 311. 655.—660.

275, &c. *Schuylkill's banks, &c.*—For the proof of the facts recorded in the subsequent lines, the reader may consult the following passages. For the miseries which the army endured from the want of tents, food, stores, and cloathing, &c. see *Ramsay*, i. 327 ; ii. 13. 22. 164. 236 ; *Life of W.* ii. 307. 341. 464-5. 499 ; iii. 335—340. 374.—6 ; 389—399. 406.

For the evils of forged paper, see *Ramsay*, ii. 132 ; *Life of W.* iv. 242. 255. 259. 268—270.

Who paid in forged paper, while at hand  
 The gold of Britain held out every lure.  
 Hence dire disease and noxious stench had fill'd !  
 The close interior, that it scarce could hold 295  
 The dying tenant; while the crowded streets  
 Famine and grinning death had bridg'd with dead.  
 There had Columbia's freedom found its grave,  
 But that the film of darkness had o'erspread  
 The eyes of Howe. Not long since, Discontent 300  
 Stalk'd through their camps; and mutinies  
 Pervaded Jersey's and Sylvania's lines;  
 While in the Carolinas civil war  
 Fathers, and sons, and kindred, all invol'd  
 In undistinguish'd slaughter: e'en the house 303  
 Of Congress stands divided 'gainst itself,

300. *Discontent—mutinies, &c.*—Although the histories of America and the Letters of Washington abound with descriptions of the evils occurring from short enlistments, yet I cannot forbear thinking that the final success of the war was, in a great measure, to be attributed to the military habit thereby induced. The immediate evils were, however, of such magnitude, as to require the judgment of a Washington to allay. See *Life of W.* ii. 327. 333. 343—5. 526; iv. 95—9. 451. 461; *Ramsay*, ii. 185. 219—212.

303. *in the Carolinas*—“The inhabitants of the country felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war in its most savage form. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries had gradually sharpened their resentments against each other, and had armed neighbour against neighbour, until it became a war of extermination, &c.” See *Life of W.* iv. 598-9.

306. *divided 'gainst itself*—“About this period (1778) several circumstances conspired to foment those pernicious divisions and factions, which, in time of greater danger, patriotism would most probably have silenced.” See *Life of W.* iv. p. 53, &c. 264-5. 472-3. 507-8.

And soon must fall, while speculators, thieves,  
 And money-jobbers on their country's ills  
 Fatten and bask : e'en Washington calls out  
 For aid on Jefferson : the brave De Kalb 310  
 Hath met his fate, and gone to greet the shade  
 Of great Montgomery in Orcus' depths,

307. *while speculators, &c.*—“ Nothing, in my judgment, (says Washington) can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas ! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter ; as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators, various tribes of money-makers, and stock-jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin.” *Life of W.* iv. 57 ; iii. 40, &c.

See *Ramsay*, ii. 129, where speaking of the depreciation of the American paper, he says that at one period it was so low as “ several hundreds for one.” See ii. 135. 184. 187-8. 224.

310. *For aid on Jefferson* :—Washington in one of his letters writes thus ; “ Where are our men of abilities ? Why do they not come forth to save their country ? Let this voice my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others.” *Life of W.* iv. 58. See 324.

310. *the brave De Kalb*—This brave German baron was killed at the battle of Camden (an. 1780,) where he was second in command under Gates ; and “ the Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis with a very honourable inscription.” “ While making a vigorous charge at the head of a regiment of infantry, he fell under eleven wounds.” See *Ramsay*, ii. 168 ; and *Life of W.* iv. 233.

312. *Of great Montgomery*—This great and upright character, worthy of the best period of Spartan integrity, whom friends and foes have equally contributed to celebrate, whom both Minervas have claimed their own, died at an early period of the war in making one of the boldest attempts that history has ever recorded ; the attempt to take Quebec by escalade, and that too with an inferior number of troops. His fate is singular. “ Cape Diamond, around which he was to make his way, presents a precipice, the foot of which

## Where are already sent the warrior souls

is washed by the river, where enormous and rugged masses of ice had been piled on each other, so as to render the way almost impassible. Along the scanty path leading under the projecting rocks of the precipice, the Americans pressed forward in a narrow file, till they reached the block-house and picquet. Montgomery, who was himself in the front, assisted with his own hands to cut down or pull up the picquets, and open a passage for his troops; but the excessive roughness and difficulty of the way had so lengthened his line of march, that he found it absolutely necessary to halt a few minutes, in order to collect a force with which he might venture to proceed. Having re-assembled about 200 men, whom he encouraged alike by his voice and his example, he advanced boldly and rapidly at their head to force the barrier. One or two persons had now ventured to return to the battery, and seizing a slow match standing by one of the guns, discharged the piece, when the American front was within forty paces of it. This single and accidental fire was a fatal one. The general, and captains McPherson and Cheesman, two valuable young officers near his person, the first of whom was his aid, together with his orderly serjeant and a private, were killed on the spot."—Burke, Barre, and Fox vied with each other in their eulogiums of him; and even lord North, who had censured this unqualified praise bestowed upon a rebel, "admitted indeed that he was brave, he was able, he was humane, he was generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel;" and said "that the verse of the tragedy of Otho might be applied to him;

"Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country."

Fox upon this rose again, and said "the term of *rebel*, applied by the noble lord to that excellent person, was no certain mark of disgrace, and therefore he was the less earnest to clear him of the imputation; for that all the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages had been called *rebels*; that they even owed the constitution, which enabled them to sit in that house, to a *rebellion*."

"Richard Montgomery, whose short but splendid course was thus terminated, was a native of Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war; after its conclusion he settled in New-York, where he married an American lady, and took a very strong and decided part (as did many of his oppressed countrymen) with the colonies in their contest with Great-Britain." A monument was decreed him by

Of Mercer, Warren, Ledyard, Porterfield,  
 And aged Wooster; while their mightiest Gates, 215  
 And Greene cease not to mourn their overthrow  
 By Rawdon and Cornwallis; Camden's plains

Congress, with an inscription expressive of his great and eminent services. See *Life of W.* ii. 400. 410—13; *Ramsay*, i. 230—235—240—2—4; *Belsham*, ii. 155—6; *Almon's Parl. Deb.* iii. 403-4. an. 1776.

314. *Mercer, Warren, &c.*—"General Mercer was a Scotchman by birth, but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem. He was mortally wounded (in the battle near Princeton, an. 1777,) while gallantly exerting himself to rally his broken troops." See *Ramsay*, i. 323; and *Life of W.* ii. 625.

Of Warren, who was killed at Bunker's Hill, I shall have to speak hereafter

314. *Ledyard*.—In the destructive expedition of general Arnold against New-London, fort Griswold, "after a severe conflict of forty minutes, was carried by the assailants.—An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, 'I did, but you do now:' and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed." *Ramsay*, ii. 274-5. See *Life of W.* iv. 533-4.

314. *Porterfield*.—This gallant commander, whose bravery had been conspicuous in an early period of the war, at the assault of Quebec, where he was then only a serjeant, received a mortal wound at the battle of Camden. See *Life of W.* ii. 403; iv. 226-7.

315. *aged Wooster*;—In the year 1777 a detachment of 2000 British troops under major-general Tryon had succeeded in destroying the town and magazines at Danbury, and were now returning to their ships: general Wooster, then seventy years old, with about 300 men, came up with their rear, and "attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops compelled to give way."—"Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory as an acknowledgement of his merit and services." *Ramsay*, ii. 3; *Life of W.* iii. 94.

317. *Rawdon and Cornwallis*;—To have conquered such men as Gates and Greene is the highest praise. For a de-

Columbia's heart-felt sorrows twice attest.

Georgia is ours; and Lincoln's frustrate hopes

Have struck proud Charles-town's flag, and all its  
stores [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn) 320

Now grace the triumph of a Clinton's car.

Irvin is taken; Sullivan resigns;

While Tarleton, Tryon, Grey, Knyphausen spread

description of the two victories at Camden, which raised the confidence of ministers almost to presumption, the reader may consult *Ramsay*, ii. 167. 246; *Life of W.* iv. 576. 231.

319. *Georgia is ours; and Lincoln's frustrate hopes*—General Lincoln surrendered Charleston to sir Henry Clinton on the 12th of May 1780. See *Ramsay*, ii. 155-6; *Life of W.* iv. 204. For the reduction of Georgia, see *Life of W.* iv. 66-7.

322. *Irvinistaken*;—General Irvin was wounded and taken in a skirmish between the Pennsylvania militia and the advanced light parties of sir William Howe. *Life of W.* iii. 331.

322. *Sullivan resigns*;—This very able commander "had so freely censured the civil government for having failed to comply with all his demands for military stores, that considerable offence was given to several members of Congress, and still more to the board of war. In consequence of these causes, when, at the close of the campaign, Sullivan complained of ill health and offered on that account to resign his commission, the endeavours of his friends to obtain a vote requesting him to continue in the service, and permitting him to withdraw from actual duty till his health should be restored, was overruled, and his resignation was accepted. The resolution permitting him to resign was, however, accompanied with one thanking him for his past services." *Life of W.* iv. 161-2.

323. *Tarleton, Tryon, Grey, Knyphausen*—To the names of these celebrated generals I might have added those of Vaughan, Mawhood, Matthews, and others; but to recount all the miseries they inflicted upon the Americans, would be to write another history. It is, however, but justice to observe that the German mercenaries, and the royalists, were the chief agents in unnecessary cruelties. For a few of their devastations the reader may consult *Life of W.* iv. 208. 237. 276; iii. 97. 311. 477 note, 564; iv. 89; *Ramsay*, ii. 49-50. 94. Compare the Debates of the House of Lords, Dec. 2.

Destruction, woe, and misery around,  
 Like the fam'd plagues of Egypt. Travellers 325  
 And future antiquaries may inquire  
 Where Falmouth, Fairfield, Norfolk; Bedford stood,  
 Where too New-London; and the countryman

1777. In the speech of lord Shelburne general Vaughan is very roughly handled. *Almon*, x. 162.

327. *Falmouth*,—A town in the northern parts of Massachusetts, was burnt by captain Mowat, Oct. 18, 1775. *Ramsay*, i. 225; *Life of W.* ii. 319-20.

327. *Fairfield*,—"This flourishing village was reduced to ashes; and many unarmed individuals are alleged to have suffered the most brutal treatment. The effectual services of the militia are attested in the apology made by general Tryon for the wanton destruction of private property, which marked and disgrace his conduct at this place. The village was burnt, he says, to resent the fire of the rebels from their houses, and to mask our retreat." *Life of W.* iv. 117.

327. *Norfolk*,—was destroyed, Dec. 1775, by lord Dunmore. The whole loss "was estimated at 300,000 pounds sterling." *Ramsay*, i. 251. The duke of Richmond thus expresses his indignation at this deed. "We were not only to rob the Americans of their property, and make them slaves to fight our battles, but we made war on them in a manner which would shock the most barbarous nations, by firing their towns, and turning the wretched inhabitants to perish in cold, want and nakedness. Even still more, this barbaric rage was not only directed against our enemies, but against our warmest and most zealous friends. This he instanced in the late conflagration of the loyal town of Norfolk, in Virginia, as administration had so frequently called it, which was reduced to ashes by the wanton and unprovoked act of one of our naval commanders. Such an act was no less inconsistent with every sentiment of humanity, than contrary to every rule of good policy." *Almon's Deb.* v. 180; and see the duke of Manchester's speech, *ib.* 189.

327. *Bedford*,—For the destruction of Bedford and Fairhaven by general Grey, see *Life of W.* iii. 561. Sir Joseph Mawbey, indignant at this "barbarous warfare carrying on against the inhabitants of the North-American sea-coasts, termed it a *hellish* policy of making war upon old men, women, children, and other innocent and defenceless persons." *Almon's Deb.* iii. 286.

328. *New-London*;—"The town of New-London, and the



Shall point unto their ashes: this last deed  
 Was vengeful Arnold's; Arnold, injur'd chief, 330  
 Indignant turns from mad Rebellion's lore,  
 To justice, law, and right; and had betray'd,  
 But for an Andre's virtues, and the firmness  
 Of three proud veterans of her western race,

stores contained in it, were consumed by fire, an. 1781. To escape the odium which invariably attends the useless and wanton destruction of private property, this fire was attributed to accident; but all the American accounts unite in declaring it to have been intentional." *Life of W.* iv. 554; *Ramsay*, ii. 274.

330. *Arnold, injur'd chief*,—"It is a matter of reproach," says Dr. Ramsay, "to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character; but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced *but one*." And yet this man was once an ornament to his profession, and his merits were valued so highly by his country, that he acquired the name of the American Hannibal, and was presented by Congress with a horse properly caparisoned, as a token of their approbation. Such, alas! is the instability of man: it is principle alone, deeply and radically imbibed, that can secure him from the allurements of wealth and pleasure; and lamentable must be the policy of that government which can place its highest trusts in any other hands than those directed by virtue and wisdom.

The history of Arnold's desertion, with the lamented fate of the amiable and gallant major Andre, is too well known to require insertion. See *Ramsay*, ii. 194—204, and p. 3, i. 235; *Life of W.* iv. 327. 332, &c.

334. *Of three proud veterans*—Williams, Vanwert, Paulding, were the names of the three militiamen who so nobly refused major Andre's tempting offers. The thanks of Congress were voted them, "and a silver medal, with an inscription expressive of their fidelity and patriotism, was directed to be presented to each of them. In addition to this flattering testimony of their worth, and as a further evidence of national gratitude, 200 dollars per annum during life, to be paid in specie, or an equivalent in current money, was voted to each of them." *Life of W.* iv. 347-8. See *Ramsay*, ii. 197-8.

## D

Columbia's Gibraltar to our power. 335  
 Arnold! brave, indefatigable chief!  
 Whom patience, perseverance, fortitude,  
 Whom elevated soul and dignity,  
 Have mark'd for highest honours and rewards;  
 Him since his ingrate country hath contemn'd, 340  
 Let it be ours to greet and dignify;  
 And if our prince Abaddon envy not  
 His second title to an earthly guest,  
 For not his scorpion-locusts have destroy'd  
 More of the human race than Arnold's wrath, 345  
 Let this his condescension be enroll'd  
 In our state office, and in hell's confines  
 Let Arnold's title be Apollyon."  
 Instant hell's palace rang with loud acclame.  
 "Apollyon, Apollyon!" was cried; 350  
 "Hail our new prince! Apollyon! All hail!"  
 When Satan thus resum'd; "To crown the whole,  
 The Indian war-hoop through the distant north,  
 And south, and west resounds; their hostile files,  
 Led by a Johnston, Butler, and a Brendt, 355

335. *Columbia's Gibraltar*—Westpoint, a strong and important post built for the defence of the North river, was called the Gibraltar of America. This post Arnold had engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British forces. *Ramsay*, ii. 194—6.

342. *Abaddon*—"And they (the locusts with tails like scorpions) had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon." *Revelation*, ix. 11.

- 355. *Johnston, Butler, and a Brendt*,—Of the horrible cruelties attendant upon Indian warfare, and the impolicy of using them, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and

Have without mercy scalp'd and tomahawk'd  
 The arm'd and unarm'd innocence and guilt,  
 Sparing nor helpless age, nor youth, nor sex.  
 Ye have the total of our princely deeds;  
 And now Columbia with her Washington 360  
 Had fallen beneath our arm, but that her plaints  
 Have reach'd the pitying Louis, who, misled

indeed the American history abounds with the sad relation; but for the authority of the abovementioned names the reader may consult *Ramsay*, i. 228-9; ii. 26-8; 144-6. *Life of W.* iv. 23-8; 30 note, 505-6; 565 note. *Belsham*, ii. 376-7. See Extract of a letter from col. Butler to sir Guy Carlton, Aug. 15, 1777, in *Almon's Deb.* viii. 226. 287. Mr. Wilkes, in his speech, Nov. 18, 1777, exclaims; "Are the scalping-knife and tomahawk necessary calamities of war? Are they inseparable from it? God forbid! I have read, sir, a late proclamation of that great general and preacher Mr. Burgoyne, which is shocking to a civilized and generous nation.—He boasts that he will give stretch to the Indian forces under his direction, and they amount to thousands. Merciful Heaven! thousands of Indian savages let loose by the command of a British general against our brethren in America! Human nature shrinks back from such a scene. At his heels leasht in, like hounds, should famine, sword and fire crouch for employment.—What, sir, has been, and continues, the conduct of the Indian savages in war? Is it not to exercise the most shocking cruelties on their enemies without distinction of age or sex? The conduct of this war goes on a par with its principle. Has the feeble old man, the helpless infant, the defenceless female, ever experienced the tender mercies of an Indian savage? He drinks the blood of his enemy, and his favourite repast is on human flesh," &c.—*Almon's Deb.* viii. p. 10-11.

362. *the pitying Louis*.—His most Christian Majesty Louis XVI. conformably to the preliminaries proposed by his secretary Mr. Gerard, entered, Feb. 6, 1778, "into treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance with the United States on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity." The commissioners on the part of the Americans were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee; and the count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs, was the person who

By Deane and Vergennes, sends them timely aid  
 Of men and gold. Now Washington's proud hopes  
 Surpass all bounds: see where the chieftain dusts 365  
 His rapid march, with all his motley troops,  
 Through the Virginian deserts, and those plains  
 Where prescient vultures hover, and where dogs  
 And ravenous wolves watch with fell eagerness  
 Their destin'd prey; where horrid spectres gleam, 370  
 Making night nightless, and nought else is heard  
 But shrieks, and howls, and clangs, and loud laments:  
 There must we meet him with the force of hell  
 Rang'd in close phalanx, and deep serried file;  
 For there perchance we once may try again 375  
 The strength of Michael with the heavenly host  
 Cloth'd in new arms, of which they stand in need,  
 Since erst with well-devised enginery  
 Them of their ancient armour we despoil'd  
 And be ye not dismay'd; for 'tis decreed 380  
 That on that fatal day some potent chief  
 Shall cease to rule: O may this conquering arm,  
 This arm my God, my only God in whom  
 I put my trust, enforce the blest decree!

principally conducted the conferences on the part of H. M. C. Majesty: See *Ramsay*, ii. 60—8; compare *Life of W.* iii. 431, 446, &c. "The joy of the Americans produced by this event was unbounded." See *Life of W.* iv. 20.

366. *motley troops*.—There was such a deficiency of clothing among the American troops, that upon their junction with their French allies they felt considerable degradation. "Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts." *Ramsay*, ii. 193.

Then shall our kingdom stand, and hell again 385  
 For lengthen'd ages triumph o'er mankind.  
 But since far other cares your prince's time  
 Must now employ to aid the public weal,  
 And, above all, with circumspective eye  
 To watch the deep desigus of Michael's soul, 390  
 'Tis fit that we should delegate our power  
 To some intrepid chieftain ; and to whom  
 With greater safety can we trust command  
 Than to hell's favourite, thee, brave Moloch ! thee ?  
 'Twas thou with Mammon and with Belial join'd,  
 Who first into the breasts of ministers 396  
 And rulers didst instil oppression rank,  
 And those despotick laws that never fail,  
 Sooner or late, to stir rebellion up,  
 And civil war, which being untimely rais'd 400  
 Do but augment the powers of the strong,

401. *Do but augment, &c.*—Upon this subject the reader will possibly be gratified with perusing the opinion of the celebrated sir John Barnard, who, speaking of the rebellion of 1745, observes ; “ Can any one suppose that such a calamity could be brought upon us, without some neglect or misconduct in those whose duty it was to guard against every possible calamity ? I shall not say that this was a wilful neglect, or that any minister thereby designed to furnish the disaffected with an opportunity to rebel ; but this I will say, that an unsuccessful rebellion is always of great use to a minister ; because it serves to increase and establish his power, and furnishes him with an opportunity to gratify many of his friends, as well as to be revenged of some of his enemies. No rebellion can therefore break out in this country, but what must afford matter of suspicion against those who happen to be our ministers at the time. If the rebellion proceeds from disaffection, it is to be suspected that the minister, for his own private ends, furnished them with an opportunity to rebel ; if from discontent, it is to be suspected that the mi-

That hell admir'd thy wisdom ; and thy valour,  
 Thy desperate valour is so known to all,  
 As needs no tongue of mine to blaze it forth :  
 'Tis of that valour now we have great need ; 405  
 We must not barter, we must wage the war.  
 Take then the imperial standard, for to thee  
 We delegate command in this dire strife ;  
 Quick to Virginia skim thy rapid way  
 With all our horrent legions ; there anon 410  
 Ourselves will meet thee, wrapt in other form,  
 Darkness, or cloud, or else some animal,  
 Some vulture, or perchance that sighted bird  
 That looks with eyes undazzled at the sun.  
 Haste then, begone ; there is no time for words ; 415  
 'Take the command, and Satan's will be done.'

Thus spake the prince of darkness, while his eyes  
 Flashed thick Gorgonic flames. He spake, not  
 sat ;

His ponderous limbs resting on that fam'd spear  
 Whose glittering top illum'd the vaulted dome. 420  
 And now, obedient to his prince's will,  
 Azazel had unfurl'd the mighty ensign,  
 When Mammon with complacent looks uprose,  
 And with persuasive words address'd his prince ;  
 "With you, great leader ! will I end my speech, 425  
 With you begin it ; for on you depend

nister, by his oppression, designedly provoked them to rebel ;  
 and as a reasonable suspicion is always good ground for in-  
 quiry, I think it ought upon every occasion to be the cer-  
 tain consequence of a rebellion." *Debrett's Deb.* ii. p. 59,  
 Oct. 29, 1745.

Our firmest hopes; but well, O prince! you know,  
 For nothing does escape your piercing eye,  
 That Mammon has not spar'd or toil or pains,  
 To compass those great ends you have design'd. 430  
 My favour'd isle, and favour'd justly is,  
 For tho' among the wise and better part  
 My influence is feeble, yet the earth  
 Scarce holds a spot so dear unto my soul,  
 Abundant so in vetches; for here 435  
 My altars smoke with unextinguish'd incense,  
 Before my idol is profusely pour'd  
 Incessant adoration; scarce one being  
 In heaven, or earth, or hell, is so rever'd:  
 This favour'd spot have I just left, nor here 440  
 Had Mammon now been seen, but to refill  
 His coffers seven times emptied: much I fear  
 That even hell will cease the vast supply.  
 But though I've dearly bought, yet have I well  
 Secur'd what I have bought: What if I've lost 445  
 Some solitary few, whom Chatham's voice  
 And inbred patriot worth have, ere too late,  
 Recover'd from my grasp; yet have I gain'd  
 Britain's whole host of hirelings to my flock,  
 Whose minds my lessons have so deep impress'd: 450  
 That nothing can erase them. Thus I've taught:  
 ' Banish thy conscience; for it is a despot  
 That rules with arbitrary sway, and yields  
 No harvest to its owner. Extirpate  
 All principle; for principle requires 455  
 A steady, constant, persevering toil

In the straight line of virtue ; but the ways  
 Of men being crooked ways, it will not lead  
 To honours, titles, dignities, or wealth.  
 Forsake thy friends ; for well the courtier knows  
 That friendship is, like virtue, but a name, 461  
 A mere ideal semblance, nothing real.  
 And above all, assume the patriot's tongue  
 Till you have gain'd your will, which when obtain'd  
 React the despot ; for what is a people ? 465  
 An ignorant mass made to obey the laws ;  
 'Tis wealth alone is wise and ought to rule.  
 And when you wish to triumph o'er men's rights,  
 Tell them in sounding triplets they are free.  
 Then let your preamble be full of words. 470

466. *made to obey the laws* ;—See *Belsham*, vi. 13, where a noted bishop is mentioned as declaring ; “ that speculative and philosophical disquisitions upon the subject of government, though they might be allowed, did *more harm than good* ; but that public discussions of such topics ought to be prevented : and that he did not know, in fact, *what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them.*” Ye Lockes ! ye Sidneys ! ye Hampdens ! ye Franklins ! I think I see your noble spirits smiling at the puny effusions of upstart presumption ; I think I see your indignation more kindled at the patient apathy of the hearers, than at the daring boldness of the deliverer of such dogmas. But this alas ! is but one small link in that great chain of causes and effects, which are fast leading to the destruction of the British constitution. See a similar sentiment to the bishop's delivered by lord G. Germaine, *Debrett*, vii. 107.

470. *Then let your preamble*—That the preamble of a bill has not unfrequently been at variance with its clauses, is a complaint of long standing in this country. Our best lawyers and statesmen have too often had reason to express their disapprobation at such a proceeding. See the speeches of Dunning, Feb. 17, 1777, *Almon's Deb.* vi. 239—241: Lord Shelburne, Nov. 10, 1775, *ib.* v. 68. Sir John Barnard, March 10, 1740, *Chandler's Deb.* xii. 270.



Sweet as Hyblæan honey, when your laws;  
 Whether enacting, or declaratory,  
 Are most subversive of the people's rights;  
 Or otherways, amid some other clauses  
 Of various import, foist by silent stealth 475  
 Some dubious clause with latent mischief fraught;  
 And if the people should in tumult rise,  
 (For action and reaction equal are,)  
 Send them to battle 'gainst the friends of man:  
 Tell them such friends are natural enemies, 480  
 Who to maintain the blest relations  
 Of peace and amity are incapable.  
 And in one period to embrace the whole,  
 Do as you would not others do to you.  
 Thus have I taught, O prince! and my success 485  
 Has e'en surpass'd my most gigantick hopes;

474. *amid some other clauses, &c.*—This is another piece of ministerial dexterity of still longer standing than the one just described. Thus in the Land Tax Bill passed April 1738, "a clause was fraudulently slipped in to exempt the prince of Wales from paying the sixpence in the pound, called civil-list money, which amounted to upwards of 1000*l*." *Chandler's Deb.* ix. p. vii. Minutes of the third Session, &c. Under this head may be ranged the various encroachments in the Mutiny Acts. See the speech of Mr. Harley, Feb. 24, 1740-1, *Chandler*, xii. 141-2. Mr. Thornton in his speech on the Militia Bill, Nov. 1751, says; "I must not however omit to take notice that the militia laws have been spoiled by design, some villainous clauses having been artfully intruded into them, which were previously known to be such as would render them entirely useless." *Debrett's Deb.* iii. 113. See sir W. Meredith's speech, Jan. 24, 1772, *Debrett*, vi. 156, and the complaints of Mr. Grey and the M. of Lansdowne concerning the surreptitious clause that repealed the salutary restrictions of the Bank, *Belsham*, vi. 36-7, 44-5.

All Europe knows it, for it feels my power ;  
 E'en Asia forgets her Mahomet,  
 And bows the knee to Mammon. But I've fail'd  
 In one important point ; not all my arts 490  
 So manifold, and various, can seduce  
 The haughty soul of Chatham ; he, proud peer,  
 Disdains all compromise ; his eloquence  
 Thunders and lightens through the British senate,  
 And rives their very hearts ; not even North 495  
 With all his haughtiness and pomp of power,  
 Not Hillsborough's frown, nor Grenville's potent  
 tongue  
 Can stop the mighty torrent : much I dread  
 The dire effect ; already Rockingham, 499  
 With Shelburne, Conway, Saville, Grafton's duke,  
 Richmond, with Granby, Sawbridge, Dunning, Wray,

497. *Grenville's potent tongue*—Mr. Grenville was the celebrated author of the measure of taxing America, a measure which the sagacity of a Walpole thought too hazardous to venture upon ; but said that "he should leave it to some more daring successor in office to make the experiment." See *Belsham*, i. 112—118. 320.

499. *Rockingham, &c.*—These patriotic defenders of the rights and liberties of their brethren in America were ably and warmly supported by their compatriots, Dowdeswell, Wilkes, Hartley, Fuller; Luttrell, Johnstone, lords John and George Cavendish, &c. &c. But their efforts were vain, and the consequences were such as must always be expected from the direction of passion and imbecillity. That some of these statesmen afterwards forgot the principles upon which they had acted during the American troubles, is a truth which every honest man must deplore ; but it was no part of the poet's duty to omit paying the debt of gratitude to those men whose exertions contributed so largely to the happiness of our transatlantick brethren.

Camden and Barrè, Beckford, Burke and Fox,  
 Second the patriot's efforts; and so second,  
 As when Aurora from the roseate bed  
 Of her Tithonus rising slow dispels 505  
 The vapours of the night; but this be mine  
 With these replenish'd coffers to forefend.  
 Ask every Briton what he loves most dear,  
 He'll tell you Liberty, nor would he lend  
 One momentary aid to enslave mankind, 510  
 Much less his brethren of the self same blood,  
 Language, and manners, but that sophistry,  
 Miscalled eloquence, and Gorgian lore,  
 Which makes the worse appear the better cause,  
 Freezes the genuine instinct of his soul: 515  
 Forgetting principle, he trusts in men;  
 This is his bane; could he but once be taught  
 To trust men less, and principle love more,  
 Not all the arts of hell and earth combin'd

509. *He'll tell you Liberty*,—"There is (said the duke of Buckingham, Oct. 13, 1675,) a thing called liberty, which, whatsoever some men may think, is that the people of England are fondest of; it is that they will nev'r part with; and is that His Majesty (Car. II.) in his speech has promised us to take a particular care of." *Timberland's Lords' Debates*, i. 164. True; the people of England never will part with it; it is their birthright; it has descended to them from their Saxon progenitors, and their history will tell its enemies that they have frequently gone very great lengths to preserve it. "God send the prerogative touch not our liberty!" was the exclamation of the people in the time of Elizabeth, which gave such offence to Mr. Secretary Cecil; and perhaps other secretaries would be equally offended were they now to exclaim—God send that corruption destroy not the constitution! *Cobbet's Parl. Hist.* i. 936. See *Belsham*, i. 267-8

Could do him further harm. Britannia too, 520  
 That virgin goddess, spurns my proffer'd aid ;  
 She cast a wistful look to western skies,  
 ' 'Tis not my deed,' she cried, and sped her flight  
 To where Gibraltar towers above the clouds,  
 And by her Elliot pours destructive fire 525  
 Upon the astounded foe. Still Mammon's powers  
 Are not enfeebled ; this Columbia knows,  
 And knowing feels for all her enemies,  
 Owe not their frail existence but to me.  
 But now I must return, my coffers fill'd, 530  
 Yet with firm hope at time's appointed hour  
 To meet brave Moloch on the plains of death.'"  
 Scarce had he ended, and his prince's eye  
 Glanc'd approbation, when Azazel tall  
 Unfurl'd hell's streaming ensign to the sound 535  
 Of countless clarions. But no loud acclaim,  
 No universal shout new courage rais'd,  
 For o'er the fiery surge a sudden blast,  
 Surcharged with sulphurous and with nitrous smoke,  
 Impregnate with inflammable, rush'd forth 540  
 With fell impetuosity, and consum'd  
 Instant the imperial streamer. Satan stood  
 Speechless ; and e'en with horreur Moloch gaz'd.  
 As when some subterranean wind confin'd  
 In Ætna's sulphurous womb sudden expands, 545  
 Struggling for birth, and pours whole torrents out  
 Of liquid lava o'er the fertile plains  
 Of Sicily ; nor mound, nor dam can stop

Its wide destructive course, but herds, and flocks,  
 And farms, and woods, and plains are all de-  
 stroy'd; [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn) 550

This when the wretched shepherd sees from far,  
 He first with silent horror views the waste,  
 But soon gives way to grief and lamentation;  
 So view'd the infernal host their favourite sign  
 Consum'd before their eyes. But Moloch's soul,  
 Recover'd from its trance, which serv'd to inflame  
 His wrath tenfold, as some fam'd combatant,  
 Faint with continued toil, by partial rest  
 Imbibes new vigour, and renews the war  
 Amidst applauding thousands, so the fiend 560

'Rapt in himself seiz'd on the burning staff,  
 And holding high in air; "Revenge," he cries,  
 "Revenge, revenge; under this ensign die  
 Or conquer." "Die or conquer," echoed back  
 From furthest hell the long-resounding host. 565  
 And now the bristling legions 'gan to rise  
 From off the burning marle, and in mid air  
 Floated in depth immense, while from their arms  
 A gleamy horror lighten'd thro' the expanse.  
 Nor did they long await their furious chief, 570  
 Who straight in the midst commanded Azazel  
 To uprear the half-burnt standard; which dread  
 sign

When Beelzebub, who led the vanguard, saw,  
 Onward he rush'd with more than whirlwind's force  
 Through the iron gates of hell, and o'er the bridge  
 Of Chaos rapid skimm'd the murky way 576

E

Up to 'the realm of light; him Moloch saw  
 With joy so zealous in the cause, and now  
 Press'd on him hard, grinning a ghastly grin,  
 And hissing slaughter from his horrid jaws. 580  
 And now, with Bacchaualian roar, Chemos  
 The obscene, and Jewdest Belial led on  
 The rear, with all its devilish enginry,  
 And pass'd hell's bounds; the dying clarion now  
 Was scarcely heard, and Satan pensive stood. 585  
 Pondering within his solitary breast  
 The dark decrees of fate; pensive he stood  
 And gaz'd on Pandæmonium; but sense  
 Returned soon; for lo! before his eyes 590  
 The hell-wrought palace gradually sunk  
 Into the fiery surge, and not a trace  
 Was left behind. "Enough, enough!" he cried,  
 While tears angelick pour'd adown his cheeks,  
 "I want no other omen; well I know 595  
 My end's at hand; but by this spear I swear,  
 Which shall full soon be drench'd in human blood,  
 That earth shall rue my fall." He said, and turn'd  
 T'ward his ethereal steeds, and glittering car,  
 Whose wheels were wrought of adamant, and roll'd  
 On platinæan axle, while the spokes 601  
 Of radiant urim pour'd celestial light:  
 The body of some new-discover'd substance,  
 Metallic, or carbonic, or lignose,  
 But not yet analyz'd by mortal hand. 605  
 Into this flaming car the chieftain vaults;  
 And the ethereal steeds, who know his will,

And need nor goad nor spur, no sooner feel  
The awful presence of their mighty chief,  
Than quick as forked lightning with one bound 610  
Spring from hell's confines to Columbia's Alps.  
There Satan sat, watching with keenest eye  
The motions of his foe, and round about  
In circling volumes pour'd hell's darkest clouds.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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**ARGUMENT OF THE SECOND BOOK.**

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Invocation. Episode—Progress of Liberty. Revolution in  
Switzerland. William Tell. Fall of Griesler.

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OR

## LIBERTY RESTORED.

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**T**RASCENDENT Mind! For by what higher name  
Can the confined intellect of man  
Address thee, or adore thee; Great Unknown!  
To whom infinite is finite, and the obscure  
Lucid as thy own sun; who fill'st all space, 5  
All time with thy incomprehensible,  
Blest above all the blest! Since mortal tongue  
Without thy holy influence neught avails,  
To whom compar'd the human intellect  
Is but a glow-worm to the orb of day, 10  
And present, past, and future, all are one;  
Grant me thy heavenly aid, and deign to guide  
My wandering thoughts, while I describe to men  
That vast beneficence which hath remov'd  
The film of darkness from the human eye, 15  
And let in light. Blest, trebly blest is he,  
Whom thou hast chosen to fulfil thy will

1. *Transcendent Mind!*—*Noûs ἴστων ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ πάντα ἐνορ-  
ταμέυος καὶ διέπων τὸ πᾶν. Plut. de Vita Homeri, ii. sect. 114.*

On earth, nor yet unblest that tongue which dares  
 Under thy guidance such great acts recount.  
 Of all the evils that have scourg'd mankind, 20  
 From the beginning of the world till now,  
 There is not one so adverse to the will  
 Of God, and upright man, as that of war,  
 That mad, unnatural, fabricated ill.  
 Whence, then, it may be ask'd, has this fell scourge  
 So long oppress'd mankind? 'Tis ignorance, 26  
 The rankest ignorance, at once the cause,  
 And also the effect; 'tis this alone  
 Which man impels his fellow-man to slay,  
 And long hath delug'd all the world with blood. 30  
 That a frail mortal, whose short life to ills  
 Unnumber'd subject, should un pitying stand  
 'Mid slaughter'd thousands, and recount with joy

33. and recount with joy—So *Par. Lost*, xi. 691; See *Reg.* iii. 71.

To overcome in battle, and subdue  
 Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite  
 Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch  
 Of human glory, and for glory done  
 Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors,  
 Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,  
*Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.*

Unfortunately these glorious destroyers, these triumphant  
 plagues of men, occupy the whole volume of history, whether  
 ancient or modern, sacred or prophane: and yet the hypo-  
 crites profess to worship that Being who requires of us *to do  
 justly, and to love mercy*; and to venerate that Saviour, who  
 endeavoured to bring *peace on earth, and good will towards  
 men*. But a "transcendently excellent Being must regard  
 with displeasure whatever has a tendency to disturb the  
 moral order, happiness, and harmony of his creation." And  
 if he regards it with displeasure, he must, he will put an  
 end to it. The world is in its infancy, when it puts on the  
 toga of manhood, it will throw off childish things. See  
*Belsham's Hist. G. III. vi. 340.*

The horrid desolation he hath caus'd ;  
 The wives whom he hath widowed ; and the sons 35  
 Whose fathers' blood his murderous blade hath spilt ;  
 And call this glory ! *O my God ! My God !*  
 Grant that such Glory may be far remov'd  
 From me and mine ! 'Thy own vast thoughts and acts  
 So instantaneous are, that to our eyes 40  
 They seem as one, yet well thou know'st that man  
 Must thro' the gates of evil pass to good,  
 And from the effect alone can learn the cause ;  
 And dear bought is that knowledge : but the time,  
 I speak prophetick, but I speak from truth, 45  
 The time will come, when wars at length will cease.  
 Full well I know some barbarous conflicts yet  
 Must desolate our race, until that hour,  
 That happy hour arrive, which then will come,  
 When the two rival nations of the earth 50

50, *When the two rival nations, &c.*—" Between our two countries, (said the French to the British monarch, an. 1792,) new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalship which has done so much mischief to both daily wearing away. It becomes two kings who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable in proportion as the two nations shall have *clearer views of their own interests*. I consider the success of the alliance, in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance ; I consider it as necessary to the *stability* of the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms ; and I will add, that our union *ought to command peace to Europe*." Could a prophet have delivered greater truths ? In the same spirit is written the letter of the First Consul to His Britannick Majesty, Dec. 25, 1799. " How can two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence

Shall see the folly of their private hate,  
 And, firmly knit in hand and heart, restore  
 To suffering man his liberties and laws.  
 But this depends not on their will alone,  
 But on the will of Him, whose heavenly light 55  
 Must first illumine their minds, and further yet  
 Remove the mist of ignorance from their eyes.

Long had mankind, submissive to the rod  
 Of their despotick rulers, patient born  
 Their most oppressive burthens, and obey'd,  
 With superstitious reverence, those laws  
 Which the caprice and arbitrary will  
 Of their proud rulers fram'd. Nor had they yet  
 Dar'd to assert their rights, they knew them not,  
 And ignorance was weakness, which their lords 65  
 Turn'd to their own account ; and if perchance

require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that *peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory!*—France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world." Prophecy again! and the prophecy will be remembered when the scornful rejection is forgotten. Nor must I omit to record that noble sentiment expressed by the First Consul to Mr. Fox in 1802; "that the globe might be considered as inhabited by two great nations, the eastern and the western: and that hostilities between any of the powers of Europe must be regarded as a species of civil war." *Belsham*, iv. 458; vii. 306-7; viii. 420. See the note. *Id.* 391; and see *Append. E. to Miles's Letter to the Prince of Wales.*

"Tanton' placuit concurrere motu,  
 Jupiter, aeterna gentes in pace futuras?"

*Æn.* xii. 504.



Oppression wak'd a murmur in their breasts,  
 Religion forward stept, and thus proclaim'd;  
 "Kings are the Lord's anointed, by God's grace  
 They hold their heavenly mission, murmur not," 70  
 Lest as proud Pharaoh's host, who dared of old  
 To oppose the will of Heaven, ye too be plang'd  
 Into a sea of woe; ye are prophane,  
 Stiff necked, ignorant, an iron race,  
 And must be rul'd; we are the chosen few, 75  
 The golden race, by Wisdom Infinite  
 Selected and illum'd; we then alone  
 Know what is right and fit; your murmurs cease,  
 And if ye would be sav'd, obey our will."  
 Long pause ensued, for much the people lov'd, 80  
 And fear'd their pastors; till at last their ills  
 Increased ~~to~~, that neither fear nor love

69. *by God's grace, &c.*—Blackstone, towards the conclusion of his excellent chapter upon the King and his Title, b. i. ch. 3, observes, that "divine indefeasible hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely of all constitutions the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful." What then must be the feeling of the British patriot when he hears such sentiments as the following delivered by an English Bishop before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793. "God to his own secret purpose directs the worst actions of tyrants no less than the best of godly princes: man's abuse, therefore of his *delegated authority*, is to be borne by resignation, like any other of God's judgments. The opposition of the individual to the sovereign power is an *opposition to God's providential arrangements*," &c. Our ancestors at the glorious revolution held a very different doctrine, and acted upon very different principles—principles that have been confirm'd by our best lawyers, and indeed have become the maxims of the law itself. "*Rex debet esse sub lege, quia lex facit regem.*" See *Blackstone*, b. i. ch. vii. *Belsham*, v. 45-6.

74. *an iron race*—See *Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. p. 319.*

Could silence them, and thus they loud complain'd;  
 " If kings by grace divine appointed are  
 To rule and govern, and if ye, O priests! 85  
 The chosen few, whom Wisdom Infinite  
 Guides and illumines; why do not then your words  
 And actions right accord? The heavenly power  
 Is merciful, and good, and not a bird  
 Falleth unto the ground without his care; 90  
 While ye, who, as ye say, derive your power  
 From his divine appointment, merciless,  
 Your people with oppressions overload,  
 And tho' we fall in thousands to the earth  
 Obeying your commands, ye neither grieve 95  
 Nor yet lament our fall, and if ye weep,  
 Ye weep un pitying, nor yet relax  
 Our grievous burthens. First by your own acts  
 Shew your divine appointment; be ye kind,  
 Be merciful, be as your father is; 100  
 And our obedience, and our gratitude  
 Shall prompt repay your bounty, and your love."  
 Thus spake the injur'd people, and the press  
 That happiest invent of the human mind,  
 Spread far and wide their plaints; and reasoning  
 men 105  
 Began to ponder deeply what was meant  
 By God's anointed, and the grace divine.  
 But time was not yet come, and the hearts of kings  
 By this discussion were yet harden'd more.  
 And now the most excruciating pains, 110  
 And racks, and wheels, and tortures horrible,

Such as not ancient fable e'er devis'd  
 For punishments in hell, were yet devis'd  
 By the wicked wit of man to punish man.  
 Obedience implicit was the rule, 115  
 The only rule, by which unhappy man  
 Could measure his existence. Creeds of faith  
 Were made and unmade at the mere caprice  
 Of priests and synods, and the few who dar'd  
 To doubt their rectitude drew on themselves 120  
 Severe affliction. Gracious God! How oft  
 Amid their torments have these upright men  
 Invok'd thy holy name, and cried aloud;  
 "O Lord! Receive our soul; it is for thee  
 And thy truth's sake we suffer; but forgive 125  
 These our tormentors, open their eyes, O Lord!  
 That they may see thy glory, and become  
 The vindicators of thy ways to man.  
 Grant that our sufferings may diffuse around  
 The peopled earth, the light of truth and thee." 130  
 The Almighty heard in part the martyrs' prayers,  
 And part the winds dispers'd. The light of truth  
 Began to dawn upon the human mind,  
 But no light dawn'd upon the minds of kings;  
 But purple-finger'd Persecution 135  
 Stalk'd round the globe with vast gigantick strides,  
 Her head amid the clouds, her feet on earth.  
 The Almighty saw that man, whom in his image  
 He had created, and who breath'd his breath,  
 Had quite forgot his heavenly origin, 140  
 And all those lovely precepts, which he taught

F

Of mercy and forgiveness ; and instead  
 Had dar'd to trespass on his Maker's rights,  
 And take away that life he could not give.  
 The Almighty saw, and saw it was not good, 145  
 But call'd no council to deliberate,  
 On what was right and proper ; for what need  
 Of slow deliberation to that Being  
 Whose thoughts are acts, all-perfect, and all-wise?  
 And thus He spake ; " Let Freedom's sacred  
     light 150  
 Rise o'er the earth ;" and Freedom's light arose.  
 Heaven heard the cheering sound ; Earth saw the  
     light ;  
 And Heaven and Earth re-echoed mutual joy.  
     And first Helvetia's brave and hardy sons,  
 By the sacred warmth invigorate, arose 155  
 From their deep slumber, and recall'd to mind  
 Their noble ancestry, that brav'd so long  
 The Roman tyrants, who would have impos'd  
 The slavish yoke upon their stubborn necks ;  
 And thus amid the assembled states arose 160  
 The intrepid Tell ; long time his free-born soul  
 Had spurn'd the Austrian Albert's iron yoke ;  
 Albert that tyrant who disdain'd to hear  
 The people's just complaints, nor would redress  
 Their violated rights, but with a rod 165  
 Of iron rul'd ; and thus the hero spake ;  
 " Friends, Warriours, Countrymen ! The time is  
     come  
 When our oppressed country loudly calls

With more than mortal voice on all her sons,  
 To cast the yoke of slavery from their necks, 170  
 Or perish in the attempt. Have ye forgot  
 What time your haughty nobles ye expell'd  
 For violation of your charter'd rights?  
 And when those despots charg'd you with rebellion  
 Before the Imperial Rodolph; have ye forgot 175  
 With what benignant aspect that wise prince  
 Heard your complaints, approved all your acts,  
 Confirm'd your ancient rights, and granted new?  
 And will ye now bow down your suppliant necks  
 Beneath the haughty Albert's iron yoke, 180  
 Who is as much unlike his noble sire,  
 As mid-night darkness is the risen sun?  
 As mid-night darkness is the risen sun?  
 What confiscations, fines, imprisonments,  
 What horrid tortures daily have we borne  
 Without redress, for if we but complain 185  
 Our miseries are doubled! And now, as if  
 To shew how far tyrannick wantonness  
 Can sport with human feelings, see where Griesler  
 Our arbitrary despot, Albert's tool,  
 Hath set his mark of slavery in Altorf, 190  
 And order'd all on pain of instant death  
 To bow before it; and those suppliant slaves  
 Who will obey the order, let them live,

190. *his mark of slavery*—Griesler, the tyrannical governor of Ury, had set his cap upon a post in the market-place of Altorf, and commanded every person to pull off his hat to it on pain of death. See *Salmon's Modern History*, vol. ii. p. 257; from whence the historical part of this, and the following book, is chiefly derived.

Old Tell will spurn the tyrant." Here his voice  
 Stopt utterance, for his heart was full; and now 193  
 The vales of Altorf rang with loud acclaim,  
 And all Helvetia's sons betook to arms.  
 But Griesler's heart was harden'd, and his eyes  
 Were stricken blind by Heaven's celestial wrath.  
 For thus it is with tyrants; they nor care, 200  
 Nor feel for human misery, but proceed  
 With blind infatuation, heaping ill  
 On ill reiterate, until at last  
 The limping feet of justice overtake  
 Their long repeated injuries, and they 205  
 Unwept, unpitied, unlamented die.  
 And such was Griesler's fate; madden'd with rage  
 The insensate tyrant seiz'd the aged sire,  
 Whose venerable locks, and grave aspect  
 Had to commiseration mov'd e'en brutes, 210  
 And with out-wanton'd wantonness inflicts  
 A punishment, that e'en malignity,  
 Come hot from deepest hell, could scarce have fram'd.  
 This venerable hero had a son,  
 Born in his age, his hope, and prop of life, 215  
 In whom Helvetia saw the father's worth,  
 And mark'd him for her own: him Griesler's guards,  
 Eager to obey their master, instant seiz'd,  
 And brought before the tyrant, who with smiles  
 Deeply malignant thus the sire address'd; 220  
 "And think'st thou, haughty rebel! that a rout  
 Of unarm'd rabble can my power defy,  
 Back'd by the strength of Austrian Albert's arm?

Know, base-born slave! who bear'st a name unknown,

Even unto thy countrymen, that thou, 225

And such as thou, whom Heaven hath plac'd beneath

Our rule and guidance, should with fear and awe

Name e'en our name, much less dispute our will.

But since with impious tongue thou dar'st to doubt

The wisdom of our acts, and hast forgot 230

Our heavenly appointment, know 't is fit

A bright example should be made of thee,

And this thy offspring; hear then our resolve;

Soon as the morning sun shall gild the tops

Of yon proud mountains with its early rays, 235

Thee and thy son my guards shall straight conduct

Unto the market-place of Altorf, there

On pain of instant death to him, and thee,

I charge thee aim thy arrow at an apple

Plac'd on the youngster's head, which if thou miss 240

Thou certain diest: thus shall these rebels know

The power of him whom they have dar'd provoke."

Thus spake the tyrant, and the heart of Tell,

Whom even dungeons, and the keenest racks

Had scarce appall'd, paternal love, and fear 245

Transpierced through; and thus with faltering

tongue

The veteran exclaim'd; "O spare my son!

His youth, his innocence do loudly plead

In his behalf; I am alone the cause;

Let me then only die; I stand prepar'd." 250

But tyrants know no mercy in their wrath,

'Tis on the feelings of mankind they act,  
 And how they outrage these is not their care.  
 Thus Griesler, when he saw the aged sire  
 Shrink back with horror from his damn'd decree,  
 His harden'd heart rejoic'd with double joy, 256  
 And grinning malice thus the despot spake ;  
 " Have I at last, thou proud rebellious ! found  
 The means to curb thy daring spirit ? Know  
 That Griesler ne'er recalls what is pronounc'd ; 260  
 And mark, one moment shouldst thou hesitate,  
 That moment dies thy son before thy face."  
 He said, and straight the guards their prisoners lodg'd  
 In a deep dungeon's sad security.

And now the circling Hours led forth the Sun 265  
 Thro' the eastern gates of heav'n ; when Altorf's  
 sons,

Whom sleep, that sooths the cares of other men,  
 Had nor refresh'd nor sooth'd, for if perchance  
 Some minds oppress'd with overwhelming toil  
 Sunk into wakeful slumbers, phantoms dire, 270  
 And all that fancy unrestrain'd by judgment  
 Could form, or feature to affrighted minds  
 Rose into view, but most of all the fate  
 Of their revered Tell, which, being unknown,  
 Was trebly horrible, filled all with woe. 275  
 But now they rose, call'd by the radiate beams  
 Of the far-piercing sun. Them Melchdal saw

277, 285, 286. Arnold Melchdal, Walter Furst, and Werner Stouffacher were three of the principal leaders of the revolution. See *Salmon's Modern History*.



Assembling, thick as autumn's falling leaves,  
 With bold inquiry fraught, for much their hearts  
 Yearn'd for the sufferers, in whose fate they saw 280  
 Their own best rights, and privileges invol'd ;  
 And Melchdal's heart was gladden'd at the sight :  
 His labouring breast had many sleepless nights  
 Been pondering o'er Helvetia's wretched lot ;  
 Nor did his bold compeers, the intrepid Furst, 285  
 And Stouffacher, not second his designs :  
 These patriots knew that man lost half his worth  
 The moment that he ceased to be free :  
 And though by fear and terrour tyrants rule,  
 And triumph o'er men's minds, (which truth in-  
 deed  
 The imprisoned Tell too well illustrated,) 290  
 Yet tyranny but triumphs for a time,  
 And truth, and reason will return at last.  
 When these compatriots saw Helvetia's sons  
 Recover'd from their trance, (for Griesler's bold, 295  
 And daring deed had overawed their minds,)  
 As a fond father hastens to redeem  
 An only son, whom some proud Algerine,  
 Or base Tunisian Corsair has enslav'd ;  
 So them the patriots hasten'd to relume 300  
 With freedom's holy light. Alas ! how hid  
 From mortal eye is dark futurity !  
 Scarce had they reach'd the assembly, and the waves  
 Of popular acclamation 'gan subside ;  
 When on a sudden the loud trumpet's voice, 305  
 With the shrill clarion, and the hollow sound

Of the ground-shaking hoof, renew'd their fears.  
 And lo ! the tyrant's dreaded form appeared  
 Looking fix'd hate ; around him throng'd his guards  
 In close battalion, and in the midst were seen 310  
 The god-like veteran, and his dauntless son ;  
 When thus the herald's voice aloud proclaim'd ;  
 " Ye sons of Altorf ! Since ye thus have dar'd  
 Dispute our sovereign will, and disobey  
 Our just and wise commands ; we have resolv'd 315  
 To check rebellion at the fountain-head,  
 And give a lesson to futurity.  
 Thus then we have ordain'd, that the elder Tell  
 Placing an apple on the younger's head,  
 Aim at it with his arrow ; if he miss 320  
 He instant dies, and should he hesitate,  
 That moment dies his son before his face,  
 Nor shall himself escape. Thus shall ye learn  
 The power of him whom ye have dar'd provoke."  
 'Twixt word, and deed, there was no space of time :  
 Already had the armed slaves fulfill'd 326  
 The orders of their leader, and around  
 The unhappy sufferers stood in firm array ;  
 While the astonish'd multitude without  
 Were mute with fear ; when thus the aged sire 330  
 Pour'd out to heaven's King his pious prayer ;  
 " Almighty pow'r ! who know'st the hearts of men  
 Without the utterance of words ! O hear  
 A father's wishes ; spare, O spare my son !  
 And from thy holy fountain, Gracious God ! 335  
 Pour forth a beam of mercy o'er our sins !"

The Almighty heard and cast on Piety,  
 The meekest seraph of the heavenly choir,  
 A glance that spake in volumes. Quick as thought  
 The seraph hover'd o'er the head of Tell, 340  
 Unseen by others' eyes Depriv'd of sense,  
 And speech the hero stood; when the angel took  
 The bow and arrow from his trembling hand,  
 And by celestial aim the apple fell  
 Transpierced to the ground. Her mission done 345  
 The seraph wing'd her rapid flight to heaven,  
 Where joy angelick beam'd upon her face.  
 But now the pious pair with out-stretch'd hands  
 Pour'd forth in silent pray'r their gratitude  
 To the seat of mercy; while their countrymen 350  
 Made all Helvetia's mountains echo back  
 Repeated Hallelujahs. But the tyrant  
 Fell disappointment seiz'd, and black revenge  
 Which would be satiate; nor wanted he  
 Occasion seeming to fulfil his will; 355  
 For had the unhappy sire with erring hand  
 Miss'd his designed aim, and slain his son,  
 A second reed had pierc'd the tyrant's heart.  
 This Griesler learnt, and as some lioness  
 Prowls round the sheepfold in the evening's dusk,  
 Press'd sore by hunger, and maternal care, 361  
 But fears to enter, for both men and dogs  
 Keep there strict watch; at length by nature's wants  
 Imperious urg'd, she overleaps the fence,  
 And having gorg'd herself with blood, conveys 365  
 Some mangled carcase to her distant young,

Pursued by dogs and men ; so Griesler seiz'd  
 The unhappy Tell, and Cassenach's lonely tow'rs—  
 Had now receiv'd the sire ; when clouds of dust,  
 A true but silent messenger, and gleams 370  
 Of distant arms awaken'd all his fears.

Then Griesler learnt to tremble ; then he knew  
 The prince who rules not in his subjects' hearts  
 Is struck by Heaven's wrath, and falls despised.  
 And thus fell Griesler, and that tyrant race 375  
 Who long oppress'd Helvetia ; for her sons,  
 An armed nation warm'd by Heaven's fire,  
 And urg'd by injuries, had now aris'n  
 A light to light the world, and show to all,  
 A nation's voice is but the voice of God. 380

368. *Cassenach's lonely tow'rs*—A castle situated on the lake Lucerne.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK III.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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**Episode—Progress of Liberty continued. Revolution in the Netherlands. Queen Elizabeth assists the Prince of Orange. Her speech upon that Occasion. Phophecy concerning the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Speeches of Philip II. and his brother John; of William Prince of Orange. Spanish Armáda.**

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HERE stop, my Muse! and own thy gratitude  
That thou wert not in being at that time  
When ignorance' deep whirlpools whelm'd the world,  
And all was vice and woe; when if perchance  
Some genius less benighted rose to light,           5  
'Twas only to pour forth in barbarous rhyme  
The praise of murderers and the drunkard's broils.  
'Tis from the evils of those wretched times  
That virtue even now deplores that man  
Must wade to freedom thro' a sea of blood.           10  
But thus hath fate ordain'd; Wisdom alone  
Can purge the mental ray to bear the light  
Of truth, and virtue, liberty, and love.  
Hail then, thou period blest! when heaven's decree  
Instructed man to know, and feel his rights:           15  
The light once risen ne'er will set again,  
But in meridian glory eternal shine  
Of brightest essence co-essential.  
Helvetia now had rais'd her powerful voice.

G

Echoing to the furthest west ; and first with joy 20  
 Batavia heard, for there a D'Alva's crimes  
 As far eclipsed Griesler's, as the mind  
 Of the deep-judging sage outsoars the ken  
 Of those purblind, and puny politicians  
 Whose molish eyes see but the point oppos'd. 25  
 Batavia heard, and straight a host of men  
 Uprose to hail the joyful sound. Them oft  
 Had Philip's wanton cruelties, and rage  
 Insatiate of blood, impell'd to acts  
 Of deep despair, which despots have miscall'd 30  
 Rebellion, for they do most rebel  
 Who break the laws of God, and trample down  
 The altars of his justice. Man will bear,  
 And God permit innumerable wrongs  
 To flourish for a time, but there's a point, 35  
 A sacred point, which neither God, nor man  
 Will suffer to be pass'd, and him, who dares  
 To make the attempt, tho' arm'd with triple brass,  
 And deep-encircled round with hosts of slaves,  
 The watchful wrath of Heaven soon o'ertakes, 40  
 And plunges head-long down the gulf of woe.  
 And such awaited Philip ; nor veterans,  
 Nor hireling mercenaries, nor the crime  
 Of that incarnate fiend, whose bloody deeds

35. *but there's a point, &c.*—See the Act of the United Colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence. *Ramsay*, i. 338, &c.

44. *whose bloody deeds*—The duke d'Alva boasted that he



Dimm'd the blest brightness of the orb of day ; 45  
 No! Not the monster D'Alva could suppress  
 The uplifted arm of freedom, mai'd by wrongs.  
 But here the patriot eye will shed a tear  
 O'er Hoorn and Egmont's ashes. Ye, brave peers!  
 Fought for your country, for your country died ; 50  
 But died not unaveng'd, for William heard  
 Your dying moans, and on Eliza call'd  
 For aid, Eliza heard ; her patriot soul  
 That ne'er her people with taxation ground,

sides what his sword had destroyed, he had caused 18,000 to be executed by the hangman. *Samson's Mod. Hist.* ii. 136.

"There is a case," said Gov. Johnstone, Feb. 6, 1775, "directly similar, but we are too conceited to profit from such experience. Philip II. and his seventeen provinces are the counterpart of what we are acting. The debates in his council on sending the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, are applicable in every part. He was advised by two sensible men, to repair thither himself, and hear the complaints of his people, before he came to such rash resolves : but the majority said as in this case that his glory was compromised. It was not religion only but taxing without consent of their states, that brought matters to the last extremity : the duke of Alva, it is true, was victorious every where at first, but his cruelties were but sowing the serpents' teeth. The guests of the Briel, esteemed at that time infinitely more despicable than the New-Englandmen are represented, gave the first shock to the power of Spain. In comparing the probability of events, can any man say that Great Britain has such a prospect of victory in the contest, as Spain might then have expected? Yet we know the event, and how that mighty empire was rent in pieces," &c. *Almon*, i. 165.

49. *Hoorn and Egmont's ashes.*—The counts of H. and E. were put to death by D'Alva.

51. *William heard*—The Prince of Orange.

52. *Eliza*—Queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Flemings.

54. *That ne'er her people with taxation ground,*—"That gracious queen," said lord Chesterfield, Dec. 8, 1740, "was extremely shy of loading her subjects with any taxes, or putting the public to any expense." And how well she deserved this character may be learnt from the constant

But rul'd triumphant in her subjects' hearts; 55  
 Who vanquish'd all her foes, despis'd their threats,  
 And made Spain's despot tremble on his throne;  
 Thee! Great Eliza! Thee, the sufferers  
 Invoked not in vain: thy noble soul  
 With the sacred love of liberty inspir'd, 60  
 Attentive heard their plaints, and thus amidst  
 Assembled Britons spake their patriot queen;  
 " Friends, subjects, countrymen! 'Tis now the time  
 When that great law of nations, which forbids  
 All interference in another's rights, 65  
 Must give precedence; for the laws of men  
 Must yield obedience to the laws of God.  
 That sovereign princes are alone to Heaven  
 Accountant for their actions is allow'd;  
 But when perpetual servitude awaits 70  
 A nation of freemen, reason ordains  
 Their country's constitution, and its laws

tenor of history. The parliament having offered, in the eighth year of her reign greater subsidies than usual—" she utterly refused that extraordinary supply, and accepted of a much smaller sum. Abating the receipt of the fourth part of the money so granted; and telling them, after commending their regard for her, 'that money in her subjects' purse was as good as in her own exchequer,' and that 'she made a greater account of the good-wills and benevolent minds of her good and loving subjects, than she did of ten subsidies.'" We are told at other times that this excellent princess supplied a great part of the publick expenditure "out of her own revenues, sparing from herself to serve the necessity of the realm, and shunning thereby loans upon interest, as a most pestilent canker that is able to devour even the states of princes." *Timberland's Lords' Deb.* vii. 589; *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* i. 716. 767. 818. Compare also *Id.* i. 727. 768. 778. 874. 940-1.

Absolve them from allegiance ; for what men  
 Can be so lost to virtue, or to mind,  
 As freedom to commute for servitude ? 75  
 And if perchance such wretches should be found,  
 What right have they to bind posterity ?  
 My free born Britons ! 'Tis enough for us  
 To tell you that Batavia is enslav'd ;  
 Spain's haughty despot, and his impious tool, 80  
 Forgetting God and right, have dar'd subvert  
 The people's dearest privileges, nor stop  
 Their dreadful persecutions, till they reach  
 Despotic power. Patriot William calls  
 Aloud for British succour ; the oppress'd 85  
 On Britons never call'd for aid in vain."

Thus spake Eliza, and the people yet  
 Inclining forwards bent, with ears erect  
 Listening to silence. Till at length awak'd :  
 As when Killarney's circling rocks receive 90  
 Some cannon's solitary roar, at first  
 The distant echo imitates the sound,  
 And back repeats it, till with ten-fold force  
 The east, and west, uniting all their strength,  
 Join their reverberations, and at last 95  
 The thundering summits madden all the air,  
 And echo frighten'd echoes back the whole ;  
 Thus when Eliza ended, peal on peal

73. *Absolve them from allegiance* ;—The language here used by Elizabeth is corroborated by the testimony of history, See *Salmon*, p. 141. Compare also sir Christopher Hatton's speech upon the Spanish Invasion, *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* i. 649.

Of loudest acclamation rent the skies:  
 Such then were Britons ; such a British queen ; 100  
 Alas ! How fallen from their noble sires  
 Is their degenerate offspring ? They were men,  
 Who knew fair freedom's worth, and shed their  
 blood

Defending others' freedom, these forgetting  
 Sidney', and Hampden's virtues, deign enlist 105  
 Amidst arm'd despots to enslave freemen.  
 Here stop, my Muse ! and drop a silent tear  
 O'er their departed worth. But, soft, methinks !  
 Thou seest Eliza's spirit from above  
 Smile at their puny efforts, and bid thee say, 110  
 The time is coming when Eliza's soul  
 Shall reign again in her, who British-born  
 Hath deep imbibed Britain's ancient spirit.  
 Yes ! I foresee the period blest approach,

106. *Amids't arm'd despots*—“ It has been alleged,” said Mr. Fox, an. 1792, “ as a proof of disaffection, that the countenances of many wore the face of joy when the intelligence arrived of the duke of Brunswic's retreat. What ! is it a sufficient demonstration of republicanism, that men should rejoice in the discomfiture of the *armies of despotism* combatting against liberty ? Could any man who loves the constitution of this country wish success to the duke of Brunswic, after reading a manifesto which violated every principle of justice, humanity, freedom, and true government ?” &c. In the same spirit Mr. Sheridan exclaims ; “ But we are told that to treat with France would give offence to the allied powers, with whom we are eventually to co-operate. Are we then prepared to make a *common cause* on the principles and for the purposes for which *those despots* have associated ?” &c. See *Belsham*, iv. 502. 515 ; v. 12.

114. *I foresee*, &c.—Thrice has the pen been prepared to expunge this prophecy, and thrice has it been withheld.

When her refulgent glory, bursting forth, 115  
 The dank, dark, lowering vapours of the earth  
 Scatters to east and west, a risen sun.  
 Then Britons shall be free, then see again  
 Their laws, their rights, their freedom uninfring'd.  
 Thus British virtue, and a British queen, 120  
 To reason's voice obedient, and to God,  
 Join'd in the cause of liberty and man.  
 Spain's despot saw, but harden'd at the sight,  
 Seeing saw not, for tyranny is blind,  
 Blind e'en to its own interest, for would 125  
 The tyrant measure his ambitious views,  
 By what a patient people could endure,  
 And there suspend his plans, until at length  
 Inur'd to evil they could bear yet more ;  
 He might continue heaping crime on crime, 130  
 Till, like the purpled despot of the east,  
 He place his foot upon their lowly necks,  
 And they shall call it honour. Such is man  
 Creature of time, and place, and circumstance ;  
 Such too so various, and so manifold 135  
 The ways of him, who out of slavery  
 Educeth freedom ; out of evil, good.  
 But few there are who know them, and those few  
 So wrapt in their intrinsick excellence,  
 Their mental eye so dazzled at the sight 140

It shall stand. Prophecies have more than once caused the event

Νῦν ἄπομαί μὲν ἐν Θεῷ γὰρ μὰς

τίλος.

Pind. Olym. xiii.

Of the sublime, the beautiful, the good,  
 That human to celestial yields the palm,  
 And, angel-like, they see but to adore.  
 Hence then let virtue not despair, but learn  
 From Philip's fall, how weak the tyrant's arts. 145  
 For now, enrag'd to madness, when he saw  
 A British queen, and Sidney's arm uprais'd  
 To aid Batavia, two different ways  
 His proud soul ponder'd, whether by open war,  
 To assail his foes, or else by covert guile, 150  
 And treachery to compass his designs.  
 Thus wrapt in anxious thought the despot stood,  
 Weighing how most to scourge the human race:  
 Him, not unheeded, thus fraternal zeal  
 Accosted ; cursed pair, ready alike 155  
 To blast man's full-grown virtues, or to nip  
 The bud of freedom ere it rise to light ;  
 " If ere thy royal cares fraternal love  
 Hath sooth'd, if e'er thy heated mind been calm'd  
 By him, whom equal hopes, and equal fears 160  
 Have join'd in strictest union with thyself ;  
 Now pour thy burthen'd soul into that breast  
 Which knows no will but thine. Too much I fear

147. *Sidney*—The accomplished sir Philip Sidney, of whom that celebrated anecdote is told. After the battle of Zutphen, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst ; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said ; *' This man's necessity is still greater than mine ;'* and resigned to him the bottle of water." *Encyc. Britan.* The story is somewhat differently told in *Watkin's Biograph. Dict.*

That England's haughty monarch, trampling down  
 The laws of nations, dares to join her arms 165  
 To those of our proud foe ; rebellion  
 In England's monarch finds an advocate ;  
 But think not Heaven looks on such misdeeds  
 With kind benignant aspect ; rather say  
 It lowers in threatening storms. Britain shall rue  
 The day it joins in continental war ; 171  
 Already have my emissaries sown  
 Rebellion's seed in Ireland, there 't will quicken,  
 And ripen into harvest ; we meanwhile,  
 The royal license given, will succeed 175  
 To D'Alva's agency, and thus perchance  
 By well-dissembled acts of courtesy  
 Entrap our wary foe within that net  
 From whence he ne'er escapes, for who, that asks  
 Whether by guile, or force, an enemy 180  
 Succeed ; enough it is for us to know  
 That William is our foe, My liege ! you have  
 What I advise ; whatever else may suit  
 The present circumstance, whether by war  
 Maritime, or continental, to distress 185  
 England's proud monarch, and to aid the cause  
 Of kings, and lawful government, befits  
 Thy royal wisdom, and that depth of mind,  
 Which Heaven indulgent grants the best of kings."  
 Scarce had he ended, when with eager haste, 190  
 Like the fond mother, who with open arms  
 Receives her son return'd from distant school,  
 And knows not to desist, while from her eyes

Maternal love thick flashes; so the king  
 With eager haste flew to his brother's arms, 195  
 And there in silent transport fixed hung,  
 Until at length words thus found out their way;  
 " Belov'd of brothers! Best of subjects! Friend,  
 Dear as the light of day! Had Heaven bestow'd  
 One more like thee, not all Eliza's threats, 200  
 Nor William's vaunts could ruffle this proud soul.  
 But hence despair! The brave man knows thee not,  
 Thou art the coward's refuge; Spain and Philip  
 Yield to no earthly power; for though his foes  
 Were countless as the sands that circle round 205  
 The torrid Libya's long-extended coast,  
 Philip would meet them; hear then our resolve;  
 Soon as the watchful Hours shall have remov'd,  
 The clouds of darkness from the eastern sky,  
 Haste thou to Holland, there assume our power 210  
 Supreme, without control; in thee we place  
 That confidence thy wisdom, and thy worth  
 Justly deserve; there wage or open war  
 Against those hereticks, or else insnare  
 With covert guile, as to thy wisdom seems; 215  
 For holy church knows no communion  
 Of virtue, or of faith with infidels.  
 This shall proud England's heresiarchal queen  
 By suffering know, and dread again to raise  
 Against the chosen servants of the Highest, 220  
 Her heretick arm; for this our private cause  
 Will be the cause of God, and holy church.  
 Already do I see my armaments,



Bless'd by the pious Father, and pronounc'd  
 Invincible, triumphant plough the waves; 225  
 Already Spain's proud banners float on high  
 O'er London's towers, there the holy cross  
 Streams to the passing breeze; while father Thames  
 Flows by with conscious gratitude, and hails  
 The long-lost emblem. But enough of words, 230  
 We must proceed to deeds; you to your charge,  
 I to the holy Father; when again  
 We meet, we meet triumphant o'er our foes."  
 He ended; and the winds his vaunts, and threats  
 Bore to the vast Atlantick. Gracious God! 235  
 How blind is man! How incompatible  
 With reason, or with virtue, are his acts!  
 He asks for wealth; give him Potosi's mines,  
 He asks yet more. Seeks he dominion?  
 Grant him an empire, he is not content, 240  
 But must be despot. Asks he happiness?  
 Make him the happiest, he is still the same  
 And would be happier. Thus discontent  
 Hovers with dusky wing o'er all his deeds.  
 O gold! O cursed gold! There is scarce one 245  
 Or vice, or sin, or crime, but springs from thee.  
 Thou art the cause direct or indirect,  
 Of every earthly woe. 'Tis most to thee,  
 That e'en our passions owe their headstrong rage:  
 Man from his Maker's hands proceeded pure, 250  
 Thy glittering follies taught him to love wrong.  
 But haste my Muse! Speed on thy rapid course

To better times, when wealth at last gives way,  
 And yields to virtue her precedence just.  
 D'Alva recall'd; the happy Flemings saw, 255  
 Or thought they saw, some respite from their woe;  
 And thus one to another joyful spake;  
 "Our woes at length will cease; the barbarous  
 wretch

Who feasted on our blood, is now recall'd  
 To meet the recompense of all his crimes; 260  
 Our prince in mercy hears his people's pray'rs,  
 And from his brother's hand we shall receive,  
 Our laws, and privileges unimpair'd."  
 Thus spake the people. Poor short-sighted men!  
 To think that baffled tyrants e'er relax 265  
 Their impious endeavours to regain  
 That which is next their hearts, pow'r uncontrol'd.

Place in the tyrant's balance, darling power,  
 And in the other scale the people's love,  
 This last shall kick the beam, as light as air. 270  
 When once the passions reason's seat assume  
 Men become brutes, tyrants are therefore brutes,  
 Nay, worse than brutes, for that a portion's left  
 Of reason which they work to bad designs;  
 For though their sudden ire they soon digest, 275  
 Yet deep within the rankling vengeance lies,  
 And must be satiate. But William saw  
 The fine-spun web, nor did he not regret  
 The people's blind infatuate confidence,

And thus in wisdom's words he them address'd ; 280

"Think not, brave Flemings! that tho' men are  
chang'd,

Measures are chang'd ; by sad experience

I know the tyrants' arts ; in outward form

And falsehood perfect sirens, and their tongues

In subtlety that serpent's would eclipse 285

Which once deceiv'd the fairest of mankind.

Flemings! beware ; before it be too late

Beware of Philip ; D'Alva is recall'd,

But not yet punish'd, and if William's mind

Deceive him not, I see, too plain I see 290

Another D'Alva in the tyrant John.

While ye, brave Flemings! dare demand your rights,

Your liberty of conscience, and your laws,

So long tribunals streaming with your blood,

So long will murderous inquisitions, 295

Call'd courts of justice, banish from you far

All power of serving your own God the way

That God himself hath taught you. Philip sees

In liberty of conscience, heresy ;

Foul heresy ; and what with hereticks 300

Or compact, or communion can be kept,

But such as hungry tigers keep with lambs,

Or ravenous wolves with way-worn travellers?

Brave Flemings! now your arms are in your hands,

Lay them not down. That people scarce deserve

296. *Call'd courts of justice*,—See *Salmon*, art. *Netherlands*, ii. 136.

## H

Even the pity of mankind, who trust 306  
 The man that trusts not them. Your victories  
 Have gain'd you some short respite from your woes;  
 Do not betray yourselves, and what is short  
 Shorten yet more. Hope from the tyrant's fears,  
 But never from his love. Now while I speak, 311  
 Your treaties are infring'd, your rights o'erthrown;  
 And at my breast the secret murderer's knife  
 Perchance is pointed. Has my property  
 Escap'd their harpy fangs? Am not myself 315  
 Declar'd a traitor? Yes! my countrymen!  
 And in such treason William does rejoice,  
 Such treason is your love." (Shouts of applause  
 In long succession drown'd the hero's voice,  
 While tears of feeling warm'd his manly cheeks; 320  
 At length he thus;) "Flemings! I am content  
 To die in freedom's cause; nor unreveng'd  
 Will be my death; for lo! Eliza's aid,  
 And British valour soon will put to flight  
 The hosts of armed slaves which over-awe 325  
 Your peaceful dwellings, and those laws restore  
 And rights which Spain's proud monarch hath in-  
 fring'd.  
 You have my best advice, but once again  
 Beware of tyrants; trust them as you trust  
 The rocks of Scylla, or Charybdis' gulfs." 330  
 The hero spake; and as the clustering bees

307. *Your victories &c.*—The victory of Ghent produced short-lived peace.

Hang round their chieftain, to defend from harm,  
 And grace with honour; so the people throng'd  
 Round their beloved prince. They knew his worth;  
 They knew that where the perilous battle rag'd 335  
 In fellest fury, there their prince was found;  
 They knew the rancour of his foes, how oft  
 They plotted 'gainst his life. That life, their guard  
 And safety, now, alas! too prescient,  
 They saw, or seem'd to see beneath the hand, 340  
 Of dark assassins gasping in their cause,  
 And moan'd their living hero as the dead.  
 As when the warrior for the battle arm'd,  
 Meets the chaste partner of his heart who holds  
 Within her snowy arms his infant hope, 345  
 And fain would stop his course, while love and fear  
 Plead from her tear-stain'd eyes; his manly soul  
 Yielding to nature's impulse soothes her cares  
 With reason veil'd in love; so William's heart  
 Responsive to their feelings, felt for them. 350  
 Should the dark machinations of his foes  
 Succeed against his life; and where is free,  
 And open virtue safe against the black,  
 And deep-designing cowardice of vice?  
 He saw no guile to extricate them safe 355  
 From out the dangerous covert where they lay,  
 Expos'd on every side to hostile snares.  
 Thus pondering on their state within his breast,  
 Pensive the hero stood, at length thus spake;

339. *too prescient*,—He was assassinated at Delft, A. D. 1584.

" Nor thoughts, nor acts of gratitude in me 360  
 Shall e'er be wanting to requite your love.  
 Your cause is mine, nor will the tyrant's arts  
 Prevail against you, while you thus adhere  
 Each to the other; 't is dissension  
 That gives to despots, and preserves their power.  
 ' Divide and govern,' is their general rule; 366  
 ' Unite and conquer,' Flemings! must be yours."  
 The Flemings heard, nor hearing disobey'd.  
 O that mankind had always thus been wise,  
 Nor listen'd to the voice of evil men, 370  
 Neglecting truth, and solid wisdom's lore,  
 For blinking, mole-eyed phraseology!  
 To pledge united faith was now their care,  
 And Utrecht's walls were witness to their pledge.  
 Thrice happy pledge, which gave Batavia's sons 375  
 The greatest blessing that indulgent Heaven  
 Bestows on man, their liberties and laws!  
 But now the tyrant baffled in his arts,  
 Like some fell tigress that hath lost her young,  
 Mad for revenge, spar'd not one deed of blood, 380  
 Open, or covert, to regain his power,  
 Or glut his vengeance; and religion,  
 Too oft the tool of sanguinary men,  
 Blesseth his armaments and them proclaims  
 Invincible. But Heaven's averted eye 385  
 Turns from blasphemers, and to their own plots

374. *And Utrecht's walls*—Alluding to the union of the states at Utrecht, A. D. 1579. For the facts related in this book see *Salmon*, ii. 136, &c.

Leaves them the victims, while it wraps its friends  
 In the fragrant cloud of innocence, and truth,  
 Impervious to the wicked. This too late  
 Philip perceiv'd: not all his base attempts 390  
 Against Eliza's life, nor poisonous herb,  
 Nor steel of murderers, nor Popish bulls,  
 Availed aught; and though his armaments  
 Burthen'd the ocean, and had struck with fear  
 The stoutest hearts, not arm'd in freedom's cause,  
 Yet Britain's sons no sooner saw her foe, 396  
 Than seen, and conquered baffled he return'd  
 Back to his ports, with all his hideous wrecks.  
 So much could freedom in the cause of man.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

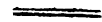
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**BOOK IV.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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Invocation. Origin of the American war. Speech of lord North to the British Senate. The indignant and patriotic reply of the great Chatham, who vindicates the cause of America, and expresses his horror at the employment of the Indians. Answer of lord North. Obedience of the House of Commons.

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OR

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O FOR that heavenly Muse, which, when implor'd  
By the blest voice of him, who compass'd stood  
With dangers and in solitude involv'd  
And darkness, fail'd him not, but deign'd to quit  
Her heavenly mansion here to dwell with him, 5  
To light his darkness with celestial light,  
And make his solitude the abode of joy ;  
But he on evil days was fallen, on days  
When Hampden, Sidney, and a cloud of men  
Suffer'd for freedom and for virtue's sake. 10  
But thou, Urania ! gav'st him sweetest song  
To cheer his morns and nights, and make the days  
Less evil. O that thou again would'st deign  
To visit this sad realm, where wisdom's voice  
And truth, and virtue, by fierce terrour scar'd 15

15. *by fierce terrour scar'd*,—This was written at a time when the country was almost deluged with spies and informers; when sentiments of liberty, indigenous as they are, could not be uttered without danger; when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and many virtuous and wise men were

And boisterous rage, have long been lull'd to rest;  
 Where to the natural evils of the clime  
 Wicked designing men have fearless plac'd  
 The dangerous quicksand, and the sunken rock;  
 Which when the innocent are wreck'd upon, 20  
 They but rejoice. O steer my fragil bark  
 Amidst these perils, till I reach once more  
 The azure ocean, and the cloudless sky:  
 Alas! too soon did England's glory set;  
 The sun that rose to light Eliza's spirit 25  
 To her blest mansion, charg'd with England's fate  
 Sunk gloomy in the west. Nor stop, my Muse!  
 To sing those wretched times, when if perchance  
 Some star of freedom rose amid the dark,  
 'Twas like the gleamy meteor of the night 30.

for slight offences either immured in a prison, or transported to distant climes; while others upon constructive treasons were brought to trial for their lives, and when acquitted by a jury of their country ignominiously denominated "acquitted felons." But "the reign of terrou" is past, it is not natural to our clime, and however it may aid the views of a despotick administration in augmenting an already overloaded penal code\*, yet ultimately it must tend, as all acts of a government, which does not keep pace with the illumination of the people, necessarily do tend, to excite the inquiries of that people into the abuses of their government, and to demand, with a voice that admits of no denial, a radical reformation of them.

\* Upon the fertile subject of crimes and punishments, I would endeavour to impress on the minds of my countrymen this single fact, that by the good old common law there were only four crimes liable to be punished with death, and compensation might even have been made for these. There are now two hundred if not more. See the speech of sir William Meredith, May 13, 1777, *Almon*, vii. 180; and compare *Blackstone*, b. iv. ch. 1.

That shone awhile to dim the eyes of men,  
 And leave the dark still darker. Rather speed  
 Thy rapid flight to where Columbia's sons,  
 And Washington, and Franklin smooth'd the road  
 To universal freedom. O that truth 35  
 Could blot that page of history, which records  
 Britain's most foul disgrace; when British swords  
 Were sheath'd in British blood, to aid the cause  
 Of rank oppression, and despotick law!  
 What thus could urge Britannia to revolt 40  
 From her own principles? 'Twas Gold and Pow'r,  
 Twin evils form'd to curse the hopes of man.  
 These first induced North, presumptuous fool,  
 Who blindly steer'd the helm of state, which men  
 Of wisdom, and of foresight can alone 45  
 Guide safely thro' the intricate of things;  
 These him induc'd to try what force avail'd  
 Against the sons of freedom, freedom's sons,  
 Columbia's offspring, who by Franklin taught  
 Knew where to affix the boundary to pow'r 50  
 And say to kings; "Thus far ye only go,  
 Beyond this point the people's rights begin,  
 Kings! trespass not;" but North, proud minister,  
 Ambitious man, knew scarce the name of rights

43. *presumptuous fool*,—"Let me tell you," (said lord Chatham, upon another occasion, speaking of the ministers) "whoever they were (I don't care of what consequence) they were either fools or knaves; if the latter, they deserved to be treated with the just contempt of an injured people; if the former, they ought to have been sent to school before they were suffered to take the lead in public office." *Debrett*, v. 188, May 4, 1770.

Much less to practise; but the the name prevails, 55  
 And will prevail so long as man endures,  
 And shall not then the practice, which to man  
 Makes every earthly blessing doubly blest,  
 Gives him to know his Maker, and adore  
 That Maker in his works? But these are things 60  
 Too deeply hid from the dim eyes of men  
 Obscur'd by power and wealth; for now enrag'd  
 Like a spoilt child who cannot bear control,  
 With angry words he Britons thus address'd;  
 "That prompt obedience, and support are due 65  
 From subjects to their rulers, is a truth,  
 Which they alone will controvert, who wish  
 To stir rebellion up, and trample down  
 The laws and constitution of the realm.  
 For what or rule, or government can last 70  
 Unless it meet support? and what support  
 Without taxation? Have we not endur'd  
 All the calamities of war? incurr'd

55. *Much less to practise*;—Lord chancellor Camden, Jan. 9, 1770, "accused the ministry, if not in express terms, yet by direct implication, of having formed a conspiracy against the liberties of their country." And the marquis of Rockingham declared the maxim of government to be, "*That the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands the administration should be committed.*" *Debrett*, v. 142. 145.

71. *Unless it meet support? &c.*—"Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt." See the note in *Debrett*, iv. 251, where this passage is quoted from Tacitus. For the principal authority of this speech the reader may consult the speech of Mr. Grenville, Jan. 14, 1766, *Debrett*, iv. 292; and the Protest, 368; and the speech of Mr. Jenkinson, Mar. 17, 1778, *Almon*, ix. 65.

Expense enormous to defend, and guard

These our rebellious colonies; which are

75

75. *rebellious colonies*;—Shakespeare has put these words into the mouth of Henry Vth; “We give express charge—that none of the French be upbraided, or abused in disdainful language: for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentlest gamester is the soonest winner.” Act 3, sc. 6. Even in a just cause, and a successful war, the using of opprobrious language can only serve to aggravate and inflame the cruelty of the soldiery, and render final reconciliation more difficult; and in an unsuccessful conflict it can excite no other feeling than contempt, and make the day of retribution more dreadful. It is in fact no proof of bravery, generally speaking indeed it is the reverse; for the weaker the opponent is in real strength, the more voluble is his tongue. It might suit the heated minds of a despotick administration to exclaim, “that treason and rebellion were properly and peculiarly the native growth of America;” (see *Almon*, vi. 168. and King’s speech, p. 5.) but the uncorrupt virtue of a Camden, a Chatham, a Richmond, and a patriotick opposition, could yet preserve untainted the dignity of the British nation. *Almon*, ii. 39. 61. “They are rebels,” said lord Chatham, 30th May 1777, “but what are they rebels for? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights! What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyrick; but must observe in attenuation, the erroneous and insatuated counsels which have prevailed—the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them.” *Almon*, vii. 93, *Lords Deb.* The Duke of Richmond having remarked, “that he did not think the people of America in rebellion, but merely resisting acts of the most unexampled cruelty and oppression;” the E. of Denbigh rose, and “openly contended, that those who defended rebellion, were themselves little better than rebels; and that there was very little difference between the traitor, and he who openly or privately abetted treason.” In reply to this he was told by the noble duke, “that he was not to be intimidated or deterred from his duty by loud words, and that he would not retract a single iota he had uttered on this occasion.” I shall conclude this note with observing that the term *rebels* seems to be very fashionable at a certain court; for whether it be the struggles of the unfortunate Corsicans—of the wretched Caribbs—of the patriotick Americans—

As able to sustain their share of burthen  
 As Britons are, but that they find from hence  
 Favour, and countenance from factious men?  
 Better by far lay down the reins, and cease  
 To guide the state, than thus betray your trust, 80  
 Than thus without a contest yield your rights.

When were the colonies emancipate  
 From British jurisdiction? when were left  
 To their own judgment of their rulers' acts?  
 Such dangerous doctrine, if it meet support, 85  
 Will like a pestilence spread far and wide  
 Destruction to all governments on earth.

Are they not children planted by our care,  
 Nurs'd in indulgence, and when now full grown,  
 Mid opulence and plenty, shall they grudge 90

or the suffering Irish—they are all rebels, “daring and incorrigible rebels. *Belsham*, i. 258-9. 417. 423; ii. 291-2. See above, b. i. note 312; and memoirs of the D. of Richmond, *Mon. Mag.* No. 153.

78. *from factious men?*—Lord Dudley, Oct. 26, 1775, “contended that the present rebellion in America was fomented and supported by a desperate faction in this country; that none but men of the worst dispositions, and most pernicious designs, would encourage the claims of America, &c.” *Almon*, v. 3; and see the E. of Sandwich’s speech. *ib.* p. 6.

81. *without a contest*—“As they totally denied (said lord North, 5 Mar. 1770,) the power of Great Britain to tax them, it became more absolutely necessary to compel the observance of the laws to vindicate our undoubted rights.” *Debrett*, v. 254. “We must risk something; if we do not, all is over.” vii. 224.

88 *planted by our care*.—“And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burthen which we lie under?” See *Ramsay*, i. 57. 346. King’s speech, 26th Oct. 1775; *Almon*, iii. 2; and v. 23. 64.



Their trifling tribute to relieve our wants?  
 Ye British senators! I do intreat  
 Your patient hearing; for your dignity,  
 Your honour, your essential interests,  
 Your constitution, all are now at stake. 95  
 Your acts, your laws, your whole authority  
 Is spurn'd; your merchants plunder'd of their goods;  
 Your ships are burnt; and all your loyal subjects  
 Like felons treated ignominious.  
 Necessity impels you to defend 100  
 Your cause and justice; be ye resolute,  
 Be firm, be vigorous, and to factious men  
 Oppose defiance both abroad and here.  
 Now is the time to uplift the arm of power,  
 To show we are in earnest, and expect 105  
 All due obedience to our country's laws.

99. *Like felons*—"And will this country sit still, when they see the colony proceeding against your own subjects, tarring and feathering your servants; denying your laws and authority, &c." "The Americans have tarred and feathered your subjects, plundered your merchants, burnt your ships, denied all obedience to your laws and authority, &c." Lord North, Apr. 22, 1774; *Debrett*, vii. 220-1. Compare lord Lyttleton's speech, May 30, 1777; *Almon*, vii. 109.

104. *Now is the time*—"Now is our time (said lord North Mar. 25, 1774,) to stand out—to defy them—to proceed with firmness, and without fear;—that they would never reform until we take a measure of this kind. Let this bill produce a conviction to all America, that we are now in earnest, and that we will proceed with firmness and vigour;"—"I hope that we every one feel, that it is the common cause of us all.—The good of this act is, that four or five frigates will do the business without any military force;—but if we exert ourselves now with firmness and intrepidity, it is the more likely they will submit to our authority." *Debrett*, vii. 87. See *ib.* 114. 123.

Make this a common cause, strike terror round,  
 Punish the guilty and assert your rights."  
 Scarce had the haughty minister surceas'd  
 His vile attempt to make the worse appear 110  
 The better cause, and clothé in anger's garb  
 The pallid tremours of his heart ; scarce ceas'd  
 His tools their venal plaudits : when uprose  
 The patriotick Pitt, the god-like sire  
 Of a degenerate son. Him Britain lov'd 115  
 With filial love, and gratitude ; him oft  
 His prince had call'd to guide the helm of state,  
 And with Britannia's glory gird the world ;  
 But thence as oft had secret influence,

112. *The pallid tremours*—"It was observed that lord North trembled and faltered at every word of his motion." *Debrett*, vii. 119.

114. *The patriotick Pitt*,—"A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the Globe. It may be truly called

.....clarum et venerabile nomen  
 Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi."

"Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct, &c." See the very celebrated speech of Mr. Burke, Ap. 19, 1774, *Debrett*, vii. 162-3. See the E. of Shelburne's opinion of "*the aercæ of Great Britain*," *Almon*, v. 68; the D. of Grafton's, vii. 100; Lord Camden's, x. 432; Lord Lyttleton's, 438; and Mr. Grenville's, viii. 366. See *Life of Washington*, i. 492-3.

119. *secret influence, &c.*—Lord Chatham "complained strongly of the great influence of the E. of Bute, which he affirmed still (March 1770) continued, and which had prevented there having been any original minister since the accession of His present Majesty."—He spoke of the secret

That poisonous weed which in the shape of Bute  
 Had Britain's evil Genius bestrew'd 121  
 Behind the throne, whose deleterious taint  
 Hath long pervaded Britain's atmosphere,  
 And numb'd the patriot's efforts; thence as oft  
 Had this prevail'd to counteract the deed. 125  
 But now the patriot rose, while from his eyes  
 Flash'd freedom's fire, and thus his labouring breast  
 Pour'd the full torrent of impetuous truth;  
 "Britons, and Senators! long may ye yet  
 Deserve those names by all the world rever'd! 130  
 Long may ye be an honor to yourselves,

influence of an invisible power—of a favourite whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances in the nation, and who, notwithstanding he was abroad, was at this moment as potent as ever; that he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office; that there was no safety, no security against his power and malignity; that he himself had been duped, &c."—"A long train of such practice has at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is something behind the throne greater than the king himself." *Debrett*, v. 173, 174. See 191. 272. iv. 289. Colonel Barre is still stronger; he observed "that it was the same case in the Admiralty as in every other part of government; that there was a certain busy devil that thrusts its head into every department, and did the business for every officer of state; that we have a nominal minister, nominal secretaries of state, nominal privy councilmen, whose names are only used for responsibility; that so despicable a junto who form the interior cabinet, may, at the risque of others, work mischief in darkness and obscurity." *Ib.* 450-1. The M. of Rockingham's sentiments upon this subject are given above, *note* 55, and in *Almon*, vii. 70; and the reader may see the duke of Manchester's in *Almon*, x. 333-4; E. of Effingham's, 317; D. of Richmond's, *ib.* 367; and his memoirs quoted above at ver. 75; E. of Shelburne's, *ib.* 461; and ii. 49; and the Great Frederic's, in *Belsham*, ii. 135. Compare *Belsham*, i. 91-2; ii. 113.

A glory to your country; which now calls  
 With more than filial, than parental voice,  
 On you at once her parents, and her sons!  
 O may that fire which fill'd the patriot breasts 135  
 Of your forefathers, when at Runimede  
 They made the tyrant sign our charter'd rights!  
 O may that blood which ran thro' Sidney's veins,  
 Now animate your own! And tho' my life  
 Hang by a feeble thread, still shall it pour 140  
 It's last faint breath to freedom and to you.  
 Britons! it is a principle as broad  
 As freedom's whole circumference, that man  
 Yields up no rights but for his happiness;  
 He seeks protection, and not slavery; 145

140. *And tho' my life hang by a feeble thread*,—"The session (an. 1777) being near its close, lord Chatham, unwilling that it should pass over without some publick testimony of his unutterable abhorrence of the war which now distracted and convulsed the empire, and of the principles and conduct of those men whose weak and wicked counsels had involved the nation in its present calamities, attended the house of peers on the 30th of May wrapped in flannels, and bearing a crutch in each hand, &c." See *Belsham*, ii. 287, &c. He often complains of his ill state of health. *Debrett*, v. 127. 134; iv. 289.

145. *He seeks protection, &c.*—"Can ministers think, (said lord Rockingham Oct. 31, 1776,) that a whole people—ever unanimously confederated to join in a revolt, under a mild, wise, and equitable administration of public affairs?"—"The idea (of unconditional submission) was abhorrent to the subjects of this free government; that Englishmen, whatever their local situation may be, know no obedience to any thing but the laws; and that when the protection of the laws was taken away in several instances, particularly by the Capture Act, when they were declared open enemies, and put out of the king's peace, it was impossible for them to do other ways than they did. If they declared themselves independent, it was long after they were declared enemies; and for his part

Should then a daring minister attempt  
 To violate the constitution's laws,  
 Resistance is no longer criminal

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he could not possibly see what degree of obedience was due where public protection was openly withdrawn." *Almon*, vii. 4. "No people," said Mr. Hartley, "can be bound to surrender their rights and liberties in return for protection. When any government make such demands, the compact is void. These are bold and manly principles. They are the pillars of our own constitution." *Ib.* iii. 496. "The forefathers of the Americans (said lord Camden) did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery: they did not give up their rights; they looked for protection, and not for chains, from their mother country." *Debrett*, iv. 367. Compare *Ramsay*, i. 106. 340.

148. *Resistance is no longer criminal*—"My lords, (exclaims the indignant Chatham, 22 Jan. 1770,) the constitution has been grossly violated, the constitution at this moment stands violated.—If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity. If not—*may discord prevail for ever*—I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve.—My lords, this is not the language of faction; let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone we can distinguish what is factious from what is not, by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles; and know that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified." *Debrett*, v. 150. Compare *Almon*, ii. 6. "If depriving (says Gov. Johnstone) a trading town of its commerce—if cutting off whole societies from the benefit of the element which God has given them—if proceeding to deprive them of the fishery, their subsistence—if altering their charter, and annihilating all their rights, without hearing them in their defence—if establishing, in its stead, a new form of government, which leaves all things in confusion—if erecting a system of tyranny in their neighbourhood, and establishing, not tolerating all the absurdities of the Roman Catholic religion—trial by jury dismissed—habeas corpus denied—the representatives of the people determined useless—inferior duties levied by act of parliament—In short, precedents for the violation of every thing we hold most sacred

But thence becomes a duty. Better far  
 To perish in a struggle for one's rights, 150  
 Than live a life of ignominious ease;  
 If ease it may be call'd, which doth depend  
 Upon the nod of arbitrary power.  
 What patriot breast the struggles then can blame  
 Of our colonial brethren? They are men, 155

in this country; I say, if acts like these can vindicate resistance, the Americans can quote them, and God and the world must judge between us. For my own part, I consider, with lord Somers, that 'treason against the constitution is the first species of that crime.'" *Almon*, i. 162. Sir G. Saville observed, that "if rebellion was resistance to government, he could not consider all rebellions to be alike; there must be such a thing as justifiable rebellion—and submitted to the house, whether a people taxed without their consent, and their petitions against such taxation rejected; their charters taken away without hearing; and an army let loose upon them without a possibility of obtaining justice; whether a people under such circumstances could not be said to be in justifiable rebellion?" *Ib.* 176. Upon the doctrine of resistance see lord Camden, *Almon*, ii. 14. 83; v. 84; the address of the city of London, Ap. 10. 1775. *ib.* p. 180; Temple Luttrell's speech, *Almon*, iii. 31. 124. "The Americans (said Mr. Fox) were more justifiable for resisting, than they would have been had they submitted to the tyrannical acts of a British parliament—that when the question was, whether a people ought to submit to slavery, or aim at freedom by a spirited resistance, the alternative which must strike every Englishman was, the choice of the latter." *Ib.* 42. Gen. Conway upholds the same doctrine, iii. 148. So Mr. Sawbridge, 216-7; Alderman Bull, *Almon*, viii. 15; Mr. D. Hartley, *ib.* 124; Mr. Wilkes, 136. See Lord's Protest, *Almon*, v. 20; D. of Richmond *Almon*, v. 139; E. of Shelburne, v. 147; vii. 33-4; Lords' Deb. See *ib.* 33; D. of Grafton, *ib.* 100-2.

150. *To perish in a struggle &c.*—"In my judgment, my lords, (said lord Chatham,) and I speak it boldly, it were better for Englishmen to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expence of a single iota of the constitution." *Debrett*, v. 130.

Are Britons, and they glory in the name:  
 Respect their sturdy virtue; 'tis your own.  
 What tho' it be ebullient; 'tis the boiling  
 Of a rich vigorous blood. Were they so dead  
 To human feelings, as to bow their necks 160  
 Without a murmur to the yoke of power;  
 They would become fit instruments to serve

156. *Are Britons, &c.*—"They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of England were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old-England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us." Dr. Franklin's Examination, *Debrett*, iv. 327. "They may be flattered (said col. Barre) into any thing, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that—the first step towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government." *Debrett*, vii. 119.

"They were proud of the land of their ancestors, and gloried in their descent from Englishmen." *Life of Washington*, ii. 98. See the speech of lord John Cavendish, Oct. 31, 1776, *Almon*, vi. 10; and lord Chatham, May 30, 1777, *Almon*, vii. 96. "They have no other idea of this country than as their home; they have no other word by which to express it." Gov. Pownall, *Debrett*. v. 314.

158. *What tho' it be ebullient*;—Lord Chatham "owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for their excess. That they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart." *Debrett*, v. 128.

162. *fit instruments &c.*—"I rejoice (said lord Chatham) that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." *Debrett*, iv. 294. See v. 130. Compare Dunning's speech, *Almon*, i. 135; lord J. Cavendish, iii. 149-150; lord

The purpose of oppression o'er ourselves.  
 But it is ask'd, When were the Colonies  
 Emancipated?... When were they enslav'd? 165  
 Both God and Nature gave them freedom's rights,  
 And God and Nature will those rights defend.  
 Their wise forefathers left their native soil  
 To flee from persecution; will their sons  
 Forget their fathers' virtues? Rather hope 170  
 The sun will cease to shine; or Albion's rocks  
 Sink in the foaming deep. It has been said

Shelburne, *Almon*, vii. 26; *Lords' Deb.* col. Barre, ix. 90; lord Camden, x. 33-4. See *Belsham*, ii. 204.

164. *When were the colonies emancipated?*—"The gentleman (Mr. Grenville) asks, When were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves." Lord Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 295. Compare 292; and *Belsham*, ii. 98.

168. *Their wise forefathers &c.*—"The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery, &c." Lord Camden, *Debrett*, iv. 367. "If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow subjects in America, to leave their native country to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And we shall wonder, my lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for." &c. Lord Chatham, May 27, 1774, *Debrett*, vii. 10-1.

172. *It has been said &c.*—See above, ver. 88, to which col. Barre replied; "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country.—They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your



That they are children planted by your care,  
 In your indulgence nurs'd, and by your arms  
 Protected. They! they planted by our care! 175  
 They by your arms protected? They indulged!  
 If rank oppression be indulgence call'd,  
 Indulgent was their parent, and their nurse  
 A kind protectress of the self-same race,  
 That in her quarrels spills her children's blood 180  
 And now would fleece them of the hard-earn'd fruits  
 Of long laborious toil. Ye have no right;

neglect of them.—They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence." *Ransay*, i. 57. See *Franklin's Works*, i. 360; "Intended Vindication;" and gov. Pownall's speech, May, 1770, *Debrett*, v. 315.

182. *Ye have no right*;—"It is my opinion, (said Lord Chatham,) that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies, &c."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it." *Debrett*, iv. 290, 291; See vii. 13; *Almon*, ii. 14-5; x. 12.

"My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable;—this position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down, and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation are coeval with, and essential to this constitution. I wish the maxim of Machiavel was followed, that of examining a constitution, at certain periods, according to its first principles; this would correct abuses and supply defects. I wish the times would bear it, and that men's minds were cool enough to enter upon such a task, and that the representative authority of this kingdom was more equally settled." &c. &c. Lord Camden, *Debrett*, iv. 365; *Almon*, ii. 13-4. Compare gov. Pownall's speech, Feb. 8, 1769, v. 61; and Mr. Fox's, May 2, 1774. vii. 248; marquiss of Granby's,

Yes ! I repeat, ye have no legal right  
 To tax your colonies. To give and grant  
 What is his own, belongs to free-born man ; 185  
 It is the slave who holds no property  
 But at a master's nod. Of this great truth  
 Your blustering ministers seem sensible ;  
 They tax, and untax, then they tax again,  
 As if the human feelings were their sport. 190  
 And yet they talk of dignity, that dignity,

*Almon*, i. 418 ; sergeant Adair's, *Almon*, iii. 65-6 ; Mr. D. Hartley's, 345 ; Mr. Temple Luttrell's, vi. 24 ; Mr. Wilkes's, iii. 8 ; Mr. Burke's, *Debrett*, vii. 135.

188. *Your blustering ministers &c.*—"Preposterously, you began with violence ; and before terrors could have any effect, either good or bad, your ministers immediately begged pardon ; and promised that repeal to the obstinate Americans, which they had refused in an easy, good-natured, complying British parliament.—Your ministerial directors blustered like tragick tyrants here ; and then went mumping with a sore leg in America, canting, and whining, and complaining of faction." Burke, *Debrett*, vii. 139. See 131. 134. 141-2. 167 ; *Almon*, iv. 125

"The whole of your political conduct (said lord Chatham) has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption." *Almon*, ii. 29. See *Ramsey*, i. 88.

191. *And yet they talk of dignity*,—"So that now, (said Mr. Burke, May 8, 1770,) not only dignity, but government and power are all brought to nought. Every instrument is gone ; there is neither civil nor military. The malignity of your will is abhorred ; the debility of your power is contemned, *which ever has been, and is now the case of a government without wisdom.*" *Debrett*, v. 331. "You are therefore at this moment in the awkward situation of fighting for a phantom ; a quiddity ; a thing that wants not only a substance, but even a name : for a thing, which is neither abstract right, nor profitable enjoyment. They tell you, sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, *but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you ; for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity, and every idea of your policy.* Shew the thing you contend for to be reason ; shew it to be

Once the proud boast of Britons, now contemn'd ;  
 But stop their mad career ; conciliate  
 Your injur'd brethren ere it be too late ;  
 Restore their rights and laws ; and they will fly 195  
 To meet with open arms your proffer'd love.  
 But should you still persist, and fondly hope  
 By your superiour force to over-awe  
 Their British spirit, despair, and liberty

common sense ; shew it to be the means of attaining some useful end ; and then I am content to allow it what dignity you please. But what dignity is derived from the perseverance in absurdity, is more than ever I could discern." vii. 135. Of the variegated nature of this dignity, and its political consequence, the reader may see some specimens in *Belsham*, i. 423 ; viii. 397.

193. *conciliate &c.*—"Adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty ; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves ; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors ; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms ; and I will venture to affirm you will find them children worthy of their-sire." Chatham, *Debrett*, vii. 13. See *Almon*, ii. 6-7.

199. *despair and liberty*—"Let us not, sir, drive them to despair : the despair of a brave people always turns to courage : that courage once exerted, God knows what may be the end of it." Mr. N. Calvert, *Debrett*, iv. 299. "The people of America are husbandmen—are unaccustomed to arms ;—yet if you attempt to force taxes against the spirit of the people there, you will find, when perhaps it is too late, that they are of a spirit which will resist all force : which will grow stronger by being forced ; will prove superior to all force, and ever has been unconquerable : they are of a spirit to abide, nay, to court, persecution : and if—they should once take it into their heads that they are under a state of persecution, that spirit of enthusiasm which is of their temper, and of their very nature, will arise, and every mischievous consequence, in every extreme, will accompany it." Gov. Pownall, *Debrett*, v. 56. "The Americans (exclaims lord Chatham, Jan. 20, 1775,) love liberty better than life." *Almon*, ii. 8. They are the genuine descendants of a noble ancestry : and I heartily coincide in the patriotick wish

K

Will to their cause unite their potent aid, 200  
 And soon an armed nation will arise  
 To spurn your feeble efforts. Should success,  
 Which patient Heaven avert, attend your cause,  
 And should Columbia fall beneath the rod  
 Of iron power, like Sampson will she fall, 205  
 And crush with her our best and dearest rights.  
 Ye have what I advise, but much I fear  
 How little 't will avail; a modesty

of the noble lord, "that the young gentlemen of our time would imitate them." Compare *Belsham*, ii. 32.

203. *Which patient Heaven avert*,—"It is with pleasure (said gov. Johnstone) I perceive the force of this country, when wielded in such a cause, is totally inadequate." *Almon*, iii. 26. And sir Jos. Mawbey, addressing himself, Mar. 72, 1776, to lord Howe and gen. Burgoyne, after giving testimony to their personal worth, "expressed his astonishment that such men would be concerned in so infamous and diabolical a business: and owned, that however he might esteem them as men, he wished that they might not succeed; but that the cause of justice, humanity, freedom and the constitution, might prevail." *Ib.* 408.

"One hope, sir, (said Mr. T. Luttrell,) I will however still entertain, and which I am neither afraid, nor ashamed to avow; it is, that the Americans may prove successful in the maintenance of their just rights." *Ib.* iii. 243-4. In the same spirit Mr. Wilkes, *Almon*, vi. 17.

205. *like Sampson*—"In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." Lord Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 297.

208. *a modesty*—"The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not chuse to contradict a minister. Even your chair, sir, looks too often towards St. James's. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative.

That fears to give offence, I know not how,  
Has crept within these walls: O! that, at last, 210  
You would be wise, and reverence yourselves!

The British minister should be the voice  
Of Britain's Commons, and the Commons be

Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another." *Ib.* 296.

212. *The British minister should be &c.*—"The word minister, my lords, has been very much misunderstood of late. It has a British, and a French signification. In the British sense, my lords, it signifies a servant of the parliament, a servant of the people, as well as of the crown.—The French sense of the word minister, my lords, *maitre de palais*, is one who acts in place of the king, one who is accountable to none but the king, let him be guilty of never so many miscarriages or mismanagements. I am sorry to see it, but we seem of late to have adopted this last sense of the word. Ministers of Great Britain seem to be as absolute as they are in France. But my lords, I hope your lordships will assert the dignity of this house, &c." D. of Argyle, *Timberland*, vi. 229. It was this dignity that emboldened lord Chatham to tell the council, that "he was called into the ministry by the voice of the people, and to them held himself answerable for his conduct." *Ency. Brit. art. Pitt.*

213. *and the Commons be &c.*—"Whoever understands the theory of the English constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country. We must reduce our political practice as nearly as possible to our political principles. The constitution intended that there should be a *permanent relation between the constituent and representative body* of the people. Will any man affirm that, as the house of commons is now formed, that relation is in every degree preserved? My lords, it is not preserved; it is destroyed."—"The corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprises of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution. For this great evil, some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my lords, I did hope, that his majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution, some

The voice of Britain's people ; 't is the want  
 Of this harmonious union, that perchance 215  
 Hath caus'd this modest fear to give offence :  
 Even our liberty of speech is now.cn

impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done."—  
 "The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation."—"It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities, and counties, that the strength and vigour of the constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown." Lord Chatham, Jan. 22, 1770, *Debret*, v. 154-5; see 162. 177. 355. 389. In another debate, this indignant statesman, and independent Briton, speaking of the boroughs, exclaims; "A borough, which perhaps no man ever saw; this is what is called, the rotten part of the constitution; it cannot continue a century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated." Jan. 14, 1766; *Debrett*, iv. 291. "I shall grant (said lord Carteret, in 1740,) that a perfect harmony between king and parliament, has always hitherto given weight to the king's counsels abroad; but from whence did this proceed? It proceeded from the *parliament speaking the language of the people*; for if ever a parliament, by corruption, or other means, should begin to *speak the language of ministers*, without regard to the sentiments of the people, a good harmony between king and parliament, will then have no authority at home, and consequently can have no more effect abroad, than a good harmony between the king and his ministers, I was going to say his footmen; for a minister that is hated by the people, is in a more precarious situation, and must be more dependant, than any of the king's footmen." *Timberland*, vii. 472. "The distinguishing, and sole sign of a people's being free, is that of their being governed by those laws, and those men they approve of." See the earl of Halifax's speech, *ib.* 523; duke of Argyle's, 677.

217. *Our liberty of speech &c.*—"Gentlemen, sir, have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this un-

Imputed as a crime ; but such a crime,  
 And such an imputation shall not turn  
 Me from my purpose, tho' I'm stigmatiz'd 220  
 With faction and sedition, For who speaks  
 Or writes, or acts in times that are corrupt,  
 And hears not rank abuse, had better cease  
 To act, or write, or speak ; since what he does  
 Reaches not home, and 'tis the hearts of men, 225  
 Conscious of ill, that prompts them to revile  
 The works of uprightness, and patriot worth.  
 In such bad times abuse is virtue's meed,  
 For slower are the good to give applause  
 Than are the bad to censure. 'Tis our right, 230  
 It is our bounden duty to declare  
 The soul's free sentiments, and him who robs  
 Man of his rights, tho' armed with triple steel,  
 Avenging justice soon will overtake,  
 And hurl him headlong from his towering height.  
 Britons ! once more ere the blest time be past, 235

happy act, and that freedom has been their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house, imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumnates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project." *Ld. Chatham, Debrett, iv. 294* ; so also *Mr. Burke, Almon, iii. 170* ; and *lord Camden, v. 92* ; *Mr. Fox, iv. 212*. *Sir Gilbert Elliot*, "in explicit terms stigmatized those who were of an opposite opinion, as a set of people pervaded with the spirit of faction." *Almon, viii. 2*. And *colonel Luttrell* expressed his "abhorrence of principles which led men to support rebellion—He could not remain silent, when he saw a set of men combined together to betray their country—abettors of treason and rebellion, &c." *Ib. 317-1*. See *Belsham, i. 96, note*.

Restore Columbia to her rights, and laws;  
 Your country too restore to happiness.  
 But ere I close there is one subject more,  
 Which fain I would not notice to your ears, 240  
 But that indignant justice urges on.  
 Methought I heard, would that I were deceiv'd!  
 That neither Heaven, nor nature, hath forbid  
 To use the Indian scalplings—Gracious God!  
 That thou should'st sit upon thy mercy-seat, 245  
 Nor bare thy arm to vengeance! Who is he  
 That, to the evils of this murderous war,  
 Dares authorize, and league with British arms  
 The horrid scalping-knife and tomahawk  
 Of Savages? What being civilized 250  
 Would claim alliance with brutality?  
 Curse on such odious stains on Britain's sons!

242. *Methought I heard, &c.* The earl of Suffolk, secretary of state, had more than once vindicated the employment of Indians in the American war; "for my part, said his lordship, 18th Nov. 1777, "whether foreigners or Indians, which the noble lord has described by the appellation of savages, I shall ever think it justifiable to exert every means in our power to repel the attempts of our rebellious subjects. I am clearly of opinion that we are fully justified in using every means which God and Nature has put into our hands." *Almon*, x. 25; and again p. 48, in almost the same words; and compare p. 82; and lord Denmore declared, "that he heartily wished more Indians were employed; that they were by no means a cruel people; that they never exercised the scalping-knife, or were guilty of a barbarity, but by way of striking terror into their enemies, and by that means putting an end to the further effusion of blood." *Ib.* 100; so attorney-general Thurlow, viii. 50; and lord North, viii. 360. These sentiments roused the whole indignation of the British Chatham, and he gave vent to his feelings in that burst of eloquence, which the poet has endeavoured to put into metre. See the speech in *Belsham's Hist. G. III.* ii. 327—332; and *Life of Washington*, iii. 317-9; and *Almon*, x. 10. 47-8 74. Compare Mr. Burke's speech upon this subject, *Almon*, viii. 348—350



Where are those principles that dignify  
 The British soldier? Where that pomp, and pride,  
 That circumstance of glorious war, which makes 255  
 Ambition virtue? Where, O Senators!  
 That noble sense of honour? Can this sense  
 Consist with plunder, and a murderer's views?  
 As Christian, and as human kind forbear  
 This horrible barbarity: the mind 260  
 Of man at such avowal stands aghast.  
 What! Call it principle to use the means  
 That God, and Nature put into our hands!  
 Can God, and Nature sanction massacre?  
 Can God, and Nature claim affinity 265  
 With torture, murder, scalps, and tomahawks?  
 Ye sacred Priests! whose pure unsullied hands  
 Abstain from human blood; who teach mankind  
 To trace the foot-steps of their heavenly guide,  
 And mercy love with justice; vindicate 270  
 The laws, and doctrines of insulted Heaven.  
 Ye ermin'd Judges! interpose the rights  
 Of nature, and of man: Defend, support  
 The justice of your country from this spot,  
 This stain most horrible. Ye Senators! 275  
 Who Honour's, and who Virtue's laws obey!  
 Revere your dignity, and imitate  
 The bright exemplar of your noble sires.  
 And thou blest Genius of our favour'd isle!  
 I here invoke thy aid to vindicate 280  
 The nation's character. Should this foul deed,  
 This worse than Popish cruelty pollute  
 The British name, and annals, Spain herself

In barbarous inhumanity, and guilt  
 Will boast no longer her pre-eminence. 285  
 She loo'd her blood-hounds 'gainst the wretched

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Of scorching Mexick; we more ruthless far  
 Arm even hell-hounds 'gainst our countrymen,  
 Our countrymen who staid endear'd to us  
 By every tie that binds humanity. 290

Weak as I am, and now advanc'd in years,  
 My duty and my conscience bade me vent  
 My deep abhorrence of such cursed deeds.

Once more then, Britons! ere it be too late  
 Conciliate your brethren; let the base 295

And vilèr passions of the human mind  
 Be purg'd, and cleau'd away; let gratitude  
 For their past services be uppermoat

In all your hearts; and may that liberty,  
 Which Heaven's first charter ratified to man, 300  
 Spread like the scriptural vine its sheltering leaves,

296. *And vilèr passions &c.*—"Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your Colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind:  
 Be to her virtues very kind."

Lord Chatham, an. 1766, *Dabrett*, iv. 297. See above ver. 193. "Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the king where he ought to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him." *Almon*, vii. 95. 119-120. See the duke of Grafton's speech, *ib.* 102-3.

301. *like the scriptural vine*—Lord Chatham declared, (9th Jan. 1770,) "that liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished; that he loved the tree, and wished well to every

And shed eternal blessings on mankind !”  
 The patriot ended ; but the voice of truth  
 Had lost its influence ; for there prevail’d  
 A hidden power, which, like a talisman, 305  
 Lock’d up the intellectual sense, and caus’d  
 To see with other eyes, and hear with other ears.  
 It is this power, by which the prescient mind  
 Of wisdom’s son foretells the fall of states  
 With certain augury ; it is this power 310  
 Which, like the enormous goitre on the neck  
 Of Alpine peasant, preys upon the state,  
 Grows with its growth, and dies but with its death.  
 Nathless the applauding silence which ensued  
 The patriot’s voice, spake more than loudest words  
 How arduous, and how long the contest is, 316

branch of it. That like the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east to west, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.” *Debrett*, v. 129.

305. *A hidden power, &c.*—After the celebrated motion of Mr. Dunning, Apr. 6th, 1780, “that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished ;” after the prophetick exclamation of lord Chatham, May 1771, “that our whole constitution is giving way ;” after the solemn declaration of Mr. Fox, April 1777, “that corruption and patronage had overspread the land—that the king’s name was frequently prostituted by his ministers—and that majorities were found to support the worst measures with as much alacrity as the best ;” and yet no efficient amendment either in church or state being likely to take place, (and this too at a time when the crash of kingdoms is resounding on all sides) the reflecting mind can only ponder in silence upon the inevitable consequences of things, and perhaps in sorrow exclaim,

‘ Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus  
 Dardaniæ.’

See *Belham*, iii. 25—7 ; *Almon*, vii. 119.

'Twixt conscience and corruption ; 'tis this contest  
 Which gracious Heaven ordain'd to be our guard  
 Against encroaching crime, and 'twill at last  
 Preserve the human race ; for art requires 320  
 Incessant care and trouble, oft renew'd,  
 To gain its purposes, but nature acts  
 With pure simplicity, and perfect ease,  
 Wants no renewal for 'tis ever new ;  
 'Tis as the orb of day, which, tho' obscur'd 325  
 By passing shadows, blazes forth again,  
 And from the contrast dazzles yet the more.  
 This North perceiv'd; and fearful of the event,  
 For tho' he knew his power, he also knew  
 How popular the cause of freedom was 330  
 To every British bosom, thus aloud  
 Instant the silence brake ; " O Senators !  
 Under the specious name of liberty  
 Have faction and sedition ta'en their stand ;  
 The press now teems with such licentiousness 335  
 That it is time some measure be devis'd  
 To stop the growing evil. You are told  
 In pompous eloquence, that should you dare  
 To raise the arm of power against the sons  
 Of freedom, your weak efforts will redound 340  
 To your disgrace, and ruin. What is this  
 But faction's very voice? And what but this

335. *The press now teems, &c.*—“ The liberty of the press,”  
 said lord North, an. 1774, “ had got to such a height, that  
 some measure must be thought on, &c.” *Debrett*, vii. 31.  
 See also the recommendation in the king's speech, Nov.  
 15th, 1763.

Hath caus'd those evils that we now deplore?  
 But be ye not dismay'd; let no such fear  
 Enter your breasts; the force that is requir'd 345  
 To bring back these rebellious colonies  
 To their obedience, is so trivial  
 It scarce deserves your notice; guilt alone  
 Will meet its punishment, the innocent,  
 And loyal to your cause will join their aid, 350

343. *Hath caus'd these evils*—“The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house—we were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence?” Mr. Grenville, an. 1776, *Debrett*, iv. 292-3.

345. *The force that is requir'd &c*—“The good of this act is, that four or five frigates will do the business without any military force.” Lord North, an. 1774, *Debrett*, vii. 88; see *Almon*, i. 483. Even Colonel Barre seems to have been led astray upon this subject. “I have not a doubt,” says he, “but a very small part of our strength will, at any time overpower them.” *Ib.* 94. And General Grant declared, “that he had served in America, that he knew the Americans very well, and was certain they would not fight; they would never dare to face an English army, and that they did not possess any of the qualifications necessary to make a good soldier.” *Almon*, i. 135. (So said Mr. Rigby, 421.) In another place the general affirmed, “that at the head of five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to traverse the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other.” *Life of Washington*, ii. 237. See the notes; and *Belsham*, ii. 110-1. Lord Sandwich was inspired with the same Mardonian knowledge and contempt. *Belsham*, ii. 91.

348. *Guilt alone*—Earl Gower, president of the council, contended that, “in consequence of lord Howe’s proclamation, great numbers had flocked to the British standard; numbers were daily coming in; and without doubt, there were a great many loyal persons in all the different parts of America, who only waited for an opportunity of claiming the protection of the British arms. In fact, the majority of the very rebels wished to shake off the yoke they so severely felt; they were heartily tired of their new masters; and

Withdraw not then your confidence from men  
 Who have so long enjoy'd it unreprouch'd,  
 But think your honour, and your interests  
 Loudly command you to uphold your rights."

Thus spake the minister, and confidence

355

With wonted complaisance obey'd his voice.

But confidence is a parasitick plant,

It seldom fastens on the virtuous breast,

having tasted the difference between British liberty and American tyranny, they would gladly return to their allegiance, in order to participate of *those blessings enjoyed by the rest of the subjects of the British government.*" *Almon*, vii. 99. Truly, my good lord, you seem to have forgotten that this was the very object they were contending for.

"The rest of the colonies," said lord North, "will not take fire at the proper punishment inflicted on those who have disobeyed your authority." *Debrett*, vii. 88.

353. *your honour, and your interests.*—"The constitutional authority of this kingdom over its colonies must be vindicated, and its laws obeyed throughout the whole empire. It is not only its dignity and reputation, but its power, nay its very existence depends upon the present moment." E. of Dartmouth, *Almon*, i. 39. The earl of Sandwich, "as an Englishman, and a friend to his country, could not endure the thought (of reconciliation upon the ground of independence); he would never consent to subscribe to a doctrine, so derogatory to the honour, so disgraceful to the character, and so destructive to the interests of the country. He would resign every thing sooner than accede to it." *Almon*, vii. 15-6.

357. *But confidence &c.*—"I love to be explicit, I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, bowing to the ministry, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence." Chatham, *Debrett*, iv. 289.

The "pliable disposition" of the house of commons was complained of by various statesmen. See speeches of lord John Cavendish, and Mr. Fox, *Almon*, vi. 50. 54. The duke of Richmond "boldly affirmed that government was carried on solely through the means of bribery and corruption; that all test of public conduct was laid aside, which depend-

But on the unsound trunk it takes deep root.

Thus Heaven for wisest purposes depriv'd 360

The British Senate of its intellects ;

And caus'd them to approve the worst advice,

And him forsake who counsel'd them the best.

But now their crowded squadrons 'gan to leave

Their hostile ports, and over ocean's waves 365

Plough their eventful way, fraught with disgrace,

And ruin to themselves, but to mankind

ed upon freedom of thought, or freedom of acting. The *indiscriminate* support ministers received, to whatever measures they thought proper to propose, though ever so ruinous and destructive, furnished daily proofs of it—and nothing but the personal virtue of the sovereign prevented this country from a total loss of liberty." *Almon*, vii. 12-3. x. 36-7.—

The duke of Grafton contended "that parliament was led blindfolded ; they assented to every thing ministers proposed ; they reposed an unlimited confidence in their assurances, &c." *Ib.* 17. and x. 28. Lord Shelburne condemns in the strongest terms "the shameful subserviency of parliament."

See *Almon*, x. 291-2. And in another place he declares "that before this country, or its constitution is recovered, *that corrupt house must be new modelled*. It is at present (an. 1778) the source of all corruptions and misfortunes ; and if all other means should fail, *the people will probably rise, and drag their corrupt and venal representatives from their seats*." *Ib.* x. 392. Soon after he calls them "the servile followers of the minister ; ready to obey every mandate he thinks proper to issue ; totally immersed in the deepest and dirtiest ways of corruption, and lost to every sense of their own duty, and constitutional importance in the state." 394.—

Let us hope for the sake of humanity that his lordship did not find them quite so bad when he had the honour of holding the reins of state. See also sir G. Saville's speech, *Almon*, iii. 251. Mr. Fox says, "that the confidence of the nation is placed in their representatives ; and if those to whom they had given their confidence, should transfer that confidence to the minister, they were *betrayed* not represented." See *Belsham*, iv. 405, and 380-1. where Mr. Sheridan "totally abjures the doctrine of confidence in ministers."

360. *Thus Heaven &c.*—"And Absalom and all the men of Israel said ; The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better

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Destin'd the eternal mandate to fulfil.  
 Oh Britain! Oh my Country! when will gold,  
 And slippery eloquence, and fraudulent arts 370  
 Cease to beguile thy too obsequious ear?  
 Must misery teach thee wisdom? Misery  
 Will soon arrive, and thou at length be taught  
 The best of lessons by the worst of means. 374

than the counsel of Ahithophel. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom." 2 Sam. xvii. 14.

372. *Must misery &c.*—"That the spirit of the people," said governor Johnstone, "should so long be deceived by their arts and management is to me astonishing. I shall wait patiently some further calamity, for no reasoning on the certain progress of things in a growing empire can affect their narrow minds." *Almon* iii. 28. "The truth is," says Washington, "the people must feel before they will see." *Life of Washington*, v. 93.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.



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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK V.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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Washington. Columbia's address to her sons. Franklin's speech, inciting the Americans to defend their rights and liberties against the efforts of the British Ministry. Washington appointed commander in chief. His speech upon that occasion. Jefferson. Landing of the British. Owen. Battle of Bunker's Hill. Death of General Warren.

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**M**EANWHILE had Fame with huge expanded wings,  
Spread o'er the vast Atlantick, wide diffus'd,  
The bitter tale of woe, that Britain's sons,  
Forgetting British virtue, had uprear'd  
The blood-stain'd standard of despotick power. 5  
Columbia heard the sound; but heard unaw'd;  
Rous'd by that deep internal sense of right,  
Which Heaven hath planted in the human breast  
To shield it from oppression, her free soul  
Spurn'd all the hostile threats; she knew that God  
Never designed man to be a slave; 11  
She knew that freedom's heaven-clad columns rose  
Up to the fountain of eternal light;  
While its firm base immovable was fix'd  
In earth's adamantine centre. Were her sons 15  
But true unto themselves, not all the powers  
Of all the leagued potentates on the earth  
Could aught avail against them; 'twas not force,  
But art, intrigue and cunning that she fear'd;

L 2

These are the weapons that to guard against 20  
 Requires untainted virtue, and to these  
 To oppose the firmest bulwark was her care.  
 Among her numerous progeny was one,  
 So far pre-eminent above the rest,  
 In all those qualities of mind which grace 25  
 Superiour station, that Columbia saw  
 In him that bulwark, which her fondest hopes  
 Had scarce expected. In his godlike front  
 Prudence and valour had so deep ingrav'd  
 Each her respective attribute, that each 30  
 Did seem to strive for mastery; at his birth  
 Wisdom and Virtue did preside, and nam'd  
 In happiest hour their offspring, Washington.  
 As when fond Ilium saw her favour'd chief,  
 Arm'd for the battle, down her spacious streets 35  
 March like a God, her bulwark and her joy;  
 So joy'd Columbia, when she saw her son  
 Pant to defend his country from her foe.  
 And now she hasten'd to convene her sons  
 To aid her great design; and took her stand 40  
 On Bunker's summit; whence she call'd so loud,  
 That all the solid continent, from where  
 The northern zone wrapt in eternal ice  
 Laughs at the solar beam, to that fam'd clime  
 Where Mammon hath embosom'd all his stores, 45  
 And pours his golden curses on mankind...  
 Thro' all this vast expanse her solemn voice  
 Re-echo'd; " Sons and Warriours! Ye who long  
 Look'd up to Britain as another parent;

Who spar'd no efforts to defend her cause 50  
 From foreign foes, and in that cause to shed  
 Your dearest blood; now learn what recompense  
 Proud Britain deigns return; your rights are spar'd,  
 Your laws and constitution, all contemn'd;  
 And now the ocean groans beneath the weight 55  
 Of her throng'd squadrons, come, no longer friends  
 But bitterest foes, to check fair freedom's voice,  
 And place the yoke of slavery on your necks.  
 My Sons! But ye will teach the haughty foe  
 To know himself, and learn how dire the task,  
 To trample down the laws of God and man. 61  
 Haste then, convene to council, and elect  
 Some chief for prudence, and for valour fam'd,  
 Who in the senate, or the field, may best  
 Consult your interest, and your rights defend." 65  
 She spake; and they to council instant went.  
 As when the ocean's hollow waves uprear  
 Their foamy tops, swoln by the boisterous north;  
 The winding shores with all their rocks and caves,  
 Lash'd by the billowy horror, back rebound 70  
 The long hoarse bellowings; but when Heaven's spirit

61. *To trample down &c.*—"The Americans," said Mr. Fox, Oct. 1776, "had done no more than the English had done against James the second. When James went out of the kingdom, the English declared the throne to be abdicated, and chose another king. When the late severe laws were passed against the Americans, they were thrown into anarchy; they declared we had abdicated the government, and therefore they were at liberty to choose a government for themselves." *Almon*, vi. 44.

Breathes its ambrosial odours o'er the deep,  
 The silent waves scarce ruffled, hardly give  
 The solar beam to play its dazzy sport;  
 So when Columbia urg'd fair freedom's sons 75  
 In council to convene, the earth around  
 Groan'd underneath their feet, and all the air  
 Madden'd in tumult. But when Franklin rose,  
 At whose right hand sat Wisdom cloth'd in light,  
 And round whose head a blaze of vivid flame 80  
 Play'd harmless, mute attention, still as night,  
 Held all the listening throng, and thus he spake;  
 "Columbia's offspring! Ye who wont to boast  
 Of British blood, that uncontaminate  
 Flow'd through your swelling veins, now boast no  
 more ; 85  
 Britain is sold to gold ; the wealth of Ind,

86. *the wealth of Ind, &c.*—"For some years past," said lord Chatham, Jan. 1770, "there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold, have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist." *Debrett*, v. 153-4; see also p. 356, where his lordship speaks of the detestation in which he holds "the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street." Even lord North complains of the "officers of the Company, who, for want of proper laws, disobeyed their masters, and thereby, as suddenly as exorbitantly, increased their own finances; a conduct which might hazard the loss of those dominions to this kingdom; might ruin the country and make the English hated by the people over whom they tyrannised." Jan. 1772 *Debrett*, vi. 158.

Wealth not the produce of industrious toil,  
 But the effect of wide-extended power,  
 Has pour'd upon her such a sweeping deluge  
 Of luxury, and corruption, that unless 90  
 There be applied some speedy remedy,  
 The state itself must fall beneath its weight.  
 'Tis this corruption which hath overspread  
 The British senate with its noisome fumes,  
 And hath so blinded the intellectual sense 95  
 That they no longer see with reason's eye,

Of a similar opinion to lord Chatham was sir G. Saville, *Id.* 256; Mr. Burrell, *Id.* 288. See sir Will. Meredith's opinion, *Id.* 482-4; the attorney-general Thurlow's, 509, 510; col. Burgoyne's, *Debrett*, vii. 57. The prodigious corruption and the destructive influence upon the borough system, that have almost overwhelmed the nation from this unnatural influx of Indian wealth, are admirably pourtrayed by the earl of Shelburne, April 1777, *Almon*, vii. 86, 87. See *Belsham*, i. 228, note; 401; viii. 129; *Almon*, v. 187. 201.

Well might Mr. Burke prophecy, an. 1773, *that this country will have reason to curse the Indies;*" *Debrett*, vi. 479. It has cursed them; it does curse them; they have been the cause, direct or indirect, of changing the British character; instead of the sturdy oak, we see too frequently the bending willow; instead of that firm and steady upholder of the best principles of the British constitution, we find the victim of luxury and the suppliant tool of power; where are we now to search for the old English country gentleman, him who had "a natural interest in the soil," a feeling indigenious to his country? He has been driven by Asiatick luxury, and Asiatick taxation from his house and home, he has sought for refuge in towns and cities, he has been forced to let the domains of his ancestors, where his name had been revered for generations, to purse-proud Begums and time-serving Nabobs. And what has the country gained by this exchange? Taxes and luxury. What has it lost, and is daily losing? Its rights, its liberties, and its feelings.

Ἄ Φιλοχρηματία Σπαρταν ὀλεῖ.

96. *no longer see &c.*—Mr. Burke "compared the house of commons to a dead senseless mass, which had neither

Nor hear the voice of truth, but madly steer  
 The vessel of the state upon the rocks  
 Of civil war. What base ingratitude  
 For all the treasures that ye have consum'd 100  
 For all the blood that ye have shed for them,  
 And for their interests! When did ye refuse  
 Freely to grant, even beyond your power,  
 Your contributions to defend their trade?  
 This all their merchants know, and feel the truth,

sense, soul, or activity, but as it derived them from the minister." *Almon*, i. 14.

"The Americans," said lord Shelburne, Oct. 1775, "judge from facts. They have seen an uniform lurking spirit of despotism pervading every administration. It has prevailed over the wisest, and most constitutional counsels; it has precipitated us into the most pernicious of all wars; a war with our brothers, our friends, and our fellow-subjects." *Almon*, v. 19.

100-4. *for all the treasures &c.*—See Dr. Franklin's Examination, an. 1766, *Debrett*, iv. 326. 339, &c. and 208, &c. *Life of Washington*, ii. 109; *Almon*, i. 143. 248. 377—381. See causes of American discontents; and letter concerning the gratitude of America, *Franklin's Works*, i. 231. 246, and p. 362; *Ramsay*, i. 63-4. 165-6. 169.

On the 22d Jan. 1756, His Majesty sent the following message to the house of commons: "His Majesty being sensible of the *zeal* and *vigour* with which his *faithful* subjects, of certain colonies in North America, have exerted themselves in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommends it to this house to take the same into their consideration, and to enable His Majesty to give them such assistance as may be a *proper reward* and encouragement." *Debrett*, iii. 263. 258-9. 432; iv. 134.

105. *and feel the truth &c.*—See the petition of the London merchants, and from various other towns, in 1766; *Debrett*, iv. 319—322; and 1775, *Almon*, i. 104. 169. Lord Chatham estimated the profits to Great Britain from its American trade, at two millions a year, *Ib.* 295. "You have not a loom, nor an anvil, (said col. Barre,) but what is stamped with America; it is the main prop of your trade." *Ib.* vii. 94. Mr. Burke "compared the situation of America



And justice of your cause. Whence then the need 108  
 To force your treasures from your willing breasts ;  
 Unless it be to uphold the worst design,  
 The most despotick of all principles,

in 1774, to a funeral ; trade and commerce were pall-bearers ; the merchants and traders chief mourners ; the West Indian and African merchants closed the procession." *Almon*, i. 6. See x. 379.

107. *To force your treasures &c.*—Dr. Franklin, in that celebrated tract, (which is said to have excited such hatred in a certain breast,) called, *Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one*, has thus written ; viii. "If when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities—reflect that a penny taken from them by your power, is more honourable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence ; despise therefore their voluntary grants, and resolve to harass them with novel taxes. They will probably complain to your parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitions with the utmost contempt.—Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed ; for, though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt." *Franklin's Works*, i. 346-7. See *Belsham*, ii. 55.

109. *The most despotick &c.*—"The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. *They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.*" Lord Chatham, *Debate*, iv. 291. See *Ib.* 309. 318-9 ; and Lord Camden's speech, quoted before, 364 ; gov. Pownall's, 493 ; lord Shelburne's, *Almon*, v. 66. See Albany papers, *Franklin's Works*, i. 120, &c. ; and p. 249. American Declaration of Rights, *Life of W.* ii. 212, &c. ; 112. 115. 136. 240. This complaint is of very old standing. See *Life of W.* i. 223-4. 305. 340-1.

The humility of the ministers in 1778, compared with their former arrogance, is an instructive proof of the neces-

To tax where is no representative? 110  
 Have they redress'd one grievance? Have they not  
 Pass'd their despotick laws to drag us hence  
 By force and violence to be condemn'd

sity that wisdom should preside over the affairs of a great kingdom. See *Belsham*, ii. 363-4.

111. *Have they redress'd &c.*—"To the petition which Mr. Penn delivered into the hands of the earl of Dartmouth on the 1st of Sept. 1775, he was, after a short interval, informed that 'no answer would be given!'" *Belsham*, ii. 152. "How did we treat America (said lord Chatham)? Petitions rejected; complaints unanswered; dutiful representations treated with contempt; an attempt to establish despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty; measures to enforce taxation by the point of the sword." *Almon*, x. 76. See *Life of W.* ii. 273, note; 472-3; *Ramsay* i. 141. 346.

112. *laws to drag us hence*—i. e. by reviving the obsolete statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. "But to include, by a forced and preposterous construction, the colonies of North America in the scope of this statute was certainly a most unparalleled perversion of law and justice." *Belsham*, ii. 12. See also the Act for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts Bay, *Ib.* 54. Compare *Ramsay*, i. 107-8. *Life of W.* ii. 159. 170. note; 195.

The celebrated "Prussian Edict," written by Dr. Franklin in ridicule of these laws, concludes in these words—"And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned not to oppose in any wise the execution of this our edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason; of which all who are suspected shall be transported in fetters from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

Such is our pleasure."

*Franklin's Works*, i. 321. See 314. 352-3; *Debrett's Deb.* v. 21-2. 54-5. 67. Mr. Burke mentioned "with horror, the idea of tearing a man from his family and friends the other side the Atlantick, and tearing his heart out in Smithfield, styling it the heart of a traitor, because he would not believe in virtual representation, and because he would not believe that America was part of the manor of Greenwich." *Almon*, i. 168; ii. 82; lord Camden's speech; and vii. 114, *Lords' Deb.* where is an abstract of American sufferings. So viii. 140.

At foreign courts by juries prejudic'd ?  
 Surely the govern'd can themselves best judge, 115  
 That which is best, because they feel their ills,  
 And feeling know the appropriate remedy.  
 Where have they shown their mercy ? Where refus'd,  
 With more than Indian barbarity,  
 To vote a famine to their kindred blood ? 120  
 And yet they offer pardon ; pardon whom ?

115. *can themselves best judge, &c.*—“ That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained ; forts to be built and supported ; and of their own abilities to bear the expense ; than the parliament of England at so great a distance.” Albany papers, *Franklin's Works*, i. 122-3.—“ Those that feel can best judge.” Dr. Franklin in his Examination, *Debrett*, iv. 380.

“ There is no great reason (said lord Talbot) to imagine that those who choose a form of government for themselves, will be mistaken in their choice.” *Debrett's Deb.* i. 194-5. See iv. 494. 309.

118. *Where have they shown their mercy ? &c.*—By the bill to restrain the fishery of New England, Mr. Burke said, “ you sentence to famine at least 300,000 people in two provinces.” *Almon*, i. 297. See 293. 303 ; the Protest of the Lords, ii. 99—102 ; iii. 242 ; Mr. Fox's speech, v. 93 ; lord Camden's ; and x. 30-1.

121. *And yet they offer pardon ;*—Lord Camden considered the commission given to lord and sir William Howe, for granting pardons to the Americans, as “ an insult on their understanding.” *Almon*, vii. 117, *Lords*. And Doctor Franklin, in his answer to lord Howe, July 30, 1776, writes thus ; “ Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured ; expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us ; but it can have no other effect, than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government, that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless

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**Men need no pardon in their country's cause.**

**Shall then an isle, a speck upon the world,**

towns in the midst of winter ; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers ; and our slaves to murder their masters ; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood." *Franklin's Works*, i. 370. Gen. Washington, in his reply to adjutant-general Patterson, said, "that by what had transpired, their (the commissioners) powers extended merely to the granting of pardons ; that those who had been guilty of no fault, wanted no pardon ; and that they were only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights." *Belsham*, ii. 250-1. See the duke of Manchester's speech, *Almon*, v. 264-5.

123. *an isle, a speck &c.*—"If you look on the map of the globe, and view Great Britain and North America, and compare the extent of both ; if you consider the soil, the harbours, rivers, climate, and increasing population of the latter ; nothing but the most obstinate blindness and partiality, can prevail on any man to entertain a serious opinion, that such a country will long continue under subjection to this." E. of Coventry, *Almon*, v. 184. "A war, (said the duke of Manchester) carried on against a part of our fellow-subjects, whose numbers, at least, equal a fifth of the whole, and who in extent of country so far exceeds the size of Britain, that the comparison of her is but as a speck in the disk of the sun." *Ib.* 258. See ii. 40-1. "It is impossible, (said lord Camden,) that this petty island can continue in dependence that mighty continent, increasing daily in numbers, and strength." ii. 85. See iii. 245.

But Mr. Hartley has set this subject in the clearest point of view ; "Whatever superintending power or controul a parent state may be entitled to, in the infancy of any colony, as for the common good of any such colony in its infancy ; yet the ultimate end of all colonization is, and ought to be, to establish kindred and derivative communities into perfect societies, in the fulness of population, settlement, prosperity, and power.—These colonies, under the auspicious and friendly eye of the parent-state, have at length out-grown the imbecility of their infant state, and approach to the maturity of settlement and population, and all the arts of life, and thereby are become capable of that glorious inheritance of perfect freedom, which their parent-state has in former times rescued out of the hands of tyrants, with a view to assert it for the common good and use of mankind, and particularly to transmit it entire to their own descendants."—*Almon*, vii. 206. See *Ram:ay*, i. 336.

Give laws and taxes to a continent?

Insular habits have so pall'd their sense, 125

That, like some South-sea islets, they nor see,  
Nor know beyond their narrow horizon.

But think not that the nation joins their cause ;

No! They with Chatham, Saville, Rockingham,

And the chosen list of patriots firmly knit, 130

Boldly express their hopes that violence

128. *But think not that the nation &c.*—"I am persuaded the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes may soon be made our enemies." *Franklin's Works*, i. 555. The people of England are, indeed, too frequently deluded by the arts of sophistry, and too much borne down by the pressures of taxation, but their hearts are bottomed on soundness and integrity; and like that glorious orb which scatters the mists of their atmosphere, so they sooner or later never fail to disperse the vapours of delusion.

Compare the spirited address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London to the king, April 10, 1775, *Almon*, ii. 178.

"Respecting general opinion, (said gov. Johnstone,) I still go further; I maintain that the sense of the best and wisest men in this country is on the side of the Americans; that three to one in Ireland are on their side; that the soldiers and sailors feel an unwillingness to the service; that you never will find the same exertions of spirit in this, as in other wars. I speak it to the credit of the fleet and army; they do not like to butcher men, whom the greatest characters in this country consider as contending in the glorious cause of preserving those institutions which are necessary to the happiness, security and elevation of the human mind." &c. *Almon*, iii. 24-5.

"I am confident, (said the hon. T. Luttrell,) as well from the intelligence I have been able to procure from a multitude of persons, widely different in station and description, as by my own remarks in the progress of many a journey through the interior of this island, during the summer season, that the sense of the mass of the people is in favour of America." &c. *Almon*, iii. 32. See 101. 253-4. 438-9; *Debrett*, v. 93-4.

131. *that violence &c.*—The M. of Rockingham, Jan. 22, 1770, observed, "that in America, measures of violence

Nor here, nor there will profit aught to good.  
 Then be ye not dismay'd ; your cause is just,  
 And Heaven, which in its goodness has postpon'd  
 This dire attempt against your liberties 135  
 Till you're full-grown in vigour, and in arms,  
 That Heaven will crush the swollen threats of men,  
 And crown Columbia's efforts with success.  
 What tho' their fleets and armies crowd the main ;  
 What tho' their German mercenaries, bought 140

had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language and doctrine of the ministry to force that country to submit. That, in his opinion, violence would not do there, and he hoped it would not do here." *Debrett*, v. 147.

136. *Till you're full-grown &c.*—"We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves." *Life of W.* ii. 287. This very declaration is objected to them by lord Mansfield, *Almon*, v. 167. See Mr. Wilkes's speech, *Almon*, iii. 219, 220.

140. *German mercenaries*.—See the various treaties with the duke of Brunswick ; the landgrave of Hesse Cassel ; hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, &c. *Almon*, iii. 287—300, &c. with the subsequent speech. The right hon. T. Townshend gives a curious description of those troops : he says ; "they were enlisted in the Hans Towns, which were known to be the asylum of all the rogues and vagabonds of the rest of Germany ; men who had fled their respective countries for their crimes. When such men, therefore, came to serve in America, to suppose that they would fight cordially for this country, and for its right, was folly and absurdity in the extreme." &c. *Ib.* 493.

Lord Shelburne alluding to a negotiation for 20,000 Russians ; "There are powers in Europe, (says his lordship) who will not suffer such a body of Russians to be transported to America. I speak from information. The ministers know what I mean. Some power has already interposed to stop the success of the Russian negotiation." *Almon*, v. 69-70. See 131. 187-8. 264.

At human shambles, join their odious cause?  
 If justice be not with them, they must fail.  
 Fear ye them not, but as the traveller,  
 Dreadless of danger, from the mountain top,  
 Views the fork'd lightning play beneath his feet,  
 And hears the growling thunder; so shall ye, 146  
 From freedom's heaven-clad summit, undismay'd,  
 View the frail efforts of expiring power.  
 It has been question'd, what your numbers are?  
 What capable of arms? Your revenue? 150  
 Your present taxes, and capacity  
 To bear still more? Poor foolish men! to think

"You have ransacked (said Lord Chatham) every corner of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen: they may ravage; they cannot conquer." vii. 93. And again; "They (the ministers) have gone to Germany; they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, paltry German prince, to cut the throats of their loyal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers, for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all: they have entered into other treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent, inoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; upon the very babes upon the breast, to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, broiled, roasted, nay, to be literally eat. These, my lords, are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles; and with the barbarians of America, with the merciless torturers of their species: where they will next apply, I cannot tell." &c. *Almon*, x. 9-10. See iv. 134; *Belsham*, ii. 188-9. 326-7.

149. *It has been question'd, &c.*—See the Examination of Doctor Franklin, *Debrett*, iv. 324. 336; and *Franklin's Works*, i. 260. 282.

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'That freedom's cause e'er rested for support  
 On revenue, or taxes; freedom's cause  
 Rests on the centre of eternity, 155  
 Plac'd by the Maker near the throne of light ;"  
 Thunders of acclamation stopp'd the sage,  
 With peal on peal reiterate, until  
 At length he thus ; " But what your numbers are,  
 The justice of your cause may best inform. 163  
 If all your foes were tenfold multiplied,  
 And you yourselves divided in ten parts,  
 One single part, in freedom's potent cause,  
 Would gain an easy victory o'er their whole ;"  
 The skies again re-echoed loud acclaim, 165  
 And thus again the sage ; " Columbians !  
 Tell them your taxes, and your revenue  
 Flow in your free-born veins; while ye have blood,  
 Ye will not hesitate to spill that blood  
 For freedom, and your country. What ! shall we  
 Who with unwearied patience have endur'd 171  
 Toils, dangers, famine, and the savage brute,  
 And still more savage Indian ? Say, shall we  
 Who sought for freedom in a wilderness,  
 So far forget our nature, and our rights, 175

153. *That freedom's cause &c* — " Though the colonists were without discipline, they possessed native valour. Tho' they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper for upwards of two years, produced to them more solid advantages, than Spain derived from her super-abounding precious metals," &c. See *Ramsey*, i. 199 ; ii. 161 ; and the marquis of Lansdowne's observation upon the French enthusiasm, *Belsham*, v. 130-1.



As to yield every blessing at the nod  
 Of arbitrary power? Such were a deed  
 That even brutes would spurn; no spotted pard  
 Kneels to his kindred spots; no lion bends  
 To his own semblance. No! 'Tis man alone 180  
 Subserves his fellow-weakness, and by words  
 False, and deceitful, shields his cowardice  
 Under high-sounding titles. Man should serve  
 Those laws, and constitution, which alone  
 Himself approves and shares. Be ye such men, 185  
 Think of your noble fathers; and reflect  
 How dear they bought those charters, and those  
     rights,  
 Which unpolluted have come down to you.  
 Let us transmit their purchase and their fame,  
 By power unfetter'd, and from shackles free 190  
 To our expectant sons. On this day's deed,  
 Millions unborn depend; posterity  
 With all its blessings wait the patriot act:  
 But if we tamely bow our suppliant necks  
 To arbitrary power, incessant curse 195

189. *Let us transmit &c.*—See the animated resolutions of the county of Suffolk in Massachusetts, “whereas this, then savage and uncultivated desert, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those, our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance; to our care and protection they consigned it; and the most sacred obligations are upon us, to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom, and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions.” *Life of W.* ii. 209, 227; and v. 188-9. See *Ramsay*, i. 7, &c.; *Almon*, i. 95.

Will load our blasted memories, until  
The stream, itself of time shall be absorb'd  
In the vast ocean of eternity.

What if our towns, and cities are consum'd ?

Cities consum'd may yet be built again ; 200

But freedom lost, man's better moiety,  
Like the fair flower that's trodden underfoot  
Scarce holds a semblance of its former self.

But 'tis not, O Columbians ! for your valour  
That Franklin trembles ; 'tis that base intrigue, 205

That curs'd corruption, which too soon will pour  
Its Stygian torrent o'er your fertile soil.

O guard against that serpent race of men  
Who offer you their gold ; with loyalty,  
And virtue, honour, ever in their mouths ; 210

But in their hearts the basest of designs,  
The black design to rob you of your rights :  
Better by far to die ; for what is death

199. *What if our towns, &c.* — " Our house (said Mr. Gadsden) being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed, may be rebuilt ; but liberty once gone, is lost for ever." *Ramsay*, i. 197.

205. *'tis that base intrigue, &c.* — The celebrated Joseph Reed replied to a corrupt offer of one of the British commissioners ; " I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it ;" and the Congress, upon this information, and the commissioners' letters being communicated, resolved, " that the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence, or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, esq. especially to negotiate with him upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty is interested." *Ramsay*, ii. 78. See 75 ; *Life of W.* iii. 429, 430 ; iv. 10 ; *Almon*, v. 232.

When 'tis compar'd with loss of liberty ?  
 He dies a daily death, who lives a slave. 215  
 'Tis against these your free, and open hearts  
 Cannot be too well guarded : 'Tis to these  
 You must oppose some rock of firm defence,  
 Some chosen chief who reigns in every breast,  
 Whom virtue, and whom wisdom mark their own.  
 But Heaven, Columbians! even now befriends 221  
 Our virtuous cause ; let each man search his heart,  
 And there he'll find a name so deep engrav'd,  
 As needs no tongue of mine to utter it ;  
 A name, which as their father's, all revere." 225  
 Instant the electrick pass'd thro' every breast,  
 And all the earth rebounded, ' Washington !'  
 Angels look'd down, and sanctified the name.  
 As the chaste virgin to the constant youth,  
 Who gains her heart, yields up her trembling hand,  
 Scarce knowing what she doth, while o'er her form  
 The crimson virtue spreads its glowing charms ; 232  
 So when the chieftain hears the greeting sound,  
 Rapt in his native modesty and worth,  
 He scarce believes that what he hears is real, 235  
 Scarce knows himself, but as the Roman chief,  
 Obedient to his senate's awful voice,  
 With pleasing sadness left his furrow'd field  
 To assume the reins of empire, and defend  
 His menac'd country ; so Columbia's chief, 240  
 Half willing, half unwilling, to the call  
 Of his much injur'd country yields assent.  
 Full well he knew how arduous was the task ;

Full oft he thought how feeble his own powers :  
 But vain was all remonstrance, for as oft 245  
 As he essay'd to express his modest fears,  
 So oft the joyous skies reflected back  
 The lengthen'd acclamations ; but at last  
 Struggling in gratitude, his swollen heart  
 With difficulty thus found utterance ; 250  
 " Friends, Lovers, Countrymen ! If gratitude  
 Were just requital for your high regards,  
 My labouring breast emboldens me to say  
 I would not be found wanting ; but the State  
 Something far greater seeks than gratitude ; 255  
 Judgment to guide, with prudence to foresee,  
 Impartial justice, and discernment quick,  
 Continued perseverance, fortitude,  
 Assiduous attention to a vast  
 Variety of things, with patience . 260  
 Amidst unnumber'd sufferings, nor least  
 That dignity of name and character  
 Which stamps the owner great, and rises far  
 Superiour to envy ; but these boons  
 Fall to the lot of few, and how much less 265  
 To one whom cares domestick occupy  
 And his paternal farm ! too well I know

251. *Friends, Lovers, &c.*—The reader may see the modest answer of Washington to the president of Congress upon his being appointed commander in chief, in his *Life*, ii. 299. &c. Compare ii. 93 ; v. 834—841. where his character is well delineated. See also the dedication of the work to lord Lansdowne: and preface, xvi ; iii. 365 note. On his love of retirement Washington is particularly urgent. See v. 45—182. 195. 202-4. 543. 767 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 345-6. &c.

How feeble are my powers ; too much I fear  
 The sad result of plaus, that would require  
 The deepest ken of penetration's eye. 270  
 But 'tis not mine to disobey the voice  
 Of my dear country, for to that we owe,  
 As to a parent, all we hold most dear,  
 Our life the least ; may then that parent's love  
 Pardon my failures, and set right my steps. 275  
 Where'er the dark, and intricate of things  
 Obscure the forward path ; and may that Being,  
 Whose mercy shines benignant o'er our clime,  
 Direct my efforts to his destin'd good ?"  
 The chieftain ended, and Columbia's sons 280  
 Scarce heard the cheering sound, than in loud shouts ;  
 "Hail ! Chieftain ! hail ! Columbia's saviour, hail !  
 'Tis to thy wisdom, and thy potent arm  
 We willing trust our cause, and long may Heaven  
 Preserve the sacred life of Washington ! 285  
 Here stop, my muse ! to observe yon generous youth,  
 Whose downy cheeks the bloom of health adorns ;  
 Whose virtuous mind, with genuine glory fir'd,  
 Streams from his swollen eyes. See where he stands  
 Close by his country's guardian. Noble youth !  
 Thou too shalt be Columbia's future joy ; 291

284. *and long may Heaven &c.*—“All that remains is, (says an address to Washington,) that we join in your fervent supplications for the blessing of Heaven on our country, and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of our citizens.” *Life of W.* v. 294.

Her glory, and her pride; Yes! Jefferson!  
 The cause of freedom, and the cause of man,  
 Shall not to thy protection trust in vain;  
 Thou too shalt be another Washington. 295

Meanwhile the hostile squadrons, urg'd by fate,  
 Made their descent on Boston's warlike shores;  
 Such was the heavenly will; for thro' the extent  
 Of all Columbia, scarce was there a spot  
 Where freedom's altar blaz'd with brighter flame:  
 No! not Virginia's ardent soul out-strip 301  
 The energies of Boston. Here fate will'd  
 The British squadrons to fulfil their doom,  
 And work the work of Heaven in aid of man.  
 Here Gage, Cornwallis, Burgoyne, Clinton, Howe,  
 Pigot, and Carleton, and some other names, 306  
 Which time will lend to history, made descent.

292. *Jefferson!*—The high respect in which Washington held this enlightened friend of the human race, may be gathered from his having placed him at the head of the department of foreign affairs. And when we add that his country has thought him qualified to fill that chair, which was once occupied by Washington himself, all further commendation would be useless. See *Life of W.* v. 244. 417-8.

299. *scarce was there a spot &c.*—See *Ramsay*, i. 189, &c. Lord North observed, “that all the disturbances that had been in the provinces, or colonies in America, had originated in the town of Boston,” &c. *Debrett*, vii. 70. Mr. Burke said, “The cause of Boston is become the cause of all America. By these acts of oppression, you have made Boston the lord mayor of America.” *Almon*, i. 6. See *Life of W.* ii. 151; and compare i. 235. 343, &c.

301. *Virginia's &c.*—“Virginia led the way in opposition to the Stamp-act.” *Ramsay*, i. 59.

306. *other names*,—Such as, Parker, Tarleton, de Heister, Grant, Leslie, Grey, Kniphausen, Matthews, Stirling, Percy, Erskine, Prescott, Phillips, Reidesel, Frazer, Powell, Hamilton, Arbuthnot, O'Hara, Nesbit, Ross, &c.

Scarce had their feet burthen'd the generous soil,  
 When to their wondering eyes, the bird of fate,  
 With plumage just renew'd, tower'd to the left 310  
 Screaming aloud, and in her talons bore  
 Two timorous doves; these after various wheels  
 Poising herself in air, she lifeless dropt  
 Close to Cornwallis', and to Burgoyne's feet.  
 Amazement seized them both; they knew the omen,  
 But knew too late, for Heaven had destin'd them  
 Its instruments in freedom's glorious cause. 317  
 Short-sighted Man! How often dost thou work  
 The work of good, when thy poor narrow soul  
 Is bent on nought but evil! And now the time 320  
 Approach'd, when victory and freedom join'd  
 Would show the world how little art avail'd  
 And discipline, against the sons of men,  
 When with one mind resolv'd to guard their rights.  
 There was a mount near Boston's sea-lav'd walls,  
 Which all the coast commanded and the foe. 326  
 Here Freedom, and Columbia in one night  
 Rais'd such intrenchments that th' astonish'd Britons

328. *Rais'd such intrenchments &c.*—"The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill, (instead of Bunker's hill,) and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on, from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breastwork," &c. See the account of the battle in *Ramsay*, i. 201, &c. *Life of W.* ii. 289, &c. *Belsham*. ii. 145.

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Scarce thought them real ; but Gage's piercing eye,  
Soon undeceiv'd, still more admir'd the skill, 330  
And science they portray'd. Instant he saw  
His danger, and as instant gave the sign  
Of blood. And now the nitred thunder mixt  
With sulphurous lightning, pour'd their iron hail  
From sea and land upon the sons of men. 335  
But Freedom saw, and with celestial breath  
Breath'd on the storm, which in the rooted earth  
Whizz'd its averted way. The British chief,  
Inflam'd with rage that Freedom's haughty sons  
Should thus withstand his power, and undismay'd  
Extend their dangerous works, instant resolv'd 341  
To force the intrenchments with his choicest troops ;  
This honour, interest, safety, all enjoin'd,  
And thus to Howe he spake ; " Thou seest the foe,  
How daring his rebellious spirit defies 345  
Our distant power ; 'tis time we show our force  
In all its terrors ; take some chosen troops,  
And let the horrent bayonet drive thence  
Those haughty rebels : on thy well-known worth  
My firmest hopes rely for prompt success ; 350  
For should the setting sun o'ershade the plains,  
And those proud rebels still retain their post,  
Disgrace, and ruin must attend our cause,  
And British valour cease to be the theme  
Of universal praise. Haste then, and crown'd 355  
With well-earn'd laurels may'st thou soon return !"  
Thus spake the chief, and Howe obedient heard.  
And now the British veterans 'gan their march ;



Destructive march, the bitter cause of woe  
 To victors as to vanquish'd ; but scarce reach'd 360  
 Their midway course, when Freedom, who that day  
 Had Warren's form assum'd, thus to her sons  
 Exclaim'd aloud ; " Now is the time arriv'd,  
 When all those rights and privileges, for which  
 Your noble fathers left their native home, 365  
 And came to dwell with saváges, and brutes,  
 Rather than they would forfeit ; which alone  
 Make life itself a blessing, and endear  
 Man to his Maker ; these endanger'd all  
 By the iron hand of power, now rest on you, 370  
 Pure as you have receiv'd them from your sires,  
 Down to your children to transmit as pure.  
 Think that the spirits of those godlike men  
 Now look from Heaven on you their chosen sons ;  
 Yes ; far above the rest are ye now chosen, 375  
 To guard the post of honour, and defend  
 Your rights, your laws, your country, and your God.  
 See there the foe, who, proud of discipline  
 And military art, has dar'd to doubt  
 Your courage, O Columbians ! But nor fear, 380  
 Nor tremble at his threats ; such potent aid  
 Have you in Freedom, come by Heaven's high will  
 Herself to join your cause. Then hear her voice,  
 Be arm'd with terrour, and repel the foe."

379. *has dar'd to doubt &c.*—“ European philosophers had published theories, setting forth that not only vegetables and beasts, but that even men degenerated in the western hemisphere,” &c. *Ramsay*, i. 193 ; ii. 33. But compare gen. Conway's speech, Nov. 1775, *Almon*, iii. 201.

She said, and breath'd such ardour in their breasts,  
 That they scarce waited till the hostile files 386  
 Had reach'd the intrenchments; when no signal given,  
 Such streams of sulphurous fire pour'd from the  
 mount,

That their astonish'd ranks felt, in full force,  
 The present Deity. Confusion saw, 390  
 And urg'd their staggering columns; while Dismay,  
 And Flight, and Death, with vast gigantic strides,  
 Strew'd with the dead, and dying all the hill.

As when Vesuvius' subterranean wind  
 Pours from its yawning crater on mankind 395  
 Its fiery horrors, while the pitchy smoke  
 In vast successive columns veils the sun,

And trembling man flies from the redd'n'd gloom  
 To seek his safety in the distant plains;  
 So fled the British squadrons from the fire 400  
 Of Bunker's terrors; art, and discipline  
 Yielded to artless valour; but their chief,  
 Brave in an odious cause, and urg'd by shame,  
 Flew thro' the broken ranks with eagle speed, 404  
 And thus exclaim'd; "For shame, ye Veterans!

Where are those boastful threats, that discipline  
 On which you vaunted to subdue the foe  
 At the first onset? Where is gone your fame,  
 Your British valour? See those raw recruits  
 Mock all your skill; those daring rebels laugh 410  
 At all your efforts, and despise your fame!  
 Where would you fly? Your distant homes refuse  
 To give you shelter. Haste then back return,

Revenge your dying comrades." Thus he said,  
 And Shame led back the troops, while Discipline  
 March'd thro' the columns, and renew'd the war.  
 But all were vain, had not the Prince of Hell,  
 Pondering the leaves of Fate, too quick perceiv'd  
 The cause of British woe; for now his eye  
 Had reach'd the page where fated Warren's name,  
 Slowly vanescent, o'er the book of life 421  
 Cast a dim shadow; gladden'd at the sight  
 Instant to Death he cried; "My Son, my Son!  
 The hard-fought day is ours; see here the name  
 Of Warren vanishes; lift then thy dart, 425  
 Poise it with fate, and lodge it in his breast."  
 Soon as 't was said, 't was done; Death pois'd his dart,  
 And sped it, fated, to the Hero's breast.  
 Columbia long shall mourn him, for he liv'd  
 A life of virtue, and he met his fate, 430  
 As a true patriot, on honour's bed:  
 A Hampden liv'd, a Hampden died the chief.  
 Meanwhile had Gage with penetrating eye  
 Observ'd the yielding columns, and thus spake  
 To his great soul; "Surely our ministers 435

432. *A Hampden liv'd, &c.*—Doctor Warren (whom lord Shelburne calls "a very great man," *Almon*, v. 273.) fell at the battle of Bunker's hill, just after the provincials began their retreat from the breastwork. "To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestick life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman.—Within four days after he was appointed a major-general, he fell a noble sacrifice to a cause which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived, and like Hampden he died, universally beloved, and universally regretted." *Ramsay*, i. 205.

Some demon hath deceived, that they should stamp  
Such men as these with dastard cowardice.

O that themselves were witness of those deeds

Which even British veterans scarce withstand

Led by the valiant Howe ! But 't is no time 446

For thought, but action ; Clinton ! Take fresh troops,

437 *with dastard cowardice.*—Compare above, ver. 379 ; and book iv. ver. 345. The infatuation of the ministry upon this subject surpassed all bounds. Lord Sandwich observes, “ Suppose the colonies do abound with men, what does that signify ? they are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40 or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field, at least 200,000, *the more, the better, the easier would be the conquest* ; Believe me, my lords, the very sound of a cannon would carry them off as fast as their feet would carry them.—This is too trifling a part of the argument, to detain your lordships any longer.” *Almon*, ii. 89-90. Col. Barre's answer to this vaporous effusion is excellent ; “As to cowards, they were certainly the greatest to his knowledge ; for the 47th regiment of foot, which behaved so gallantly at Bunker's hill, (an engagement that smacked more of defeat than victory,)—the very corps that broke the whole French column, and threw them into such disorder, at the siege of Quebeck, *was three parts composed of these cowards.*” *Almon*, iii. 40. See also the duke of Richmond's speech, v. 14 ; and lord North's, (an. 1778.) viii. 383. “To a mind,” said gov. Johnstone, “ who loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of freedom, no spectacle can be more affecting than the action at Bunker's hill. To see an irregular peasantry commanded by a physician ; inferior in number ; opposed by every circumstance of cannon and bombs, that could terrify timid minds, calmly waiting the attack of the gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the world, with an excellent train of artillery, and twice repulsing those very troops, who had often chased the chosen battalions of France, and at last offering for want of ammunition, but in so respectable a manner, that they were not even pursued ; who can reflect upon such scenes, and not adore the constitution of government which could breed such men ? Who will not pause and examine before he destroys institutions that have reared such elevated spirits ?—Who is there that can dismiss all doubts on the justice of a cause, which can inspire such conscious rectitude ?” &c. *Almon*, iii. 25.

Instant relieve the chief, or all is lost."

Thus spake the prudent Gage, and Clinton heard,

Nor disobey'd his voice, but 'instant rush'd

Impetuous to the field, to aid his friends. 445

And now, with difficulty, scarce, at length,

The many, fresh, and disciplin'd repell'd

The raw, undisciplin'd, exhausted, few,

From their proud post ; but such was Heaven's will,

For 'tis by labour only, and much toil 450

That Nature grants her richest gifts to man.

Nor could the vanquish'd victors boast their deeds,

Those deeds by which their number'd dead surpass'd

Their foes thrice told ; and countless miseries,

In their worst form, were pour'd upon mankind. 455

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK VI.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

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**Invocation to Liberty. French Revolution. Character of Washington. His speech to his Chiefs. Orders to General Gage. Sir H. Clinton's speech to Arnold. Arnold's reply, and subsequent deeds. Success of Lord Cornwallis, and other British Chiefs.**



WASHINGTON,

OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

---

**HAIL**, holy Spirit! Celestial Freedom, hail!  
Thou with the Eternal fixest thy abode,  
And with thy Sisters, Truth, and Virtue, knit  
Play'st round the throne of light thy gambols pure.  
Or if right Reason's name delight thee more,       5  
Thus will I thee invoke to aid my song,  
Which, leaving lesser orbs, through desert space  
Wings its bold flight up to the orb of day.  
Hail, holy Spirit, hail! Thou who wert wont  
To quit thy blest abode to dwell with men;       10  
Whom Athens saw within her sacred walls,  
And ancient Rome ador'd; whom Britain oft,  
Like a fond mother cherish'd in her arms;  
And thence as oft, by Asiatick wealth  
Corrupt, far banish'd, once again descend,       15  
And buoy my feeble pinions while I soar  
Above all mortal ken, and sing of deeds  
So far excelling human intellect  
That man could scarce believe the facts man saw.

**Thee, purest Essence! even Gallia once,** 20  
**But once, and for one momentary space**  
**Shall see, but rest of reason at the sight**  
**Shall not discern thy worth, but in thy stead**  
**Adore an Idol, that thy shape assumes**  
**Too oft, and rides triumphant o'er mankind.** 25  
**But Gallia long had groan'd beneath the weight**  
**Of haughty despots; long her rights, and laws,**  
**Been trampled down beneath oppression's hoof;**  
**Justice was sold by law; the nobles liv'd,**  
**As if a race superiour to the rest,** 30  
**Exempt from various burthens that oppress'd**  
**The suffering people; but what most of all**  
**Her vengeance rous'd, was that extravagance**  
**With which her rulers delug'd all the land.**  
**'Tis this extravagance, which, soon or late,** 35  
**Brings kings and kingdoms to untimely end.**  
**This not all Turgot's virtues could reform;**  
**Turgot that wise, that able minister,**  
**Whom Gallia's Genius with her wonted care**  
**Sent to restore her rights, but sent in vain;** 40

35. 'Tis this extravagance,—“The expences,” said Mr. Burke, an. 1774, “are beyond all measure ruinous; I have pretty good authority for saying, that the king (of France) draws after him a personal expence of between three and four millions sterling; and this is an article so rooted and so vicious in its principles, that no act of the ministers can either lessen or controul it.” *Debrett*, vii. 266. See *Belsham*, iv. 202—4. 182—5. 273-4.

“The expensiveness of the government is the true ground of the oppression of the people.” *Life of W.* v. 600.

88. *Turgot*—“An excellent and able minister, the zealous friend of peace and economy, of toleration and reform,” &c. See note in *Belsham*, ii. 214; and *his Life written by Condorcet*.

For now Profusion with her bandag'd eyes,  
 And open hand, stalk'd with gigantick strides  
 Thro' all the land, and in her train were seen,  
 Extortion, Tribute, Bribery, and Fraud,  
 With false Imprisonment, and Espionage, 45  
 And Irreligion, and gaunt Poverty.  
 And not far off from these the eye beheld  
 The female Passions at the helm of state,  
 And Prostitution, with such numerous ills  
 As would require ten tongues to utter them. 50  
 But last of all was seen a monster form  
 Whose sanguine hands fill'd with the heads of men  
 Spread horror round, her eyes so gor'd with blood  
 That she could scarce distinguish friend from foe,  
 Gigantick Vengeance; and with her was seen 55  
 False Liberty, whose wanton, lawless gait,  
 And Circe tongue, allur'd the ignorant,  
 But kept the wise far off. How different this  
 From that celestial Form, whose radiant head

48. *The female Passions*—“The hameau de Chantilly was once the hotel, and gardens of the celebrated madame de Pompadour, mistress to Louis the Fifteenth; one who contributed in no small degree to bring on that revolution, which ended in the total overthrow of the house of her royal lover. No king's mistress was perhaps ever more cordially hated than this lady: her profusion knew no bounds, no one ever mingled more deeply in state intrigues, and no one ever contributed more liberally to filling the cachots of the detestable Bastille. Who can read the narrative of her devoted victim the unfortunate Maseres de la Tude, and then think that no change was wanted in France? One should rather be astonished at the patience which had endured oppression so long.”—*An unpublished Narrative of a Three Years Residence in France, in 1802, 3, 4, by Anne Plumtre, chap. xiii.*

O

Scatters the beams of virtue o'er mankind; 60  
 Whose modest gait, and dignified address  
 Win so on every heart, that to adore  
 Is but to know! Where-e'er she place her feet  
 Spontaneous earth emits its flowery sweets,  
 And e'en the barren rock with verdure smiles; 65  
 Where-e'er she breathe, empyreal odours waft  
 Ambrosial gales, and all is joy, and love.  
 Come then, Celestial Freedom! and with thee  
 Bring peace, and plenty, and good will to men;  
 And drive far off from pure Columbia's soil 70  
 That blood-gorg'd crew, curs'd with the human shape,  
 Those monster-men of old Corruption born  
 And long-establish'd Crime, and black Revenge;  
 Of whom were some sprung from their mother Sin  
 Close by the gates of hell, and call'd on earth, 75  
 Barrere, and Danton, Robespierre, Marat,  
 Tainville, and Samson, d'Herbois, Carriere,  
 Fouche, Hebert, Orleans, and ten thousand more,  
 Whose names the deep oblivious pool would whelm,  
 But that the truth of history must record 80  
 That future men may curse, and future kings  
 Beware profusion, and those ministers  
 Whose tinsel eloquence beguiles the ear,  
 But reaches not the heart; 'gainst such as these  
 Kings cannot be too guarded; and with them 85

78. *ten thousand more*,—Among these the readers of the History of the French Revolution will easily recognise Freron, Tallien, Couthon, St. Just, Dumas, Le Bas, Henriot, Legendre, Mengaud, Rapinat, &c. &c.

False prophets may be join'd, who to subserve  
 Vile temporary purposes, rave out  
 Their bugbear bodings to their prince's ears.  
 Thus rooks, and daws, and chattering magpies prate  
 Their noisy terrours to the bird of day. 90  
 But soft, my Muse! where speedest thou thy flight?  
 Thy theme is freedom, and Columbia's son;  
 But on the sacred tripod when thou sit'st,  
 Like a Dodonian Priestess, heaven-enrapt,  
 Thou pour'st prophetick truths, and blend'st the  
 past 95  
 And future time, unheeding consequence.  
 But come, Celestial Spirit! again descend,  
 And say, for best thou canst, what happy spot  
 First gave thy loved-son to see the light?  
 'Twas pure Virginia's soil, thrice happy soil! 100  
 That one blest moment shall thy griefs repay,  
 And to remotest ages hand thy name;  
 Yes! all thy woes shall, like the stars of morn,  
 Sink in the brighter blaze of risen day.  
 And thou, blest Seraph! from that bright abode 105

86. *False prophets*—See a specimen of these prophecies respecting the fate of American Independence in *Ramsay*, i. 314-5. The record of their existence would be—"that a fickle people, impatient of the restraints of regular government, had in a fit of passion abolished that of Great Britain, and established—constitutions of their own—which from want of wisdom—were no sooner formed than annihilated. The leading men—hanged—Washington, worthy of a better fate, deserted by his army, abandoned by his country, rushing on the thickest battalions of the foe—to escape an ignominious death."

Some of the late bodings of Mr. Burke may also be had in remembrance.

Where midst the Cherubim thou sit'st enthron'd,  
 And supplicatest mercy o'er the sins  
 Of us thy fellows once; Oh! deign to lend  
 Thy gracious hearing to my 'raptur'd song,  
 That with no hireling flight directs its course 110  
 To truth, and virtue, liberty, and thee.  
 Thee bounteous heaven in mercy to mankind  
 Sent down to aid their cause, and for their sakes  
 Arm'd thee with every virtue that could serve  
 Its destin'd purpose. Meek humanity 115  
 Claim'd thee in chief; for thy benevolence  
 Shone like the orb of night in middle course  
 Perfect and full: thou the poor Indian taught'st  
 To love the works of peace, and cultivate  
 All-bounteous mother earth: the prisoner 120  
 Amidst his chains and dungeons turn'd to thee  
 His earthly guardian: (nor can Pity's hand  
 Bestow a sweeter balm to alleviate  
 The mad, unnatural misery of war,  
 Than that the prisoner's rigours should receive 125  
 Some soothing aid, and comfort: who is he

118. *the poor Indian taught'st*—See *Life of W.* v. 377.

120. *the prisoner*—The sufferings of the American prisoners were considerably aggravated by the circumstance of their being looked upon as rebels, and in some instances exceed almost belief. The reader may consult *Appendix*, No. iii. p. 281, vol. ii. of *Ramsay*: and *Life of W.* iii. 456—66, where he will see how well Washington merits the character given him in the text. The earl of Abingdon is very severe upon the "savage barbarity," the "damning proofs of inhumanity," with which the American prisoners were treated. See *Almon*, x. 105. So is the earl of Shelburne, *ib.* 98-9. Eleven thousand prisoners are said to have died on board the Jersey prison ship. *Ramsay*, ii. 285.

That sees his fellow-man, who just before  
 Had in his country's cause not spar'd his blood,  
 Now cold, and naked, in a dungeon laid  
 Far from his native home, *no wife, no son,* 130  
 No fond parental care to sooth his woes;  
 Who sees such misery, nor sheds the tear  
 Of sympathetick feeling, must be one  
 Whom nature owns not; harden'd policy  
 With calculating visage, that disclaims 135  
 Nature's best ordinances, may perhaps  
 Have found such wretch; struggling humanity  
 Nor knows nor loves him.) When brutality  
 With rape and rapine, cruelty, and vice  
 Scourg'd thy afflicted country, thy pure soul 140  
 Knew not retaliation, but return'd,  
 As thy blest Saviour bid, for evil good;  
 For far the brightest ray within that crown  
 Which harmless play'd around thy god-like head  
 Was that thou loved'st mercy, mercy thee, 145  
 But when Necessity with iron hand  
 Arm'd thee to battle in thy country's cause,  
 And in the cause of justice, truth, and right,  
 Then thy awaken'd wrath, in terrour clad,

139. *With rape and rapine*,—The abominations of the Hessians are described by *Ramsay*, i. 324-5. But the endeavours of Washington to prevent retaliation in all cases, except "those of absolute necessity," are recorded in his own letters to Congress. See *Life of W.* iii. 29. Compare *Ramsay*, i. 108-9.

149. *in terrour clad, &c.*—Of Washington's personal bravery there are many instances. See *Ramsay*, i. 307. 323; *Life of W.* iii. 513-4; but the battle of Trenton surpassed every action in the war. "Nothing could surpass the aston-

Was almost arm'd with more than mortal might, 150  
 And Trenton's walls, where first thy uplifted arm  
 Turn'd the dread tide of victory on thy foes,  
 And rais'd Columbia from untimely grave,  
 Attest thy valour, and thy well-earn'd fame.  
 Nor yet had subtlety, nor fraudulent arts 155  
 Advantage over thee: thy god-like mind  
 By prejudice, and passion unsubdued  
 Pierc'd thro' the obscure, and kenn'd the distant  
 light.

E'en power, that bane of every earthly good,  
 Which robs man of his senses, and impels 160  
 To enslave his fellow-mortal, was to thee  
 The path to peace and love; and tho' the head  
 Of armed heroes, yet the citizen

ishment of the enemy at this unexpected display of vigour on the part of the American general. His condition and that of his country had been thought desperate; but this bold and fortunate enterprise announced to the British general, that he had to contend with an adversary who could never cease to be formidable, so long as the possibility of resistance remained." *Life of W.* ii. 619-20. Lord George Germaine allowed "that, had it not been for the unforeseen misfortune of Trenton, there was every reason to believe that the campaign would have been decisive." *Almon*, viii. 21-2.

155. *Nor yet had subtlety, &c.*—See *Life of W.* iii. 132. 261, 262; and *Ramsay*, i. 217-8.

163. *yet the citizen &c.*—"As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war," said general Washington, "when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful and happy country." *Ramsay*, i. 220. "The passionate love of glory, how much soever excused as the infirmity of noble minds,



Was never in the soldier once forgot :  
 Thy proudest aim was freedom ; and the wish 165

Nearest thy heart, that freedom to attain  
 By bloodless victory. Thy spotless mind

Humane, and wise, left to thy country's foes  
 To speed the work of death ; thy own blest part,  
 As far as in thee lay, was to disarm 170

War of its horrors, and 'bove all that war  
 Where brethren clash with brethren, friends with  
 friends.

The man whose bosom such dread scenes delight  
 Is lost to every blessing heaven bestows  
 To comfort men on earth ; nor joy, nor love 175

Ever consol'd his breast, but all is void

And dark, save where the passions of the brute  
 Exert their furious sway. Such dreadful scenes

Thou, hero ! strov'st as far as man could strive,  
 To banish from thy country, and thus spake, 180

Amid the assembled chiefs, thy generous soul ;  
 "Ye noble Chiefs! Columbia's joy, and hope !

Full well ye know how much I deprecate

might have led him into hazardous enterprises, and have finally terminated in the vulgar ambition of acquiring uncontrolled power, and dazzling title. He became truly great by indifference to greatness ; and best provided for the perpetuity of an honourable fame, by regarding fame as subordinate to duty. What a lesson to those in high stations, who have hearts and understandings to receive it!" *Dedication to Life of W.* vii-viii ; see *Pref.* xiii-xiv ; ii. 303, note ; 613. Upon the "duty of the citizen being paramount to that of the soldier," see the hon. Temple Luttrell's speech, *Almon*, iv. 135 ; and the duke of Richmond's, x. 434.

That sad necessity which urges us  
 To have recourse to arms; but well ye know 185  
 How fruitless all endeavours on our part  
 To stop the effusion of the blood of men.  
 Or peace and chains, or liberty and war,  
 These are our only choice; shall it be said  
 Columbia hesitated? No! Ye Chiefs! 190  
 Columbia's free-born soul ne'er yet betray'd  
 The rights of man, nor ordinance of God.  
 O that our foes were with such sentiments  
 Deeply impress'd! But heaven hath steel'd their  
 hearts  
 To invade those rights of others, which them-  
 selves 195  
 Would, if invaded, guard with their last blood.  
 But all will turn to good; our foes now feel  
 How little either force, or art avails.  
 See where the generous Salem spurns their boon;

184. *That sad necessity* &c.—Compare *Ramsay*, i. 335.  
 “We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.” *Ramsay*, i. 211-2. 310. See *Life of W.* ii. 287-8. 329-30. 502—5—8.

195. *those rights of others*, &c.—“Arguments (respecting the right to tax America) which would have appeared so conclusive to Englishmen, if urged by themselves in support of their own rights, had but little weight when used to disprove the existence of their authority over others.” See *Life of W.* ii. 134. 220. 242, note.

199. *generous Salem* &c.—“It was a part of the artful and malignant plan of the British ministers in framing the Boston Port Bill, by removing the commerce of that metropolis to

See where her rival frustrates their proud hopes ; 200  
 Even the untutor'd Indian scorns their gold,  
 And with his neighbour smokes the pipe of peace.

Thus have they fail'd by bribery, and art, .cn

To gain their purpose. Not e'en Canada,

Salem, and making it the seat of government, to establish a rivalship and enmity between these two places, from which they hoped to derive mighty advantages." But this was prevented by the magnanimous spirit of the people of Salem, who concluded their address to the governour in these words: " We must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours." *Belsham*, ii. 73-4; and *Encyclop. Brit.* art. *America*, sect. 169; *Life of W.* ii. 202; *Ramsay*, i. 124. See 171. See the Minute of the Treasury Board, Mar. 31, 1774. *Almon*, i. 34.

200. *her rival*—The magnanimity of the people of Marblehead; a port in the vicinity of Boston, deserves equal praise. These patriots "generously offered the merchants of Boston the use of their harbours, as well as their wharfs and warehouses, free of all expense." *Belsham*, ii. 74; and *Encyclop. Ib.* 176 : *Life of W.* ii. 230.

201. *Indian scorns their gold*,—The reply of some Indian chiefs to the agents who were sent to corrupt them, affords a noble lesson to civilized nations. " They did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America, or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren." *Encyclop. Ib.* 196. It would have been happy if the rest of the Indian tribes had imbibed these sentiments! The Indians, indeed, on the Muskingum "abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason that 'the great Being did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other.'" *Ramsay*, ii. 149. Compare lord Shelburne's speech, an. 1775, *Almon*, v. 71.

204. *Not e'en Canada*,—"So sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent 20,000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose." *Encyclop. Brit. Ib.* 195. But the militia of the province refused to pass the limits of it. See *Belsham*, ii. 152-3; and *Life of W.* ii. 267, note. Compare

Already half their own, will join their cause. 205  
 And now their only hopes to obtain success  
 Are fix'd on our dissensions, and those evils  
 Which civil wars engender. Foolish men!  
 To think that any evil, even death,  
 Is, to the virtuous mind, to be compar'd 210<sup>o</sup>  
 With loss of freedom! If Columbia's sons  
 Dissent among themselves, will that dissent  
 Lead them to join their foe? Perish the thought!  
 Sooner shall proud Ohio, which now rolls  
 Through boundless deserts its gigantick waves 215  
 Into astonish'd ocean; sooner this  
 Shall break the laws of nature, and up-flow  
 Back to its source divine;" (instant the chiefs  
 Bursting the listening silence swore assent;)  
 "Thus have they fail'd; thus may they ever fail,  
 By base intrigue, and art to gain their cause! 221

col. Barre's speech, *Almon*, iii. 39, who mentions that the "Canadians had concealed 400 firelocks in the woods, which they were determined to make use of against the English, if they forced them to take either side."

207. *our dissensions, &c.*—Compare *Ramsay*, i. 120. 144-5. Upon the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, "sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government—to pardon all their past offences—to have the pay due to them from the Congress faithfully made up, &c.—but the faithful though revolting soldiers disdained his offers." *Id.* ii. 220. See lord Camden's speech, an. 1775, *Almon*, ii. 85-6. "Equally fruitless," said lord Shelburne, "had all attempts to divide the colonies hitherto proved. America felt her strength only in proportion to her union; and the little paltry policy to multiply jealousies and create divisions, by guarding the colonies against insidiousness, had strengthened instead of weakening the great cement of union." v. 71. See Burke's speech, an. 1777, *Almon*, viii. 101-2.

Nor yet by force will the Almighty Power  
 Grant them success; for Heaven's the friend of man,  
 Blest him with life, and health, nor will permit  
 That which is dearer far than health, or life, 225  
 The iron arm of power to take away.  
 But tho' thus aided by the heavenly will,  
 Still of our own exertions have we need;  
 For Heaven smiles not on the indolent,  
 Nor him who self-forgetting trusts in prayer; 230  
 'Tis industry alone that Heaven befriends,  
 Him who reveres himself, and dreads to lose  
 The first, best, gift of God to new-born man.  
 And may such dread, such reverence, ye Chiefs!  
 Now firmly hold your breasts; for while I speak,  
 The daring foe has form'd the desperate plan 236  
 From north and south in one combin'd attack  
 To pour upon us, as a winter's flood,  
 His numerous battalions. 'Tis his view  
 Thus to distract our counsels, thus revive 240  
 The hopes of traitors; but abandon fear,  
 The more they separate, the easier far  
 'Tis to subdue them. Gates! to thy tried skill  
 I trust the north, there on the Hudson stream

242. *The more they separate, &c.*—"There was a radical error," said Mr. Fox, "in the proceedings, which would for ever prevent our generals from acting with success;—no man of sense would have placed the two armies in such a position as from their distance made it impossible that one should receive any assistance from the other." *Almon*, viii. 19; and ix. 73. See lord Shelburne's speech, x. 22. 127; duke of Richmond's, x. 40; lord Chatham's, *Id.* 74.

Of Burgoyne's expedition, see an account in the *Life of W.* iii. 240-1.

Marshall'd by Burgoyne wilt thou meet the foe. 245  
 But mark my words; be sparing of their blood;  
 They are our kin, of the same parents born,  
 Sprung from the self-same God, and time will come  
 When those delusive vapours, which obscure  
 Their mental ray, will vanish into air, 250  
 And they as eager fly to meet our love,  
 As now they urge our hate: spare then their blood;  
 Let thy superiour wisdom then blaze forth  
 In all its wonted glory. When their troops,  
 O'ercome by all those evils that await 255  
 Their lengthen'd march thro' Hudson's rocky straits,  
 Reach Saratoga's plains, instant do thou  
 Cut off retreat; inclose their harrass'd files;  
 And when gaunt Famine with her meagre jaws  
 Stares them in front, and they lay down their arms,  
 Spare then their feelings, see not thou the deed. 261  
 Thus will you show the future race of men  
 How far superiour wisdom is to force,  
 And freedom to her foes. Thus will you teach  
 The lesson of forbearance, and of love, 265  
 E'en to our enemy. O that it take  
 Such deepen'd root within his haughty breast  
 That he relent, and persecute no more !

261. *see not thou the deed.*—Upon the capitulation of Saratoga, “general Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event.” *Encyclop. Brit. art. Amer. sect. 302; Belsham, ii. 320. See Ramsay, ii. 54.*

Haste then, begone; and when thy work is done,  
 Rejoin our force. I, meanwhile, to the south 270  
 To observe Cornwallis, and may Heaven's will  
 Guide all my counsels and direct my ways!"

Thus spake the pious Chief, and prudent Gates  
 Obey'd superior prudence. O that man  
 Would ever thus reflect how dear is life 275

Unto his fellow-man, whose fleeting soul  
 When once it pass his lips, not all the gold  
 Of east, or western Ind; not all the power  
 Of all the proudest potentates on earth;  
 Not all the skill of wisdom's favour'd sons, 280

Can for one momentary space recal  
 Back to its pristine seat. O then that man  
 Would ever ponder deeply in his breast,  
 Before his hand unheeded take away  
 That which the Maker only can bestow! 285

If, e'er the blow was aim'd, a voice were heard  
 To exclaim; "It is your brother;" terrour-struck,  
 Would not the palsied blade shrink from the grasp,  
 And fall unstain'd? But are not all men kin?  
 What then is war but murderous fratricide? 290

War is not justified but to defend  
 Our rights, our laws, our freedom, and our God.

Meanwhile the British Clinton just return'd  
 From captur'd Charleston, and its vanquish'd Chief,  
 And now expectant of support had taken 295

294. *captur'd Charleston, &c.*—General Lincoln surrendered Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton and the British forces, May 1760. *Ramsay*, ii. 155.

Columbia's middle station, and there watch'd  
 With keenest vigilance his wary foe,  
 No sooner had the expected aid receiv'd  
 Than as a Giant, from long sleep refresh'd,  
 Stretches his mighty limbs, and proud of strength  
 Rouses himself to action, so the chief 301  
 Pants for new glory in the field of blood,  
 And thus to Arnold pours his rising wrath ;  
 " Brave, injur'd Chief ! thou whose transcendent  
     worth  
 Thy ingrate country spurns, whose virtuous pride  
 Disdains to bow before an upstart race 305  
 Of lawless rebels ; but who wiser chooseth  
 The path of loyalty, and just, and right,  
 Now show thy great pre-eminence ; take, lead  
 Our choicest troops to victory ; pour forth 310  
 Thy ample vengeance on thy ingrate foes ;  
 Remember Andre's blood ; and let that name  
 Which mid Canadian swamps, and woods, and rocks,  
 Thy fortitude, and perseverance gain'd,  
 Still be thy own ; Columbian Hannibal 315  
 Spares not his Romans ; let Virginia,  
 Where curs'd rebellion lifts her proudest head,

296. *Columbia's middle station, &c.*—Among other reinforcements which sir Henry Clinton had received at New York, was a body of 3000 Germans. *Ramsay* ii. 265.

303. *Arnold*.—The reader may compare *Ramsay*, ii. 195.

315. *Columbian Hannibal*.—Arnold had acquired the name of the American Hannibal by his arduous expedition into Canada. *Ramsay*, i. 235.

316. *let Virginia, &c.*—See *Ramsay*, ii. 225-6 ; *Life of W.* iv. 447. 485.



Both know, and feel that Arnold is her foe.  
 That being done, for nothing can thy arm  
 Long time withstand, thence on Connecticut 320  
 Pour thy resistless torrent; fire, and sword  
 Shall clear the way before thee, and perchance  
 The terrour of thy mighty name, and deeds  
 May thus recall our foe, and give to thee  
 The glory, and the meed to thwart his plans." 425  
 Thus Clinton spake, and Arnold thus replied;  
 "Vengeance be mine! By this right hand I swear  
 That Arnold ne'er shall tarnish that great name  
 Which mid severest perils, at the risk  
 Of all things dear to man, he hardly earn'd. 330  
 Andre's foul murder calls aloud on me,  
 On me for vengeance; be it then reveng'd.  
 Nor let the Indian tomahawk be spar'd,  
 Unearth their hatchet, let the war-whoop sound  
 From the dread Mohawks, and the Genesseees, 335  
 To where beneath the Alleghany snows  
 The murderous Creeks, and Choctaws feast on blood,  
 Sparing nor youth, nor sex; and since our foe

320. *on Connecticut*—See *Life of W.* iv. 532.

332. *be it then reveng'd.*—"Arnold declared, in a letter to Washington, that if Andre suffered, he should think himself bound in honor to retaliate. He also observed that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared only through the clemency of sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if major Andre suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." *Ramsay*, ii. 200.

338. *Sparing nor youth, &c.*—Of the horrible cruelties committed by the Indians, the reader may see an account in *Ramsay*, ii. chap. xviii. and p. 37.

Clamours of freedom, and the rights of men,  
 Set free the slaves, give them their natural rights,  
 They too are men, and place but in their hands 341  
 The arms of men, and they to Washington  
 Will prove their manliness: but lest perchance  
 Some generous Chief, some Carleton, some Macbride,

340. *Set free the slaves*,—Lord Dunmore “had declared all indentured servants, negroes, and others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his majesty’s forces, to be free.” *Ramsay*, i. 249. See 252; and ii. 172; *Life of W.* ii. 442. Compare Mr. Burke’s speech, Feb. 1778, *Almon*, viii. 351.

344. *some Carleton*,—“Of the Indians in his service general Carleton had made a very sparing use, and at the end of the campaign they were dismissed on a general promise of returning when called for. But it was believed that he had, in his dispatches to England, strongly remonstrated against the employment of savages in any shape whatever in the further prosecution of this war.” *Belsham*, ii. 308.

“The reputation acquired by general Carleton in his military character—was exceeded by the superior applause, merited from his exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity—he not only fed and clothed them (the sick left in the American hospitals in Canada) but permitted them when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than, by applying for relief, make themselves known, he removed their doubts by a proclamation, in which he engaged, that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces, &c.” *Ramsay*, i. 269. See ii. 282. 390; *Life of W.* ii. 427. See lord Shelburne’s speech, Nov. 1777, *Almon*, x. 23.

344. *some Macbride*,—In the naval battle of Rodney and Langara, near Cape St. Vincent, July 1780, the Spanish admiral in the *Phoenix* struck to captain Macbride of the *Beinfaisant*, whose crew was afflicted with a malignant small-pox. The captain, “disdaining to convey infection even to an enemy—offered to permit the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the *Phoenix*, rather than by a removal to expose them to the small-pox, trusting to the admiral’s honour, that no advantage would be taken of the circumstance. The proposal was cheerfully embraced, and the conditions honourably observed.” *Ramsay*, ii. 206.

Some lenient Campbell, too humane, and weak, 345  
 Should by an ill-tim'd mercy thwart our plans,  
 Tell them that mercy to rebellious men  
 Is but eventful cruelty; and guilt  
 Severely punish'd saves the innocent.  
 But 't is not war alone on which to place 350  
 Our greatest trust, and confidence; see where  
 Their troops ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-cloth'd, worse arm'd,  
 Are ripe for mutiny, and only wait  
 The signal given from hence. Their very chiefs  
 Press'd by external, and internal ills, 355  
 Their private substance spent, and all their hopes  
 Frustrate, when Britain with parental arms

345. *lenient Campbell*.—The moderation, prudence, and humanity of the British colonel Campbell, in the southern states, are mentioned by the American historian with the highest approbation. See *Ramsay*, ii. 98. 287-8; *Life of W.* iv. 65-6.

348. *Is but eventual cruelty*.—“The zeal of the British ministers for reducing the revolted colonies was so violent, as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended that in their circumstances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punishment, was eventual cruelty. In their opinion, partial severity was general mercy, and the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion was to envelop its abettors in such complicated distress, as by rendering their situation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the proffered blessings of peace and security.” *Ramsay*, ii. 26. See 102. 232. 273. 276. A proclamation of sir George Collier and governour Tryon declared “the existence of a single house on the coast to be a striking monument of British mercy.” *Belsham*, ii. 405-6.

354. *The signal given from hence*. See the tempting offers of general Arnold to “unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, &c.” *Ramsay*, ii. 203-4.

Offers a parent's love, and grants redress,  
 Their wants, their hopes, their fears, their loyalty,  
 Smother'd but not extinguish'd, shall incite 360  
 Compliance, and they willing shall return  
 'To meet your proffer'd love with open arms.  
 This then is my advice; let no address,  
 That either art, or artifice can frame,  
 Be wanting; and if Clinton give consent, 365  
 Arnold will instant tempt their chiefs, and men  
 With specious reason, and more solid bribe.  
 Thus shall be wove a double net to ensnare  
 Yon haughty rebel, and his starving troops."

Thus spake the wrath of Arnold, and to him 370  
 Again the British Chief; " Brave Veteran!  
 Whether thy wisdom, or thy valour more  
 Merits applause, is difficult for us  
 Rightly to judge, since both in equal poise  
 Are thus so nicely balanc'd: but no more 375  
 Of words, lest thus perchance the publick weal  
 Even ourselves may injure; now to deeds;  
 Thou to the post assign'd, and if aught else  
 Thy genius may invent to harm the foe  
 Be both the merit, and reward thy own." 380  
 They ended parle, and haughty Arnold's soul  
 Bent on a double vengeance, sped his flight  
 To where Virginia, scarce from Leslie's arm

383. *scarce from Leslie's arm &c.*—Major-general Leslie had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeak with 2000 men, in order to favour lord Cornwallis's designs on the southern states: and after his departure Virginia was again invaded by general Arnold. See *Ramsay*, i. 226.

Recover'd, now was fated to sustain  
 Havock, and misery to which compar'd 385  
 Its former ills were but a sport and play.

Meantime Cornwallis in the southern clime  
 Had met no equal; distant Georgia  
 Own'd him supreme; while thro' the Carolinas  
 His proud victorious troops swept all along 390

Like a resistless torrent; even Gates  
 When, proud of victory, he dusted back  
 His lengthen'd march from Saratoga's straits,  
 And fondly hop'd the terrour of his name  
 Would check his mighty foe, too soon perceiv'd 395

His fatal error, and on Camden's plains  
 Gave a fresh chaplet to his rival's brow.

There, brave de Kalb! was shorn thy fated thread;  
 Columbia long did mourn thee as her own;  
 Thou fought'st for freedom, and for freedom died'st.  
 Nor Gates alone felt the resistless arm 401

Of conquering Britons: see where laurell'd Greene,  
 Freedom's high-favour'd son, Columbia's prop,  
 Yields to superior Rawdon: Camden's plains  
 Witness Columbia's second overthrow. 405

Here dauntless Tarleton, like Mygdonides,

389. *while thro' the Carolinas &c.*—The people had for a time “abandoned all schemes of further resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, Ninety six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered, &c.” *Russell*, ii. 159. See 170.

398. *brave de Kalb!*—See above, b. i. ver. 310.

405. *second overthrow*—See above, b. i. ver. 317.

406. *Tarleton, like Mygdonides, &c.*—Choræbus, the son of Mygdon, who was the brother of Hecuba (see *Æn.* ii.

Cloth'd in the hostile garb, and ornament,  
 Entraps his foe ; there with an eagle's stoop  
 Pounces destruction upon Sumter's force ;  
 While daring Prevost, Maitland, and Moncrief 410  
 Had vanquish'd D'Estaing, and Pulaski's might.  
 Here Simcoe, able partisan, repell'd  
 The valiant Steuben, and with fire, and sword  
 Spread ruin : there the noble Phillips brav'd  
 La Fayette's haughty spirit, who saw with grief 415  
 Desertion thinning his impatient troops :  
 While further off, the British Diomed

342. 389) had, with his followers, put on the armour of the Greeks whom he had killed at the storming of Troy ; and in like manner colonel Tarleton with a party had assumed the name and dress of Americans, and passed themselves for the advance of general Gates's army. See *Ramsay*, ii. 165-6. Colonel Tarleton surprised Sumter's corps at Fishing Creek—"and the whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed." *Id.* 169.

411. *D'Estaing, and Pulaski*—By the assistance of that able engineer major Moncrief, general Prevost and colonel Maitland successfully defended the town of Savannah against the counts d'Estaing, and Pulaski, and general Lincoln. *Ramsay*, ii. 121-2.

412. *Here Simcoe*,—Colonel Simcoe was said to be "one of the best partizans in the British service." *Life of W.* iii. 475 ; iv. 477-8. For an account of the expedition against Steuben at a place called The Fork, see *Id.* iv. 49†.

414. *the noble Phillips &c.*—The marquis de la Fayette was obliged to retreat before generals Phillips and Cornwallis. *Ramsay*, ii. 256-7. See *Life of W.* iv. 486. Desertion had become so frequent in La Fayette's army as to threaten its dissolution. *Life of W.* iv. 481.

417. *the British Diomed &c.*—General Grey, who had acquired the name of the "no-flint general," had surprised colonel Baylor's regiment of light dragoons in a barn while they were in a profound sleep. The British troops, "refusing to give quarter, bayoneted for a time all they fell in with." About 40 were made prisoners. "These were in-

Gave to his sleeping foes the dreams of death.  
 Last, tho' not least, the fierce St. Leger rav'd  
 With Johnson's savages, and those far worse 420  
 Than savages, miscalled Loyalists;  
 These black revenge, and fury, hot from hell,  
 Led on to deeds of madness; fathers, sons;  
 Sons, fathers; and fraternal love, now chang'd  
 Into fix'd hate, point at their kindred blood 425

debted for their lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary (as is said) to the orders of his superiour officers." *Ramsay*, ii. 94-5. *Life of W.* iii. 564-5. See *Belsham*, ii. 379. Humanity would express a hope that this account is exaggerated; and indeed some extenuation is derived from the circumstance of the attack being made in the night.

419. *the fierce St. Leger &c.*—The detachment which was to proceed by the way of the Mohawk river was put under the command of colonel St. Leger. "It consisted of about 200 British troops, a regiment of New-York loyalists, raised and commanded by sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages." *Ramsay*, ii. 27. The cruelties committed by the Indians, and particularly the murder of the innocent and beautiful miss Maccree, "excited universal horror," and "instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect."—"Their cruel mode of warfare, by putting to death as well the smiling infant and the defenceless female, as the resisting armed man, excited an universal spirit of resistance." See *Ib.* 36—39. Of the plunder and ravages committed by the loyalists the American history is full. See *Ramsay*, ii. 114. "A particular detail—would be sufficient to freeze every breast with horror." *Ib.* 145. See 287-8. 293. "It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the asperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with royal government, than to their British enemies. It is certain that the former had been most active in predatory excursions, and most forward in scenes of blood, and murder." *Ramsay*, ii. 308.

The dark assassin's poignard. Gracious God!  
How long shall this contaminated globe  
Escape thy justice! Is it that misery  
Must point the road to happiness and love?  
Yes! and the time shall come when love alone 430  
Shall reign triumphant, and thy name be blest  
By purer tongues upon a sinless earth.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.



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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK VII.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

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**Distresses of the American army. Prayer of Washington. The Goddess Liberty appears to him, and brings him consolation. Arrival of the French forces under Rochambeau, and march of the united troops to York-town. Soliloquy of lord Cornwallis, and speech to his officers. His lordship's determination to defend York-town. Washington's address to his forces. Death of colonel Scammell.**

# WASHINGTON,

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OR

## LIBERTY RESTORED.

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Now had the slow-pac'd wain of sable night  
Ascended heaven's mid-steep, and in her train  
The starry host with all their glittering gems  
Spangled the expanse; now was creation hush'd  
In the soft dews of sleep, all but the mind 5  
Of great Columbia's chieftain, him no sleep  
But anxious care possess'd, and troubled thoughts  
How he might shield his country from those ills  
Which now on every side assail'd her round;  
E'en in his very camp disease had spread 10  
So thick her noisome vapours, that he fear'd  
No efforts on his part could save the rest  
From the grim jaws of death, and to these ills  
Were added mutiny, and discontent,  
Whose clamorous tongues pervaded all the camp: 15  
Nor wanted cause; oft without food, or clothes,  
Expos'd to all the inclemencies of sky,  
Nor day, nor night, nor season brought relief.  
E'en Congress' self unable to supply

Q

The army's wants, was yet perforce impell'd 20  
 To adopt such measures as necessity,  
 Not prudence dictates, and increas'd tenfold  
 The evil that was meant to remedy.  
 Pondering on these, and various other ills,  
 Thus to the Almighty Being the hero pray'd; 25  
 "Almighty Power! who on the human breast  
 Didst from the first engrave the sacred love  
 Of thy celestial freedom, making man  
 After thy likeness! Oh! in mercy spare,  
 Benignant Being! in mercy spare our sins. 30  
 Thou know'st how often, and how fervently  
 My soul hath yearn'd for peace; how oft essay'd  
 To stop the effusion of the human blood;  
 Alas! thou know'st how vain; in thee alone  
 I put my trust; Oh! guide my erring thoughts, 35  
 Teach me to know thy will, and to obey  
 That will when known, that thus the path of right

21. *To adopt such measures &c.*—Compare the note at b. i. ver. 275; and *Ramsay*, ii. 222—5. "In addition to the disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed," &c. *Ib.* 188. See *Life of W.* iii. 40—3. "Mistaking a real depreciation of money for the extortion of avarice on the wants of the publick, an attempt was made, under the recommendation of Congress, to limit prices by law; and this limitation, if persisted in, would once more have produced a famine," &c. *Ib.* 403-4. See iv. 245-7, 256. 264-7., where Washington complains of the defects of the State system, and the consequent want of power in Congress. "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen; and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controuling power of the United States, considering themselves as dependent on their respective states," &c. See 361.

May lead to virtue, happiness, and thee.  
 But if thy justice must o'ertake our sins  
 Thy will, Omnipotent! thy will be done." 40  
 Thus pray'd the chief, when to his ravish'd eyes  
 A radiant form appear'd, whose lucid robe  
 Flow'd to her feet, while all around was pour'd  
 Ambrosial fragrance; and with voice divine  
 Thus she address'd Columbia's pious Chief; 45  
 "Beloved Son! thy virtuous prayer is heard,  
 And now by Heaven's all-wise decree I come,  
 To shield Columbia from her numerous foes,  
 And by thy means to give to future men  
 Freedom's eternal boon; the time shall come 50  
 When e'en thy foes, who now with madden'd ire  
 Break the first precept of their heavenly guide,  
 And do themselves to others what themselves  
 Would not be done unto; the time shall come  
 When they with loudest voice, and gratitude 55  
 Shall hail fair freedom's orb; that orb once risen  
 Shall never set, but shall eternal shine  
 Diffusing light, and love throughout the world.  
 But evils yet must pass, before that time  
 That blessed time arrive, for happiness 60  
 Lies up the steeps of pain. But now attend,  
 While to thy gladden'd heart I pour fresh balm  
 Of joy and comfort; Britain's haughty flag,  
 That rul'd despotick o'er that element  
 Which Heaven gave free to man, thus making power,  
 And right synonymous, has dar'd provoke 66  
 Russia's great empress to defend the laws

Of nature, and of nations : Neutral Powers  
 Have guaranteed the rights of God and man.  
 But this the least ; for mighty Louis hears 70  
 Columbia's plaints, and even now at hand  
 His crowded squadrons, which by aid divine  
 Wrapt in celestial clouds have pass'd the foe,  
 Enter thy joyous havens ; greet them, Son !  
 With love fraternal, and without delay 75  
 Instant to York-town speed your troops combin'd,  
 And there again we'll meet thee." Thus she spake,  
 And vanish'd, but by her empyreal gait  
 Was known, confess the Seraph Liberty.  
 O'erpower'd the hero sank, and on his knees 80  
 Pour'd forth his silent gratitude to God.  
 But soon was rous'd ; for lo ! the trumpet's sound  
 Joyous announc'd great Gallia's sons arriv'd.  
 Now had the morn thro' the eastern gate of heaven  
 Diffus'd her roseate beams, when Fayette's spirit 85

68. *Neutral Powers &c.*—On the armed neutrality formed by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, in the year 1780, see *Ramsay*, ii. 209—211 ; *Life of W.* iv. 369. 373 : *Belsham*, iii. 40-1-2. " Let us (said lord Lansdowne, an. 1797.) endeavour to regain the good opinion of Europe, which we have lost by our pride and rapacity ; let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations ; and by thus recognizing the commercial liberty of the world, we should be the first to profit by it." *Belsham*, vi. 359.

70. *mighty Louis*,—See book i. ver. 362.

85. *Fayette's spirit*—" The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in reconciling the nation to patronize the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced general Washington, exclaiming: ' The king, my master, has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establish-

Brooking no equal in Columbia's cause,  
 With eager haste to Washington conducts  
 His kindred chieftains, mighty Rochambeau,  
 The brave de Grasse, St. Simon's noble fires,  
 The valiant Ternay, and de Barras' skill, 90  
 With that sage minister whose ardent zeal  
 Had triumph'd o'er Columbia's enemies,  
 The prudent Gerard; these with Chastelleux,  
 Du Portail, Choisy, and some other chiefs  
 Now met Columbia's hero, when in few 95

ment.' The heartfelt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief, their chaplains offered up publick thanks to Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu de joie was fired, and, on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with —'Long live the king of France'—poured forth from the breast of every private in the army." *Ramsay*, ii. 68.

88. *Rochambeau, &c.*—The French troops, convoyed by marquis de Ternay, left France on the 1st of May, 1780, under the command of the count de Rochambeau, but did not arrive at Rhode Island till the 10th of July following. See *Ramsay*, ii. 192. The count de Grasse with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line entered the Chesapeak in August 1781. The troops on board of this fleet were commanded by the marquis de St. Simon. *Ib.* 260. A French fleet of 8 sail of the line, under the count de Barras, entered the Chesapeak in the night of September 7th, 1781, at the time when admirals Graves and de Grasse were manœuvring near its mouth. *Ib.* 261.

93. *The prudent Gerard, (or Girard)*—He was one of the secretaries of H. M. C. Majesty's council of state, and had been employed in the negotiations between France and America; afterwards he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the United States. *Ramsay*, ii. 65. 88; *Life of W.* iv. 20.

94. *some other chiefs*—Among others may be named M. d'Estouches, who commanded the French fleet after the death of de Ternay; the baron de Viomine, &c.

Thus spake La Fayette ; " Noble Washington !  
 Great Louis sends thee aid, and such an aid  
 As needs no tongue of Fayette to applaud.  
 The name of Rochambeau who leads our troops  
 To victory, and freedom, Fame herself 100  
 Hath made her own ; and these our noble kin  
 Will on the field of battle prove their worth."  
 " Fayette ! (replied the Chief) we greet them all,  
 As brethren greet them ; Noble Rochambeau !  
 And ye brave sons of France ! our gratitude 105  
 To mighty Louis passeth utterance ;  
 Next to our nature, and that nature's God  
 We owe to him our freedom. Welcome all,  
 Thrice welcome are ye brethren." Thus to him  
 Great Rochambeau replied ; " Most noble Chief !  
 Whose very name is freedom, and whose cause 111  
 The cause of God, and man ; we but obey  
 The dictates of our hearts, when we obey  
 Our mighty monarch's will ; that will declares  
 That the whole power of Gallia's potentate 115  
 Shall be exerted in Columbia's cause ;  
 With her we'll live as brethren, and our lives,

108. *We owe to him our freedom.*—That America was in a great measure " indebted to France for her rank as a nation," was an opinion pretty general in the United States ; and indeed the pathetick statement of their distresses, after the fall of Charleston, to the king of France, strongly corroborated the opinion. See *Life of W.* v. 608, note ; *Ramsey*, ii. 262. For the speech of Rochambeau, in answer to the address of congratulation from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, and for the circumstances attending the junction of the two armies, see *Ramsey*, ii. 192-3.



To her devoted, now await command  
Of thee Great Chieftain ; ardently we burn  
To drive Cornwallis, and the British troops 120  
From the blest soil of freedom ; lead us, Chief !  
This instant lead us to the daring foe.”  
Yet was he speaking, when the hosts conjoin'd  
Upsent a shout to the universal Lord  
That rang heaven's joyous concave. Washington  
Gave instant sign of march, thrice blessed march, 126  
The cause of ceaseless good to future men,  
While Freedom's self, unseen by mortal eye,  
Made straight the way before them. Now had Fame  
With busy pinions to Cornwallis sped 130  
Carrying the fatal news, and as is wont,  
Had fill'd a less undaunted soul with fear,  
And aggravated phantasies ; but him  
No fears possess'd, his British spirit disdain'd  
To fear a foe ; but as that generous brute, 135  
Whose floating image stream'd before his eyes,  
When circled round by hunters, and by dogs,  
Lashes himself to vengeance ; so the Chief  
In his own might collected, pausing stands,  
And to his own great soul thus dauntless speaks ;  
“ If 't is the will of Heaven that Liberty 141  
Shall fix her standard in these western climes,  
Vain were resistance ; Heaven itself best knows  
That which is best ; but if 't is Fate's decree  
That proud Rebellion here shall bend her head, 145  
Our numerous foes tho' tenfold multiplied

Were but as dust; our fate then rests above,  
 And if we are not wanting to ourselves,  
 The British flag shall triumph o'er its foes,  
 Teach them to spare their threats, and boast no  
 more." 150

Thus thought Cornwallis, and around him call'd  
 His various chieftains; here brave Tarleton came,  
 With mighty Abercrombie, Simcoe's zeal,  
 Campbell, Dundas, and many other chiefs,  
 All but brave Phillips; his eyes death had clos'd 155

Thro' envy: Them Cornwallis thus address'd;

"Britons, and heroes! well do ye deserve  
 These titles, and ye noble German friends!  
 Much to your valour do we justly owe.

Oft have we seen you mid the battle's rage 160

Plunging amidst the foe, and dauntless rush

E'en to the cannon's mouth; oft have we seen

That foe, confiding to a hasty flight,

Speed to his woods, and fastnesses, to escape

Your 'venging swords, while all his towns, and  
 farms 165

Have fallen the spoil of your victorious deeds.

Heroes! the time's arriv'd when Britain stands

155 *brave Phillips*;—"This distinguished officer, who having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, and was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia, March 1781, terminated his life in the May following. 'At early periods of his military career, on different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired.'" *Ramsay*, ii. 228; *Life of W.* iv. 487..

In need of all your valour: Washington  
 Sunk, spiritless, fall'n, as a last resource  
 Has call'd on Gallia's king, our natural foe, 170  
 And proud rebellion has in Gallia's king  
 Found a firm friend; Gallia shall rue the day  
 She gave that friendship: but be cheer'd, ye Chiefs,  
 Clinton has promis'd aid, immediate aid,  
 And Digby soon, and Graves, with Britain's fleet  
 Will rid the Chesapeak of those proud flags 176  
 That idly stream before the vapouring gale.  
 But now attend to these your Chief's commands;  
 In the deep York which laves our northern front,

172. *Gallia shall rue the day*—In the debate of March 17, 1778, Mr. Jenkinson observes, “that the spirit of free enquiry and the effects of an extended commerce, have introduced a spirit among the French people that is wholly incompatible with their government.—Besides this, one bad effect of the zeal with which they affected to take up the American cause, and which they now learn in earnest to have an affection for, has tainted their principles with a spirit of republicanism. These principles of liberty always diminish the force of government; and if they take root and grow up in France, we shall see that government as distracted and unsettled as any other.” See *Almon*, ix. 67.

174. *Clinton has promis'd aid, &c.*—“Letters of an early date in September 1781, were received by lord Cornwallis (who had established himself at York-town in Virginia) from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to re-inforce the royal army in Chesapeak, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast.” *Ramsay*, ii. 260, 261. Another letter was afterwards received, “announcing the arrival of admiral Digby with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October—that this fleet consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief.” &c. *Ib.* 268.

179. *In the deep York &c.*—“York (or York-town) is a small village on the south side of the river which bears that

Let all our frigates, and our ships of war - 180  
 Be safely moor'd, that thus the pass 'twixt us,  
 And Gloster Point oppos'd may be secure ;  
 That point, brave Tarleton ! to thy valorous arm  
 We now confide, let it be fortified,  
 And both the river's banks, with batteries, 185  
 And strong redoubts ; but on our southern side,  
 Where we seem most expos'd, and where the foe  
 Will plan his chief attack, let neither art,  
 Nor labour be found wanting, abbattis,  
 Nor fraize be spar'd, nor hornwook with its ditch,

name, where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. In this broad and bold river a ship of the line may ride in safety. Its southern banks are high ; and some batteries facing the water had been constructed on them by a small corps of artillery belonging to the state of Virginia, formerly stationed at this place. On the opposite shore is Gloucester Point ; a piece of land projecting deep into the river, and narrowing it at that place, so that it does not exceed one mile. Both these posts were occupied by lord Cornwallis, who had been assiduous in fortifying them. The communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war which lay under his guns. The main body of his army (which amounted to about 7000 men) was encamped in the open grounds about York-town, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works, calculated to command the peninsula, and impede the approach of the assailants ; and colonel Tarleton, with a small detachment consisting of six or seven hundred men, held the post at Gloucester Point." *Life of W.* iv. 537-8.

186. *but on our southern side, &c.*—"The works erected for the security of York-town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the center, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries : on the left of the center was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left." *Ramsay*, ii. 268.

Nor strong redoubt, nor battery, nor the lines  
 Of firm stockade ; the marshy deep ravine  
 That guards our right may yet require some art  
 To strengthen it ; this, and whatever else  
 Seems to your wisdoms meet, be instant done. 195

Now to your posts, ye Chiefs ! and let the word  
 Be—Rule Britannia, and Rebellion crush'd.”  
 Thus spake the brave Cornwallis, and the Chiefs  
 Hie to their posts his orders to fulfil,  
 And wait with silent fortitude the foe. 200

But now uprear'd upon the western hills  
 Stream'd Freedom's ensigns, while the gleamy steel  
 Dazzles the distant sun, which then uprose  
 With conscious majesty, and slacken'd course  
 To wake earth's incense, and behold a deed 205

That sheds eternal blessings on mankind ;  
 When thus Columbia's hero to his troops ;  
 “Gauls, and Columbians? yon rising orb  
 That with unclouded glory sheds the beams  
 Of light, and love to man, must witness now 210

Freedom triumphant, or proud Despotism  
 Forging eternal fetters; 'tis on you,  
 On you high chosen above the rest of men  
 That Heaven has fix'd the doom, whether the day  
 Of death, or life, shall rise upon mankind: 215

Accept the high appointment ; be ye men ;  
 Swear by the spirits of your noble sires,  
 Swear by your God, that victory or death  
 Shall crown your efforts ; see the foe intrench'd  
 Up to the chin now waits the coming storm 220

Of Freedom's fury, and from Clinton hopes  
 Fresh aid ; but that, Columbians ! be yours  
 To avert by previous victory ; and when  
 Auspicious Heaven shall crown your noble deeds,  
 Then let Humanity's blest office shine 225  
 Triumphant in your breasts." Scarce had he said,  
 When loudest shouts of " Victory, or death,"  
 Torment the frighted air ; not louder shouts  
 Were heard from Rome's brave veterans on that day,  
 When thro' parch'd deserts by great Cato led, 230  
 They reach'd fair Leptis, half their numbers lost  
 The spoil of horrid snakes ; and now arriv'd  
 On York-town's plains the friends of free-born man  
 Began the hostile trench, and counterwork'd  
 By lines, and parallels the enclosed foe ; 235  
 Not unresisted ; Britain's warrior chief  
 Yielded to none in valour ; every inch  
 Was stain'd with blood ; nor had he then withdrawn,  
 Despite of Simon's bravery, his troops  
 Within his inner lines, but to obey 240  
 Clinton's superior orders, promising  
 Digby's arrival with immediate aid.  
 Nor thee, brave Scammell ! must the muse forget,

234. *and counterwork'd &c.*—Compare *Life of W.* iv. 539, &c. In the first rencounter the loss on the American side " was principally sustained by the corps of the marquis de St. Simon on the left." 540.

243. *Nor thee, brave Scammell!*—" The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-town, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner." *Ramsay*, ii. 268.

Death saw thee with incautious step advance  
To trace the foe's proud works, and with sure aim  
Made thy frail, weak mortality his own. 246  
Columbia mourn'd thy fate, and e'en thy foes  
Bewail'd and envied thy uncommon worth.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

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**WASHINGTON,**  
**OR**  
**LIBERTY RESTORED.**

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**BOOK VIII.**

## ARGUMENT OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

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Soliloquy of Washington. Liberty again appears to him, and foretells future peace and happiness; recounts to him the services she has performed, at length removes from his eyes the film of mortality. Picture of the infernal host, floating above the Apalachian Mountains. The shield of Satan. Preparation for battle.

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OR

LIBERTY RESTORED.

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SCARCE had Night's harbinger begun to draw  
Her sable curtain o'er the vast concave  
Shedding gray twilight, when Columbia's son  
Wrapt in sad thought forth issued from his tent, 5  
To view that terrein where ambition's rage  
Would premature send down to dusky death  
The souls of thousand warriors ; pondering deep  
The pensive hero stood, and thought he saw  
Thick dews of blood impurpling o'er the plain,  
While clanging vultures seem'd to hover round 10  
Gorg'd with the blood of men. Aw'd by the sight  
Thus to his mighty soul the hero spake ;  
" Alas ! how pregnant is the present hour  
With dark futurity ! Unhappy man !  
Disturbed nature seems to wail thy lot, 15  
That born to reap the best of Heaven's gifts  
Thou shouldst subvert the intention of thy God.  
Whence all this madness ? Tigers wage not war  
With ravenous tigers ; nor the spotted pard

R 2

Preys on his kindred spots ; 't is man alone      20  
 Is to his fellow man the savage brute.  
 His dire ambition, and the curse of gold  
 Impel to human murder ; not content  
 With what sufficeth happiness, he seeks  
 That which promotes his misery. O Peace !      25  
 How yearns my soul for thee ! How oft I've tried  
 To stop the effusion of the blood of man,  
 And bless my country with thy pure delights !  
 But all in vain ; ambition's lawless rage  
 Forbids the joyful hope. But thou, blest star !      30  
 That thus with solemn majesty diffusest  
 Wide o'er the silent earth thy pearly beams,  
 The type of heavenly love ! hear now my vows ;  
 Should Heaven, and freedom aid my feeble arm  
 And crown with victory Columbia's sons,      35  
 No haughty insolence, no proud disdain,  
 No black revenge for countless injuries,  
 Shall check my purpose, or pollute my soul :  
 But all my past endeavours be renew'd  
 To stop the evils that so long have whelm'd      40  
 The human race with woe, and give to man  
 Peace and good-will divine. And thou blest Seraph !  
 That erst from Heaven descended, and didst deign  
 To call me son : Oh ! grant me heavenly aid,  
 Fulfil thy glorious promise, that the orb      45  
 Of liberty once risen, ne'er shall set,  
 But shall eternal shine." Scarce had he said  
 When freedom's Seraph burst upon his view,  
 And in her hand she bore an orb'd shield

Of such transcendent brightness, that, tho' veil'd  
 In thickest cloud, the strongest mortal eye 51  
 Could not support its edge, and thus she spake ;  
 While sounds celestial, and empyreal sweets  
 Breath'd round the enravish'd senses of the chief ;  
 "Beloved Chieftain ! Freedom's chosen prop ! 55  
 Thy pious prayer is heard, and Heaven ordains  
 That man no longer shall be made the sport  
 Of proud ambition, but that reason's light  
 Diverg'd from western woods as from her centre,  
 Shall thro' the world restore the reign of peace. 60  
 But tho' the time be short ere this decree  
 Shall have full force, yet is it mark'd with blood.  
 The morrow's sun which soon shall tinge the hills  
 With light ethereal, shall grow pale to see  
 The horrors of the day ; but these few hours 65  
 Of misery overpast, ages of joy,  
 With some short blood-stain'd intervals of evil,  
 Shall bless mankind, and the first stone be laid  
 Of universal freedom, peace, and love.

67. *Some short blood-stain'd intervals &c.*—It is my firm persuasion, deeply impressed, that wars will speedily be extirpated from the face of Europe ; this opinion will, I know, afford rather a subject for ridicule than contemplation to those who measure the duration of time by the short, evanescent space of human existence : but the world is yet in its first stage of infancy, the light of reason has but just begun to dawn, and one of its best effects will be to teach the rising man, to study the happiness of his fellow-creatures, and no longer be made the tool of folly or ambition.

The effect of knowledge in uniting the Americans in the defence of their rights and liberties, is well portrayed by Dr. *Ramsay*, ii. 321.

Hail then, thou chosen Chief! thou blest of men!  
 Fulfil the will of Heaven, and give to man 71  
 The life that Heaven ordain'd him at his birth."  
 Thus spake Seraphick Virtue, and the Chief  
 Instant the Seraph knew, and thus replied;  
 "Celestial Spirit! Belov'd of God and man! 75  
 I know and feel thy power, nor will delay  
 One moment to fulfil the will divine.  
 With thee my guide, and shield, not all the earth  
 Risen in arms shall chill my heart with fear,  
 Or stop the daring progress of my arm." 80  
 Thus spake the chief, and Freedom thus again;  
 "Long have I lov'd thy zeal, long time admir'd  
 Thy various virtues; midst the battle's rage  
 Oft have I seen thee with a whirlwind's force  
 Bear down whole columns of the oppos'd foe; 85  
 And yet as oft amidst sulphureous smoke,  
 And whizzing death, have I perceiv'd thy soul  
 Pause on the well-fought field, and plan thy thoughts  
 Into new being. In the cabinet  
 Kings have admir'd thy wisdom, for thy brow 90  
 Crown'd with the choicest gifts of youth and age,  
 In years scarce mellow'd but in judgment ripe,  
 E'en from thy bitterest foes hath claim'd respect:  
 'Tis there Deliberation joys to sit,  
 While Wisdom, join'd with Genius, hand in hand  
 Play round their Chieftain. These thou ow'st to me;  
 I am thy great auxiliar, and thy shield. 97  
 Midst all the dangers of the battle's rage,

Midst western woods, and Indian tomahawks,  
 Midst deep-plann'd ambuscades, and icy frauds, 100  
 Midst Apalachian snows, mid treachery,  
 Disease, and famine, have I stood thy friend.  
 Oft have I turn'd the leaden death aside  
 Unseen by thee, and thus preserv'd a life  
 On which the fate of millions yet unborn 105  
 Depends for freedom's blessings; even now  
 Thy greatest earthly foes, on whom alone  
 Britain's best hopes depended, are thro' me  
 Lur'd by Eustathius' gold, and stricken blind

99. *Midst western woods, &c.*—See notes, book i. ver. 257. 260, &c.

109. *Eustathius' gold*,—The island of Eustathius was taken by sir George Rodney, and general Vaughan in Feb. 1781. "The wealth accumulated in the barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The store-houses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These alone, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above three millions sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated." &c. *Ramsay*, ii. 215. "The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of West India produce, as well as European goods. They stated their hard case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, and contended that their connection with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered; that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated." *Ib.* 216. After mentioning the numbers

Know not or friends, or foes, but there consume  
 In barbarous wantonness that precious time 111  
 Which else had sav'd a kingdom. These and more  
 Columbia owes to me, and now I'm sent  
 By Heaven's high mandate to assist thy cause,  
 The cause of God and man; and in much need 115  
 Thou stand'st at of heavenly aid, for 't is not man  
 Thou hast alone to combat, but all Hell  
 Is risen in arms against thee, and now floats  
 In mid expanse, o'er Apalachian snows,  
 Cloth'd with internal horrors; but fear not, 120  
 For Liberty's thy friend, and with this shield  
 Of heavenly temper ever guards her sons."  
 This said; the seraph breath'd ambrosial breath  
 On the enravish'd chief; instant his limbs  
 Imbib'd celestial vigour, and his eyes 125  
 Dropp'd the thick film of weak mortality.  
 O may the Muse receive such heavenly aid!  
 For hard it is for mortal to describe

that were reduced to indigence in consequence of such proceedings, the historian observes; "The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national justice, must be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes which, as hereafter shall be explained, brought on the great event in the Chesapeak, which gave peace to contending nations.—While admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered in the sales of confiscated property at Eustathias, and especially while his fleet was weakened by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States." *Ib.* 217-8. Compare *Ib.* 263; and *Life of W.* iv. 525.



That which beyond the sphere of this poor world  
 Is only to be known. Scarce was his sight 130  
 Purg'd from its dross, when all the infernal host,  
 Floating in depth immense twixt earth and sky,  
 In all its horrors burst upon his view :  
 Astounded stood the chief, and turn'd his eyes  
 T'ward his seraphick guide, who smil'd a smile 135  
 Ineffable, and thus dispell'd his fears ;  
 " Well may thy mortal senses feel alarm  
 At all those horrors which now strike thy view,  
 When e'en celestials, arm'd with heavenly arms,  
 Long time withstood them doubting victory, 140  
 And fear'd that heaven itself had gone to wrack.  
 But now by much-accumulated sin,  
 And long sojourn in hell, and above all  
 By the decrees of Heaven, their power to harm  
 By open force is gone, and nought remains 145  
 But empty show ; tho' yet by fury blind  
 And mad despair, they urge their hastening fate,  
 Despite of all the signs of heavenly wrath,  
 And that scorch'd omen, which is there uprear'd  
 Close to the blood-gorg'd Moloch. Hence let fear  
 Be banish'd from thy breast, for Fate forbids 151  
 Their arms to hurt mankind. Thence turn your eyes  
 T'ward their infernal chieftain, in his front  
 Pretending hope and joy, while deep despair  
 Preys on his tortur'd bosom ; so bad men 155  
 Oft to promote the blackest purposes  
 Against their fellow-men, wear on their brow

The hollow smiles of ill-dissembled love  
 While their hearts rankle with malicious ire.  
 But see where Satan, in thick darkness wrapt, 160  
 Far 'bove the blasted Apalachians floats,  
 Arm'd with his horrent shield, and glittering spear,  
 And tho' he knows his fate, yet in that fate  
 Premeditates the downfall of mankind."

She spake ; the hero turn'd, and back, aghast, 165  
 Recoil'd at sight of that adamant orb,  
 Whose broad circumference of horrors glar'd,  
 Like a nocturnal meteor scaring men.

On its huge boss, a vast and solid rock,  
 Sat dreaded Demogorgon ; and around 170  
 Pursuit and Flight, and Fear, and Uproar wild,  
 And dire Confusion, mix'd with fiends from hell,  
 Whose names the Muse disdains to bring to light.  
 Here too was laughing Sin, and stalking Death,  
 And Famine, grinding her insatiate teeth, 175  
 With meagre Poverty, and brutish Force.  
 Here Tumult blaz'd, and Slaughter, and black Fate  
 Prowling for blood of victims newly slain.  
 Here Discord, trampling on the human mind, 179  
 Urg'd men to war, while pallid Darkness, crown'd  
 With dust, and tears, and blood, inwrapt the whole.  
 And in the next vast circle rose to view  
 The infernal host warring against the High'st.  
 Here flaming darts in countless multitudes  
 Vaulted all heaven with fire, and underneath 185  
 The bristling myriads met in conflict dread-

Here shield with shield, helmet with helmet clash'd,  
 Here angel shock'd with angel, spear with spear,  
 And all was clamour, discord, rage, and din.

Not far from these was seen the host of hell. 190

Training their devilish engines, here their chief  
 Scoffing with Belial watch'd the dire effect;

When in an instant all the ethereal sky  
 Madden'd with fury, and the chained bolts 194

Mow'd down whole legions of the angelick host;  
 Foul rout ensued, and all heaven's pavement flow'd  
 With nectarous ichor, such as bleeds from Gods.

And next appear'd huge rocks, and woods and hills,  
 Encountering in mid sky; here uproar rag'd  
 And dire confusion, there the horrid Moloch, 200

Like a mad Thyad with the God enrapt,  
 Rolling his slaughter-flashing eye-balls round,  
 Rav'd out his impious blasphemies, and swore  
 That heaven should go to wrack. And next to these,  
 In separate division, blaz'd to view 205

The ancient Cronus, imprecating curses  
 Against his rebel son, the thundering Jove,  
 Who hurl'd his parent with his Titans down  
 From highest heaven into the pitchy depth  
 Of Tartarus; where iron hinges grate 210

O'er brazen thresholds; there is outer dark,  
 And storm and tempest, and the realm of night,  
 Where Sleep and Death have fix'd their drear abode,  
 As far 'neath hell, as hell's beneath the sky.

Here the gigantick sons of Heaven, and Earth, 215  
 Struggled for air, and sun, in dreadful gloom;

S

While sage Prometheus, with his mother Themis,  
 Stood counselling the great Saturnian Jove;  
 But soon repents his counsel, ingrate Jove,  
 Like human tyrants, now disdains his friend, 220  
 Kicks down the ladder whence he mounts aloft,  
 And laws, and justice tramples 'neath his feet:  
 See now the benefactor of mankind,  
 Who taught them first to use their eyes, and ears,  
 Doom'd in his turn the tyrant's wrath to feel; 225  
 See where tho' chain'd to rugged Scythia's rocks  
 He braves the thunderer's ire, and scornful tells  
 The cringing Mercury, that he dares his bolts;  
 "He cannot kill me," spake the enlighten'd sage,  
 "Prometheus is immortal:" scarce he said, 230  
 When trembling earth, struck by the forked light,  
 Open'd her yawning jaws, and deep invol'd  
 The dauntless hero midst the sinking wreck.  
 Next unto these a giant brood was seen,  
 Threatening the heavens, and piling with vast toil  
 The Alps on Apenines, and up both up-rolling 236  
 The raging Ætna, and its sister Fire,  
 With all their rocks, and woods, and waves, and  
 flames.  
 And in the next division blaz'd to sight 239  
 Horrors which scarce the Muse herself could count,  
 Or chieftain's eye tho' purg'd of earthly dross,  
 Could plain distinguish, such, so great the blaze;

217. *While sage Prometheus, &c.*—See *Æschylus, Prom.*  
 217; and compare ver. 235—8. 447. 478. 506. 1061, of the  
 same patriotick drama, for an illustration of the subsequent  
 passages.

Here perjur'd Gods were seen in dreary trance  
Punish'd for breach of oath on sacred Styx :  
Here too were kings, sunk in the lap of ease, 245  
Sleeping profoundly, while their ministers  
Removed far from danger and from toil,  
Halloo the dogs of war, and roar aloud,  
' Havock, ye sons of earth, havock and blood !'  
Fools ! not to know that havock, echo-like, 250  
Returns upon its authors. There were kings,  
Distrusting those, who most deserved trust,  
Their genuine friends, their people's firmest hope,  
And placing all their confidence in men,  
Whom gaunt ambition, and the love of power,  
Have taught so to contemn the people's love, 256  
That surest prop of power, that they at last  
Unable to retrieve their countless faults,  
Or save their country from impending fate,  
Hail ruin as their good. And near to these 260  
Were racks, and wheels, and superstitious fires  
Of heathen-imitating monks, and priests,  
With human victims slain to human Gods.  
Next Satan's own fell deeds in happy Eden.  
Here lay the fiend close to the ear of Eve, 265  
Whispering soft disobedience to the will  
Of Adam, and her God ; she with bold hand  
Plucks the forbidden fruit, and eats thereof  
With wanton eagerness, then gives the man,  
Who thro' despair doth take ; what could he else ?  
For what is man unblest by female charm ? 271  
A solitary nothing. Now they joy

In luscious wantonness, and guilt, and sin,  
 While Satan laughs askance. So story says,  
 Sung by the immortal Milton, Britain's Eye. 275  
 And next to these appear'd a dreadful sight,  
 A city plunder'd by the barbarous foe.  
 Here were the awful temples of the Gods  
 One horrid blaze of light; the Gods themselves  
 Deserting their abode thro' guilt of man. 280  
 Here from the lofty roofs, and battlements,  
 Were frantick mothers with their infant hopes  
 Plunging to death, to escape from servitude,  
 And what is worse than death. Here aged sires  
 Whose hoary locks had mov'd the hearts of brutes,  
 E'en at the altar's vain security, 286  
 Transpierc'd by hostile steel; their headless trunks  
 Thrown on their bleeding sons; while their own dogs  
 Impious, were glotting in their master's blood. 282  
 Here prayers, and oaths, and dreadful clash of arms,  
 And hollow sound of hoofs, thick clogg'd with gore;  
 Here rape, and rapine, pillage, all combin'd  
 With horrid darkness, and the gleams of steel;  
 While lurid spectres glanc'd throughout the air,  
 And clamours, shrieks, and cries involv'd the whole.  
 And in the last compartment blaz'd afar 296  
 Nature's vast, awful, universal wreck.  
 Here all the fissured earth with dreadful crash  
 Disgorg'd from yawning craters sulphurous fire,  
 Here floating granites in the liquid mass 300  
 Roll'd horribly; there madden'd ocean heaves  
 His billowy vapours, and for mastery

Strives with his sister elemental fire,  
 Blotting the orb of day; while thro' the air  
 Heaven's wrathful trumpet up to judgment calls  
 The souls of men; here variegated Vice, 306  
 And Evil now confess'd their darkest deeds,  
 Quaking with horror; here pale Despotism  
 With all its cringing minions trembling stand  
 Waiting the awful sentence... 'Go, ye curs'd, 310  
 To everlasting fire;' that instant hell  
 Opes its wide jaws, and all the infernal host  
 Greet the throng'd advocates of crime, and sin.

Such was the Gorgon shield of Hell's Archfiend;  
 And round the outer orb, thick sulphurous flames  
 In curling billows roll'd, a sea of fire. 316

Seen within these terrors deep in gloom'd,  
 Sat like the shades of night, his awful head  
 Crown'd with the helm, and nodding plumes of  
 fate; 319

While borrow'd lightning play'd before his face,  
 And hell-wrought thunders rattled round his car.

The hero saw, and scarce at length restor'd  
 By his angelick guide to reason's light,  
 When grisly Terror in the ribs of Death,  
 With teeth of naked steel, on his pale horse 325  
 Sat grinning slaughter; in his train were seen  
 Vultures, and howling dogs, and ravenous wolves.

When thus the chieftain to his heavenly guide;  
 "Take me, O take me from this scene of woe!  
 Thou know'st how much my soul hath yearn'd for  
 peace,

How much it longs to snap the titled spear,      331  
 And give to suffering man the balm of rest."  
 "And man shall have that rest, (the seraph cried,)  
 But Fate ~~must be fulfill'd,~~ and virtuous men  
 Compell'd to do those things their soul abhors.      335  
 But haste, convene thy chiefs, for soon the foe  
 Prepares for battle; and once more reflect  
 That Freedom is thy friend, and while thy heart  
 With virtue dwells, will ne'er forsake thy cause.  
 And see, the sword of Michael waves aloft      340  
 In middle sky, while Victory, and Success,  
 With outspread pinions float above thy tents."  
 The seraph said, and join'd the heavenly choir;  
 Nor could Columbia's chieftain thus forbear;  
 "Hail! Heavenly Mission! Since 't is so decreed  
 For man to suffer, that his race may gain,      346  
 I make no longer pause, but haste to obey  
 The will of Fate, and crown the work divine."

335. *Compell'd to do &c.*—"Sir," said Washington one day to a foreign gentleman, "I observe you wish me to speak of the war. It is a conversation I always avoid. I rejoice in the establishment of the liberties of America; but the time of the struggle was a horrible period, in which the best men were compelled to do many things repugnant to their nature." *New Annual Reg.* 1800, p. 197.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.



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**WASHINGTON,**  
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**BOOK IX.**

**ARGUMENT OF THE NINTH BOOK.**

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Washington's address to his troops. Battle of York-town. Two British redoubts taken by assault. Colonel Hamilton. Lord Cornwallis's speech to Abercrombie,—with the reply. Abercrombie's successful sortie,—with his speeches to his troops. Bravery of the British.

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AND now the watchful Hours with silent hand  
Unbarr'd the gates of heaven, and led the Morn  
Forth from his eastern chamber, like a God,  
To bless with heavenly light the sons of men,  
When great Columbia's chief without delay 5  
Conven'd her chosen guardians, and allies.  
Here Laurens' noble ardour, valiant Knox,  
Brave Steuben, Butler, and Viominel,  
Nelson, and Weedon, Naoille, Hamilton,  
With those brave chiefs whom oft the Muse has  
nam'd, 10  
And Freedom will record; these now conven'd,  
Columbia's chief with speedy words address'd,  
While round the circle pour'd the thronging troops;  
"Warriours! Avengers of your country's wrongs;  
Heroes! whom Trenton hath immortaliz'd; 15  
Victors of Saratoga! whom nor want,  
Nor cold, nor famine, no! nor veteran foes  
With all their boasted discipline could turn  
From the great cause of justice, law, and right!

And ye, brave Frenchmen ! on whose laurell'd brows  
 Triumphant Victory joys to hold her seat ; 21  
 See the blest hour arriv'd, when all our woes  
 Must end their earthly course : ere yonder orb,  
 Whose roseate beams just tinge the eastern sky,  
 Shall be full risen, the sign of blood is rais'd. 25  
 Soldiers ! the spirits of your noble sires,  
 Who sought for freedom in a wilderness,  
 Now hover over you, their favour'd sons.  
 Revere their sterling worth ; revere your own ;  
 Act from your own exemplar, and take shame 30  
 Not only not to equal, but excel  
 That which yourselves have done. The hour is struck  
 Of vengeance to our foes ; the hour is struck  
 Of renovatèd liberty to man.  
 Soldiers ! on you depends your country's fate ; 35  
 Your rights, your laws, your freedom are at stake ;  
 Your wives, your children, parents all that men,  
 And free men hold most dear, depend on you.  
 This is no common conflict, and demands  
 No common efforts, but I speak to men 40  
 Whom conquest now awaits ; whom death itself,  
 Which oft'ner strikes the coward than the brave,  
 Meets them unarm'd with terrours, when it meets  
 Fighting for freedom in their country's cause :  
 Show now that country that your ancient fame 45  
 Shines undiminis'd, and when solid peace  
 Shall crown your glorious acts, and we obtain  
 Our rank amid the nations of the earth,  
 Then shall your grateful countrymen exclaim

With pointed finger, as they see you pass, 50  
 "Of freedom's first defenders that was one." "

Scarce had he paus'd, than as when boisterous winds  
 Impel the curling billows of the deep  
 Against proud Portland's long-extended bank,  
 The shore no sooner feels the surgy lash, 55  
 Than wide o'er ether spreads the echoing roar;  
 So now such loud, such long, incessant shouts  
 Burst from the enraptur'd host, that earth and sky  
 In one applauding tumult seem'd combin'd.  
 "Give the dread sign, great chieftain! Give the word;"  
 Was one united, one repeated shout. 61  
 The hero saw, nor longer had he check'd  
 His ardour-breathing troops, whose horrent ranks  
 Bristled like ocean to the western breeze,  
 But that the foe, whose British spirit disdain'd 65  
 To wait attack, had now commenc'd the war,

51. *Of freedom's first defenders &c.*—Bonaparte's energetic proclamation to his soldiers, issued at Milan, May 1796, concluded in these words; "You will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will say, showing you, This man was of the army of Italy." Compare also his spirited address to his soldiers after the victory of Castiglione.

"Happy, thrice happy," said Washington, "shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office, in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom." *Life of W.* iv. 668.

66. *had now commenc'd the war, &c.*—"On approaching the lines a sharp skirmish took place, which terminated unfavourably for the British; after which they remained under cover of their works, and the blockade sustained no further interruption." *Life of W.* iv. 539. Compare *Ramsey*, ii. 268-9.

And to his sorrowing eyes a crowd of friends,  
 Bearing their wounded comrades in their arms,  
 Pass'd with their groaning burthens, while the roar  
 Of distant cannon loud, and louder yet, 70  
 Increas'd upon his ears, and the thick smoke  
 Roll'd its sulphureous volumes to the skies,  
 So when Columbian Niagara, swola  
 By melted snows, and pouring rains, rolls down  
 Its rapid horrors o'er expanded rocks 75  
 Into the deep abyss, while all the air,  
 Charg'd with the surging vapours, dims the sun;  
 This when the wandering traveller hears from far  
 In the deep gloom of long-extended woods,  
 At first his ear perceives the hollow sound 80  
 With little observation, till again  
 The veering winds, aided by shorten'd space,  
 Bring it with increas'd fury, and at last  
 His eyes and ears, and feelings all confus'd  
 Blend in the common horrour; so the chief 15  
 Gaz'd on the rising storm, and scarce restrain'd  
 His troops' impetuous ardour, who inflam'd  
 With more than common wrath for slaughter'd friends,  
 With difficulty wait the sign of blood;  
 But this no sooner giv'n, they rush, they fly, 90  
 Mix in the carnage and colleague with death.  
 And now the dreaded parallels of war

92. *the dreaded parallels &c.*—“ On the 9th and 10th of October 1781, the French and Americans opened their bat-

Open'd their throated thunders, and the storm  
 Rag'd in full fury: as when threatening clouds  
 With heav'n's electrick fraught, and mutual ire, 95  
 Darken the Indian ocean, when the change  
 Of monsoon winds disturbs great nature's flow,  
 Urg'd by the eastern, or by western blasts  
 They join in horrid conflict, and the roar  
 Of pealing thunder, and the forked light 100  
 Madden the sea, and sky, and all is lost  
 In one confusion vast, fire, water, air;  
 Should some fate-freighted vessel, bound for Ind  
 With gold, the curse of intellect on board,  
 Reach then these terrours, neither pow'r, nor art,  
 Avails them aught, but straight the vivid fire 106  
 Rents the thin oak, and pours in watery death;  
 So rag'd the horrors of the field of blood.  
 Here nitred thunder roll'd along the plain,  
 And vibrated thro' heaven's ethereal vault, 110  
 While trembling Apalachians hurl'd the sound.  
 To frighten'd ocean, and old ocean's fears  
 Re-hurl'd to trembling Apalachians.  
 Here sulphurous lightning, and the gleam of steel  
 Glanc'd through the lurid smoke; and iron fate 115  
 Fell, like the snows of heav'n, till wearied Death  
 Gorg'd, tho' unsatisfied, sat down for rest.  
 And should perchance some momentary space

teries: they kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the Charon of 44 guns and a transport ship were burned." *Ramsay, ii. 289. Life of W. 540.*

T

Relax the throated engines' horrid roar,  
 There piercing cries, and groans of dying men, 120  
 There boasts of victors o'er their vanquish'd foes,  
 There neighing steeds wailing their loss of limbs,  
 Guiltless, yet suffering for the crimes of man ;  
 These all, where any interval prevails,  
 Transpice the murky air ; and mix'd with these 125  
 Are prayers, and tears, and vows, and useless oaths,  
 And then anon the clarion shrill is heard  
 With the loud trumpet, and the hollow drum ;  
 While York's plain flows in fratricidal blood :  
 Such and so great the terrours of the field. 130  
 Mean-time the chieftain, where the battle rag'd  
 In fellest fury, there his awful front  
 Blaz'd like a meteor, while the grace divine  
 Shone round his form majestick, and his arm  
 A treble blade seem'd wielding. But the Gauls, 135  
 Jealous to be outdone in freedom's cause,  
 Shot through the plain their lightning gleam of arms,  
 Greeting mid danger : and Columbia's son,  
 Who saw with joy this emulating spirit

139. *Who saw with joy &c.*—"Reciprocal esteem, and a spirit of emulation between the French and Americans, being cultivated with great care by the commander in chief, the siege was carried on with unexampled rapidity. On the night of the 11th the second parallel was opened, &c.—The three succeeding days were devoted to the completion of the second parallel, and of the batteries constructed in it; during which, the fires of the garrison, who, with indefatigable labour, had opened several new embrasures, became more destructive than at any previous time." *Life of W.* iv. 54h



'Twixt the two rival nations, now design'd 140  
 To give it fullest force. Far to the left  
 Two strong redoubts by British prowess form'd,  
 Flank'd and impeded his progressive toils ;  
 These to possess by storm at every risk  
 Was his fix'd purpose, and against the one 145

142. *Two strong redoubts &c.*—“The men in the trenches were particularly annoyed by two redoubts, advanced three hundred yards in front (on the left) of the British works, which flanked the second parallel of the besiegers. It was necessary to possess these redoubts; and on the 14th preparations were made to carry them both by storm. To avail himself of the spirit of emulation existing between the troops of the two nations, and to avoid furnishing matter to excite the jealousy of either, the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French.—The marquis de la Fayette commanded the American detachment, composed of the light infantry, which was intended to act against the redoubt on the left of the British works on the river bank; and the baron de Viominel led the grenadiers and chasseurs of his country against that which being further to the British right, approached rather nearer the French lines. Towards the close of the day, the two detachments marched with equal firmness to the assault.—Emulous for glory both for themselves, and their country, every exertion was made by each. Colonel Hamilton led the advanced corps of the Americans, consisting of his own and of colonel Gimat's battalions; and colonel Laurens, another aid of the commander in chief, turned the redoubt at the head of eighty men, in order to take the garrison in reverse, and intercept their retreat. The troops rushed on to the charge without firing a single piece; and so great was their ardour, that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abbattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assaulted the works with irresistible impetuosity on all sides at once, and entered them with such rapidity that their loss was inconsiderable. This redoubt was defended by major Campbell, with some inferiour officers, and forty-five privates.—The redoubt attacked by the French was defended by a greater number of men; and the resistance being greater, was not overcome so quickly, or with so little loss.” *Life of W.* iv. 541-2; *Ramsay*, ii. 269-270.

Some chosen Gauls by brave Viominel  
 Were straight conducted, while great Fayette led  
 Columbia's free-born ardours 'gainst the other.  
 Scarce was the onset giv'n, when abbatis,  
 And fraise, and palisades already pass'd 150  
 The dauntless Hamilton upon the works  
 Waves the proud flag of freedom; Laurens saw  
 The joyous emblem, and with rival speed  
 Hastes in reverse, and cuts off all retreat.  
 Then Campbell, British chieftain, knew too late 155  
 How vain the struggle 'gainst fair Freedom's sons.  
 'T was then, great Hamilton! thy inbred worth  
 Blaz'd forth in glory; like Columbia's chief,  
 Forgetting recent wrongs, incapable  
 Of imitating actions that disgrace 160  
 More generous brutes, in middle victory  
 Thou stay'dst the arm of slaughter; Mercy's self,  
 The Muse can witness, quitted her abode,  
 And with a wreath, pluck'd from the bowers of  
 heaven,  
 With hand seraphick crown'd thy virtuous brow.  
 Meanwhile the brave Viominel leads on 166  
 His emulous Gauls, and treads with equal steps  
 The path to victory, but his success

157. 'T was then, great Hamilton!—"The irritation produced by the recent carnage in fort Griswold had not so far subdued the humanity of the American character, as to induce retaliation. Not a man was killed, except in action. 'Incapable,' said colonel Hamilton in his report, 'of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, the soldiery spared every man that ceased to resist.'" *Life of W.* iv. 543, note. See *Ramsay*, ii. 270.

Was dearly bought ; for Britons, tho' compell'd  
 To yield the contest to superiour force, 170  
 'Sdeign'd to retire till that the number'd dead  
 Of their proud foes surpass'd their own four-fold.  
 Night now in sable clothing veil'd the sky,  
 When great Cornwallis, who throughout the day  
 Had prodigies perform'd of valour, turn'd 175  
 His eyes to heaven's vault, and thought he saw  
 The light'ned scale of justice rising slow  
 Charg'd with the fate of Britain ; back aghast  
 The hero shrank, and thus exclaim'd aloud ;  
 " Whence do these visionary forms arise 180  
 Disturbing reason's empire ? Is there not  
 Enough of misery in human life,  
 But must our fancy aggravate the ill ?  
 Hence, thou false vision of the troubled mind,  
 Cornwallis knows thee not." The hero spake : 185  
 Then call'd brave Abercrombie to his tent,  
 And thus his kindred nobleness address'd ;  
 " Warriour ! Too long our frustrate hopes are plac'd  
 On Clinton's promise ; a messenger  
 Is just arriv'd who brings intelligence 190  
 To damp our opening prospect : Hood and Graves

188. *our frustrate hopes &c.*—“ On the 10th of Oct. 1781, a messenger arrived with a dispatch from sir H. Clinton to lord Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York.” *Ramsay*, ii. 269.

191. *Hood and Graves*—For an account of the indecisive action between the English and French fleets, the former under the command of admirals Hood and Graves, and the

Who five successive suns have hover'd off  
 The bay of Chesapeak, encountering  
 Superiour force and numbers, by mischance  
 Have suffer'd Barras to escape their skill, 195  
 And join De Grasse, who now has fortified  
 The entrance of the bay, and there secure  
 Defies attack ; it is then on ourselves,  
 The warrior's best reliance, on ourselves,  
 That all our future hopes, and confidence 200  
 Must safely rest, and when the morrow's dawn  
 Shall streak the distant hills, do thou assail  
 With some selected bands those batteries  
 From whence our haughty foe threats to disgorge  
 A renovated tempest ; show that foe, 205  
 Vain of his late success, that Britons rise  
 Superiour from defeat." Thus spake the chief,  
 And Abercrombie thus in few replied ;  
 "General ! To execute thy wiser plans  
 Is Abercrombie's glory, and his pride, 210  
 And ere the morning ray shall strike the hills  
 Thy will shall be fulfill'd, and Britain's sons

latter under De Grasse, with their manœuvring for five days off the Chesapeak, and the consequent junction of De Grasse and the count de Barras, see *Life of W.* iv. 528-9. 537.

202. *do thou assail &c.*—"To suspend for a short time a catastrophe which appeared almost inevitable, lord Cornwallis resolved on attempting to retard the completion of the second parallel, by a vigorous sortie against two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest readiness, and which were guarded by French troops. The party making this sortie consisted of three hundred and fifty men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie." *Life of W.* iv. 515.

Pour their full vengeance on those rebel forts."  
 To whom Cornwallis; "Well I know thy worth,  
 And time shall come when on the name rever'd 215  
 Of Abercrombie Britain's hopes shall rest:  
 But now we part, I to repair our ills,  
 Thou to thy post, and soon we'll meet again."  
 He said, and both their several ways pursued,  
 Striving to ward by weak mortality 220  
 The blow of justice, and the arm of heaven.  
 But now the joyous harbinger of day  
 'Gan to dispel from off the tainted earth  
 Foul slavery's latest vapours, when uprose  
 The Scottish chief; around him throng'd his bands,  
 Selected bands, to whose vain prowess fate 226  
 Had giv'n the spark of slavery to relume  
 For some short moments, these encircled round  
 The warrior thus in ardent word address'd;  
 "Fellows in arms! to whom our chief assigns 230  
 The glorious post to check in mid career  
 Yon rebel host, and blast their full-grown pride,  
 Show now your worthiness; that eminence  
 On which we stand high chos'n above the rest  
 Must not be tarnish'd, but posterity 235  
 Joy to record your deeds. Mark then my words;  
 Soon as the signal's given, with eagle speed  
 Rush on the opposed batteries, and thence  
 Drive with the favour'd bayonet the foe  
 Who dares resist your progress; that perform'd 240  
 Spike up their belching engines, and destroy

Whate'er the time permit; but when their guards  
 Shall from the trenches with superiour force  
 Advance upon your flanks, resist ye not  
 But save your valued lives for future time 245  
 And opportunities more suitable."

The hero spake, and instant gave the word.  
 As when the rapid Exe, by melted snows  
 And northern torrents swoln, sweeps o'er the plains,  
 Nor herds; nor fields, nor hedge, nor bridge, nor  
 towna 250

Can stop its furious course, while Exon's walls,  
 And Cleve's green summits echo back the roar;  
 So rush'd the comrades of the intrepid chief  
 On the audacious foe, who tho' elate  
 By recent victory, and in numbers strong, 255  
 Could not withstand brave Abercrombie's arm,  
 But fled dismay'd; then did the British troops  
 Fulfil their chieftain's orders, and the wreck

252. *Cleve's green summits*—Cleve, which has long been a seat of the Northmores, is situated on a commanding eminence opposite to the ancient city of Exeter, the capital of the West of England; the river Exe, which is subject to periodical inundations, runs below the hill, and between it and the city.

257. *then did the British troops &c.*—"The party under colonel Abercrombie was formed into two detachments, which, about four in the morning, attacked the two batteries with great impetuosity, and carried both with inconsiderable loss; but the guards from the trenches immediately advancing on them, they retreated without being able to effect any thing important, and the few pieces which they had hastily spiked were soon rendered fit for service," *Life of W.* iv. 545; *Ramsay*, ii. 270.

Of the Columbian works had been complete,  
 Had not St. Simon's penetrating eye 260  
 Perceiv'd the direful evil, and aloud  
 Thus to his troops he cries; "For shame, ye Gauls!  
 Where do you speed your flight? No other hope,  
 No other bulwark now awaits your steps;  
 In your own arms your hopes of safety lie. 265  
 Are these your promises, your firm resolves,  
 To die, or conquer in Columbia's cause?  
 But tho' ye have forgot your duty, Gauls!  
 Your chieftain well knows his. My rule's to sleep  
 On the drench'd plain of battle." Scarce he spake, 270  
 And in mid horrors plung'd. 'T was then the Gauls  
 No sooner saw their chieftain's valued life  
 Endanger'd by their fault, than as the dust  
 Of nitred powder, when the awful reed  
 Is once applied, instant the whole explodes; 275  
 So they with one accord, by love, and shame,  
 And conscience urg'd, out of their trenches sprang  
 Shouting aloud; "Save, save, our general save;"  
 And furious rush'd amid the hostile ranks.  
 And now the horrid bayonet's dreaded point 280  
 Drank deep the blood of men with rage renew'd;  
 While Discord, never satiate, laughing stood,  
 Urging fell slaughter, and the groans of death.  
 Then had the struggle 'twixt the combatants  
 Been long and glorious, the Gauls to drive 285  
 The impetuous Britons from their haughty post,  
 And save their blasted laurels; Britain's sons  
 To check rebellion's progress, and destroy

The foe's encroaching works : both stood, both  
fought,

Both with one mind infuriate were impell'd 290

Resolv'd to die, or conquer on the spot,

So mighty Hector, so the Grecian chiefs

Strove for Patroclus' corpse, the one to save,

And back convey it to the Grecian ships,

The other to proud Troy to bear the prize ; 295

While all around the heaped bodies lay

Drenching the earth with Greek and Trojan blood.

Then had insatiate Death, with Terror join'd,

In the dark web of slaughter wrapt them both,

Had not great Abercrombie's piercing eye 300

Perceiv'd the pouring deluge, and aloud

Thus to his troops exclaims ; " Comrades in arms !

Have ye forgot your orders to retire

From the surrounding foe ? all contest now

Is vain and useless ; save your precious lives 305

While yet to save is easy ; haste, retreat,

Obeys your chieftain's voice, nor let that voice

Accuse of rashness what should be enroll'd

In deeds of highest valour." Thus he spake,

And they reluctant yield : flank'd by the foe, 310

Almost enclos'd, and from their countrymen

Cut off, unwilling still to quit their post,

They yet would fight, and fighting did retire.

So mighty Ajax by the Trojans press'd,

Yet fought, and turn'd, and turn'd, and fought  
again, 315



Much loath to quit the field, until at last,  
By Jove's supreme decree, his mighty limbs,  
Slow changing their short steps, retir'd compell'd.

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END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

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**BOOK X.**

**V**

## ARGUMENT OF THE TENTH BOOK.

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Battle of York-town continued. Speech of Satan to the infernal host. Fears of Washington. Dispersion of the infernals, with the exception of their chiefs. Advice of Beelzebub, of Moloch, and of Satan. Operations of Satan. Intrepidity of lord Cornwallis. Untimely fate of colonel Laurens. Fury of the American troops. Lord Cornwallis's attempt to escape frustrated. His soliloquy, and its consequence. Satan's grief, and soliloquy. The departure of the infernal chieftains, Mammon only excepted. The gates of hell sealed by the archangel Michael. Spontaneous prayer of the Americans at the sun's rising. Conclusion of the battle. Extraordinary courage of the Britons. Speech of lord Cornwallis to his chiefs. Surrender of York-town. Terroures of Death, and Sin. The Poet's address to Peace. Liberty's last counsel to Washington. Conclusion.

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**T**HE golden car, and panting steeds of Day  
Had now completed more than middle space  
Up heaven's concave steep; when hell's arch-fiend,  
Like some self-poised planet, high in air,  
Hung o'er his balanc'd myriads, and aloud 5  
Thus to fierce Moloch pour'd his ponderous voice;  
"Hell's second chief! Terreur of God and Man!  
Long have I seen thy soul panting revenge,  
Like some gall'd lion on his daring foe,  
Some old Typhæus on the thundering Jove; 10  
Nor have I seen thus long to sooth thy wrath,  
But add fresh fuel to thy risen flames.  
Chieftain! The hour is come, when all our fears,  
And woes must vanish into desert air,  
Or else be fix'd eternal; mortal power 15  
Can do no more, or Abercrombie's arm  
Had yet resisted. Be it then for us,  
For us to check the progress of the foe,  
And float the British lion o'er his tents.  
This day the knell of Freedom tolls aloud 20

To all the earth ; and Ignorance again,  
 With all her various evils, shall diffuse  
 Her re-establish'd lustre o'er mankind.  
 Haste then, brave chief! nor fear that puny seraph,  
 Who proudly bears her half-illumin'd shield 25  
 Near Michael's waving sword ; that sword be mine  
 To shiver on this orb ; but no delay,  
 Lead on the infernal phalanx ; let the roar  
 Of our dread engines fright the barren sky :  
 While the round earth shall to its centre shake 30  
 And fear for its cohesion." Thus he said,  
 And his fierce eye-balls flash'd the fires of hell ;  
 Nor Meloch deign'd reply, but instant gave  
 The horrid sign of blood ; at which the host  
 Upsent a shout that shook the globed earth 35  
 E'en to its centre ; rent the frighted sky,  
 And made the darkest depths of distant hell  
 Tremble throughout. And now the earth had gone  
 Against the will of Heaven to eternal wrack ;  
 Had not Columbia's chieftain seen the storm, 40  
 And thus to Freedom pour'd his pious prayer ;  
 Celestial Spirit ! If e'er thou took'st delight  
 To succour suffering man ; if e'er thou heard'st  
 Him whom thou call'st thy son ; now lend thine aid ;  
 For mortal strength no longer can avail 45  
 Without the help of Heaven ; preserve thy friends ;  
 Preserve the human race from these dire ills ;  
 And O ! may universal peace and love  
 Repay the horrors of this dreadful day !"  
 Scarce had he said when through the seas of air 50

The heavenly seraph skimm'd her lucid way,  
 Nor clos'd her oary pinions, till oppos'd  
 To all the hostile myriads pois'd she stood,  
 And thus indignant spake with voice divine;  
 "Infernal myriads! Know it is not given  
 Immortal weapons to be stain'd with blood  
 Of mortal man; hence then to whence ye came,  
 Your fittest place of residence; there wait  
 Your future doom: too long has patient Heaven  
 Endur'd your countless wrongs; too long hath man  
 Been made your sport and prey. Hence then be  
 gone." 61

She spake, nor waited Moloch's bursting rage,  
 But straight from off her blazing shield remov'd  
 That mist of clouds which all its glory veil'd:  
 Instant fell horror seiz'd their sinful ranks, 65  
 And from their nerveless hands the couched spear  
 Dropp'd, nor their eyes could wait the fiery edge  
 Of that resplendent orb, which like the sun,  
 Shot thro' the barren space 'twixt earth and sky,  
 And fill'd all ether with ambrosial blaze. 70  
 Now angel with arch angel turn'd to flight  
 With terrible dismay, and odious rout;  
 As erst in heaven when Michael's girding sword  
 Had quell'd their mightiest; so much had sin  
 Weaken'd their heavenly powers; nor staid their  
 course 75

Till thro' the gates of hell they wing'd their way.  
 As when proud Snowdon's awful summit wrapt  
 In sinking darkness, fills with awe the minds

Of Cambrian shepherds, who then house their flocks  
 Fearing the coming storm; but when the sun 80  
 Rising in awful majesty dispels  
 The incumbent gloom, then all the vallies laugh  
 With joy responsive to the shepherd's breast :  
 So now the orb of liberty dispell'd  
 The infernal host throughout the liquid air; 85  
 Save where their mightiest few withstood, tho' scarce  
 Withstood the fiery orb, not less by sin  
 Pollute, but once advanc'd in higher sphere  
 Were more enabled to endure the blaze.  
 These now, their heads in clouds of treble dark 90  
 Closely enwrap, together join'd to plot  
 New schemes of evil 'gainst the sons of men.  
 To them Beelzebub, inajestick king,  
 With crest unfallen thus the silence brake ;  
 " Imperial powers ! For by what other name 95  
 Can you be yet address'd, who even now,  
 Though all our forces fled, and our own strength  
 More than half lost by long sojourn in hell,  
 Yet even now with undiminish'd spirit  
 Withstand the force of Michael newly come 100  
 From highest heav'n's invigorating light ?  
 Unconquer'd Virtues ! Since our mighty plan,  
 So well devised with seeming excellence,  
 Hath fail'd success, and by experience taught  
 We dearly learn how futile all attempts 105  
 To wield immortal arms 'gainst mortal man ;  
 Hear now what I advise ; full well ye know  
 How much by fraud, and subtlety is gain'd



O'er the weak minds of men ; by this alone  
 Our mighty chief tempted the first of men 110  
 To his destruction, and by this alone  
 Do wicked kings and ministers on earth  
 Obtain unlawful sway, which when obtain'd  
 They use with barefac'd tyranny ; so we  
 May mix unseen among the British host, 115  
 And whisper in their breasts the surest means  
 To ensure success against our dauntless foe.  
 This done ; when victory shall crown their deeds,  
 Then may we take revenge for all the shame  
 Our flying myriads suffer." Thus he spake ; 120  
 And thus to him fierce Moloch gave reply ;  
 " Long have I, mighty Beelzebub ! admir'd  
 Thy sovereign wisdom ; for amongst our chiefs  
 Who wiser is than thou, our prince except ?  
 But much I fear, while Michael's potent sword 125  
 Waves thus aloft, and Liberty's dread shield  
 Flaming its fiery horrors, guards the foe,  
 Nor wiles nor subtlety will aught avail.  
 My voice then is with unextinguish'd rage,  
 And instant onset, in close phalanx join'd, 130  
 To attack those heavenly guards, and from despair  
 To seek our hope of safety." Thus he said,  
 And as some wounded lion rolls around  
 His flashing eye-balls, raging to devour  
 His daring enemy, and with his tail 135  
 Lashes his tawny sides, until at last  
 With foaming jaws he springs upon the foe :  
 So now had Moloch's fierce intrepid soul

Not waited for his peers, but instant rush'd  
 Upon the sword of Michael, when his prince 140  
 Thus with persuasive accents check'd his rage ;  
 "Moloch ! Full well do all thy brave compeers  
 Know thy intrepid worth, where danger is  
 There Moloch's dauntless form is surely found ;  
 But 't is not bravery alone our cause 145  
 Stands now in need of, 't is collected thought,  
 And cool deliberation to supplant  
 Our heavenly opponents, and since they  
 Have not recourse to arms, so will not we :  
 Here we are equal ; then will be the time 150  
 To appeal to force, when Michael's dreaded sword  
 Which now so vainly cleaves the yielding air  
 Shall dare to interrupt our well-laid plans.  
 What if hard fate forbid our potent host  
 Their promis'd victory o'er mortal man ! 155  
 Virtue herself's full oft the slave of force,  
 Nor e'en our foe with all her vaunted might  
 Shall dare to trespass 'gainst the high command :  
 Here then we are but equal ; but tho' fate  
 Forbid immortal weapons to be us'd 160  
 'Gainst frail mortality ; yet is not Death,  
 That grisly king of terrors, iron-tooth'd,  
 Whom I in secret dalliance erst in heaven  
 Begot on Sin, my son, my only son,  
 Is he not still impower'd to glut his maw 165  
 With blood of fallen Adam's progeny ?  
 But Death is heedless, cares for friend nor foe,  
 And sweeps with undistinguish'd greediness

Within his brazen net, both good, and bad ;  
 High, low, rich, poor are all as one to him ;      170  
 Let us then guide his hand, he'll not refuse  
 To obey our counsel, nor to aid our cause,  
 The cause of him and us ; and if, perchance,  
 He strike Columbia's hero, then will peace,  
 And faith, and freedom bid farewell to earth :      175  
 Here then we more than equal our proud foe :  
 Hence then despair, we have the joyful hope  
 Of speedy vengeance. Nor is this, though great,  
 Our sole reliance ; can we but delay  
 For six short days the foe's progressive works,      180  
 And victory eternal shall be ours ;  
 For even now while floating high in air  
 'Boys Apalachian snows, my joyful eyes  
 Discern'd Britannia's pendant streaming high  
 Before the favouring gale ; she pilots men,      185  
 And, but her ponderous freight hath much delay'd

180. *For six short days &c.*—"Sir Henry Clinton was well informed of the danger which threatened the army in Virginia, and could not be insensible to the influence which its fate would have on the war. He determined therefore to hazard every thing for its preservation ; and having embarked about 7000 of his best troops, sailed for the Chesapeake, under convoy of a fleet augmented to twenty-five sail of the line. The armament, which did not leave the Hook till the day on which the capitulation was signed at York-town, (19th of October,) appeared off the cape of Virginia on the 24th of October. Unquestionable intelligence being received there that lord Cornwallis had surrendered, no sufficient motive remained for attacking an enemy so superiour in point of force as was the count de Grasse, and the British general returned to New-York." *Life of W.* iv. 555-6 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 272.

Her eager speed, had long ere this been here,  
 Haste then, brave chiefs! Put off your heavenly form,  
 And in man's form mix with your fellow men;  
 There give the counsel of superiour minds, 190  
 And may success and better fates prevail!"  
 Thus spake the fiend, and loud applause ensu'd  
 Save where stern Moloch's half unsoothed soul  
 Scarce frown'd assent grimly. But now the chiefs  
 Obedient to the counsel of their prince, 195  
 Put on the human shape of various mien  
 As suited best their tempers and their hopes  
 To hold dominion o'er the sons of men.  
 Far on the drenched plain a warrior lay,  
 With wounds and glory crown'd, and circling foes, 200  
 Whom not e'en age, that chills the blood of men,  
 Could keep from honour in his country's cause:  
 Much did Cornwallis love him, but his fate  
 Had not yet reach'd the mighty general's ear.  
 Him Satan saw, and straight assum'd his form 205  
 Exact in limb and feature, and with speed  
 Thus to the British chieftain pour'd his words;  
 "Beloved general! Britain's firmest hope!  
 Lo! where victorious Abercrombie's arm,  
 With scarce a handful of our veteran bands, 210  
 Hath check'd the aspiring progress of the foe.  
 By this day's valourous deed Britannia gains  
 A never-fading crown: we greet thee, chief!  
 And hail the auspicious omen; hence let fear  
 Be banish'd far, for if we can attack, 215  
 And that successful, sure, we can defend;

Nor need we long defence, for even now  
 Intelligence on which I can depend,  
 Hath reach'd my joyous ears, that Clinton sends  
 A timely succour to his friends in need, 220  
 Ere six short suns have roll'd their daily course,  
 Britannia's flag shall float off yonder Cape  
 And all our woes be ended." Thus he said,  
 And thus to him Cornwallis answer'd brief;  
 "Experienc'd Veteran! Well thou would'st ad-  
 vise, 225

But much I fear, that ere two suns have roll'd  
 Their perfect course, nor gun, nor battery,  
 Nor ammunition will remain; our works  
 In every quarter sink beneath the fire  
 Of our besiegers, and those parallels, 230  
 Which threat their opening horrors, will complete  
 Our ruin; neither town, nor works, nor ships,  
 Afford us farther shelter from our foes.

229. *sink beneath the fire &c.*—"About four in the afternoon, the besiegers opened several batteries in their second parallel; and it was apparent that, in the course of the ensuing day, the whole line of batteries in that parallel, in which was mounting an immense quantity of artillery, would be ready to play on the town. The works of the besieged were in no condition to sustain so tremendous a fire. They were every where in ruins. Their batteries were so overpowered, that in the whole front that was attacked they could not show a single gun; and their shells were nearly expended. In this extremity, lord Cornwallis formed the bold design of endeavouring to escape by land with the greater part of his army." *Life of Washington*, iv. 545-6. See above, note book ix. ver. 92.

Longer resistance then is waste of life  
 To arm'd and unarm'd, and humanity 235  
 Must teach us to be merciful and just."  
 Thus spake the chief, and thus again the fiend ;  
 " If then resistance is no longer safe,  
 What if we trust to flight? Our valourous troops,  
 Join'd on the Gloster shore with Tarleton's force,  
 May thro' the oppos'd de Choisy's feeble hands 241  
 Cut their resistless way ; when may we gain  
 By rapid march the Rappahannock ford,  
 Pass the Potomack, with its sister flood,  
 And thus thro' Pennsylvania force our way 445  
 Till we reach Jersey, where we meet again  
 Our British brethren." " Well thou hast advis'd,"  
 Reply'd Cornwallis, " for though desperate,  
 Seems the attempt, yet desperate is our state,

239. *What if we trust to flight? &c.*—Lord Cornwallis  
 " determined to leave his sick and baggage behind, and  
 crossing over in the night with the effectives to Gloster  
 shore, to attack de Choise. After cutting to pieces, or  
 dispersing the troops under that officer, he intended to  
 mount his infantry on the horses belonging to that detach-  
 ment, and on others to be seized on the road, and by a rap-  
 id march to gain the fords of the great rivers ; and by  
 forcing his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jer-  
 sey, to form a junction with the army in New-York.—  
 Scarcely a possibility existed that this desperate attempt  
 could be crowned with success ; but the actual situation of  
 the British general had become so absolutely hopeless, that  
 it could scarcely be changed for the worse. Boats prepar-  
 ed under other pretexts, were held in readiness to receive  
 the troops at ten at night, in order to convey them over  
 the river." *Life of W.* iv. 546-7.

244. *its sister flood,*—The Susquehannah.

Despair then be our safeguard, a/  
 Shall spread her sable curtain, I  
 Under pretences various be safe  
 Close to the town." Thus ended

23A  
 And  
 T 310

And now the fiend rejoicing in  
 Bow'd and withdrew, and in the ...  
 Saw where his lengthen'd strides he proudly strode,  
 Nor check'd his gait, but smil'd within his breast  
 To see how wicked beings defeat the end  
 Of their own wickedness. Scarce had the steeds,

And fervent wheels of Day descended down 260  
 The middle steep of heaven's vast concave,  
 When now the second parallel complete,

The storm of battle 'gan to rage afresh  
 In treble fury, that one unengag'd 265  
 Had said the Tempest was but just commenc'd.

Now all the plains, and hills, and distant sea  
 Laugh with the sulphurous light, and gleam of arms,  
 While the dread enginry pours all around  
 Its iron showers. Meantime the British chief, 270

Firm and unmov'd amid surrounding wrecks,  
 Crested in valour stood, nor knew to yield.  
 So some spent boar circled by dogs and men  
 Bristles in vain the horrors of his back,

And whets his angry tusks, but to enhance 275  
 The value of the capture to the foe.

Then did Cornwallis' great and mighty soul  
 Shine forth pre-eminent; his god-like mind  
 Then mark'd him fit for rule; while all around  
 Evil on evil rose incalculat,

Evil on evil rose incalculat, 280

W

Lo death itself in every hideous shape  
 That scares the soul of man appear'd in view ;  
 How cool his orders ! How compos'd his brow !  
 Dreadless of danger e'en when whizzing fate  
 Drove up the stony earth beneath his feet. 285

While half his brave companions at his side  
 Grasp'd in the agonies of death the stained dust ;  
 While the throng'd streets of York-town flow'd in  
 blood

Bridg'd with the dead and dying, and the crash  
 Of falling houses in untimely fate, 290

And hideous ruin crush'd those maimed men,  
 Who seeking shelter crawl'd beneath their roofs ;  
 When e'en his guards forgetting their own ills  
 Thought of their chief, and wish'd him to retire ;  
 How like a God he stood ! The breath of life 295

How willing to compact for honour's meed !  
 But vain his efforts ; for in the open sky  
 Heaven's awful trumpet spake the wrath divine.

Far to the right mid thickening clouds of war,  
 Near to Columbia's guardian, Laurens stood 300  
 Cloth'd with impetuous valour, on his brow  
 Sat purple youth circled with wisdom's crown ;  
 Dear to Columbia's bulwark was the chief,  
 Dear to his country ; to his valourous arm,  
 And to his virtues much that country ow'd. 305

Ah ! Youth ! too brave ! the Muse herself must drop  
 The sorrowing tear o'er thy approaching fate.  
 Alas ! Too soon the enemy of man  
 Hath envied thee thy worth, and nipt thy bud



Ere it arrive to fruit ; with other hopes 310  
 Thy country nurtur'd thee ; but tho' thou fall,  
 Thou fall'st in glory shrouded, and thy sons  
 Shall smile in freedom, when they weep for thee.  
 Thee now the arch-fiend, where from afar he viewed  
 The fratricidal horrors of the field, 315  
 Too soon perceiv'd, and with deep malice fraught  
 Thus to the king of Terrours pour'd his ire ;  
 " Beloved Son ! In whom my only hopes  
 Now rest ; full well thou know'st how much my cause,  
 And thine in this day's contest are involv'd ; 320  
 Well too thou know'st how Fate forbids to use  
 Immortal arms ; to thee alone is given  
 The power to hurt mankind ; to thee alone  
 I now address myself ; see where our foes,  
 Just on the verge of capture, closer draw 325  
 The yawning net of war ; see where the prey  
 By their own useless numbers circumscrib'd  
 Lose half their vigour, 't is to thee, my son !  
 I look for succour, hear then my request."  
 Him interrupting brief the king replied ; 330  
 " Speak that request, and deem thy will obey'd ;  
 My cause and thine are one, but much I fear  
 This day is evil." Thus the Terrour said,  
 And thus the hell-sprung Malice gave reply ;  
 " Thou seest far off where youthful Laurens stands,  
 Shrouded in valour and his noble deeds, 336  
 Much to his foresight does Columbia owe,  
 And on his ardent patriotick zeal

His chieftain rests his hopes; but bravery  
 Is his least virtue, and the excess of it 340  
 His greatest foible. Vengeance then be ours;  
 His fate will kindle in his general's breast  
 Regret past utterance. 'Take thou this ball,  
 Dip it in fate, and speed it to his heart."  
 The grisly Terror took, and grinn'd a smile, 345  
 His last fell smile, then lodg'd the fated lead  
 Deep in the chieftain's breast; now sleep's dark cloud  
 The hero's eyelids clos'd, but not before  
 Thus with faint accent spake his parting soul;  
 "Go tell the general, 't is not death I moan, 350  
 As that I die, and have not done enough  
 'To eternize my fame." Thus greatly fell

339. *but bravery is his least virtue, &c.*—Lieut. Col. John Laurens, whose fate is here described, and whose character is so exquisitely drawn by Dr. Ramsay, did not lose his life at the siege of York-town, but in an unimportant skirmish at the conclusion of the war in the subsequent year; but the poet could not forbear trespassing upon chronology in order to crown the deeds of a patriot, "who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature."—"Where-ever the war raged most, there was he to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his virtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible." *Ramsay*, ii. 291; *Life of W.* iv. 636. Upon hearing of his fate general Washington said; "The death of colonel Laurens I consider as a very heavy misfortune, not only to the publick at large, but particularly to his family, and to all his private friends and connections, to whom his amiable and useful character had rendered him peculiarly dear." *Life of W.* iv. 637.

350. "Go tell the general, &c.—Compare the dying speech of general Desaix at the battle of Marengo, whence this is borrowed.

The youthful Laurens, and like Thebes' brave chief  
 Died but to live forever. Spotless shade !  
 Reproachless Warriour ! Bravery and worth 355  
 Have lost in thee their model, but thy fame  
 Shall shine to future men the polar star  
 To guide their wanderings thro' the seas of life.  
 Nor did not Freedom see thy coming fate ;  
 She saw and griev'd, and from seraphick eyes 360  
 Shed tears of angels' pity, but the will  
 Of Heaven must be obey'd ; the Fates forbid  
 Two stars to rule Columbia's hemisphere.  
 But what or tongue, or pencil can portray  
 Thy mighty general's grief ? Him utterance 365  
 Long time forsook, and Fate denied the tear  
 To ease his swollen heart. But nor the fiend  
 Rejoiced in his joy, such fury seiz'd  
 The madden'd troops, that like the forked fire  
 Hurl'd by Heaven's hand upon the sins of men, 370  
 So rush'd their gleamy bayonets on the foe ;  
 While black Revenge before their bristling ranks  
 Made smooth the road to certain victory.  
 Now rose the star of evening, beauteous light,  
 Night's silent messenger, and in her hand 375  
 Led grateful Twilight ; now had horrid War  
 Relax'd his rancour, when the British chief  
 Prepar'd to execute his latest plan,  
 And last resource so seemingly devis'd ;

Now were the boats unmoor'd, and with first freight  
Reach'd in security the opposed shore, 381

When Freedom saw, and with her breath divine  
Breath'd on the indignant waters, which uprose  
In curling billows, while the elements

Pour'd forth their winds and rain. Cornwallis saw,  
And reft of hope thus to his poignant soul 386

The hero spake ; " Some God, some God it is  
That thus with wrath celestial thwarts my hopes ;  
All contest now is vain, the will of Heaven

With humble resignation I obey." 390

Scarce had the hero said, when round his tent  
Empyrean glory blaz'd, and words divine

Thus pour'd the balm of comfort in his breast ;  
" Tho' long Heaven's patience hath endur'd the sins  
Of rash and feeble men ; yet mercy shines 395

In the celestial breast pre-eminent,  
And spares the rod of vengeance ; taught thyself  
The awful lesson of experience,

Teach thou to others, that the heavenly will  
Created mankind free, and did intend 400

380. *and with first freight &c.*—The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy ; and the first embarkation had arrived at the point unperceived, and part of the troops were landed, when a sudden and violent storm of wind and rain interrupted the further execution of this hazardous plan, and drove the boats down the river. It was not till the appearance of day-light that the storm ceased, so that the boats could return. They were sent to bring back the soldiers ; who, without much loss, were relanded on the southern shore in the course of the forenoon." *Life of W.* iv. 547 ; *Ramsay*, ii. 270-1.

That free they should remain, themselves alone,  
 And their own cowardice have forg'd their chains;  
 Teach thou this lesson, when the time arrive  
 That Indian darkness shall invite thy sway:  
 Now when the blessed sun shall gild the earth, 405  
 Humble thyself before the mighty foe,  
 And learn thy mercy, which the heavenly mind  
 Instils into his heart." The glory ceas'd,  
 And left him prostrate, while his swollen eyes  
 Pour'd the big tears of penitential grief. 410  
 'T was the archfiend, who from afar had seen  
 The failure of his plans, and Freedom's arm  
 Triumphant in the cause of just, and right,  
 Look'd up to heaven, and in the hand of God  
 Saw the dread scales of justice, and his fate, 415  
 His unreprieved fate, in lightest scale  
 Mounted aloft, and thus to his own soul  
 Pensive he spake; "Alas! My hour is come,  
 My final hour, when I must leave mankind  
 To their own innate virtues, unpollute 420  
 By its external; such indeed they came  
 From their great Maker's hand, and such again  
 They will in time become, for virtue is  
 Innate and natural, and vice alone 324  
 Is taught, acquir'd. Farewell then, happy race!  
 Farewell thou earth, and seas, ye glittering stars  
 A long farewell; and thou bright orb of night  
 That with reflected glory givest back  
 Those golden beams, that once call'd forth my hate,  
 And still my envy, take my last farewell. 430

It is not Michael's arm that now uplift  
 Threats its red vengeance, 't is not this I fear ;  
 No ! By the empyreal heaven I swear, that erst  
 Bore witness to my powers, and shook throughout  
 E'en to its utmost verge beneath my arm ; 437  
 No ! 't is not this, nor yet the enfeebled state,  
 Which absence long from heav'n's ambrosial light  
 Hath deep and irrecoverably impress'd :  
 No ! 't is the internal feeling ; 't is those scales  
 Which call me to my doom, and shew how vain 440  
 To oppose by arms the fix'd decrees of Fate."  
 Thus spake the fiend his last, and sped his flight  
 With murky pinions thro' the seas of air,  
 Like some dun cloud upthrown from Ætna's fires.  
 Him follow'd Beelzebub, and all the crew 445  
 Of hell's curst chieftains, for e'en Moloch's soul  
 Was humbled, seeing the fated scales aloft ;  
 Nor stopp'd their course till down the steeps of hell  
 He and his rout accus'd plung'd their last stoop.  
 All now had fled, save one, and one alone 450  
 The monster Mammon ; him the heavenly Power  
 Ordain'd for wisest purpose to remain  
 Some longer time on earth ; but there's a point  
 A sacred point, beyond which Mammon's course  
 Not reaches, then shall Freedom blazé abroad 455  
 In highest glory o'er the fertile globe ;  
 Then Peace, and Virtue, uncorrupted Faith,  
 And naked Truth, and truth's all-potent child,  
 Eternal Wisdom, shall eternal reign.  
 Scarce had the infernals left the abode of men 460

When Michael, now his mission done on earth  
 Of guardian care to weak mortality,  
 Spread forth his heavenly pinions, that around  
 Scatter'd ambrosial fragrance, and uplift,  
 With glory shining like the rising sun, 465  
 High thro' the void of ether skimm'd his way;  
 Nor stopp'd till at the adamantine gates of hell,  
 Which the infernal chiefs had just regain'd,  
 He thus his mission crown'd in fewest words;  
 "Hell! Seal thy gates; and thou oblivious Pool 470  
 Whelm the infernal hosts; 't is given no more  
 To injure man, but peace and love shall reign  
 Henceforth triumphant o'er the sacred earth;  
 Such is the will of Heaven, Heaven's will be done."  
 Thus spake the archangel, and the infernal gates 475  
 Clos'd their harsh thunders, that the lowest depths  
 Of long-extended hell trembled throughout;  
 Night's silent reign astounded echoed back  
 The grating horror; and affrighted Chaos  
 Leapt from his throne, never to mount again. 480  
 His mission thus complete, the mighty saint  
 Wing'd his celestial flight through liquid space  
 To heaven's golden portals, where the Hours  
 Keep watch alternate, these spontaneous roll'd

474. *Such is the will of Heaven*,—"And I saw an angel  
 come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless  
 pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the  
 dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan,  
 and bound him a thousand years; And cast him into the  
 bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him,  
 that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand  
 years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a  
 little season." *Revelations*, chap. xx, ver. 1, 2, 3.

Their fragrant clouds, self-opening to his speed. 485

Now through the eastern gate the gorgeous sun

Slowly, majestick rose, and scarce uplift

In fullest orb above the smiling earth

Than fix'd it stood in glory, beaming forth

The light of love, and liberty to man. 490

This when Columbia's heroes, and allies

First saw, with outstretch'd hands, and grateful hearts

They pour'd their adorations to that God

Who made both sun and them, and led them forth

From slavery, as the Israelites of old 495

From bondage and from Pharaoh; "Gracious Being!

Accept our grateful homage which we pay

Pure, and unfeigned at thy mercy-seat;

Under thy heavenly aid not all our foes,

Tho' tenfold multiplied, shall turn our hearts 500

From the great cause of Justice, Truth, and Thee."

Such was their song spontaneous, for they saw

The hand of heaven uplifted in their cause.

'T was then their chief, whose penetrating mind

Had seen the late attempt to escape by flight, 505

And fear'd for the result, should Britain's sons

Longer resist; 't was then his mighty soul

Shot like the winged lightning thro' their ranks

Breathing celestial ardour, in his train

Courage and Terror follow'd, shouting loud, 510

While Victory and Success in middle air

Blaz'd visibly. "Now, now," the hero cries,

"The day is ours; let the assault be given."

From rank to rank the electric furor ran,



And shouts of victory rang the vaulted sky. 515  
 As when Columbian rivers pour their floods  
 Down from the western mountains to the sea,  
 And burst the riven rock, while the loud roar  
 Frights the black horror of their mighty woods,  
 And all is deluge : or as when some fire, 520  
 Hurl'd by Heaven's hand on Africk's parched trees,  
 Flames far and wide, and e'en the beasts of speed  
 Cannot escape its fury : so the troops  
 Thro' fire and smoke, and terrour cleave their way,  
 And leave the flying plain behind their steps 525  
 Hillock'd with dead. See e'en the foaming steeds  
 With glistening ears await the trumpet's sound,  
 Paw the drench'd plain, and snort the risen war.  
 Here mighty Fayette, like the warrior God,  
 Foams to the right; there his great rival's soul,  
 The brave Rochambeau fears to be outdone, 531  
 And bears down all before him; while Gouvain  
 With Lincoln, Steuben, Nelson, Portail, Knox,  
 And dauntless Hamilton's impetuous fires  
 Complete the scene of slaughter, and dismay. 535  
 Then did the British troops perceive too late  
 How vain resistance 'gainst fair Freedom's sons;  
 Still did their spirit, worthy a better cause,  
 Disdain, but by command to yield the day,  
 And stood unmov'd, save but to close their files 540  
 O'er fallen dead. But now as when some flood

538. *Still did their spirit, &c.*—“ To the valour of his enemy Washington gave that praise which is merited; ‘ they really fought,’ he said, ‘ with courage worthy a better cause.’ ” *Life of W.* iv. 610.

Stopt by a trifling mound, swells up its stream  
 To pour a double horror o'er the plains ;  
 So now Columbia's warriors, and allies,  
 Freedom and Fury urging on their ranks, 545  
 Scarce check'd re-pour their deluge on the foe.  
 This brave Cornwallis saw, and seeing knew  
 The die of Fate was cast, and thus the chief  
 With sorrowing words address'd his sorrowing troops ;  
 " My brave companions ! Ye whose well-tried worth  
 Merits a better fate...but 't is not man 551  
 With whom we have to combat, 't is a power  
 Superiour far to man, a power which tames  
 The fiercest beast, and lulls the wisest mind.  
 'T was this which cast that mist before my eyes 555  
 When led by false delusive hope I ween'd  
 A speedy succour from our valourous chief,  
 And thus prevented by a prompt attack  
 The junction of our foes ; 't was this which coop'd  
 My force in York-town, while the power remain'd  
 To reach our distant brethren in the south ; 561

558. *And thus prevented &c.*—" La Fayette, after his junction with St. Simon, had taken post at Williamsburg ; lord Cornwallis, in the month of August, had intended an attack upon this force, but was prevented by the expectation of succours from sir H. Clinton." *Ramsay*, ii. 260.

560. *while the power remain'd &c.*—" On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of publick affairs, would have justified him in abandoning York-town, in order to return to South Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan ; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risk every thing on the issue of a siege, &c." *Ramsay*, ii. 261.

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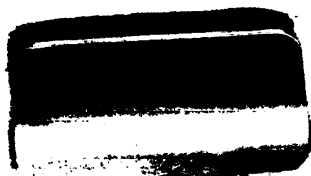
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