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HERITAGE U.S.A. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOLKWAYS FH 5005

VOLUME ONE

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH 5005

HERITAGE U.S.A.

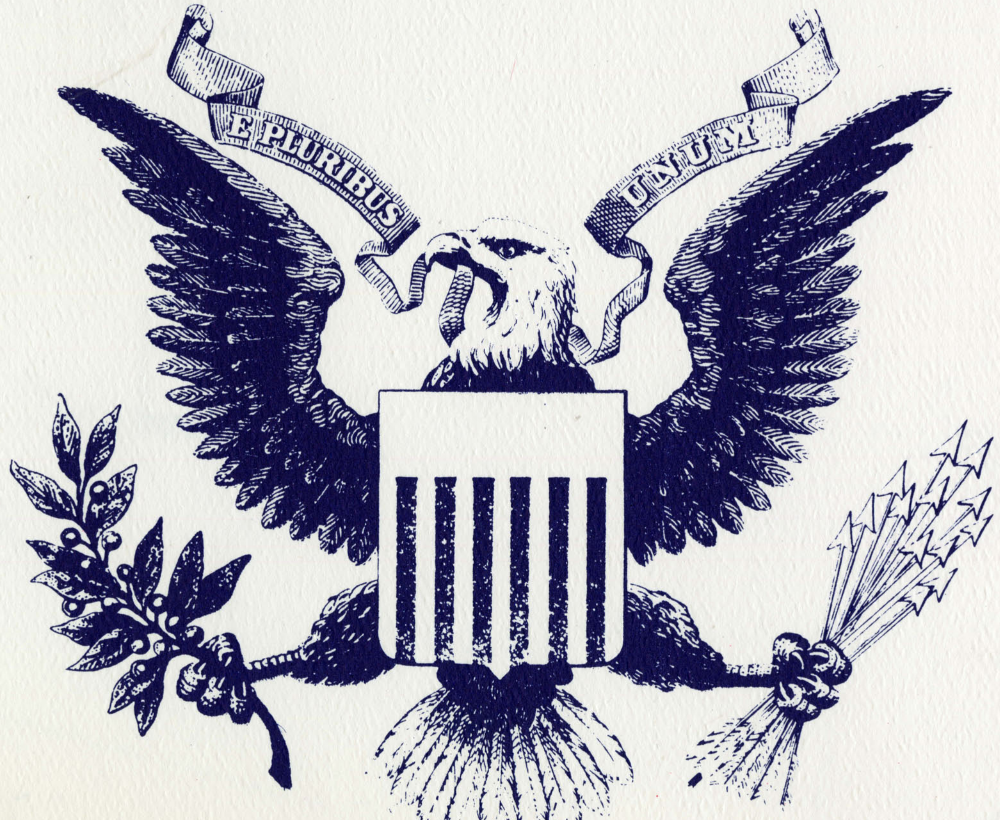
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Cover design by Ronald Clyne

The Eve of Conflict
The Winning of Independence

Conceived, Compiled and Edited by Richard B. Morris

Narration by Richard B. Morris and David Kurlan



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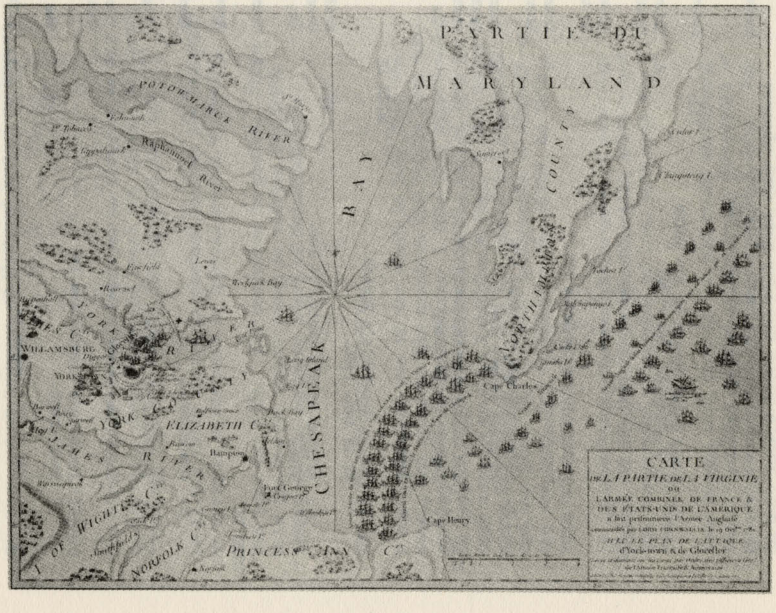

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Richard B. Morris

The Eve of Conflict

(or That "Fierce Spirit of Resistance")

SIDE I

I. A. Introductory Commentary: "Then and there the child Independence was born"

B. James Otis' Speech on the Writs of Assistance, Feb. 1761.

II. The New Imperial Policy and the Stamp Act -- Commentary.

A. Patrick Henry in House of Burgesses

B. John Dickinson at Stamp Act Congress in New York.

III. The Battle in Parliament over Repeal of the Stamp Act.

A. Commentary.

B. George Grenville's Speech of 14 Jan. 1766.

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A. Introduction to Alexander Hamilton.

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A woodcut of Franklin the printer.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Side ONE: The Eve of Conflict

These are the voices of the American Revolution -- the eloquent voices raised by leaders on both sides of the ocean who warned of the coming crisis and fought the fight their consciences dictated. They fought their oratorical battles in the law courts, in Parliament and in colonial legislative halls, in town meeting, and in Congress. At last, when further talk seemed futile, they took up their muskets and fought on the battlefields of Brooklyn Heights and Princeton, at Saratoga and at Cowpens, at Montreal and at Yorktown.

SIDE I, Band 2:

The first voice you will hear was as eloquent as any in its day. John Adams who heard the speech, declared; "Then and there the child Independence was born."

It is the voice raised in protest against the issuance of writs of assistance or general search warrants.

The year was 1761. The courtroom is packed. James Otis the Boston lawyer rises to address the royal judges of the superior Court of Massachusetts.

May It Please Your Honors:

I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning Writs of Assistance. I take this opportunity to declare, that whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law book. . .

Your Honors will find in the old books concerning the office of a justice of the peace precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner I rely on it, that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. . .

Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerrical suggestion of a heated brain. . . . What a scene does this open! Every man, prompted by revenge, ill humor, or wantonness to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house, may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and blood.

SIDE I, Band 3:

A great war with France for the mastery of the Continent had at long last ended. England was victorious, but her colonies were restive. They wanted the redcoats to go home. They resented new government regulations and controls. But Britain's greatly enlarged empire saddled her with new burdens and greater expenses. She needed more revenue. How was it to be gotten? Englishmen believed they were taxed to the hilt. Britain's first lord of the treasury, George Grenville, felt that Americans should pay its fair share of the costs of operating the empire. The result was new taxes -- a sugar act on imports which was strictly enforced and a stamp act, which imposed a tax upon newspapers, almanacs, legal documents, and even playing cards. This was direct taxation by Parliament. Something Parliament had never done before. In the Virginia House of Burgesses in Williamsburg a young upcountry lawyer presented a series of resolves protesting the Stamp Act. In fiery language he defied the King and his ministers. According to later accounts, he "exclaimed in a voice of thunder":

Caesar had his Brutus -- Charles the first, his Cromwell -- and George the third ---
(Treason (the Speaker) -- treason, treason (from every part of the House) may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.

SIDE I, Band 4:

Echoes of Patrick Henry's voice resounded throughout the land. A Stamp Act Congress was convened at New York in October, 1765. Congress denounced taxation without representation. Its resolves closely followed the arguments advanced by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania.

That this is the fatal tendency of that statute, appears from propositions so evident that he who runs may read and understand. To mention them is to convince. Men cannot be happy without freedom; nor free, without security of power; nor so secure, unless the sole power to dispose of it be lodged in themselves; therefore no people can be free, but where taxes are imposed on them with their own consent given personally, or by their representatives. If then the colonists are equally entitled to happiness with the inhabitants of Great Britain and freedom is essential to happiness, they are equally entitled to freedom. If they are equally entitled to freedom, and an exclusive right of taxation is essential to freedom, they are equally entitled to such taxation.

SIDE I, Band 5:

The reaction against the Stamp Act in America rocked England from end to end. Parliament was sharply divided on the issue. The King replaced the Grenville ministry by a new government headed by the Marquis of Rockingham, a member of the liberal Whig group which was friendly to America. Grenville warned Parliament against repudiating his program. This is George Grenville addressing the House of Commons on January 14, 1766:

The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they saw, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.

We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy, with expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honor of serving the Crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favor, the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. . . I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by (an) act of parliament. . . I offered to do everything in my power to advance the trade of America.

SIDE I, Band 6:

But America had her champions in Parliament. That very same day, William Pitt, whose brilliant leadership had brought England through a great war triumphant, answered Grenville:

Gentlemen, Sir (to the speaker) I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. . .

The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when were they made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honor of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war.

You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged; you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent in favor of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole. . .

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valor of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, which so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the stage, and pull down the constitution with her. In this your boasted peace -- not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you?. . . The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. . .

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovreign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent.

SIDE II, Band 1:

The debate grew hotter. Charles Townshend, author-to-be of the detested Townshend duties, put this question to the Commons:

And now will these Americans, children <u>planted by our care</u>, <u>nourished up by our indulgence</u> until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden (which) we lie under?

SIDE II, Band 2:

Colonel Isaac Barré's reply to Townshend rang a bell in every colonial town and village:

They planted by your care? No! Your oppressions planted 'em in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and unhospitable country -- where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I take it upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

They nourished by <u>your</u> indulgence? They grew by your neglect of 'em. As soon as you began to care about 'em, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over 'em, in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some member(s) of this house -- sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions and to prey upon 'em; men whose beavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who to my knowledge were glad by going to a foreign country to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

They produced by <u>your</u> arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense, have exerted a valor amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defense of a country, whose frontier, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. -- But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart.

SIDE II, Band 3:

Sitting as a committee of the whole the House of Commons heard various colonial experts on the effect of the tax measures. The most telling testimony was given by Benjamin Franklin, agent for Pennsylvania, and already a world-renowned personage as scientist, humanitarian, newspaper editor, and statesmen. Franklin made a skilled witness:

<u>Q</u>. What is your name, and place of abode?

<u>A</u>. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

<u>Q</u>. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

<u>A</u>. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

<u>Q</u>. Do not you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty if it was moderated?

<u>A</u>. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

<u>Q</u>. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before 1763?

<u>A</u>. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament.

<u>Q</u>. And what is their temper now?

<u>A</u>. O, very much altered.

<u>Q</u>. Did you ever hear the authority of Parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

<u>A</u>. The authority of Parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

<u>Q</u>. In what light did the people of America use to consider the Parliament of Great Britain?

<u>A</u>. They considered the Parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration.

<u>Q</u>. And have they not still the same respect for Parliament?

<u>A</u>. No, it is greatly lessened.

<u>Q</u>. To what cause is that owing?

<u>A</u>. To a concurrence of causes, the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themselves; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps; taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

<u>Q</u>. Don't you think they would submit to the Stamp Act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars of small moment?

A. No; they will never submit to it.

Q. If the Stamp Act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of Parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions. . .

Q. What used to be the pride of Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

SIDE II, Band 4:

Parliament yielded to America's protest. It repealed the Stamp Act, but then turned around and asserted its unbounded right to legislate for the colonies. This was a forecast of Britain's future policy. No attempt was made to offer the colonies a larger role in the governing of the empire. Instead, the government backed and filled, advanced and retreated, threatened and mollified. In 1767, a new series of duties on exports were levied, but, again, most of these were repealed within a few years as a result of a renewal of colonial resistance.

Then came the fifth of March, 1770, a tragic date in American history. It was snowing in Boston that evening when a fight broke out between some British soldiers quartered in the town and the populace. The soldiers fired -- whether or not their commanding officer, Captain Preston, gave them the command will never be definitely established -- and killed a number of persons. Fury gripped the colonies. All business in Boston was shut tight, bells tolled a solemn peal and some 20,000 spectators lined the streets as the funeral cortege passed through. In such an atmosphere, how could the accused soldiers get a fair trial? Two Patriot leaders, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr. felt it their duty as lawyers to undertake this unpopular defense. Adams was thirty-five years old at the time, Quincy only thirty. Both risked their careers by espousing the detested cause of the redcoats.

This is the letter young Quincy's father sent him:

"I am under great affliction at hearing the bitterest approaches uttered against you, for having become an advocate for those criminals who are charged with the murder of their fellow-citizens. Good God! Is it possible? I will not believe it."

Quincy's answer:

"I have little leisure and less inclination either to know or to take notice of those ignorant slanderers, who have dared utter their 'bitter reproaches' in your hearing against me. . . If they had been friends they would have surely spared a little reflection on the nature of an attorney's oath and duty."

Here is Josiah Quincy's memorable closing speech to the jury:

May It Please Your Honors, and You, Gentlemen of the Jury:

I am for the prisoners at the bar, and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaría: "If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessings and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind." . . . We find, in the rules laid down by the greatest English judges who have been the brightest of mankind: we are to look upon it as more beneficial that many guilty persons should escape unpunished than one innocent person should suffer. . .

I will enlarge no more on the evidence, but submit it to you. Facts are stubborn things, and whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictates of our passions, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence; nor is the law less stable than the fact. If an assault was made to endanger their lives, the law is clear: they had a right to kill in their own defense. If it was not so severe as to endanger their lives, yet if they were assaulted at all, struck and abused by (the) blows of any sort -- by snowballs, oystershells, cinders, clubs, or sticks of any kind -- this was a provocation for which the law reduces the offense of killing down to manslaughter, in consideration of those passions in our nature which cannot be eradicated. To your candor and justice I submit the prisoners and their cause.

The jury acquitted the captain and six of the men. Two other redcoats were found guilty of manslaughter.

SIDE II, Band 5:

But Boston and all America would not soon forget the night of March the fifth, 1770. Famous orators like John Hancock commemorated the anniversary of the Boston Massacre with passionately patriotic speeches. Most eloquent of these was the one delivered five years after the tragedy and just a month before the battle of Lexington. A few months later Joseph Warren died in gallant defense of Bunker's Hill.

The many injuries offered to the town, I pass over in silence. I cannot now mark out the path which led to that unequalled scene of horror, the sad remembrance of which takes the full possession of my soul. The sanguinary theatre again opens itself to view. The baleful images of terror crowd around me; and discontented ghosts, with hollow groans, appear to solemnize the anniversary of the fifth of March.

Approach we then the melancholy walk of death. Hither let me call the gay companion; here let me drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with social mirth; hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son--come, widowed mourner, here satiate thy grief. Behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and, to complete the pompous show of wretchedness, bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate -- take heed, ye orphan babes, lest, whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly corpes your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brains! What wretch has dared deface the image of his God? Has haughty France, or cruel Spain, sent forth her myrmidons? Has the grim savage rushed again from the far-distant wilderness; or does some fiend, fierce from the depth of hell, with all the rancorous malice which the apostate damned can feel, twang her destructive bow, and hurl her deadly arrows at our breast? No, none of these--but how astonishing! It is the hand of Britain that inflicts the wound! The arms of George, our rightful king, have been employed to shed that blood, when justice, or the honor of his crown, had called his subjects to the field.

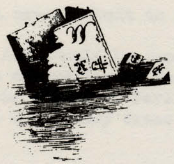
Our streets are again filled with armed men; our harbor is crowded with ships of war; but these cannot intimidate us; our liberty must be preserved; it is far dearer than life -- we hold it even dear as our allegiance; we must defend it against the attacks of friends as well as enemies; we cannot suffer even Britons to ravish it from us. . .

Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful; but we have many friends, determining to be free, and heaven and earth will aid the resolution. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question, on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises it suppliant hands, imploring defense against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons, who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue; but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

VIRTUAL REPRESENTATION. 1775.

April 1, 1775. Price, 6d.

1. One String Jack, Deliver your property.
2. Begar, just so in France. } Accomplices.
3. Te Deum. }
4. I give you that man's money for my use.
5. I will not be robbed.
6. I shall be wounded with you.
7. I am blinded.
8. The French Roman Catholic town of Quebec.
9. The English Protestant town of Boston.



Side THREE: The Winning of Independence

SIDE III, Band 1:

The scene is Boston harbor. A December night in 1773. A band of Mohawk braves repair to the wharves, give the war whoop, and board the ship Dartmouth. Several hundred chests of tea are broken up and their contents dumped.

It was the Boston Patriots' way of protesting against the Tea Act, which gave a monopoly of the tea trade to an English company and would have destroyed all competition.

All America cheered, and there were other tea parties where other Patriots poured. But in England King George III was unfuriated. George III was a rigid, moralistic, and censorious person. He has been called the spiritual ancestor of Colonel Blimp. On the surface he was equable and reserved, but in fact he was hot-tempered, tense, talkative, bore grudges, and identified his own interests with those of the state. Worst of all, he was meddlesome and obstinate. In Parliament he was supported by his own faction, known as the King's Friends, chief of whom was Lord North, the prime minister.

The Tea Party made up George III's mind. He decided on a tough policy toward America and quickly assumed the leadership of the war groups.

This is a dispatch he sent to Lord North on November 18th, 1774:

I am not sorry that the line of conduct seems now chalked out, which the enclosed dispatches thoroughly justify; the New England Governments are in a State of Rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent.

SIDE III, Band 2:

George III was right. Blows would decide the fate of the empire, but not in the way he predicted. His decision to use force precipitated the Great Debate in Parliament. Bills were introduced to close the port of Boston, annual the charter of Massachusetts, and quarter troops throughout America. These were known as the Coercive Acts, and in America they were denounced as the "Intolerable Acts." Parliament debated them in a vengeful mood. The friends of America tried to stave off these measures. The greatest speech during the session was delivered by Edmund Burke on March 22nd, 1775, in which he pleaded for conciliation with America:

In this character of the Americans, a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole; and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely. . .

In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. . . . This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defense, full of resources. In other countries the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance; and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest. . . Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry their bolts in their pounces to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, "So far shalt thou go, and no further." Who are you, that should fret and rage, and bite the chains of nature? -- Nothing worse happens to you, then does to all nations, who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. . .

The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We cannot, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation, in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale would detect the imposition. Your speech would betray you. An Englishmen is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery. . .

If then the removal of the causes of this spirit of American liberty be, for the greater part, or rather entirely, impracticable; if the ideas of criminal process be inapplicable, or, if applicable, are in the highest degree inexpedient, what way yet remains? No way is open, but the third and last -- to comply with the American spirit as necessary; or, if you please, (to) submit to it, as a necessary evil. . .

Sir, I think you must perceive that I am resolved this day to have nothing at all to do with the question of the right of taxation. . . The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable; but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not, what a lawyer tells me, I may do; but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. . .

Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is. English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

SIDE III, Band 3:

The British and the Tories in America charged that the Patriots were following a lawless course. In New York they contended that the actions of the Patriots violated the province's charter. This argument forced the Patriots to assert that there was a higher law. In the summer of 1774, Alexander Hamilton, a brilliant young abundent at King's College, now Columbia University, addressed a mass meeting in The Fields, near the present site of New York's City Hall:

The sacred rights of mankind are not to be for among old parchments or musty records; they are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of Divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power.

SIDE III, Band 4:

As Recoats made Boston an occupied camp while minutemen in the countryside rallied to resist them, tension mounted everywhere.

On the 23rd of March, 1775, the Virginia Convention of Delegates heard Patrick Henry deliver his most memorable address:

I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains, which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we any thing new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted?

Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done every thing that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free, if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending, if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! -- I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destines of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clinking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable -- and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!!

It is in vain, sir to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace -- but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

NOTE.—The following list of the names of the first martyrs in the cause of American liberty, is given in the eighteenth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections:

LEXINGTON.—*Killed:* Jonas Parker, Robert Monroe, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Harrington, John Brown, Jedediah Moore, John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman, 10. *Wounded:* John Robbins, Solomon Pierce, John Tidd, Joseph Comee, Ebenezer Monroe, Jr., Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, Prince Estabrook, Jedediah Monroe, Francis Brown, 10.

CONCORD.—*Wounded:* Charles Miles, Nathan Barrett, Abel Prescott, Jr., Jonas Brown, George Meriot, 5.

CAMBRIDGE.—*Killed:* William Marcy, Moses Richardson, John Hicks, Jason Russell, Jabez Wyman, Jason Winship, 6. *Wounded:* Samuel Whittemore, 1. *Missing:* Samuel Frost, Seth Russell, 2.

NEEDHAM.—*Killed:* John Bacon, Elisha Mills, Amos Mills, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Jonathan Parker, 5. *Wounded:* Eleazer Kingsbury, —— Tolman, 2.

... Reed, 2. *Wounded:* Joshua Haynes, Jr., 1.

... Luther Blanchard, 1.

TOTAL: Killed, 49; Wounded, 39; Missing, 5=93.

SIDE IV, Band 1:

April 19th, 1775. The Battle of Lexington, "the shot heard 'round the world."

The war had begun. The Second Continental Congress organized an army and appointed George Washington of Virginia to its command.

On the 16th of June Washington addressed Congress:

Mr. President: Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this ardous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not with to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

SIDE IV, Band 2:

1775 was a year of bloody fighting -- around Boston, which the British finally quit, on the shores of Lake Champlain, and at Quebec, where the gallant General Montgomery died in a futile attack by American troops. Everywhere minutemen were taking up arms as the British prepared to strike deeply into the heart of the colonies. But the Continental Congress still strove for peace. They drew up on Olive Branch Petition to the King, but the King refused to receive it. They had been fighting Parliament, the King's ministers, and the King's army. Now they would fight the King himself.

It was a Quaker corsetmaker who had been in America hardly two years who forced the issue. In January 1776 Tom Paine wrote a pamphlet which he called "Common Sense." His attack on the monarchy electrified the colonies.

. . . where, say some, is the King of America? I'll tell you, Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the Charter. Let it be brought forth placed on the Divine Law, the word of God. Let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law ought to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the Crown at the conclusion of the ceremony be demolished, and scattered among the People whose right it is. . .

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is over-run with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

SIDE IV, Band 3:

In their desire for independence the people were actually ahead of Congress. "Every post and every day rolls in upon us independence like a torrent," John Adams observed. Finally, on July 2nd, 1776, Congress passed a resolution proposed by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia to the effect that the United States "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." Then they appointed a committee to draft a Declaration of Independence. The principal writing was done by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, who had some help from Franklin and John Adams. In its final form this is how it sounded when read to the delegates at Philadelphia on the fourth of July, 1776:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. . .

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representative of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the States of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may or right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

SIDE IV, Band 4:

By December of '76 the Patriot cause seemed lost. New York was in enemy hands. Fort Washington had fallen, and a sizable force captured with it. New Jersey was largely occupied by British forces, and Philadelphia was threatened. America was to know still darker times, perhaps, but the men living in that bleak December found the troubles of their country almost too much to endure. Legend has Tom Paine writing the first number of "The Crisis," with a drumhead for a desk and the flicker of a wintry campfire for a light.

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives everything its value. . .

I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. . . By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils -- a ravaged country -- a depopulated city -- habitations without safety, and slavery without hope -- our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer unlamented.

SIDE IV, Band 5:

Tom Paine was right. Sudden Victory came to Washington's men at Trenton and Princeton. For a time gloom was dispelled. At Saratoga in the fall of '77 a great British army under Burgoyne surrendered to the Patriots. But the British held on tenaciously, and the American cause was hampered by mistrust, desertion, profiteering, and inflation.

The place is Yorktown. The year, 1781. The moment for which Washington had been waiting six long years. At last he has a navy at hand -- the French fleet -- to cut off Cornwallis's escape by sea, and a large army, reinforced by French Troops, to hem the British in by land.

October 19th -- the formal surrender. The British troops march out with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a solemn march. It is said that her band played a tune called "The World Turned Upside Down." For Great Britain it was indeed a world turned upside down.

On December 23rd, 1783, George Washington appeared before Congress in Annapolis and resigned his commission. These were his parting words:

I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to His holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

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