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ORATIONS (ABRIDGED)

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With Antroductory and Explanatory Notes, and Maps.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

EDWARD EVERETT was born in Dorchester, Mass., in 1794. He entered Harvard College when he was about thirteen years old, and four years later was graduated with the highest honors of his class. At twenty he was attracting attention as one of the first preachers in Boston. In 1814 he resigned his charge to accept the professorship of Greek in Harvard College, and spent nearly five years in Europe in preparation for the duties of this position. Soon after his return to this country he began a series of lectures on the antiquities of Greece, which attracted enthusiastic audiences both in Cambridge and in Boston.

Mr. Everett had a rare power in throwing a charm about subjects which are not supposed to possess much interest for the uneducated, and he is believed to have laid the foundation for that wide-spread interest in popular lectures which has formed so marked a feature of our modern educational life. The political career of Mr. Everett began in 1824, and continued through ten years of efficient service as a member of Congress. He also served for four years as Governor of his native State.

In 1841, while residing in Florence, he was appointed United States Minister to England, and during a critical period in the foreign relations of this country he discharged his delicate duties with marked ability and success. He became President of Harvard College in 1846, but was obliged to resign after three years' administration owing to the failure of his health.

It was his privilege to spend the last ten years of his life in a service congenial to himself and valuable to his country. With the hope of allaying the bitter feeling existing between the North and the South, he prepared an Oration on Washington, which he delivered on more than one hundred and twenty occasions in all parts of the country. The proceeds of these addresses, amounting to more than one hundred thousand dollars, were handed over to the Ladies' Mount Vernon Fund Association for the purchase and maintenance of the home of Washington.

His last public appearance was at a meeting held in Boston in 1865, to raise funds for the poor in Savannah, then just taken by Gen. Sherman. At that meeting he caught a cold which resulted in his death January 15, 1865. His orations and addresses have been published in four volumes.

Mr. Everett united in a rare manner the refined tastes of the scholar with a generous sympathy for popular institutions and government. Several of his addresses were delivered for the benefit of Lyceums whose members were chiefly made up of artisans and mechanics, and it has been said that the most eager wish of his life had been for the higher education of his countrymen. His orations are pervaded by a sentiment of exalted patriotism expressed with all the fervor of a real enthusiast.

Prof. Felton in the North American Review, January, 1837, very happily sets forth the chief merit of Mr. Everett's style :

"The great charm of Mr. Everett's orations consist . . . in that symmetry and finish which on every page give token of the richly endowed and thorough scholar. The natural movements of his mind are full of grace, and the most indifferent sentence which falls from his pen has that simple elegance which it is as difficult to define as it is easy to perceive."

## Editor's Note.

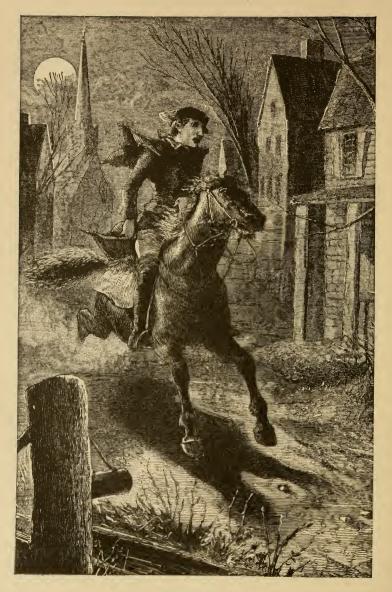
*Note.*—Several passages in the oration, chiefly of a personal or local character, have been omitted in order to better adapt this selection for use in the class-room.

The "Eve of the Revolution" is selected from the historical sketch of Robert Mackenzie, entitled "America." The author is a Scotchman who has won some literary distinction, especially by his "History of the Nineteenth Century."

The work from which this selection is made aims to present a brief and rapid outline of the most important events in the history of this country and of Canada. The growth of the spirit of independence in the colonies, the struggle between slavery and freedom in the United States and the growth of liberal ideas in Canada are made especially prominent.

This sketch has a particular interest from the fact that it presents in clear and bold outline the causes that led up to the war of the Revolution—the narrow minded and stubborn policy of the king, and the unstatesmanlike conduct of most of the prime ministers and leaders of Parliament. The style of the author is terse and pointed. His descriptions of the most important events of the period are graphic and presented with a picturesque distinctness that makes them admirable studies for the student of history.

*Note.*—The object of the notes is not simply to furnish a certain amount of information biographical and statistical, but to indicate a method of historical study. They are intended to emphasize the distinction between the *reading* and *study* of history.



PAUL REVERE'S RIDE.

#### ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION.

#### BY ROBERT MACKENZIE.

A CENTURY and a half had passed ' since the first colony had been planted on American soil. The colonists were fast ripening into fitness for independence. They had increased with marvelous rapidity. Europe never ceased to send forth her superfluous and needy thousands. America opened wide her hospitable arms and gave assurance of liberty and comfort to all who came. The thirteen colonies now contained a population of about three million.

They were eminently a trading people, and their foreign commerce was already large and lucrative. New England built ships with the timber of her boundless forests, and sold them to foreign countries. She caught fish and sent them to the West Indies. She killed whales and sent the oil to England. New York and Pennsylvania produced wheat, which Spain and Portugal were willing to buy. Virginia clung to the tobacco-plant, which Europe was not then, any more than she is now, wise enough to dispense with. The swampy regions of Carolina and Georgia produced rice sufficient to supply the European demand. As yet cotton does not take any rank in the list of exports. But the time is near. Even now Richard Arkwright<sup>2</sup> is brooding over improvements in the art of spinning cotton. When these are perfected the growing of cotton will rise quickly to a supremacy over all the industrial pursuits.

<sup>1</sup> The period which forms the subject of this chapter extends from 1760 to 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Arkwright, a native of Lancashire, England, invented the process of spinning thread by machinery in 1769.

England had not learned to recognize the equality of her colonists with her own people. The colonies were understood to exist not for their own good so much as for the good of the mother country. Even the chimney-sweepers, as Lord Chatham<sup>3</sup> asserted, might be heard in the streets of London talking boastfully of their subjects in America. Colonies were settlements "established in distant parts of the world for the benefit of trade." As such they were most consistently treated. The Americans could not import direct any article of foreign production. Everything must be landed in England and re-shipped thence, that the English merchant might have profit. One exemption only was allowed from the operation of this law-the products of Africa, the unhappy negroes, were conveyed direct to America, and every possible encouragement was given to that traffic.<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the illiberal restrictions of the home government, the imports of America before the Revolution had risen almost to the value of three million sterling."

New England had, very early, established her magnificent system of common schools. For two or three generations these had been in full operation. The people of New England were now probably the most carefully instructed people in the world. There could not be found a person born in New England unable to read and write. It had always been the practice of the Northern people to settle in townships or villages where education was easily carried to them. In the South it had not been so. There the common schools had taken no root. It was impossible among a population so scattered. The educational arrangements of the South have never been adequate to the necessities of the people.

In the early years of America, the foundations were laid of those differences in character and interest which have since produced

<sup>3</sup> William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham (1708–1778), was one of the greatest of English statesmen and orators. He opposed the policy of taxing the colonies. <sup>4</sup> Bancroft says that three hundred thousand negroes had been imported by the English before 1776.

<sup>5</sup> How many dollars ?

results of such magnitude. The men who peopled the Eastern States had to contend with a somewhat severe climate and a comparatively sterile soil. These disadvantages imposed upon them habits of industry and frugality. Skilled labor alone could be of use in their circumstances. They were thus mercifully rescued from the curse of slavery-by the absence of temptation, it may be, rather than by superiority of virtue. Their simple purity of manners remained long uncorrupted. The firm texture of mind which upheld them in their early difficulties remained unenfeebled. Their love of liberty was not perverted into a passion for supremacy. Among them labor was not degraded by becoming the function of a despised race. In New England labor has always been honorable. A just-minded, self-relying, self-helping people, vigorous in acting, patient in enduring-it was evident from the outset that they, at least, would not disgrace their ancestry.

The men of the South were very differently circumstanced. Their climate was delicious; their soil was marvelously fertile; their products were welcome in the markets of the world; unskilled labor was applicable in the rearing of all their great staples.<sup>6</sup> Slavery, being exceedingly profitable, struck deep roots very early. It was easy to grow rich. The colonists found themselves not the employers merely, but the owners of their laborers. They became aristocratic in feeling and in manners, resembling the picturesque chiefs of old Europe rather than mere prosaic growers of tobacco and rice. They had the virtues of chivalry, and also its vices. They were generous, open-handed, hospitable; but they were haughty and passionate, improvident, devoted to pleasure and amusement more than to work of any description. Living apart, each on his own plantation, the education of children was frequently imperfect, and the planter himself was bereft of that wholesome discipline to mind and to temper which residence among equals confers. The two great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Staples—the principal articles produced by a country for export or for use.

divisions of States—those in which slavery was profitable, and those in which it was unprofitable—were unequally yoked together. Their divergence of character and interest continued to increase, till it issued in one of the greatest of recorded wars.<sup>7</sup>

Up to the year 1764, the Americans cherished a deep reverence and affection for the mother country. They were proud of her great place among the nations. They gloried in the splendor of her military achievements; they copied her manners and her fashions. She was in all things their model. They always spoke of England as "home." To be an Old England man was to be a person of rank and importance among them. They yielded a loving obedience to her laws. They were governed, as Benjamin Franklin stated it, at the expense of a little pen and ink. When money was asked from their Assemblies, it was given without grudge. "They were led by a thread,"—such was their love for the land which gave them birth.

Ten or twelve years came and went. A marvelous change has passed upon the temper of the American people. They have bound themselves by great oaths to use no article of English manufacture—to engage in no transaction which can put a shilling into any English pocket. They have formed "the inconvenient habit of carting,"—that is, of tarring and feathering and dragging through the streets such persons as avow friendship for the English Government. They burn the Acts of the English Parliament by the hands of the common hangman. They slay the King's soldiers. They refuse every amicable proposal. They cast from them forever the King's authority. They hand down a dislike to the English name, of which some traces lingered among them for generations.

By what unhallowed \* magic has this change been wrought so swiftly? By what process, in so few years, have three million people been taught to abhor the country they so loved ?

The ignorance and folly of the English Government wrought

<sup>7</sup> What war? magic suggests that this change had <sup>8</sup> Unhallowed—wicked. The word been wrought by unnatural means, this evil. Under the fuller knowledge of our modern time, colonies are allowed to discontinue their connection with the mother country when it is their wish to do so. Better had America gone in peace. But better she went, even in wrath and bloodshed, than continued in paralyzing dependence upon England.

For many years England had governed her American colonies harshly, and in a spirit of undisguised selfishness. America was ruled, not for her own good, but for the good of English commerce. She was not allowed to export her products except to England. No foreign ship might enter her ports. Woolen goods were not allowed to be sent from one colony to another. At one time the manufacture of hats was forbidden. In a liberal mood Parliament removed that prohibition, but decreed that no maker of hats should employ any negro workman, or any larger number of apprentices than two. Iron-works were forbidden. Up to the latest hour of English rule the Bible was not allowed to be printed in America.

The Americans had long borne the cost of their own government and defense. But in that age of small revenue and profuse expenditure on unmeaning continental wars,<sup>9</sup> it had been often suggested that America should be taxed for the purposes of the home Government. Some one proposed that to Sir Robert Walpole<sup>10</sup> in a time of need. The wise Sir Robert shook his head. It must be a bolder man than he was who would attempt that. A man bolder, because less wise, was found in due time.

The Seven Years' War had ended, and England had added a hundred million to her national debt. The country was suffering, as countries always do after great wars, and it was no easy matter to fit the new burdens on to the national shoulder. The hungry eye of Lord Grenville<sup>11</sup> searched where a new tax

<sup>9</sup> Unmeaning continental wars : especially the war of the Austrian Succession in 1741, which resulted in no benefit to England.

10 Sir Robert Walpole, prime min-

ister of England from 1721 to 1742.

<sup>11</sup> Lord Grenville became chancellor of the exchequer in 1763, and promoted the passage of the Stamp Act.

might be laid. The Americans had begun visibly to prosper. Already their growing wealth was the theme of envious discourse among English merchants. The English officers who had fought in America spoke in glowing terms of the magnificent hospitality which had been extended to them. No more need be said. The House of Commons passed a resolution asserting their right to tax the Americans. No solitary voice was raised against this fatal resolution. Immediately after, an Act was passed imposing certain taxes upon silks, coffee, sugar, and other articles. The Americans remonstrated. They were willing, they said, to vote what moneys the King required of them, but they vehemently denied the right of any Assembly in which they were not represented to take from them any portion of their property. They were the subjects of the King, but they owed no obedience to the English Parliament. Lord Grenville went on his course. He had been told the Americans would complain but submit, and he believed it. Next session an Act was passed imposing stamp duties 12 on America. The measure awakened no interest. Edmund Burke<sup>13</sup> said he had never been present at a more languid debate. In the House of Lords there was no debate at all. With so little trouble was a continent rent away from the British Empire.

Benjamin Franklin<sup>14</sup> told the House of Commons that America would never submit to the Stamp Act, and that no power on earth could enforce it. The Americans made it impossible for Government to mistake their sentiments. Riots, which swelled from day to day into dimensions more "enormous and alarming," burst forth in the New England States. Everywhere the stamp distributors were compelled to resign their

<sup>12</sup> Stamp duties were a method of raising revenue. All deeds, mortgages, wills, etc., must be written upon stamped paper in order to be legal.

<sup>13</sup> Edmund Burke, a distinguished statesman and political writer. At that time he was secretary of the prime minister, the Marquis of Rockingham, but soon after became a member of Parliament.

<sup>14</sup> Benjamin Franklin was residing in London as the agent of Pennsylvania.

offices. One unfortunate man was led forth to Boston Common, and made to sign his resignation in presence of a vast crowd. Another, in desperate health, was visited in his sickroom and obliged to pledge that if he lived he would resign, A universal resolution was come to that no English goods would be imported till the Stamp Act was repealed. The colonists would "eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing that comes from England," while this great injustice endured. The Act was to come into force on the 1st of November (1765). That day the bells rang out funereal peals, and the colonists wore the aspect of men on whom some heavy calamity has fallen. But the Act never came into force. Not one of Lord Grenville's stamps was ever bought or sold in America. Some of the stamped paper was burned by the mob; the rest was hidden away to save it from the same fate.<sup>15</sup> Without stamps, marriages were null; mercantile transactions ceased to be binding; suits at law were impossible. Nevertheless the business of human life went on. Men married; they bought, they sold; they went to law;illegally, because without stamps. But no harm came of it.

England heard with amazement that America refused to obey the law. There were some who demanded that the Stamp Act should be enforced by the sword. But it greatly moved the English merchants that America should cease to import their goods. William Pitt—not yet Earl of Chatham—denounced the Act, and said he was glad America had resisted. Pitt and the merchants triumphed, and the Act was repealed. There was illumination in London that night. The city bells rang for joy; the ships in the Thames displayed all their colors. The saddest heart in all London was that of poor King George, who never ceased to lament "the fatal repeal of the Stamp Act." All America thrilled with joy and pride when the news arrived of the great triumph. They voted Pitt a statue; they set apart a day for public rejoicing; all prisoners for debt were set free. A great deliverance had been granted, and the delight of the gladdened

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In New York it was locked up in the City Hall.

people knew no bounds. The danger is over for the present; but whosever governs America now has need to walk warily.

It was during the agitation arising out of the Stamp Act that the idea of a General Congress of the States was suggested. A loud cry for union had arisen. "Join or die" was the prevailing sentiment. The Congress met in New York. It did little more than discuss and petition. It is interesting merely as one of the first exhibitions of a tendency towards federal union <sup>16</sup> in a country whose destiny, in all coming time, this tendency was to fix.

The repeal of the Stamp Act delayed only for a little the fastcoming crisis. A new ministry was formed, with the Earl of Chatham at its head. But soon the great Earl lay sick and helpless, and the burden of government rested on incapable shoulders. Charles Townshend, a clever, captivating, but most indiscreet man, became the virtual Prime Minister. The feeling in the public mind had now become more unfavorable to America. Townshend proposed to levy a variety of taxes from the Americans. The most famous of his taxes was one of threepence per pound on tea. All his proposals became law.

This time the more thoughtful Americans began to despair of justice. The boldest scarcely ventured yet to suggest revolt against England, so powerful and so loved. But the grand final refuge of independence was silently brooded over by many. The mob fell back on their customary solution. Great riots occurred. To quell these disorders English troops encamped on Boston Common. The town swarmed with red-coated men, every one of whom was a humiliation. Their drums beat on Sunday, and troubled the orderly men of Boston, even in church. At intervals fresh transports dropped in, bearing additional soldiers, till a great force occupied the town. The galled citizens could ill brook to be thus bridled. The ministers prayed to Heaven for deliverance from the presence of the soldiers. The General

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> A federal union was formed when the separate States united under one government.

Court '' of Massachusetts called vehemently on the Governor to remove them. The Governor had no powers in that matter. He called upon the court to make suitable provision for the King's troops,—a request which it gave the court infinite pleasure to refuse.

The universal irritation broke forth in frequent brawls between soldiers and people. One wintry moonlight night in March, when snow and ice lay about the streets of Boston, a more than usually determined attack was made upon a party of soldiers. The mob thought the soldiers dared not fire without. the order of a magistrate, and were very bold in the strength of that belief. It proved a mistake. The soldiers did fire, and the blood of eleven slain or wounded persons stained the frozen streets. This was "the Boston Massacre," which greatly inflamed the patriot antipathy to the mother country.

. Two or three unquiet years passed, and no progress towards a settlement of differences had been made. From all the colonies there came, loud and unceasing, the voice of complaint and remonstrance. It fell upon unheeding ears, for England was committed.<sup>16</sup> To her honor be it said, it was not in the end for money that she alienated her children. The tax on tea must be maintained to vindicate the authority of England. But when - the tea was shipped, such a drawback <sup>19</sup> was allowed that the price would actually have been lower in America than it was at home.

The Americans had, upon the whole, kept loyally to their purpose of importing no English goods, specially no goods on which duty could be levied. Occasionally, a patriot of the more worldlyminded sort yielded to temptation, and secretly dispatched an order to England. He was forgiven, if penitent. If obdurate, his name was published, and a resolution of the citizens to trade no more with a person so unworthy soon brought him to reason.

<sup>17</sup> General Court is the name applied to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

<sup>18</sup> To what ?

<sup>19</sup> Drawback is money paid back by the Government to reduce the duty.

But, in the main, the colonists were true to their bond, and when they could no longer smuggle they ceased to import. The East India Company of London,<sup>20</sup> accumulated vast quantities of unsalable tea, for which a market must be found. Several ships were freighted with tea, and sent out to America.

Cheaper tea was never seen in America; but it bore upon it the abhorred tax which asserted British control over the property of Americans. Will the Americans, long bereaved of the accustomed beverage, yield to the temptation, and barter their honor for cheap tea? The East India Company never doubted it; but the Company knew nothing of the temper of the American people. The ships arrived at New York and Philadelphia. These cities stood firm. The ships were promptly sent home their hatches unopened—and duly bore their rejected cargoes back to the Thames.

When the ships destined for Boston showed their tall masts in the bay, the citizens ran together to hold council. It was Sunday, and the men of Boston were strict. But here was an exigency,<sup>21</sup> in presence of which all ordinary rules are suspended. The crisis has come at length. If that tea is landed it will be sold, it will be used, and American liberty will become a by-word upon the earth.

Samuel Adams was the true king in Boston at that time. He was a man in middle life, of cultivated mind and stainless reputation—a powerful speaker and writer—a man in whose sagacity and moderation all men trusted. He resembled the old Puritans in his stern love of liberty—his reverence for the Sabbath—his sincere, if somewhat formal, observance of all religious ordinances. He was among the first to see that there was no restingplace in this struggle short of independence. "We are free," he said, "and want no king." The men of Boston felt the power of his resolute spirit, and manfully followed where Samuel Adams led.

<sup>20</sup> The East India Company was an association of London merchants who received from Queen Elizabeth in 1600 the exclusive right to trade with India. It continued to exist until 1858.

<sup>21</sup> Exigency—a case demanding immediate action.

It was hoped that the agents of the East India Company would have consented to send the ships home; but the agents<sup>22</sup> refused. Several days of excitement and ineffectual negotiation ensued. People flocked in from the neighboring towns.<sup>23</sup> The time was spent mainly in public meeting; the city resounded with impassioned discourse. But meanwhile the ships lay peacefully at their moorings, and the tide of patriot talk seemed to flow in vain. Other measures were visibly necessary. One day a meeting was held, and the excited people continued in hot debate till the shades of evening fell. No progress was made. At length Samuel Adams stood up in the dimly-lighted church,<sup>24</sup> and announced, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." With a stern shout the meeting broke up. Fifty men disguised as Indians hurried down to the wharf, each man with a hatchet in his hand. The crowd followed. The ships were boarded; the chests of tea were brought on deck, broken up, and flung into the bay. The approving citizens looked on in silence. It was felt by all that the step was grave and eventful in the highest degree. So still was the crowd that no sound was heard but the stroke of the hatchet and the splash of the shattered chests as they fell into the sea. All questions about the disposal of those cargoes of tea at all events are now solved.

This is what America has done; it is for England to make the next move. Lord North<sup>25</sup> was now at the head of the British Government. It was his lordship's belief that the troubles in America sprang from a small number of ambitious persons, and could easily, by proper firmness, be suppressed. "The Americans will be lions while we are lambs," said General Gage.<sup>26</sup> The King believed this, and Lord North believed it. In this deep

<sup>22</sup> A committee was sent to Gov. Hutchinson to ask his leave to send the tea back to England, but the request was refused.

<sup>23</sup> What were the names of these towns ?

<sup>24</sup> The Old South Church,

<sup>25</sup> Lord North was a favorite of

George III., and was prime minister from 1770 to 1782.

<sup>26</sup> General Thomas Gage was made commander of the British forces in America in 1773, and in 1774 was appointed Governor of Massachusetts. With what important events is he connected ?

ignorance he proceeded to deal with the great emergency. He closed Boston as a port for the landing and shipping of goods. He imposed a fine to indemnify<sup>27</sup> the East India Company for their lost teas. He withdrew the Charter<sup>28</sup> of Massachusetts. He authorized the Governor to send political offenders to England for trial. Great voices were raised against these severities.

Lord Chatham, old in constitution now, if not in years, and near the close of his career, pleaded for measures of conciliation. Edmund Burke justified the resistance of the Americans. Their opposition was fruitless. All Lord North's measures of repression became law; and General Gage, with an additional force of soldiers, was sent to Boston to carry them into effect. Gage was an authority on American affairs. He had fought under Braddock.<sup>29</sup> Among blind men the one-eved man is king; among the profoundly ignorant, the man with a little knowledge is irresistibly persuasive. "Four regiments sent to Boston," said the hopeful Gage, "will prevent any disturbance." He was believed ; but, unhappily for his own comfort, he was sent to Boston to secure the fulfillment of his own prophecy. He threw up some fortifications and lay as in a hostile city. The Americans appointed a day of fasting and humiliation. They did more. They formed themselves into military companies; they occupied themselves with drill; they laid up stores of ammunition. Most of them had muskets, and could use them. He who had no musket now got one. They hoped that civil war would be averted, but there was no harm in being ready.

While General Gage was throwing up his fortifications at Boston, there met in Philadelphia a congress of delegates, sent by the States, to confer in regard to the troubles which were thickening round them. Twelve States were represented. Georgia as yet paused timidly on the brink of the perilous enterprise. They were notable men who met there, and their work is held in enduring honor. "For genuine sagacity, for

<sup>29</sup> Where was Braddock killed and under what circumstances ?

<sup>28</sup> When granted and by whom ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Indemnify—to make good the loss of.

singular moderation, for solid wisdom," said the great Earl of Chatham, "the Congress of Philadelphia shines unrivaled." The low-roofed quaint old room <sup>30</sup> in which their meetings were held became one of the shrines which Americans delight to visit. George Washington was there, and his massive sense and copious knowledge were a supreme guiding power.

Patrick Henry, then a young man, brought to the council a wisdom beyond his years, and a fiery eloquence, which, to some of his hearers, seemed almost more than human. He had already proved his unfitness for farming and for shop-keeping. He was now to prove that he could utter words which swept over a continent, thrilling men's hearts like the voice of the trumpet, and rousing them to heroic deeds. John Routledge from South Carolina aided him with an eloquence little inferior to his own. Richard Henry Lee, with his Roman aspect, his bewitching voice, his ripe scholarship, his rich stores of historical and political knowledge, would have graced the highest assemblies of the Old World. John Dickinson, the wise farmer from the banks of the Delaware, whose Letters <sup>31</sup> had done so much to form the public sentiment-his enthusiastic love of England overborne by his sense of wrong-took regretful but resolute part in withstanding the tyranny of the English Government.

We have the assurance of Washington that the members of this Congress did not aim at independence. As yet it was their wish to have wrongs redressed and to continue British subjects. Their proceedings give ample evidence of this desire. They drew up a narrative of their wrongs. As a means of obtaining redress, they adopted a resolution that all commercial intercourse with Britain should cease. They addressed the King, imploring his majesty to remove those grievances which endangered their relations with him. They addressed the people of Great Britain, with whom, they said, they deemed a union as their greatest glory and happiness; adding, however, that they would not be

<sup>30</sup> It was known as "Carpenter's | Hall."

<sup>31</sup> In 1768 he had published his "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer" addressed to the colonists.

hewers of wood and drawers of water to any nation in the world. They appealed to their brother colonists of Canada for support in their peaceful resistance to oppression. But Canada, newly conquered from France,<sup>32</sup> was peopled almost wholly by Frenchmen. A Frenchman of that time was contented to enjoy such an amount of liberty and property as his King was pleased to permit. And so from Canada there came no response of sympathy or help.

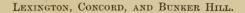
Here Congress paused. Some members believed, with Washington, that their remonstrances would be effectual. Others, less sanguine, looked for no settlement but that which the sword might bring. They adjourned, to meet again next May. This is enough for the present. What further steps the new events of that coming summer may call for, we shall be prepared with God's help, to take.

England showed no relenting in her treatment of the Americans. The King gave no reply to the address of Congress. The Houses of Lords and of Commons refused even to allow that address to be read in their hearing. The King announced his firm purpose to reduce the refractory 33 colonists to obedience. Parliament gave loval assurances of support to the blinded monarch. All trade with the colonies was forbidden. All American ships and cargoes might be seized by those who were strong enough to do so. The alternative presented to the American choice was without disguise-the Americans had to fight for their liberty, or forego it. The people of England had, in those days, no control over the government of their country. All this was managed for them by a few great families. Their allotted part was to toil hard, pay their taxes, and be silent. If they had been permitted to speak, their voice would have vindicated the men who asserted the right of self-government-a right which Englishmen themselves were not to enjoy for many a long year.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> How long since the conquest of Canada by the English? <sup>33</sup> Refractory—obstinate, not disposed to yield readily.

## FIRST BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTION.





MAP OF MASSACHUSETTS.

TAKE your station on the Connecticut River. Everything about you, whatsoever you behold or approach, bears witness that you belong to a powerful and prosperous state. But it is only seventy years ' since the towns which you now contemplate with admiration, as the abodes of a numerous, refined, enterprising population, safe in the enjoyment of life's best blessings, were wasted and burned by the savages of the wilderness; and their inhabitants, in large numbers,—the old and the young, the minister of the gospel, and the mother with her new-born babe,<sup>2</sup> —were wakened at midnight by the war-whoop, dragged from their beds, and marched with bleeding feet across the snow-clad mountains, to be sold, as slaves, to the French in Canada.

Go back eighty years farther, and the same barbarous foe is on the skirts of the oldest settlements. As late as 1676, ten or twelve citizens of Concord were slain or carried into captivity, who had gone to meet the Indians in their attack on Sudbury, in which the brave Captain Wadsworth and his companions fell.

That astonishing incident in human affairs, the Revolution of America, as seen on the day of its portentous,<sup>8</sup> or rather, let me say, of its auspicious commencement, is the theme of our present consideration. On the one hand, we behold a connection of events,—the time and circumstances of the original discovery; the settlements of the Pilgrims, and their peculiar principles and character; their singular political relations with the mother-country; their long and doubtful struggle with the savage tribes; their collisions with the royal governors; their coöperation in the British wars,—with all the influences of their geographical and physical condition, uniting to constitute what I may call the national education of America.

When we take this survey, we feel, as far as Massachusetts is

<sup>1</sup> The author delivered this address at Concord in 1825. To what period does he refer? What war was then about to begin? What was its object and result?

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, Mass., who was carried away to Canada, and afterwards returned to write the story of his captivity. Mrs. Duston of Haverhill, with her infant and nurse and young boy, was compelled to go away with the Indians, but after a journey of several days escaped.

<sup>3</sup> **Portentous**—that which threatens calamity. Why does the author change this adjective for the other ? concerned, that we ought to divide the honors of the Revolution with the great men of the colony in every generation; with the Winslows and the Pepperells, the Cookes, the Dummers and the Mathers, the Winthrops and the Bradfords, and all who labored and acted in the cabinet, the desk, or the field, for the one great cause.

On the other hand, when we dwell upon the day itself, everything else seems lost in the comparison. Had our fathers failed, on that day of trial which we now celebrate ; had their votes and their resolves (as was tauntingly predicted on both sides of the Atlantic) ended in the breath in which they began; had the rebels laid down their arms, as they were commanded; and the military stores, which had been frugally treasured up for this crisis, been, without resistance, destroyed,-then the Revolution would have been at an end, or rather never had been begun; the heads of Hancock and Adams<sup>4</sup> and their brave colleagues would have been exposed in ghastly triumph on Temple Bar; 5 a military despotism would have been firmly fixed in the colonies; the patriots of Massachusetts would have been doubly despised-the scorn of their enemies, the scorn of their deluded countrymen; and the heart of this great people, then beating and almost bursting for freedom, would have been struck cold and dead, perhaps forever.

It was not England, but the English ministerial party of the day, and even a small circle in that party,<sup>6</sup> which projected the measures that resulted in our Revolution. The rights of America found steady and powerful assertors in England. Lord Chatham declared to the House of Peers that he was glad America had re-

<sup>4</sup> Why were these men selected as the special objects of British vengeance ?

<sup>5</sup> Temple Bar—a structure on the site of one of the old city gates of London, upon which the heads of rebels and traitors used to be displayed. <sup>6</sup> "The British ministry did not at this time represent the sentiments of the people, and Parliament was unpopular, and the steps which were taken adverse to the American Colonies must not be attributed to the English people."—Gilman's "Am. People," p. 230 sisted ; and, alluding to the fact that he had a son in the British army, he added, that "none of his blood should serve in this detested cause." Nay, even a portion of the Ministry that imposed the stamp duty,—the measure which hastened the spirit of America to a crisis which it might not have reached in a generation,—Lord Mansfield, the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Shelburne, and Lord Camden, rose, one after another, and asserted, in the House of Lords, that they had no share in some of the measures which were proposed by the very cabinet of which they were leading members.

But I must go farther. Did faithful history compel us to cast on all England, united, the reproach of those measures which drove our fathers to arms; and were it, in consequence, the unavoidable effect of these celebrations, to revive the feelings of revolutionary times in the bosoms of the aged; to kindle those feelings anew in the susceptible hearts of the young; it would still be our duty, on every becoming occasion, in the strongest colors, and in the boldest lines we can command, to retrace the picture of the times that tried men's souls. We owe it to our fathers, we owe it to our children.

There is not a people on earth so abject as to think that national courtesy requires them to hush up the tale of the glorious exploits of their fathers and countrymen. France is at peace with Austria and Prussia; but she does not demolish her beautiful bridges, which perpetuate the names of the battle-fields where Napoleon annihilated their armies, nor tear down the columns molten out of their captured artillery. England is at peace with France and Spain; but does she suppress the names of Trafalgar<sup>7</sup> and Waterloo? does she overthrow the towers of Blenheim Castle,<sup>\*</sup> eternal monuments of the disasters of France? No; she is

<sup>7</sup> Traf-al-gar' and Waterloo. What English admiral made the former and what general made the latter of these places famous? Give the location of each. <sup>8</sup> Blenheim Castle—erected by Parliament as a testimony to the distinguished military services of the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Blenheim. wiser. Wiser, did I say? She is truer, juster to the memory of her fathers and the spirit of her children.

The national character, in some of its most important elements, must be formed, elevated, and strengthened from the materials which history presents. Are we to be eternally ringing the changes upon Marathon and Thermopyle,<sup>9</sup> and going back to find in obscure texts of Greek and Latin the great exemplars of patriotic virtue? I rejoice that we can find them nearer home, in our own country, on our own soil; that strains of the noblest feeling that ever swelled in the breast of man are breathing to us, out of every page of our country's history, in the native eloquence of our mother-tongue; that the colonial and the provincial councils of America exhibit to us models of the spirit and character which gave Greece and Rome their name and their praise among the nations. Here we ought to go for our instruction; the lesson is plain and easily applied.

I do not mean that these examples are to destroy the interest with which we read the history of ancient times; they possibly increase that interest, by the singular contrasts they exhibit. We ought to seek our great practical lessons of patriotism at home; out of the exploits and sacrifices, of which our own country is the theater; out of the characters of our own fathers. Them we know, the natural, unaffected,—the citizen heroes. We know what happy firesides they left for the cheerless camp. We know with what pacific habits they dared the perils of the field. There is no mystery, no romance, no madness, under the name of chivalry,<sup>10</sup> about them. It is all resolute, manly resistance,—for the sake of conscience and principle,—not merely of an overwhelming power, but of all the force of long-rooted habits, and the native love of order and peace.

<sup>9</sup> Marathon and Thermopylæ places in Greece famous for victories won by the Greeks over the Persians about 500 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Name of chivalry.-It was a

part of the institution of chivalry that those who became knights made a vow to seek some strange adventure, and especially to rescue from peril defenseless women. Above all, their blood calls to us from the soil which we tread; it beats in our veins; it cries to us, not merely in the thrilling words of one of the first victims in the cause, "My sons, scorn to be slaves," but it cries with a still more moving eloquence, "My sons, forget not your fathers." Fast, O, too fast, with all our efforts to prevent it, their precious memories are dying away. Notwithstanding our numerous written memorials, much of what is known of those eventful times dwells but in the recollection of a few revered survivors, and is rapidly perishing with them.

Let us then faithfully go back to those all-important days. Let us recall the events with which the momentous Revolutionary crisis was brought on ; let us gather up the traditions which still exist ; let us show the world, that if we are not called to follow the example of our fathers, we are at least not insensible to the worth of their characters, nor indifferent to the sacrifices and trials by which they purchased our prosperity.

Time would fail us to recount the measures by which the way was prepared for the Revolution : the Stamp Act; its repeal, with the declaration of the right to tax America; the landing of troops in Boston, beneath the batteries of fourteen vessels of war, lying broadside to the town, with springs on their cables, their guns loaded, and matches smoking; the repeated insults, and finally the massacre of the fifth of March, resulting from this military occupation; and the Boston Port Bill, by which the final catastrophe was hurried on.

Nor can we dwell upon the appointment at Salem, on the seventeenth of June, 1774, of the delegates to the Continental Congress; of the formation at Salem, in the following October, of the Provincial Congress;" of the decided measures which were taken by that noble assembly at Concord and at Cambridge; of the preparations they made against the worst, by

<sup>11</sup> The Assembly of Massachusetts met at Salem contrary to the order of General Gage, and afterwards adjourned to Concord. Why did they not assemble in Boston, the usual place of meeting ?

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organizing the militia, providing stores, and appointing commanders. All this was done by the close of the year 1774.

At length the memorable year of 1775 arrived. The plunder of the provincial stores <sup>12</sup> at Medford, and the attempt to seize the cannon at Salem, had produced a highly irritated state of the public mind. The friends of our rights in England made a vigorous effort, in the month of March, to avert the crisis that impended. On the twenty-second of that month, Mr. Burke spoke the last word of conciliation and peace. He spoke it in a tone and with a power befitting the occasion and the man; but he spoke it to the northwest wind.

Eight days after, at that season of the year when the prudent New England husbandman repairs the inclosures of his field as the first preparation for the labors of the season, General Gage sent out a party of eleven hundred men to overthrow the stone walls in the neighborhood of Boston, by way of opening and levelling the arena for the approaching contest. With the same view, in the months of February and March, his officers were sent in disguise to traverse the country, to make military surveys of its roads and passes, to obtain accounts of the stores at Concord and Worcester, and to communicate with the disaffected. These disguised officers were at Concord on the twentieth of March, and received treacherous or unsuspecting information of the places where the provincial stores were concealed.

I mention this only to show that our fathers, in their arduous contest, had everything to contend with: secret as well as open foes; treachery as well as power. But I need not add, that they possessed not only the courage and the resolution, but the vigilance and care, demanded for the crisis. In November, 1774, a society had been formed at Boston, principally of the mechanics of that town,—a class of men to whom the Revolutionary cause was as deeply indebted as to any other in America,—for the ex-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Provincial stores — arms and | the use of the citizens in case of ammunition secretly collected for | war,

press purpose of closely watching the movements of the open and secret foes of the country.

In the long and dreary nights of a New England winter they patrolled the streets, and not a movement which concerned the cause escaped their vigilance,—not a measure of the royal governor but was in their possession in a few hours after it was communicated to his confidential officers. Nor was manly patriotism alone aroused in the cause. The daughters of America were inspired with the same noble temper that animated their fathers, their husbands, and their brothers. The historian tells us that the first intimation communicated to the patriots of the impending commencement of hostilities came from a "daughter of liberty, unequally yoked with an enemy of her country's rights."

With all these warnings, and all the vigilance with which the royal troops were watched, none supposed the fatal moment was so near. On Saturday, April fifteenth, the Provincial Congress adjourned their session to meet on the tenth of May. On the very same day, Saturday, the fifteenth of April, the companies of grenadiers<sup>13</sup> and light infantry in Boston—the flower not merely of the royal garrison, but of the British army—were taken off their regular duty, under the pretense of learning a new military exercise. At the midnight following, the boats of the transport ships, which had been previously repaired, were launched, and moored for safety under the sterns of the vessel of war.

Not one of these movements—least of all, that which took place under cover of midnight—was unobserved by the vigilant "Sons of Liberty." The next morning, Colonel Paul Revere, a very active member of the patriotic society just mentioned, was despatched, by Dr. Joseph Warren,<sup>14</sup> to John Hancock and

<sup>13</sup> Grenadiers—tall and stout soldiers selected for special service.
<sup>14</sup> Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Provincial Congress, an emi-

Samuel Adams, then at Lexington, whose seizure was threatened by the royal governor.<sup>15</sup> So early did these distinguished patriots receive the intelligence that preparations for an important movement were on foot. Justly considering, however, that some object besides the seizure of two individuals was probably designed in the movement of so large a force, they advised the



JOHN HANCOCK.



Committee of Safety to order the distribution, into the neighboring towns, of the stores collected at Concord.

Colonel Revere, on his return from this excursion on the sixteenth of April, in order to guard against any accident which might make it impossible at the last moment to give information from Boston of the departure of the troops, concerted with his friends in Charlestown,<sup>16</sup> that, whenever the British forces should embark in their boats to cross into the country, two lanterns should be lighted in the North Church steeple; and one, should they march out by Roxbury.

Thus was the meditated blow prepared for before it was struck, and the caution of the British commander was rendered

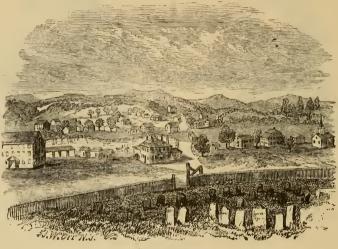
<sup>15</sup> They were not publicly denounced by the government until June 12.

<sup>16</sup> Charlestown is separated from

Boston by the Charles River, which at that time was much wider than at present, and could be crossed only by boats.

unavailing, who, on Tuesday, the eighteenth of April, despatched ten sergeants, with orders to dine at Cambridge, and at nightfall to scatter themselves on the roads from Boston to Concord, to prevent notice of the projected expedition from reaching the country.

At length the momentous hour arrives—as big with consequences to man as any that ever struck in his history. The darkness of night still shrouds the rash and fatal measures with which



Concord, Mass. 1775.

the liberty of America is hastened on. The highest officers in the British army are as yet ignorant of the nature of the meditated blow. At nine o'clock in the evening of the eighteenth, Lord Percy is sent for by the governor, to receive the information of the design. On his way back to his lodgings, he finds the very movements, which had been just communicated to him in confidence by the commander-in-chief, a subject of conversation in a group of patriotic citizens in the street. He hastens back to General Gage, and tells him he is betrayed; and orders

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are instantly given to permit no American to leave the town. But the order is five minutes too late.

Dr. Warren, the president of the Committee of Safety, though he had returned only at nightfall from the meeting at West Cambridge, was already in possession of the whole design; and instantly despatched two messengers to Lexington—Mr. William Dawes, who went out through Roxbury, and Colonel Paul Revere, who crossed to Charlestown. The latter received this summons at ten o'clock on Tuesday night; the lanterns were immediately lighted up in North Church steeple; " and in this way, before a man of the soldiery was embarked in the boats, the news of their coming was traveling with the rapidity of light through the country."

Having accomplished this precautionary measure, Colonel Revere repaired to the north part of the town, where he constantly kept a boat in readiness, in which he was now rowed by two friends across the river, a little to the eastward of the spot where the Somerset man-of-war was moored, between Boston and Charlestown. It was then young flood,<sup>19</sup> the ship was swinging round upon the tide, and the moon was just rising upon this midnight scene of solemn anticipation.

Colonel Revere <sup>20</sup> was safely landed in Charlestown, where his signals had already been observed. He procured a horse from Deacon Larkin, for the further pursuit of his errand. That he would not be permitted to accomplish it, without risk of interruption, was evident from the information which he received

<sup>17</sup> This incident as well as the subsequent ride, have been immortalized by Mr Longfellow in the patriotic poem of Paul Revere's Ride.

<sup>18</sup> Some British officers hastened to the church to extinguish the lanterns, which had been lighted by the sexton. He escaped arrest by concealing himself in the vaults of the church. <sup>19</sup> Young flood—the tide was coming in.

<sup>20</sup> Colonel Revere was at this time about forty years of age. He had been a lieutenant of artillery during the French and Indian War. He was one of the disguised actors in the Tea Party, and had carried to New York and Philadelphia the news of the closing of the port of Boston, from Mr. Richard Devens, a member of the Committee of Safety, that on his way from West Cambridge, where the committee sat, he had encountered several British officers, well armed and mounted, going up the road.

At eleven o'clock, Colonel Revere started upon his errand. After passing Charlestown Neck, he saw two men on horseback under a tree. On approaching them he perceived them by the light of the moon to be British officers. One of them immediately tried to intercept, and the other to seize him. The colonel instantly turned back towards Charlestown, and then struck into the Medford road. The officer in pursuit of him, endeavoring to cut him off, plunged into a clay pond in the corner between the two roads, and the colonel escaped. He pursued his way to Medford, awoke the captain of the minute-men there, and giving the alarm at every house on the road, passed on through West Cambridge to Lexington. There he delivered his message to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, and there also he was shortly after joined by Mr. William Dawes, the messenger who had gone out by Roxbury.

After staying a short time at Lexington, Messrs. Revere and Dawes, at about one o'clock of the morning of the nineteenth of April, started for Concord, to communicate the intelligence there. They were soon overtaken on the way by Dr. Samuel Prescott, of Concord, who joined them in giving the alarm at every house on the road.

About half way from Lexington to Concord, while Dawes and Prescott were alarming a house on the road, Revere, being about one hundred rods in advance, saw two officers in the road of the same appearance as those he had escaped in Charlestown. He called to his companions to assist him in forcing his way through them, but was instantly surrounded by four officers. These officers had previously thrown down the wall of an adjoining field, and the Americans, prevented from forcing their way onward, passed into the field. Dr. Prescott, although the reins of his horse had been cut in the struggle with the officers, succeeded, by leaping a stone wall, in making his escape from the field, and reaching Concord.

Revere aimed at a wood, but was there encountered by six more officers, and was, with his companion, made prisoner. The British officers, who had already seized three other Americans, having learned from their prisoners that the whole country was alarmed, thought it best for their own safety to hasten back, taking their prisoners with them. Near Lexington meetinghouse, on their return, the British officers heard the militia, who were on parade, firing a volley of guns. Alarmed at this, they compelled Revere to give up his horse, and then, pushing forward at a full gallop, escaped down the road.

The morning was now advanced to about four o'clock; nor was it then known at Lexington that the British troops were so near at hand. Colonel Revere again sought Messrs. Hancock and Adams at the house of the Reverend Mr. Clark; and it was thought expedient by their friends, who had kept watch there during the night, that these eminent patriots should remove towards Woburn. Having accompanied them to a house on the Woburn road, where they proposed to stop, Colonel Revere returned to Lexington to watch the progress of events. He soon met a person at full gallop, who informed him that the British forces were coming up the road. Hastening now to the public house, to secure some papers of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, Colonel Revere saw the advancing troops in full array.

It was now seven hours since these troops were put in motion. They were mustered at ten o'clock of the night preceding, on the Common, in Boston, and embarked, to the number of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, in the boats of the British squadron. They landed at Phipps's Farm, a little to the south of Lechmere's Point, East Cambridge, and on disembarking, a day's provision was dealt out to them. Pursuing the path across the marshes, they emerged into the old Charlestown and West Cambridge road.

And here let us pause a moment in the narration, to ask, who are the men, and what is the cause? Is it an army of Frenchmen and Canadians, who in earlier days had often run the line between them and us, with havoc and fire, and who have now come to pay back the debt of recent defeat and subjugation? Or is it their ancient ally of the woods, the stealthy savage .--borne in his light canoe, with muffled oars, over the midnight waters,-creeping like the felon wolf through our villages, that he may start up at dawn, to wage a war of surprise, of plunder, and of death, against the slumbering cradle and the defenseless fireside? O, no! It is the disciplined armies of a brave, a Christian, a kindred people; led by gallant officers, the choice sons of England; and they are going to seize, and secure for the halter, men whose crime is, that they have dared to utter, in the English tongue, on this side of the ocean, the principles which gave and give England her standing among the nations; they are going to plunge their swords in the breasts of men who, fifteen years before, on the Plains of Abraham,<sup>21</sup> fought and conquered by their side.

But they go not unobserved ; the tidings of their approach are traveling before them; the faithful messengers have aroused the citizens from their slumbers; alarm guns are answering to each other, and spreading the news from village to village; the tocsin<sup>22</sup> is heard, at this unnatural hour, from steeples that never before rung with any other summons than that of the gospel of peace; the sacred tranquillity of the hour is startled with all the mingled sounds of preparation—of resolute though unorganized resistance.

The Committee of Safety, as has been observed, had met the preceding day at West Cambridge;<sup>23</sup> and three of its respected members, Gerry, Lee, and Orne, had retired to sleep in the public-house, where the session of the committee was held. So difficult was it, notwithstanding all that had passed, to believe that a state of things could exist, between England and America,

<sup>21</sup> What decisive battle was fought	pose of sounding an alarm.	
on this spot? Where is it?		ive
<sup>22</sup> Tocsin-a bell rung for the pur-	miles west of Boston,	

in which American citizens should be liable to be torn from their beds by an armed force at midnight, that the members of the Committee of Safety, though forewarned of the approach of the British troops, did not even think it necessary to retire from their lodgings. On the contrary, they rose from their beds and went to their windows to gaze on the unwonted sight—the midnight march of armies through the peaceful hamlets of New England.

Half the column had already passed, when a flank guard was suddenly detached to search the public-house, no doubt in the design of arresting the members of the Committee of Safety, who might be there. It was only at this last critical moment that Mr. Gerry and his friends bethought themselves of flight, and, without time even to clothe themselves, escaped into the fields.

By this time, Colonel Smith, who commanded the expedition, appears to have been alarmed at the indications of a general rising throughout the country. The light infantry companies were now detached and placed under the command of Major Pitcairne, for the purpose of hastening forward to secure the bridges at Concord, and thus cut off the communication between this place and the towns north and west of it. Before these companies could reach Lexington, the officers already mentioned, who had arrested Colonel Revere, joined their advancing countrymen, and reported that five hundred men were drawn up in Lexington, to resist the king's troops. On receiving this highly exaggerated account, the British light infantry was halted, to give time for the grenadiers to come up.

The company assembled on Lexington Green, which the British officers, in their report, had swelled to five hundred, consisted of sixty or seventy of the militia of the place. Information had been received about nightfall, both by private means and by communications from the Committee of Safety, that a strong party of officers had been seen on the road, directing their course towards Lexington. In consequence of this intelligence, a body of about thirty of the militia,<sup>24</sup> well-armed, assembled early in the evening; a guard of eight men under Colonel William Munroe, then a sergeant in the company, was stationed at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clark; and three men were sent off to give the alarm at Concord.

These three messengers were, however, stopped on their way, as has been mentioned, by the British officers, who had already passed onward. (One of their number, Elijah Sanderson, died at Salem, at an advanced age.) A little after midnight, as has been stated, Messrs. Revere and Dawes arrived with the certain information that a very large body of the royal troops was in motion. The alarm was now generally given to the inhabitants of Lexington, messengers were sent down the road to ascertain the movements of the troops, and the militia company under Captain John Parker appeared on the green to the number of one hundred and thirty. The roll was duly called at this perilous midnight muster, and some answered to their names for the last time on earth.

The company was now ordered to load with powder and ball, and awaited in anxious expectation the return of those who had been sent to reconnoiter the enemy. One of them, in consequence of some misinformation, returned and reported that there was no appearance of troops on the road from Boston. Under this harassing uncertainty and contradiction, the militia were dismissed, to await the return of the other expresses, and with orders to be in readiness at the beat of the drum. One of these messengers was made prisoner by the British, whose march was so cautions, that they remained undiscovered till within a mile and a half of Lexington meeting-house, and time was scarce left for the last messenger to return with the tidings of their approach.

The new alarm was now given; the bell rings, alarm guns are fired, the drum beats to arms. Some of the militia had gone home, when dismissed; but the greater part were in the neighboring houses, and instantly obeyed the summons. Sixty or seventy appeared on the green, and were drawn up in double ranks. At this moment, the British column of eight hundred bayonets appears, headed by their mounted commanders, their banners flying and drums beating a charge. To engage them with a handful of militia of course was madness,—to fly at the sight of them they disdained. The British troops rush furiously on; their commander, with mingled threats and oaths, bid the Americans lay down their arms and disperse, and his own troops to fire.

A moment's delay, as of compunction,<sup>25</sup> follows. The order, with vehement imprecations, is repeated, and they fire.<sup>26</sup> No one falls, and the band of self-devoted heroes, most of whom probably had never seen a body of troops before, stand firm in the front of an army outnumbering them ten to one. Another volley succeeds; the killed and wounded drop, and it was not till they had returned the fire of the overwhelming force that the militia were driven from the field. A scattered fire now succeeded on both sides, while the Americans remained in sight; and the British troops were then drawn up on the green, to fire a volley and give a shout in honor of the victory.

While these incidents were taking place, and every moment then came charged with events which were to give a character to centuries, Hancock and Adams, though removed by their friends from the immediate vicinity of the force sent to apprehend them, were apprised, too faithfully, that the work of death was begun. The heavy and quick-repeated volleys told them a tale that needed no exposition,—which proclaimed that Great Britain had severed that strong tie which bound the descendants of England to the land of their fathers, and had appealed to the right of the strongest.

The inevitable train of consequences burst in prophetic fullness upon their minds; and the patriot Adams, forgetting the scenes of tribulation through which America must pass to realize

<sup>25</sup> Computcion—regret that they should be about to take the lives of such men for no good reason.

<sup>26</sup> There is a dispute as to whether

the British or Americans fired first. Probably the truth will never be known. the prospect, and heedless that the ministers of vengeance were in close pursuit of his own life, uttered that memorable exclamation, equal to anything that can be found in the records of Grecian or Roman heroism—"Oh, what a glorious morning is this !"

Elated with its success, the British army took up its march towards Concord. The intelligence of the projected expedition had been communicated to this town by Dr. Samuel Prescott, in the manner already described; and from Concord had traveled onward in every direction. The interval was employed in removing a portion of the public stores to the neighboring towns, while the aged and infirm, the women and children, sought refuge in the surrounding woods. About seven o'clock in the morning, the glittering arms of the hostile column were seen advancing on the Lincoln road. A body of militia, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, who had taken post for observation on the heights above the entrance to the town, retire at the approach of the army of the enemy, first to the hill a little farther north, and then beyond the bridge. The British troops press forward into the town, and are drawn up in front of the court-house. Parties are then ordered out to the various spots where the public stores and arms were supposed to be deposited. Much had been removed to places of safety, and something was saved by the prompt and innocent artifices 27 of individuals. The destruction of property and of arms was hasty and incomplete, and, considered as the object of an enterprise of such fatal consequences, it stands in shocking contrast with the waste of blood by which it was effected.

It was the first care of the British commander to cut off the approach of the Americans from the neighboring towns, by destroying or occupying the bridges. A party was immediately sent to the south bridge, and tore it up. A force of six companies, under Captains Parsons and Lowrie, was sent to the north

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<sup>27</sup> Artifices-ingenious contrivances. Why are they called innocent ?

bridge.<sup>28</sup> Three companies under Captain Lowrie were left to guard it, and three under Captain Parsons proceeded to Colonel Barrett's house in search of provincial stores. While they were engaged on that errand, the militia of Concord, joined by their brave brethren from the neighboring towns, gathered on the hill opposite the north bridge, under the command of Colonel Robinson and Major Buttriek.

The British companies at the bridge were now apparently bewildered with the perils of their situation, and began to tear up the planks of the bridge; not remembering that this would expose their own party, then at Colonel Barrett's, to certain destruction. The Americans, on the other hand, resolved to keep open the communication with the town, and perceiving the attempt which was made to destroy the bridge, were immediately put in motion, with orders not to give the first fire. They drew near to the bridge, the Acton company in front, led on by the gallant Davis. Three alarm guns were fired into the water, by the British, without arresting the march of our citizens. The signal for a general discharge is then made—a British soldier steps from the ranks, and fires at Major Buttrick.

The ball passed between his arm and his side, and slightly wounded Mr. Luther Blanchard, who stood near him. A volley instantly followed, and Captain Davis was shot through the heart, gallantly marching at the head of the Acton militia against the choice troops of the British line. A private of his company, Hosmer, of Acton, also fell at his side. A general action now ensued, which, after the loss of several killed and wounded, terminated in the retreat of the British party towards the center of the town, followed by the brave band who had driven them from their post.

The advance party at Colonel Barrett's was thus left to its fate;

28 " By the rude bridge t	that	Here once the embattled farmers
arched the flood		stood,
Their flag to April's breeze	un-	And fired the shot heard round the
furled;	-	world."-Emerson.

and no.hing would have been more easy than to effect its entire destruction. But the idea of a declared war had not yet forced itself, with all its consequences, into the minds of our countrymen; and these advanced companies were allowed to return unmolested to the main band.

It was now twelve hours since the first alarm had been given, the evening before, of the meditated expedition. The swift watches of that eventful night had scattered the tidings far and wide; and, widely as they spread, the people rose in their strength. The indignant yeomanry<sup>20</sup> of the land, armed with the weapons which had done service in their fathers' hands, poured to the spot where this new and strange tragedy was acting.

The old New England drums, that had beat at Louisburg, at Quebec, at Martinique, at the Havana,<sup>30</sup> were now sounding on all the roads to Concord. There were officers in the British line that knew the sound; they had heard it in the deadly breach, beneath the black, deep-throated engines of the French and Spanish castles, and they knew what followed, where that sound went before.

With the British, it was a question no longer of protracted contest, nor even of halting long enough to rest their exhausted troops, after a weary night's march, and all the labor, confusion, and distress of the day's efforts. Their dead were hastily buried in the public square; their wounded placed in the vehicles which the town afforded; and a flight commenced, to which the annals of warfare will hardly afford a parallel.

On all the neighboring hills were multitudes, from the surrounding country, of the unarmed and infirm, of women and children, who had fled from the terrors and the perils of the

<sup>29</sup> Yeomanry, in English usage is applied to the small landowners below the gentry. As used here, it is the same as farmers.

<sup>30</sup> Martinique (Mar-tin-eek')-one

of the W. I. Islands belonging to France; it was captured by the English in 1762. Havana, belonging to Spain, was also captured in the same year, plunder and conflagration of their homes; or were collected, with fearful curiosity, to mark the progress of this storm of war. The panic fears of a calamitous flight, on the part of the British, transformed this inoffensive, timid throng into a threatening arrayed of armed men; and there was too much reason for the misconception. Every height of ground within reach of the line of march was covered with the indignant avengers of their slaughtered brethren.

The British light companies were sent out to great distances, as flanking parties; but who was to flank the flankers?<sup>31</sup> Every patch of trees, every rock, every stream of water, every building, every stone wall, was *lined* (I use the words of a British officer in the battle) with an unintermitted fire. Every cross-road opened a new avenue to the assailants. Through one of these, the gallant Brooks led up the minute men of Reading. At another defile they were encountered by the Lexington militia under Captain Parker, who, undismayed at the loss of more than a tenth of their number in killed and wounded in the morning, had returned to the conflict.

At first the contest was kept up by the British with all the skill and valor of veteran troops. To a military eye it was not an unequal contest. The commander was not, or ought not to have been, taken by surprise. Eight hundred picked men, grenadiers and light infantry, from the English army, were no doubt considered by General Gage an ample detachment to march eighteen or twenty miles through an open country, and a very fair match for all the resistance which could be made by unprepared husbandmen, without concert, discipline, or leaders.

A British historian, to paint the terrific aspect of things that presented itself to his countrymen, declares that the rebels swarmed upon the hills, as if they dropped from the clouds. Before the flying troops had reached Lexington, their rout was entire. Some of the officers had been made prisoners, some had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Who was to protect the exposed sides of these parties from the fire of the American riflemen ?

been killed, and several wounded, and among them the commander-in-chief, Colonel Smith. The ordinary means of preserving discipline failed; the wounded, in chaises and wagons, pressed to the front, and obstructed the road; wherever the flanking parties, from the nature of the ground, were forced to come in, the line of march was crowded and broken; the ammunition began to fail; and at length the entire body was on a full run.

"We attempted," says a British officer already quoted, "to stop the men, and form them two deep, but to no purpose; the confusion rather increased than lessened." An English historian says, the British soldiers were driven before the Americans like sheep; till, by a last desperate effort, the officers succeeded in forcing their way to the front, "when they presented their swords and bayonets against the breasts of their own men, and told them, if they advanced, they should die." Upon this, they began to form, under what the same British officer pronounces "a very heavy fire," which must soon have led to the destruction or capture of the whole corps.

At this critical moment a reënforcement arrived. Colonel Smith had sent back a messenger from Lexington, to apprise General Gage of the check he had there received, and of the alarm which was running through the country. Three regiments of infantry and two divisions of marines, with two field-pieces,<sup>32</sup> under the command of Brigadier-General Lord Percy, were accordingly detached. They marched out of Boston, through Roxbury and Cambridge, and came up with the flying party in the hour of their extreme peril. While their field-pieces kept the Americans at bay, the reinforcement drew up in a hollow square, into which, says the British historian, they received the exhausted fugitives, "who lay down on the ground, with their tongues hanging from their mouths, like dogs after a chase."

A half-hour was given to rest; the march was then resumed;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Field-pieces—small cannon such as could be carried along with an army in rapid march.

and, under cover of the field-pieces, every house in Lexington, and on the road downwards, was plundered and set on fire. Though the flames, in most cases, were speedily extinguished, several houses were destroyed. Notwithstanding the attention of a great part of the Americans was thus drawn off, and although the British force was now more than doubled, their retreat still wore the aspect of a flight. The Americans filled the heights that overhung the road, and at every defile the struggle was sharp and bloody.

At West Cambridge, the gallant Warren, never distant when danger was to be braved, appeared in the field, and a musketball soon cut off a lock of hair from his temple. General Heath was with him; nor does there appear, till this moment, to have been any effective command among the American forces.

Below West Cambridge, the militia from Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline came up. The British field-pieces began to lose their terror. A sharp skirmish followed, and many fell on both sides. Indignation and outraged humanity struggled on the one hand, veteran discipline and desperation on the other; and the contest, in more than one instance, was man to man, and bayonet to bayonet.

The British officers had been compelled to dismount from their horses to escape the certain destruction which attended their exposed situation. The wounded, to the number of two hundred, now presented the most distressing and constantly increasing obstruction to the progress of the march. Near one hundred brave men had fallen in this disastrous flight; a considerable number had been made prisoners; a round or two of ammunition only remained; and it was not till late in the evening, nearly twenty-four hours from the time when the first detachment was put in motion, that the exhausted remnant reached the heights of Charlestown.

The boats of the vessels of war were immediately employed to transport the wounded—the remaining British troops in Boston came over to Charlestown, to protect their weary countrymen during the night; and, before the close of the next day, the royal army was formally besieged in Boston.

Such, imperfectly sketched in their outline, were the events of the day we celebrate; a day as important as any recorded in the history of man. It is a proud anniversary for our neighborhood. We have cause for honest complacency, that when the distant citizen of our own republic, when the stranger from foreign lands, inquires for the spots where the noble blood of the Revolution began to flow, where the first battle of that great and glorious contest was fought, he is guided through the villages of Middlesex <sup>35</sup> to the plains of Lexington and Concord. It is a commemoration <sup>34</sup> of our soil, to which ages, as they pass, will add dignity and interest; till the names of Lexington and Concord, in the annals of freedom, will stand by the side of the most honorable names in Roman or Grecian story.

The people always conquer. They always must conquer. Armies may be defeated, kings may be overthrown, and new dynasties imposed, by foreign arms, on an ignorant and slavish race, that care not in what language the covenant of their subjection runs, nor in whose name the deed of their barter and sale is made out. But the people never invade; and, when they rise against the invader, are never subdued. If they are driven from the plains, they fly to the mountains. Steep rocks and everlasting hills are their castles; the tangled, pathless thicket their palisado, and nature, God, is their ally. Now he overwhelms the hosts of their enemies beneath his drifting mountains of sand; now he buries them beneath a falling atmosphere of polar snows; he lets loose his tempests on their fleets; he puts a folly into their counsels, a madness into the hearts of their leaders; and never gave, and never will give, a final triumph over a virtuous and gallant people, resolved to be free.

<sup>34</sup> Commemoration implies a calling to mind of these events, with a solemn recognition of their importance.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Middlesex—the name of the county in which are situated the towns between Boston and Concord.

Honor to the venerable survivors of that momentous day which tried men's souls. Great is the happiness they are permitted to enjoy, in uniting, within the compass of their own experience, the doubtful struggles and the full-blown prosperity of our happy land. May they share the welfare they witness around them; it is the work of their hands, the fruit of their toils, the price of their lives freely hazarded, that their children might live free. Bravely they dared; patiently—ay, more than patiently—heroically, piously, they suffered; largely, richly may they enjoy.

But chiefly to those who fell; to those who stood in the breach, at the breaking of that day of blood at Lexington; to those who joined in battle, and died honorably, facing the foe at Concord; to those who fell in the gallant pursuit of the flying enemy,—let us this day pay a tribute of grateful admiration. The old and the young; the gray-haired veteran, the stripling in the flower of youth; husbands, fathers, brethren, sons,—they stood side by side, and fell together, like the beauty of Israel, on their high places.

We have founded this day a monument to their memory. When the hands that rear it are motionless, when the feeble voice is silent, which now speaks our father's praise, the graven stone shall bear witness to other ages of our gratitude and their worth. And ages still farther on, when the monument itself, like those who build it, shall have crumbled to dust, the happy aspect of the land which our fathers redeemed shall remain, one common, eternal monument to their memory.

## THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

The following account of the first great battle of the Revolution has been taken from Mr. Everett's "Oration on the Battle of Bunker Hill, delivered on the 17th of June, 1850, in the ship-house in the Navy Yard in Charlestown." It presents with dramatic clearness and vigor and with patriotic ardor the leading incidents in this most significant event. The author had carefully examined the most authentic sources of information, including many letters written shortly after the battle and then recently published. A comparison should be made with Mr. Webster's famous masterpiece, the oration delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument on the same day twenty-five years before.

As far as the narrative of events is concerned, the battle of Bunker Hill must now be committed to the classical historians of the country, to take its fitting place in our annals. To the vigorous and brilliant pen of Bancroft,<sup>1</sup> which has already recorded the settlement and colonization of the United States, and to the accurate and philosophical research of Sparks,<sup>2</sup> to which we are indebted for the lives of Washington and Franklin, and the standard editions of their works, we can safely leave the great event of this day to find its permanent record in those histories of the Revolution which they permit us to expect from them.

The importance of the battle of Bunker Hill<sup>3</sup> rests mainly on

<sup>1</sup> George Bancroft (1800–): The author of the most comprehensive and philosophical history of the United States. The first volume was published in 1834. He has written twelve volumes (revised in 1884–5, in 6 vols.), bringing the history down to 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Jared Sparks (1789-1866) is distinguished for his eminent services in the investigation of several periods of American history. He collected and published the writings of Washington and Franklin, in 12 vols. each. He also wrote a valuable series of American Biography in 15 vols.

<sup>3</sup> It was at first intended to fortify Bunker Hill, but "by the advice of Engineer Gridley, Breed's Hill was

its consequences. Its influence on the success of the Revolution lifts it up from the level of vulgar gladiatorial contests, and gives it a place among those few momentous appeals to arms which have affected the cause of liberty and the condition of man for ages. But even in itself considered, I know not what element of stirring interest is wanting, to make it one of the most extraordinary events in history. Need I remind you of the solemn parade on Cambridge Common at the close of the day on the 16th of June; the blessing invoked by the President of the University on the yet unannounced expedition; the silent and thoughtful march of the column under the veteran Prescott,<sup>4</sup> preceded by sergeants with dark-lanterns; the lines marked out by Gridlev, the same who at Louisburg,<sup>5</sup> at the third trial, threw a shell into the citadel, and who drew the only two field-pieces used at the fall of Quebec up the heights of Abraham; the midnight toil in the trenches; the cry of the sentinel, "All's well," heard from the British ships " moored between Boston and Charlestown, by Colonel Prescott and Major Brooks, as, twice in the course of that short and anxious night, they went down to the water's side? The day dawns and the fire of the "Lively" opens on the redoubt. The garrison in Boston, the American encampments, the surrounding country, start at the sound. As the morning advances, every roof, steeple, tree, and hill-top that commands the scene is alive with expectation. At noon, the British troops cross in twenty-eight barges from Long Wharf and

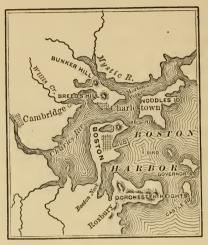
subtituted as more eligible for resisting a Britist unding."—Carrington's Battles the Revolution.

<sup>4</sup> William Frescott (1726-95) was ordered to command the detachment by Gen. Ward, at that time commander-in chief of the troops near Boston. His men were not aware of the object of the expedition until they reached Charlestown Neck.

<sup>5</sup> Louisburg. A fortress on the

island of Cape Breton, built by the French in 1713, and at that time one of the most strongly fortified places in America It was surrendered to the Americans and English June 17, 1745, after a siege of fortyeight days.

<sup>6</sup> Five men-of-war and several floating batteries were within gunshot. See "Frothingham's Siege of Boston," p. 124. the North Battery, in Boston; and as they move, the rays of a meridian summer's sun are reflected from burnished arms, gay uniforms, and the sparkling waters. A sharp fire from Copp's



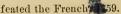
Hill,' the ships of war, and the floating batteries sweeps across Charlestown to cover the debarkation.

They laud at or near this spot, then called Moulton's Point and lying in a state of nature. The hostile force consists of regiments that have won laurels at Dettingen <sup>\*</sup> and Minden, led by chiefs who had been trained in all the wars of Europe. It is soon perceived that the balls brought over are too large for the field-pieces. Sir

William Howe,<sup>9</sup> the commander-in-chief, having reconnoitered the American lines and formed an exaggerated opinion of their strength and of the re-enforcements which were seen to arrive from Medford, sends over to Boston for more troops. In the interval, his army, awaiting the arrival of the re-enforcements, makes a leisurely meal from the contents of their knapsacks.

<sup>7</sup> Copp's Hill: A small eminence in the North End of Boston, at that time fortified, now a burial-place.

<sup>8</sup> Dettingen: A small town on the Main, in Germany, near which an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, under King George II. defeated the French in 1743. Minden, a town in Westphalia, about three miles from which, the English under the Duke of Brunswick de-



<sup>9</sup> Sir William Hore (1729–1814) had distinguished himself at Quebec under Gen. Wolfe, and was made a major-general in 1772. In May, 1775, he brought over re-enforcements for Gen. Gage, and was the commander-in-chief on this occasion, although he was not in sympathy with the oppressive policy of George III.

Far different was the condition of the Americans, who had now toiled in throwing up the entrenchments from midnight, without repose, without adequate supplies, without relief, under an incessant cannonade, harassing though not destructive, beneath a summer's sun. They occupied the redoubt, the spot on which the monument is built, and a breastwork leading from it, on the northerly slope of the hill, of which the traces still remain. About the time when the British army landed, the regiments under Stark " and Reed arrived from Medford. Stark had marched at a leisurely pace over the Neck, beneath the fire of the floating batteries, because one fresh man in action (according to the observation of Stark, as reported by General Dearborn, to whom it was addressed) was better than ten who are exhausted. At this time, also, Warren<sup>11</sup> arrived at the lines, and, without assuming the command as major-general, acted to the last as a volunteer. Putnam, the only mounted officer in the field, passed between Charlestown and headquarters more than once in the course of the day, to hasten the re-enforcements.

At three o'clock the battle began. The British force, in two principal columns, moved forward to the attack. The right, under the command of Howe, was directed against a position which had been taken up on the Mystic River<sup>12</sup> by the Connecti-

<sup>10</sup> General John Stark, of New Hampshire (1728–1822). On the news of the affair at Lexington he hastened to Cambridge and was chosen Colonel of the New Hampshire troops. He rendered valuable services in this battle. He was engaged in the Northern Campaign of 1777, and was the hero of the battle of Bennington.

<sup>11</sup> General Warren opposed the project of fortifying Breed's Hill, because of the scarcity of powder. When urged not to expose his person, he said : "I know that I may fall; but where's the man who does not think it glorious and delightful to die for his country?" He gave a conspicuous example of unselfish patriotism in serving in the ranks, although he was offered the command by both Prescott and Putnam.

<sup>12</sup> A considerable stream just east of Charlestown. It would be a valuable exercise to draw a map of the several places mentioned in this description. Valuable assistance may be obtained from "Carrington's Battles of the Revolution." cut men under Knowlton, detached from the redoubt and supported by Stark's and Reed's re-enforcement; the left was led by Pigot directly against the redoubt. The artillery, from Copp's Hill, the ships of war, and the floating batteries, redoubled its fire; and as the hostile troops moved slowly up the hill, they halted at intervals to give their field-pieces an opportunity to make an impression on the American lines. The American force watched unmoved these fearful pauses in the advance of the enemy. Their own artillery was of the most inefficient description and for the most part feebly served. The men were ordered by their officers, both in the redoubt and along the lines, to reserve their fire till the enemy was near at hand, when it was delivered with such fatal effect that, after a few moments' gallant resistance, he retreated to the foot of the hill. Such was the result of the first attack, both at the redoubt and breastwork, and at the rail fence.<sup>13</sup>

A brief pause succeeds, and the enemy rallies to a second attack. Again his forces move in two divisions. The Americans, gaining confidence from their first success, reserve their fire with still greater coolness than before, and until the hostile force is within six or eight rods. It was then given with proportionably greater effect. It was vigorously returned from the veteran ranks of the enemy; but, after a brief struggle between discipline and courage on the one side and the unerring aim of the American musket leveled with equal steadiness on the other, the royal troops are again compelled to retreat to the foot of the hill, and some of the men even take shelter in the boats.

Thus far the important day had gone with the Americans, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances under which

<sup>13</sup> The defences of the Americans were in an unfinished state. They consisted of a redoubt about eight rods square, a breastwork extending about a hundred yards to the north of the redoubt, and a hastily constructed defence consisting of two parallel lines of fence, the space between them filled with newly cut grass. This was the most assailable spot. It was against this position that Gen. Howe led the right wing. they had contended, the weariness of the sleepless night and of eighteen hours' continuous march, toil, suspense, and conflict; with no refreshment beyond the scanty supply brought with them; and no efficient relief. Had they been adequately supported and re-enforced,<sup>14</sup> they would no doubt have crowned a heroic defense by a final and complete victory. But the decisive struggle in the redoubt and at the breastwork remained to be made by those who had borne the heat and burden of the day, whose ammunition was now nearly gone, their numbers greatly reduced, their strength exhausted.

Under these circumstances the last great effort was made by the enemy. His forces are rallied with some difficulty for another attack. New re-enforcements are brought over from Boston, and Sir Henry Clinton, an officer of experience and gallantry, crosses with them as a volunteer, and renders the most important services, in leading up the men once more to action. Everything is disposed for a final and desperate effort. A demonstration only is made against the rail fence, and the main force of the movement is directed against the redoubt and breastwork. As the British army advances, Charlestown <sup>16</sup> is fired by shells from the opposite batteries in Boston. The flames catch from building to building, till the whole town is on fire. The British field-train forces its way through the undefended opening between the rail fence and the breastwork, so as to command the interior of the redoubt.

The royal troops, advancing in one column, reserve their fire till they reach the entrenchment; and while the conflagration of three or four hundred buildings throws a broad sheet of smoke and flames across the sky, the redoubt is forced at the point of

<sup>14</sup> Various reasons are given for the failure to send forward adequate reenforcements. "Great confusion existed at Cambridge. Gen. Ward was not sufficiently supplied with staff-officers to bear his orders; and some were neglected and others were given incorrectly."—Frothingham's account, p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> It is said that scattering shots had been fired from several houses in Charlestown upon the British troops. the bayonet. Few of the American guns are furnished with that weapon. Prescott defends himself with his sword against an assault with the bayonet, which passes more than once through his coat: the hostile force outnumbers the Americans in the redoubt by more than ten to one, probably in twice that proportion; and a reluctant order is given to retreat. Among the last to quit the redoubt was the lion-hearted Warren,16 and the first steps of the pursuer were over his dead body. Ages to come will weep tears of admiration on the stone which marks the spot where he fell. Putnam attempted a rally on Bunker Hill (properly so called), but without success. The power of physical endurance was exhausted. No attempt at pursuit was made by the royal commander. Sir Henry Clinton strongly urged that the dear-bought advantages of the day should be followed up, but Howe, with greater prudence, was well content with the possession of the field of battle.

The losses of the two parties attest the severity of this great day. On the royal side, the official report acknowledges the loss of one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded—a greater number than the entire amount of Prescott's detachment. On the American side, according to the official account, one hundred and fifteen were killed, three hundred and five were wounded, and thirty were made prisoners; in all four hundred and fifty, a greater loss than that of the Grecians at Marathon or Platæa, or of Cæsar at Pharsalia. If General Gage's loose statement of the number of his troops in action is correct, one half of his troops were killed or wounded.<sup>17</sup> He intrenched himself the next day

<sup>16</sup> "Not all the havoc and devastation they have made has wounded me like the death of Warren. We want him in the Senate; we want him in his profession; we want him in the field. We mourn for the citizen, the Senator, the physician, and the warrior."—Letter of Mrs. Adams, July 5, 1775.

<sup>17</sup> The number of troops engaged

on either side cannot be precisely ascertained. Gen. Putnam estimated the number of Americans to be twenty-two hundred; others do not put it higher than fifteen hundred. According to Frothingham, probably not less than four thousand British troops were actually engaged. on Breed's and Bunker Hill, and from these positions, so long as the royal army remained in Boston, it never attempted to advance a foot into the country.

A letter, written a week afterwards, by General Burgoyne gives a graphic and animated picture of the battle, which he witnessed from Copp's Hill. Among the traits with which he heightens the effect of the scene, he mentions the reflection in the mind of the spectator that "defeat was the final loss of the British empire in America." It has been debated whether the result of the day is, upon the whole, to be accounted a victory or a defeat to the British arms.<sup>18</sup> If we are permitted to apply General Burgoyne's criterion, we may refer to history for the settlement of that controversy.

Such was our battle of Marathon; and not more decisively did that contest affect the fortunes of Greece than the character of our revolutionary war was affected by the battle of Bunker Hill. It put the final seal to that trial of temper and courage which commenced on the 19th of April. Victory or defeat, "it was the final loss of the British empire to America."

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The following narrative of this battle, prepared by order of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, is appended as the best contemporaneous account of this event, and as also furnishing some additional particulars :

## In Committee of Safety, July 25, 1775.

In obedience to the order of the Congress, this committee have inquired into the premises, and, upon the best information obtained, find that the commanders of the New England army had, about the 14th ult., received advice that General Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, which orders were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> It has been well said that it was of a victory, under the name of a "a victory, with all the moral effect defeat."

soon to be executed. Upon which it was determined, with the advice of this Committee. to send a party who might erect some fortification upon the said hill and defeat this design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult., orders were issued that a detachment of 1000 men should that evening march to Charlestown and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the farther part of the peninsula next to Boston, for, by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other. Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up (which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design), it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity, so that by the dawn of the day they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's upon Copp's Hill in Boston, directly opposite to our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works, by which only one man fell. The provincials continued to labor indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breastwork extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy.

Between twelve and one o'clock, a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed . approaching towards Charlestown; these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march toward our lines. At this instant smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy that the smoke might cover the attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two regiments of provincials who had been posted in that

town. If either of these were their design, they were disappointed for the wind, shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. The provincials within their intrenchments impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of smallarms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed, by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchment. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more and, having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breastwork from one end of it to the other, the provincials retreated within their little fort.

The ministerial army now made a decisive effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breastwork on the outside of the fort was abandoned; the ammunition of the provincials was expended, and few of their arms were fixed with bayonets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? But this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and the provincials had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt ends of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of the provincials, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach. The engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigor; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evidenced a courage worthy a better cause. All their efforts, however, were insufficient to compel the provincials to retreat, till their main body had left the hill. Perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom had never before seen an engagement.

In this retreat the Americans had to pass over the Neck, which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the mainland. This Neck was commanded by the "Glasgow" man-of-war and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner as that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this Neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable re-enforcements from getting to the provincials on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial troops again took possession of the hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defense. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased when, by the best accounts from Boston, we are told that, of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (92 of which were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded, and about 1200 of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were any time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded; thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was Major-general Joseph Warren, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic Colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has since died of his wounds; and the brave Lieutenant-colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston jail. These three, with Major Moore and Major M'Clary, who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament. But the officers and soldiers in general who were wounded are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were in general large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed; and its chimneys and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans exciting an indignation in their bosoms which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants who have introduced horror, desolation, and havoc into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty.

Though the officers and soldiers of the ministerial army meanly exult in having gained this ground, yet they cannot but attest to the bravery of our troops and acknowledge that the battles of Fontenoy and Minden, according to the numbers engaged and the time the engagement continued, were not to be compared with this; and, indeed, the laurels of Minden were totally blasted in the battle of Charlestown. The ground purchased thus dearly by the British troops affords them no advantage against the American army, now strongly intrenched on a neighboring eminence. The Continental troops, nobly animated from the justice of their cause, sternly urge to decide the contest by the sword; but we wish for no further diffusion of blood if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it : but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

O Britons ! be wise for yourselves before it is too late, and secure a commercial intercourse with the American colonies before it is forever lost; disarm your ministerial assassins, put an end to this unrighteous and unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despot to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your right to tax and officer the colonies till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is irrecoverably lost. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

J. PALMER, per order.





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