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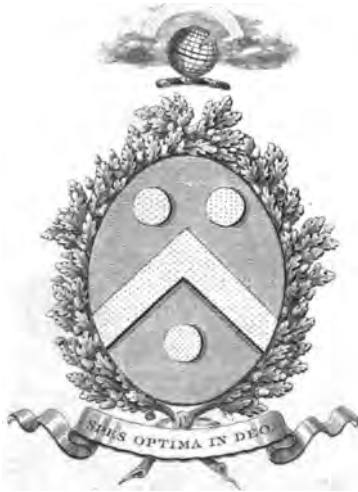
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Hope essays 853.



John Thomas Hope.

THE

J. Barnard

R E M E M B R A N C E R ;

O R,

I M P A R T I A L R E P O S I T O R Y

O F

P U B L I C E V E N T S.

P A R T I I.

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T H E

R E M E M B R A N C E R.

A short View of the ancient and present State of our American Colonies, with some few Observations on our present Quarrel with them. By a Gentleman.

Sine me, Liber, ibis in urbem.

THOUGH much has been said on both sides concerning our present disputes with our *American Colonies*, yet the true state of the case does not appear to me to have been hit upon by either party : they all argue upon general maxims of policy, and take no notice of the particular circumstances of facts, which are the only sure guides in such cases.

It is taken for granted that our *American Colonists* are *Rebels*, and *Rebellion* must be suppressed by all possible means. But though I pay a great deference to the *Ministerial* Proclamation that has declared them to be *Rebels*, yet I hope it will be no treason to doubt whether that *Ministerial* Declaration be made upon sufficient grounds or no.

Indeed, if the word *Rebellion* be taken in its most extensive meaning, every forcible opposition to any Government is a *Rebellion* against that Government ; but with us, the *Principles of the Revolution* do allow *Resistance* to be lawful in case of oppression. Therefore, before it can be determined whether the *Americans* are *Rebels* or no, it must be considered whether they have been *oppressed* or no.

In order to determine this Point, it will be necessary to look back to the original institution of the Colonies, and the several alterations that have been made from time to time in the Government of each, which will bring us to the present legal state of them.

Here it will not be amiss to cast an eye upon the Nature of our Original Claim to Sovereignty over these Countries ; it is founded

upon *Prior Occupancy* as we were the first discoverers of them ; and if they had not been occupied by any of the human Species, that Plea might be good. But, alas ! their Inhabitants were very numerous, they cultivated their Lands in their own way, to supply them with the necessaries of Life which was all they wanted ; their Cachiques were their Kings, and many of these had Sachems, or petty Princes under them, and these were *Special Occupants* of the Country, which, by the Rules even of our Law, annihilates all claim of *Common Occupancy*.

The Natives therefore had certainly the same right to those Lands, and their Kings to the Sovereignty of them that any Nation or King in Europe can have to the Lands or Sovereignty of each respective Country. And their not being Christians is very absurd, and a very nugatory Plea, for *the Kingdom of Christ is not of this World* ; and propagating Religion by Fire and Sword is downright Mahometanism.— Christ and his Apostles used other means.

As to the Natives formally owning themselves to be the Subjects of our Sovereigns, I think no great stress can be laid upon it ; for though some of them have done it, after their being soundly beaten, that is, when compelled by mere dint of force ; yet it is certain they had no notion of the obligation of written Treaties, and their frequent violations of them shew plainly that, according to their System, which must be their Guide, they did not think them binding.

Thus much for the *Native Indians* ; we come now to consider of the *English Settlers in that Country*. But first I must observe, that if any of the Inhabitants of the other side of the Globe should become sufficient Navigators to discover England, I trust we should look on this Discovery as a very weak pretence for their laying Claim to our Country, as *Prior Occupants*, though they knew of no such Country, nor we of any such people before, and yet this the real Case of our Original Claim to North America, and upon this Foundation only have our Kings and Queens granted Patents, to their Subjects to establish Settlements in that Country. *Quo lure videant ipsi.*

I come now to consider the Case of those Englishmen who have settled there.

North America was first discovered in the Year 1497 by *Cabot*, in an attempt which he made to discover a North West Passage to *China* ; but no attempt, either to navigate the Coast, or establish any Colony there, was made for a Century after.

Mr. *Raleigh* (afterwards Sir *Walter*) first schemed the Project of discovering Lands; and settling Colonies in *North America*, and in the year 1584 he obtained a Patent from *Queen Elizabeth* for that purpose. Upon this, he, with the assistance of some other private Persons, fitted out ships, on board of which some adventurers embarked. They were at first kindly received by the Natives, and they continued to be so, as long as they attempted only to trade with them ; but as soon

soon as they shewed any signs of an inclination to *establish Settlements among them*; the Natives grew jealous, and the four or five first companies of Settlers were, either cut to pieces by the Natives, or were obliged to save their lives by abandoning their usurpations.

It was the year 1607 before they could compass the making any Settlement at all, but about that time, under a patent granted to the London and Bristol Companies (Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Patent being vacated by his Attainder) a small one was made about fifty miles from the entrance of the River *Powhatoc* (now *James River*) in *Virginia*, that Country being the Scene of our first attempts this way; they gave this Settlement the name of *James Town*.

But here they were continually harassed by the Natives, and often were put to great extremities by them, nor had they any peace or quiet till one Captain *Rolfe*, about 1612, married the *Daughter of the great Indian Chief Powhatoc*.

From this time the Colony began to flourish, and in a few years they by common consent, under the direction of their Governor Sir *George Yardly*, brought their Government to a Form resembling that of an English Parliament; but, *their Governor was appointed by the Company, not by the Crown*. The first Session of their Assembly, or Parliament, was held in the year 1620, at *James Town*: and the Crown does not appear to have had any share in their Government.

This was the Origin of our first Settlements on the Continent of *North America*.

By this short extract we see that the *Native Americans* had very just notions of their property in the Lands of their own Country, and that they disputed every inch of ground with their invaders; and had not the use of Fire Arms given the English great advantages over them, they would probably have defeated all their attempts, for they wanted neither Courage nor Cunning. We see likewise that this first Colony settled the Form of their Government among themselves, *without any intervention of an English Parliament*.

The next Settlement that falls under our consideration is that of the Country called *New England*, being so named by King *Charles I.* when Prince of Wales; it comprehends the Colonies of *Massachuset's Bay*, *New Plymouth*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, *New Hampshire* likewise, and the Province of *Maine* are appendages to *Massachuset's Bay*. The constitution of these Colonies deserves a particular consideration, because with these our present Quarrel first began, and their Country is now the Seat of a most unnatural Civil War.

Though it is more than probable that *Cabot*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Sir *Francis Drake* knew of this Country, yet we have no satisfactory account of it till the year 1602, when Captain *Gesnold*, at the instigation of Sir *Francis Drake*, performed a Voyage to those Parts; after touching at many places, he at last made a Settlement, that is, he built a small Fort, on a place which he called *Martha's Vineyard*,

and traded with the Natives, whom he found to be hospitable and inoffensive, but he attempted nothing farther.

This Trade proved so advantageous, that the Merchants who employed *Gesnold*, being chiefly *Plymouth men*, obtained a Grant from King *James I.* in the year 1606, authorizing them to settle any where between 38 and 45 Degrees of North Latitude. The Country was then called *North Virginia*, and the Grantees were called the *Council of Plymouth*.

They sent Ships thither, and began a Settlement at the mouth of *Sagadahock River*; but on some of the Natives being kidnaped and sold to the Spaniards, at *Malaga*, the rest were so incensed against the English Settlers, that they were not able to continue their Settlement, though other Adventurers, who only traded with them, without attempting to make a Settlement in their Country, did it to great advantage.

All the former Schemes thus proving abortive, the complete Settlement of *New England* owed its Rise to a Set of Dissenters, who being persecuted, as they complained, for their Religion, had fled from England into Holland in the Reign of King *James I.* Sir *Robert Naunton*, then Secretary of State, being their Friend, they by his means, obtained Leave to enjoy Liberty of Conscience in any Settlement they should make in *North America*.

This Point once gained, several Dissenters, who were men of Fortune, sold their Estates, and threw the produce into a common Bank, to carry on their undertaking. In the year 1616, they embarked at *Plymouth*, intending to make a Settlement under *Gesnold's* Grant abovementioned. But by mistake they landed at *Cape Cod*, which was not within his Grant. However, they gave out that they had treated with the *Cacique*, and other *Principals of the Natives*, from whom they purchased a Right to settle on their Land; which, if true, was in fact a much better title than any Grant from the King of England could give them.

Having thus acquired a Right to settle, they sent out Parties to view the Country, and look out for a convenient spot on which they might make their Settlement. But first, they associated themselves by a formal Instrument, and agreed to submit to such Laws as should be made (by themselves undoubtedly) from time to time, for the Good of the Colony; and they chose one of their Company to preside over them as Governor. Having found a convenient Spot, they began to build Store-houses, and agreed to call their infant Settlement *New Plymouth*, because, besides the King's Leave to emigrate, they had a Patent from the *Council of Plymouth* abovementioned.

They soon established so friendly a Correspondence with the Natives, that their great Sachem, or King, *Massasoit* made a Present, to them and their Heirs and Successors for ever, of the Spot on which *New Plymouth* was built, and all the adjacent Lands, which was only

ā Confirmation of the Right which they had before purchased; for as that Leave ran in general Terms, the particular site of their Settlement was now granted to them.

In the year 1621, Mr. *Weston*, one of the original Plymouth Adventurers, sent a new supply of men, and broke off from the Colony, producing a Patent for making a Settlement on part of the *Massachusetts Bay*, on propagating the Church of England worship; for the *New Plymouth* men were all rigid Dissenters. But this Settlement was prevented by the opposition of the Natives, who had formed a conspiracy to cut off all *Weston's* Party. But the *Plymouth* men, coming accidentally to the knowledge of the Plot, discovered it to them, and saved their lives, on which they left the Country.

In 1623, the *New Plymouthers*, who all this while held their possession under an Agreement with the *Council of Plymouth*, had flourished so much that, in seven years they offered to buy out the Patentees, who accepted the offer. And now the Colonists erected themselves into a *Republic*.

In the year 1627, the Puritans in England laid a scheme for making a Settlement at *Massachusetts Bay* of their own Body: at the head of which Scheme was one Mr. *John White*, the Puritan Minister of *Dorchester*, who procured a Patent from the *Council of Plymouth* to several Gentlemen, for all that part of the Country that lies three miles North of the River *Merrimack*, which falls into the Sea near *Salisbury*, and three miles South of *Charles River*, which falls into the Sea near *Boston*, at the bottom of *Massachusetts Bay*. But the number of Patentees being much increased, Mr. *White* the next year got a new Patent, by which they were incorporated by the name of the *Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England*, and they were empowered to elect a *Governor*, *Deputy Governor*, and *Magistrates*, and to make *Plantation Laws*, provided they were not repugnant to the *Laws of England*; and *Liberty of Conscience* was granted to all that should settle there. This Patent was confirmed by a Grant from King *Charles I.* to hold the said Lands, as mentioned in the Patent of the *Plymouth Company*, of him, as part of his *Mannour of East Greenwich*, in common Soccage, paying to his Majesty one fifth part of all the Gold and Silver ore found there. This is the first Grant of particular Lands in *America* that ever our Kings attempted to make. Of the Nature of such Grants I have said something before, and I shall speak of them again in the sequel. These people settled at *Salem*.

In the year 1630, a large new Supply of Dissenters arrived at *Salem*, and divided themselves into two Bodies, one of which settled at *Charles Town*, and the other at *Dorchester*, those of *Charles Town* soon saw the advantageous situation of the Spot on which *Boston* stands, and built that City there.

In 1635, Sir *Hen. Vane* the younger went over with a large Company

pany to make a Settlement on the River *Connecticut*, but the Government of the *Massachusetts* being offered to him, he accepted it; however, he did not hold it long, for at the next annual Election, on account of his *Independent Principles*, he was set aside.

The two Settlements of *New Plymouth* and *Massachusetts*, by fresh Emigrations grew so populous, that many who were already settled, to get more elbow room, removed to the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, where great part of their Settlements being without the limits of the *Massachusetts Bay Company*, under whose Commission they acted, they agreed upon a Plan of Government among themselves, and chose a Governor.

In 1636, So many Planters arrived, that they could find no place for them to settle on in *Massachusetts Bay*; so they purchased from the Natives the Land that lies between *Connecticut* and *New York*, called *Hudson's River*, where they founded the Town, Colony, Province, and Government of *Newhaven*; which with *Long Island*, for that was comprehended in their purchase, was soon filled with Towns.

Soon after this, some religious Disputes happening in New England, a Synod was called, and the broachers of some new opinions being punished, all that Sect whom they called *Antinomians* retired, and purchased of the Natives *Rhode-Island*, and, being overstocked with Inhabitants, part of them purchased Lands near the *River Patuxet*, where they built the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, which flourished greatly.

Some smaller Settlements were made after this time, all comprehended under the general Denomination of *New England*; and though they were all of them under separate Governments, yet a kind of Fœderal union subsisted among them, which in 1643 was confirmed by formal Articles of confederation between the Governments of the *Massachusetts*, *New Plymouth*, *Connecticut*, *Newhaven*, and the Plantations in connection therewith; something upon the Model of the United Provinces, without the least mention of Old England: and they were so far from acknowledging any authority of the *English Parliament* over them, that the general Court of the *Massachusetts* fined and imprisoned certain Persons, for offering to appeal to the *English Parliament*, against a Sentence which they had passed.

About the year 1662, the *Connecticut* and *Newhaven* Settlers being within neither of the former Grants, applied to the Court of England for a Charter to unite them into one Body corporate, which they obtained.

When the Act called the *Bartholomew Act* took place, many of the ejected dissenting Ministers retired to *New England*; and the *New Englanders* of that Age had always affected to be independent on the Mother Country, in respect of the internal Policy of their Government.

When King Charles II. upon the breaking out of the Dutch War, sent

sent a Squadron to drive the Dutch from *New York*, the two Commanders of the Fleet and the Land Forces, with two other Commissioners, were ordered to go to *New England* to settle all differences in the Colonies. They delivered Letters from the King to the *Governor and Council of New Plymouth*, requiring them to acknowledge themselves to be as much his Subjects as if they had staid in their natural Country; promising at the same time, to preserve all their Liberties and Privileges both Ecclesiastical and Civil. This Proposal went much against the grain with the *New Plymouthers*, but I do not find that they rejected it.

In general the *New England Charters*, where they had any, were held either from the *Council of Plymouth*, or the *Massachusetts Bay Company*. But in the year 1603, King *Charles II.* called them all into his hands; and the next year brought *quo warranto Writs* against the *New Plymouth Colony*, upon which Judgment was entered against them in *Chancery*; this so much frightened the rest that they all surrendered their Charters, and, since that time, their Governor and Council have been named by the King.

This was a high strain of Prerogative, but the People there did not long acquiesce in the new Regulation; for when Mr. *Dudley*, (a Friend to the Church of England) was made Governor, upon the Death of *Charles II.* the *New Englandmen*, by their own Authority, deposed him, and sent him Prisoner to Old England, to shew their disapprobation of the King's Nomination. They likewise deposed Sir *Edmund Andros*, the next Governor, and, by their own Authority, resumed their Charter Government; which Proceeding of theirs was approved of by King *William* and *Queen Mary*, who confirmed the restored Charter Magistrates in their Power.

But notwithstanding this, that King could never be prevailed on to establish their *Old Charter Government*: instead of it he granted them a *New Charter*, by which many of the Privileges which they enjoyed under their old ones were taken away; for "the Crown was now to have the Nomination of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary, and the Officers of the Admiralty (the choice of all these was before in the People) and the Power of the Militia was vested in the Governors. All Judges, Justices, and Sheriffs, were to be appointed by the Governor, with the advice of his Majesty in Council, the Governor also was to have a Negative upon all Laws and Public Acts of the General Assembly and Council. Lastly, all Laws, when approved of by the Governor, were to be transmitted to England, and to be void if disallowed of in the space of three years."

Here are many restraints upon their original Privileges, but they submitted to them, because the main Point, the *Right of Legislation and Taxation*, was still preserved to their own *Parliament*, or *General Assembly*. Indeed, the *Governor's Negative*, and the *King's appointment*

of

of the Council, and all the chief Officers of State, were very considerable checks upon the Assembly; but these, on the other hand, were counterbalanced by the Governor's depending entirely upon the Assembly for his Maintenance. And they have always kept such fast hold of this dependence of the Governor upon them, that they have often refused to fix any certain Salary upon him, and when they have done it, it has been merely *Personal*, and *pro hac vice* only, and with a *Salvo* that the Payment of it should not be obligatory upon future Assemblies.

Upon the whole, the Constitution of the Government of New England appears to be this.

The General Assembly is the supreme Legislative Body of the Colony; in concurrence with the Governor, it imposes Taxes, makes Grants, enacts Laws, and redresses Public Grievances of all kinds.— It consists of the Magistrates, and a certain number of Representatives, which form two Chambers, so nearly resembling our Lords and Commons, that the consent of a Majority of each is necessary, before any Bill can be presented to the Governor for his assent.

This is confirmed by the following authentic Account, sent to the House of Lords by the Commissioners of Trade in the year 1733-4.

“ There are three Charter Governments, of which the chief is that of *Massachusetts Bay*, commonly called *New England*: the Constitution whereof is of a mixed Nature, the Power being divided between the King and the People, in which the latter have much the greatest Share; for here the People do not only chuse the Assembly, but the Assembly chuses the Council also; and the Governor depends upon the Assembly for his annual Support.

“ *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island* are the other Charter Governments, or rather Corporations, where almost the whole Power of the Crown is delegated to the People, who each make an annual Election of their Assembly, Council, and Governor; to the Majority of which Assemblies, and Governors respectively, being collective Bodies, the Power of making Laws is granted, and, as their Charters are worded, they can, and do make Laws without the Governor's assent, and directly contrary to the opinions of their Governors, who have no Negative Voice reserved to them as Governors in the said Charter, and as the said Governors are chosen annually, their office generally expires before the King's Approbation can be obtained, or any Security be taken for their due observation of the Laws of Trade and Navigation, and they hold or no Correspondence with our Office.

“ These Colonies have the Power of making Laws for their better Government and Support, provided they be not repugnant to the Laws of Great Britain, nor detrimental to the Mother Country. And these Laws, when they have regularly passed the Council and Assembly of any Province, and received the Governor's assent, become valid in that Province; yet they remain repealable by his Majesty

“ Majesty in Council, upon any just complaint, and do not acquire
 “ a perpetual force unless they are confirmed by the King in
 “ Council.

“ But there are some exceptions to this last Rule, in the Proprietary and Charter Governments ; thus, in the *Massachusetts Bay*, if their Laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his Majesty for his approbation, or disallowance, they are not repealable by the Crown after that time : and the Provinces of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island* are not under any obligation, by their respective Constitutions, to return authentic Copies of their Laws to the Crown, for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account of their Proceedings. There is also this singularity in the Governments of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, that their Laws are not repealable by the Crown ; but the validity of them depends upon their being, not contrary, but as near as may be, agreeable to the Laws of England.” Thus far the Report of the Commissioners of Trade.

New York, being a Conquest made by the *Crown* from the *Dutch*, its constitution differs in many points from that of the rest of the Colonies, and they look on themselves to be so much a separate People from the rest, that they have generally refused to act in conjunction with the *Colonists of Massachusetts Bay*, even against the Savages. In the year 1730, the City of *New York* had a Royal Charter from King *George II.* much in the Form of the Charters of Corporations in England ; and this, I think, is the first Instance of the kind in *America*. They have 400 regular Troops maintained for them at the King's charge. Their Governor is not only appointed, but *commissioned* by the King ; whereas, in those called the *Charter Governments*, the King only *nominates* the Governor, but gives him no *Commissiſſion*.

Having before considered the Nature of our claim to Dominion in *North America*, with regard to the Natives, or Savages, as we call them ; it will be proper here to add a word or two on the same Subject concerning the *Colonists* that are settled there.

We have seen above that the first effectual Settlement there was made by a Set of *Republican Dissenters* (called Puritans in those days) who had fled to other Countries from the Persecution which they complained was raised against them in England, who agreed to retire to *America*, where, in the course of a few years, they were joined by great numbers of their persecuted Brethren ; for a kind of Salvo, such as it was, they did indeed procure Patents from England ; but these Patents appear to me, so far as the King was concerned in them, to be no more than an exemption from any Prosecution of Outlawry for deserting the Realm. For our Kings, finding that these turbulent Republican Spirits would never be quiet under a Monarchical Government, were glad to get rid of them at any Rate,

and therefore gave them leave to retire to another Country, where they would be at Liberty to follow their own Religious Opinions, and to enjoy their own Republican Principles, and it is very obvious to suppose that they all cried out with *Teucer*,

Quo nos cunque feret melior Fortuna * Parente
Ibimus, O Socii, Comitesque.

When so many thousands of French Protestants fled into England from the Persecution of *Louis XIV.* if the French King had claimed them all as his Subjects, and the Places where they were settled as parts of his Dominions; our Answer, I trust, would have been, that, *when they settled in England they became the Subjects of the Crown of England.* By the same Rule, the English Dissenters, who fled from the Persecution which they complained of in England, became the Subjects of those *American Kings* in whose Country they settled.— And when they had, either by Purchase, or by the free Gift of those Kings, acquired Property in Lands there, and the Kings of the Country claimed no Sovereignty over them, they became their own Masters, and formed themselves into Civil Societies upon their own Principles.

In this case the Argument of *Protection* cannot, with any Propriety, be used to enforce absolute *obedience*, because the Colonies, as we have seen above, were settled at the expence of *private Adventurers*, and have defended themselves in general against the *Natives*, without any assistance from the *Crown of England.* And as to the Attacks which the *Crown of England* has made at different times upon the *French Settlements in America*, when we have been at War with *France*, they were made on a *National*, not on a *Colonial* account; and yet the *Colonists*, especially those of *New England*, have always given their assistance with such a noble Spirit, as is scarce to be matched in History. To pass over the rest, in the year 1748, the *New Englanders*, by raising, arming, and transporting, at their own expence, four thousand men, took *Louisbourg*, which gave Peace to Europe, for at the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, the restitution of this Place to the French proved an equivalent for all their Successes on the Continent of Europe, in which the *Colonies* had no concern. On this occasion, indeed, some money was given to them, in the name of compensation, but it was greatly short of their Expences; besides this, they were deprived of the benefit they might have received, as an *English Colony*, by retaining that important Conquest of their own making. And in the French War which was concluded in the year 1762, they exerted the same glorious Spirit against the common Enemy, and greatly contributed to that extension of Territory, which was ceded by the *French* to the *Crown*, (not to the *Colonists*) of *Great Britain.* And these are the Men whose Throats we are now cutting.

* i. e. Our Mother Country.

'Tis true, they have often acknowledged themselves to be the Subjects of the *Crown of England*, but these acknowledgements have always been conditional, that *their Rights and Privileges should be preserved to them*. We have seen above that the chief of their Rights consisted in their having a Power to make Laws for their better Government and Support, that is a Power of *Legislation and Taxation*; for a Government cannot be supported without *Taxes*, and the maintenance of these Rights was their *Original Compact*, a Term of which some people are very fond, it was the express Covenant upon which they undertook to cultivate that Wilderness. Their Laws, indeed, have not a perpetual Force till they have been confirmed by the *King in Council*; but they have an immediate Force in the Province that makes them, as soon as they have passed the Assembly and Council (which is their Parliament) with the Governor's assent, and they continue in Force till they are repealed by the *King in Council*; and in some of them, if the King does not repeal their laws within a limited time, he cannot do it afterwards; in others he cannot repeal them at all, if they are not contrary to the Laws of England, if they are, they are void of course; whereas the Laws made by the *English Parliament* have no Force at all, till the King has signed the bills.

From hence it is plain that these *two Branches of the British Empire* have *Legislative Powers*, distinct and separate from each other*, and that these distinct and separate *Legislative Powers* are united under *one Head*, which Head is *the King*, and *the King only*: for I never heard it supposed, or pretended that the *English Parliament* had any thing to do with *American Laws*, except such as relate to certain *restrictions upon their Trade*, and the general Laws of *Trade and Navigation*, and all the *English Acts* passed concerning the Colonies have, till of late, related to those Subjects. But the *internal Policy* of their Government, and their *inland Taxes*, are by their Original Constitution, and have been always, till of late, acknowledged to be in their own hands.

So, the Marks of their dependence on the *Mother Country*, consist in their making no Laws that are repugnant to the Laws of Great Britain; their submitting the Laws which they do make to be repealed by the King, in such Manner and Form as is above set forth, and their submitting to such restrictions as are laid upon their Trade by the *British Parliament*, and to the *British Laws* concerning Trade and Navigation in general.

* This is no fictitious, chimerical, refined Strain of Policy, but appears plainly from the above Historical Extracts, to be an incontestable Fact, it is the very Case of Ireland; and there is something analogous to it in the daily Practice in England; for if the same Person be Lord of two distinct Manours, he must hold a separate Court at each of them, and if the Customs of the two Manours differ, though he be Lord of both, he cannot alter those Customs, so as to make one Manour be governed by the Customs of the other; for though his Tenants hold their Lands *ad voluntatem Domini*, yet it is always *secundum consuetudinem Mancrui*.

Though many Alterations have been made in the the original Constitution of their Government, particularly by the Charter of *King William III.* they have acquiesced, though perhaps unwillingly, in them all so long as the two grand Points of *internal Legislation and Taxation* were preserved to them. But when the *Parliamentary* part of the British Legislature came to *encroach* upon the *Parliamentary* part of the American Legislature (for their General Assembly and Council are their Parliament) by imposing *internal Taxes* upon them, and making Laws concerning the *internal Policy of their Government*, without their Consent, the Americans looked on these *Encroachments* as *Acts of Oppression*; and if they are right in this, we have no reason to call them *Rebels*, because, in this State of the Case, their Opposition and Resistance is founded on the same Principles on which the Resistance and Opposition made to *King James II.* was founded; and, I trust, no man at this time of Day, will venture to call that Resistance a *Rebellion*, which paved the Way to the *Glorious Revolution*, to which our present Government owes its Establishment. And whatever any Man's private and speculative Opinion of the *Revolution* may be, it must be universally agreed on all Sides, that the *Ministers of the present Government*, which is founded upon it, ought strictly to adhere to the Principles of it in their Practice, because any Attempt to carry on a *Revolution Government* upon *Anti-revolution* Principles would be absurd; and because, the Conclusion that would naturally follow from setting up *Anti-Revolution* Principles is—*What I dare not name*: and the *Americans* plainly shew that they look on the Measures lately taken against them to be *Anti-revolutional*, by their branding the Promoters of them with the name of *Tories*.

While the *Americans* were left to enjoy the two Articles of their *Constitutional Rights* abovementioned, they were as Loyal Subjects as any that our King, or any King in Europe has, or ever had; let us therefore turn our Eyes to see what has made them otherwise at present.

The *Stamp Act* was the first Step; which being the Imposition of an *inland Duty*, must be allowed to be a violation of their *Constitutional Privileges*; and though this Act was repealed when the ill Effects of it began to appear, yet the Flame which it had lighted up was by no means quenched, especially when fresh Fuel was immediately added to it, by an *additional Duty upon Tea*, (which though it may be within the Law, yet it was looked on by them, in their Heat at that time, to be no more than another Mode of encreasing their Taxes to such a Degree, as would equal the Burthen intended to be laid upon them by the *Stamp Act*) and by an ill-judged Invasion of their *Judicial Rights*, by establishing among them *new Courts of Judicature*, which they knew not before; and depriving their Criminals (accused of Treason) of the known Right of a *Jury of their own Countrymen and next Neighbours*, by ordering them, and of course, all the Witnesses for

for and against them, to be brought into *England*, three thousand miles from their Home, to take their Trials. Do not these Measures tend to the abolition of the *Legislative Power of the Colonies*?

Perhaps the *Americans* cannot be strictly justified in every Step they have taken, for in all Quarrels there soon come to be Faults on both sides; but the Aggressor, who strikes the first Blow, must be answerable for all the Consequences that happen afterwards.

It has been urged by some, in excuse for our Proceedings, that our *Colonies* have long been meditating an Attempt to separate themselves entirely from the *Mother Country*; but as no Proof of this has been offered, it can amount to no more than a strong Surmise; but to give it all the weight it will bear, we will suppose it to be true; and if it be true, it is a sufficient Reason why our Ministers should with extreme Caution have avoided giving them their present Pretence for making such an Effort, by pointing a Dagger against the very *Vitals of their Constitutional Rights*; a Thrust which it might be reasonably supposed they would endeavour to parry; but it is likewise reasonable to suppose, from their past Conduct, that they never would have attempted to carry such a Design as they are charged with into Execution, if that Thrust had not been made.

I will not presume to suppose that the *King's* having a Power to confirm, or disallow the *Laws made by the American Parliaments* has too much the Air of *Prerogative* to be relished by the Ministers, though there may be People in the Kingdom who wish to see every Jewel, that has the least Shade of that *Water*, plucked out of the Crown at all Events, and by any means whatever.

As to the rest of the Colonies joining with the *New Englanders* on the present Occasion, we shall have no reason to be surprized at it if we consider, that in general the Bulk of their Inhabitants are *Republicans*, and *Dissenters from the Church of England*; and though the Constitutions of those of later Establishment differ in many Respects from that of *New England*, yet they all have some Rights; and when they see such large strides taken to annihilate, as they think, the *Rights of New England*, it is very natural for them to suppose that it will, one Day or other, come to their turn to suffer the same Fate: thus they act upon the old prudential Maxim of

— *Tua res agitur cum proximus ardet.*

This appears to me to be the true State of the Case between us and our *North American Colonies*: let us now take a little View of what we are doing on the Occasion.

We are exerting all our own Force, both Naval and Military; we are ransacking all Europe for Auxiliary Troops to assist us, to complete what? Why, the very thing that all Europe, who look on the Power and Grandeur of the British Empire with an envious Eye, have long been wishing to see completed, *Our own Ruin*. It puts me in mind of a Story mentioned in the *Spectator*, of a Sign in
London

London representing two Men who had been at Law with each other ; one of them was stark naked, and was wringing his Hands, and making great Signs of Lamentation, with a Label coming out of his Mouth, on which was wrote, *I've lost my Cause ! I've lost my Cause !* The other was naked too, except a ragged Blanket that was wrapped about his Shoulders ; he was capering, and dancing, and shewing all Signs of the greatest Exultation and triumphant joy, and upon his Label was wrote, *I've gain'd my Cause ! I've gain'd my Cause !* Thus, if our Ministry should at last succeed to the utmost of their Wishes, if they should arrive to the Honour and Glory of conquering *America* from our own Colonists, by whose Assistance we so lately conquered much the greatest Part of it from the *French*, what will the Balance of the Account be ? En et Ecce !

We shall have spent many Millions of Money : we shall have destroyed many thousands of the King's bravest and most loyal Subjects on both Sides ; we shall have demolished a great Number of fine Towns, and ruined the Inhabitants of them : we shall have depopulated, and laid waste, a vast Tract of as fine Country as any in the World ; we shall have ruined the Trade of that Country, and consequently have sunk so much of the Revenues of our own Crown as arose from it ; we shall reduce to beggary all those of our own Merchants and Manufacturers who depend upon it ; we shall have greatly increased our National Debt, and the Burthen of our Taxes, already too heavy for us to bear. When our Funds of Money and Men are thus exhausted, we shall have rendered ourselves liable to become an easy Prey to any powerful Nation of *Europe*, if any of them should think it worth while to take our *last ragged Blanket* from us, when it is in such a tattered Condition that it will scarce hang together, when it is so rent and torn that it cannot be mended again. These are Evils from which we may not recover in a Century, perhaps never.

Per Contra.

If our Arms in *America* should be crowned with all the Success that our Ministers can wish or hope for ; we shall have, as above, the Glory of conquering our own Colonists : of punishing the Dogs for their obstinate adherence to their *Constitutional Rights*, by depriving them of the Benefit of all the Improvements which they and their Ancestors have made in the Colonies in two hundred Years, of establishing our *Nominal Dominion* over wild Forests and desolate Plains. Bravo ! Bravo ! But if, on the other hand, our Colonists should, either by dint of their own Force, or by the Assistance of foreign Aid, get the better of us, we shan't have a Blanket left.

Do not these Things look as if the Dissolution of our Empire was near at Hand ? for,

Quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius.

I would not be understood to mean, by any thing I have said, that I am a Friend to *Republican Principles*. I detest them, I have no Connection with any *Party*, nor even Acquaintance with any *Person* con-

concern'd, or particularly interested, in this Dispute : but the Rule by which I square both my Actions and my Sentiments is that Golden one of FIAT JUSTITIA to all the World; a Rule which concerns *Publick Ministers*, as well as private Persons.

Let, therefore, every friend to *Great Britain* incessantly pray to Heaven that the Eyes of our Ministers may be open'd : that they may discern that it will be no discredit to them, no impeachment of their honour, to retract a false step : that they may, by a speedy accommodation with the *Colonies*, prevent the falling of that Sword, which hangs over our heads, suspended by a single hair : before the Brazen Head cries out,

Posthac non tibi tempus erit.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Hawke, now Lord Hawke, to the Duke d' Aiguillon, dated Royal George, Quiberon Bay 12th of Dec. 1759.

I had the honour of your Grace's letter relative to the cartel, &c. the 10th instant. In answer to it I would observe, that my demand of the officers and seamen, together with the Rolle d'Equipage of the Heros, was nothing more than what I supposed your Grace would, in reason and equity, have complied with. Had any captain of a British ship under my command struck his colours, and surrendered to an enemy, and afterwards run away with the ship in contempt of the laws of war, I would have delivered him up to the officer he had so basely injured, to be dealt with as his cowardly behaviour deserved. Your Grace will observe I do not supplicate; I am not accustomed to that language with an open and avowed enemy; I demand those officers and seamen, not for my own advantage, but in behalf of the brave seamen, &c. who have a right to claim my protection and interposition in this matter; for by the bounty of our king, such prizes are the property of the captors, and therefore it is not injuring the crown of Great Britain to with-

hold them, but the gallant British seamen, to whom the fleets of France have been compelled to yield the empire of the seas. I came from England about eight months since, to decide the fate of the two empires with Mons. de Conflans. After deliberating so long before he ventured out, I am sorry he had so little confidence in the justice of his cause, as to give me the trouble of chasing him near forty leagues upon your own coast, when we might have more fairly decided the matter in the open sea, especially as the fleet under the command of Mons. de Conflans consisted of 23 sail of the line, whilst the British fleet was but 22. It was surely then *en gaieté de cœur seulement*, not in earnest, that your Grace was pleased to stile my enterprizes irregular, and my attack on the fleet of France an unfair one. As to captain Ourry, he acted entirely by my orders, both in his endeavours to recover the guns of the *Soleile Royale*, and in what happened in consequence of those endeavours. But your Grace surely forgets the orders which you, yourself, was under, when you lay waiting for the arrival of that fleet, under whose protection you was to have embarked 40,000 men, to carry the sword

sword with fire and devastation into every part of England and Ireland, where you might have proved victorious. I expect some bomb vessels from England very soon; when they arrive, I will take a just revenge, by endeavouring to destroy every thing on the coast of France within their reach; and my only concern respecting the havock which has been made of the fleet under the command of Mons. de Conflans, is, that by their shameful flight, they prevented the British arms from shining with so much lustre, as they otherwise (under divine providence) would assuredly have shone. As I have the honour to serve under one of the best of kings, and in the service of a nation who never forget the man who serves his country faithfully; duty, gratitude, and inclination, compel me to use every means to aggrandise and gratify, both the one and the other. With these sentiments, and under such influence, it will be ever my chiefest happiness to be esteemed their faithful and obedient servant. Abstracted from every thing which has the least tendency to personal animosity, I remain, with proper respect to the Duke d'Aiguillon, as an individual,

Your Grace's very humble servant,
EDWARD HAWKE.

After capt. Payne, had been allowed to carry off provisions from Barbadoes, for the use of the army at Boston, (see page 367 of the preceding volume) it was found, upon a strict examination, that the stock remaining was only sufficient for the consumption of the island for six weeks. The general assembly alarmed, unanimously agreed to a petition to the king, and an address to the governor. The petition has been delivered by the agent to the Secretary of State for America to be laid before his Majesty. The following is a copy :

The purport of the address to the governor was, to desire he would grant no more licences to export provisions.

BARBADOES.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.
The humble petition of the Representatives of the people of your Majesty's Island of Barbadoes, in their General Assembly assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

'WE your Majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of the island of Barbadoes, truly sensible of the felicity we enjoy under your Majesty's benign government, and firmly attached to your illustrious House; grateful for the signal marks of favour and beneficence bestowed upon our settlement from its infancy, and more particularly of late conferred upon us; and impress'd with a just and lively sense of the excellence of our glorious constitution; and resolved under all circumstances, to manifest as much as in us lies, an undeviating veneration thereto, humbly beg leave to approach your royal person, and to express to your Majesty our cordial satisfaction, that through your numerous and illustrious offspring, the happiness of your subjects is likely to be insured and perpetuated, and the great and amiable virtues of your Majesty transmitted to posterity.

'Assured that our royal and humane Sovereign is always disposed to make his subjects as happy as they can be, and that distance of situation no way lessens your gracious care, we beg leave to represent the distress already in some measure fallen upon us, and in prospect threatening to overwhelm the inhabitants of this your loyal colony. We have, sir, near fourscore thousand black, and twelve thousand white people daily to support. Our ground provisions (the internal resource) have failed for the want of seasons;

and

and the stock of salt provisions on hand will not last many weeks, and we are without the hope of future foreign resources.

“ Under the dismal apprehensions of an approaching famine, we look up to your Majesty as to the father of his people; and having laid our case before you, will not, Sire, trespass on your time, by expatiating on the dreadful consequences that haunt our imaginations: it is enough to point out our situation, and to implore your Majesty’s interposition; and through you, that of the legislature of Great Britain; and your loyal colony will ever pray for the stability of your government and counsels.

We are, may it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s most dutiful, loyal, and faithful subjects and servants,
JOHN GAY ALLEYNE,
 Speaker, &c, &c.”

May 10. This day Lord Viscount Midleton, Colonel Barre, and Edmund Burke, Esq. presented the following petition to his Majesty at St. James’s.

To the KING’s most excellent Majesty. The humble and dutiful petition of the Freemen, Freeholders, Citizens, Merchants, Traders, and Protestant Inhabitants of the city of Cork.

WE, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the freemen, freeholders, citizens, merchants, traders, and protestant inhabitants of the city of Cork, beg leave to approach your Majesty with a state of our feelings on the present crisis of our foreign and domestic affairs; conscious, that however dubious the success, and whatever the event, it is the privilege and duty of a loyal, manly, and free people, to conduct truth to the foot of the throne, where her voice may be distinguished from

those of corruption, interest and adulation.

We think ourselves particularly called upon, at this time, to declare our sentiments, lest your Majesty should be influenced by an address now surreptitiously preparing here, purporting to be the act of this corporation, and affecting to convey the real sense of this ancient, loyal, and opulent city.

The present unnatural dispute with America, originally grounded on the most arbitrary claims of former ministers, progressively sustained by the usurpations of succeeding administrations, and most impolitically carried on by the present, cannot but fill us with the most gloomy and alarming apprehensions. In the pursuit of an inexpedient, unnecessary, and perhaps illegal power of taxation, over a bold, numerous, experienced, free, and distant people, we have seen our armies defeated, our fame tarnished, and our revenue exhausted; our American trade totally destroyed, which formed the broadest basis of British wealth and prosperity; our West-India trade dependant on America for supplies of provisions and lumber, mouldering into ruin; and our African commerce, intimately connected with that of the West-Indies, almost totally annihilated; our national honour lowered to the dust by an introduction of foreign mercenaries to fight our domestic quarrels, on the most unequitable and disadvantageous terms; and the glory of the British arms for ever sullied, by the newly adopted mode of piratical war, which in the destruction of many unoffending maritime cities of America, displays a spirit of dark revenge and gloomy depredation, unprecedented in the annals of any enlightened age or polished nation.

C What-

Whatever may be the event of this expensive and dreadful contest, it must be alike fatal to the victor and the vanquished; nothing can remain to either but poverty, ruin, and desolation.

As members of your Majesty's widely extended dominions, we must share in this general mass of public calamity; as members of this opulent and commercial city, and natives of this maritime and lately rising kingdom, we find ourselves most particularly interested; our linen trade, the great support of the nation, is in imminent danger, through the wants of its usual marts, and the extreme dearth of flax seed, now no longer supplied from the colonies, but with great difficulty, and at a prodigious expence, scantily imported from the northern parts of Europe. The lumber trade, which enabled us to carry on the export of provisions from our southern provinces, is almost entirely ruined. Commerce is a mighty chain, in which the weakness of a single link destroys the union and strength of the whole. Thus have all the other parts of our commerce sensibly declined, by their connection with those already enumerated.

We cannot pass in silence the state of this now defenceless kingdom, deprived of almost all its stipulated force, and left an easy prey to the first invader. When we throw our eyes on the continent, and behold the prodigious power and warlike preparations of our most dangerous neighbours, and usual enemies, we cannot but shudder at the humiliating comparison.

We thus, Sire, have presumed to submit to your royal and benignant consideration, a small part of the manifold grievances under which we labour. One of the great axioms of our law, places an easy remedy

in your Majesty's hands, to be employed for the national interest, without any injury to the prerogative, or any diminution of your Majesty's personal honour. "The king can do no wrong," is that great rule we allude to, which preserving the sovereign dignity from insult, consults the rights of freedom without the danger of anarchy, and by transferring faults from the supreme executive power, to those officially employed in administration, determines a mode of responsibility, which has ever proved the surest safeguard of this often threatened constitution.

Under new ministers new measures may be best adopted, without inconsistency, and with the utmost attention to every just and lawful prerogative. The state may thus be, as it often has been, saved by the intelligent, the incorrupt, and the intrepid, from that destruction into which it is plunged by the dastardly, the venal, and the ignorant.

In your Majesty's paternal attention to your people's welfare, in your wisdom, justice, and clemency, we place the utmost confidence; and now most humbly supplicate your Majesty to remove those evils of which we complain; to direct that the sword may be sheathed, that our commerce may be restored; and that œconomy, union, peace, and liberty may be permanently re-established through all parts of the empire.

[Signed by five hundred of the principal citizens, freeholders, merchants, &c.]

Falmouth, May 9. Yesterday arrived here the Elizabeth, Campbell, from Philadelphia. Among other passengers who came to England in her was Major Preston upon his parole, who commanded at St. John's, when taken by General Montgomery. Several

Several persons who came passengers in other vessels travelled through the American continent above a thousand miles, by whom we are informed that New York, Charles-Town in South-Carolina, and Savannah in Georgia, are evacuated by almost all the inhabitants except the military; that there is not a woman or a child to be met with in any of the streets, the whole of them being retired into the country, to the distance of five, ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, where they live three or four families together in one house, according to its size; that all the men capable of bearing arms are furnished therewith, and are ready to take the field at the shortest notice; that all the roads on the continent are strongly guarded, so that a person cannot go two miles out of any town without a pass, which they are very cautious of granting; that the post is regularly established through the continent, by which they receive the earliest accounts of all the transactions in the respective provinces; that they appear to be very unanimous, and determined to defend themselves to the last extremity; that they had advice of the troops coming from England and are prepared to receive them, which is the principal reason of their vacating the towns on the coast, and removing their families up into the country, it being their intention to dispute the landing of the troops in the first place, which if they cannot effect they will burn down their towns immediately, that the troops may not have shelter therein, and will retire into the woods, cut off all the supplies of provisions from the country, and dispute the matter with the king's troops there.

We are farther informed that the Indians in Georgia have joined the Provincials, one of them being

wounded by a shot from on board the men of war in the above skirmish, the others say they are determined to have revenge as soon as they can meet with any of the king's troops.

A vessel arrived at Bristol from Savannah in Georgia, which she left about the middle of March last, and brings advices, of which the following is the substance: "That the transports with marines on board, which General Howe sent there for rice, and other provisions, arrived; that the people would not permit them to be furnished with a single article; in consequence the marines attempted to land in their boats, with a design to carry off some vessels that were lying in the harbour loaded: but meeting with a very smart attack, were compelled to make a precipitate retreat to their transports, upon which the loaded ships (which belonged to suspicious persons) were instantly destroyed by fire. One was called the Inverness, and valued at a considerable sum. The vessel which brought this intelligence to Bristol, has brought only 20 barrels of rice. She unexpectedly got out of the harbour in the night."

Another account. There were seven ships burnt at Savannah, not five, as mentioned in some accounts. General Howe sent Major Grant and Captain Maitland, with four transports and 200 marines, to get provisions. The Carolinians hearing of it, sent 300 men to assist the Georgians. A battery was erected, which fired smartly upon the transports as soon as they arrived in Savannah harbour. Finding they could not land, they came round an island in the night to get at some vessels in the harbour that were coming to England, in order to get provisions from them; but the Georgia militia, who were assembled,

and the Carolinians, kept a continual fire upon them, and at length burnt the ships; so they were entirely disappointed.

Savannah, Feb. 14. "His Excellency the Governor, with his family left this place last Sunday night, and went on board his Majesty's ship Scarborough lying at Tybee."

In Provincial Congress, Savannah, Feb. 17. 1776. Resolved, That any person who shall refuse to take the certificates issued by order of the Congress, in payment of any debt, such person shall be precluded from any benefit intended by the regulations of Congress with respect to securing the payment of just debts, of which the parochial committees are desired to take notice. Resolved, That any person who shall attempt to depreciate the value of such certificates, shall be deemed inimical, and thenceforth precluded from protection.

A true copy from the minutes,

Edward Langworthy, Sec.

Charlestown, March 8. We are authorized to inform the public, that regular constitutional posts are now established, under the authority of the Congress, throughout all the united Colonies.

The following is a copy of a letter, just received by express, from the Council of Safety of Georgia.

In the Council of Safety,

Savannah, March 4, 1776.

Gentlemen

The intimate connection between this and your province, in a particular manner renders it necessary to acquaint you with the occurrences in the former, since the date of our last; to which, and the dispatch preceding, we refer you.

Our dispositions in the evening of the 2d, were such as appeared to our officers the most likely to prevent the landing of our enemy; and so as, if they should make their landing good,

either above or below the town, to prevent their getting in; however, notwithstanding our vigilance, they, by collusion with the masters and others on board the merchant shipping, which hawled near the shore of Hutchinson's island in the night-time, got on board these ships, about four o'clock yesterday morning; to the number, as far as we are competent to judge from the observations we made, and the intelligence we received, of between two and three hundred, where they affected to conceal themselves.

We had our fears respecting these shipping, and therefore kept a good watch upon them; but it was impossible for sentinels on this shore, to descry them in boarding from the other, the vessels being betwixt.

Captain Rice, who commanded a boat of observation, was sent on board the shipping about nine o'clock to order the rigging on shore, and was, without any noise, or the smallest knowledge of us, kidnapped.— This we did not know till about half an hour afterwards: two sailors, under pretence of coming on shore for cloaths, gave information of the troops being on board the shipping, and of Rice's being taken. About three hundred men were then immediately marched to Yamacraw, opposite the shipping, with three four pounders, and threw up a breast-work. The armed schooner Hinchinbrook, of 14 guns, with a number of men on board, which, with others, went up the back river, in the afternoon of the day preceding, about this time set sail down the south river, with intent, no doubt, of covering the landing of the troops, from on board the merchant shipping: but being continually fired at by two companies of riflemen who were placed in ambuscade, she was obliged to come very slowly, and often came to, and returned a very smart fire at every place where

where the riflemen fired from, until the tide was spent, and she could not go down. During the course of this firing, only one of our men got wounded, and that slightly in the thigh; but on board, several were seen to fall.

In town we had exhibited a still more interesting scene. We found the officers and men clamorous, about the capture and detention of Rice; and two Gentlemen, Lieutenant Daniel Roberts, of the St. John's Rangers, and Mr. Raymond Demere, of St. Andrew's parish, solicited, and were permitted to go on board, to demand a surrender of Rice and his people. They accordingly divested themselves of arms, and were rowed by a negro on board a vessel, in which were Captain Barclay, the Commodore, and Major Grant; and these officers, contrary to all the principles which cement society, and govern mankind, immediately arrested our deputies, and yet detain them as prisoners. We waited with anxious expectation for near half an hour, when we demanded our deputies, by the help of a trumpet, without getting any other but insulting answers; whereupon we fired two four pounders directly into them; and then they informed us, that they would send an answer in writing; which they presently after did, signed by Lieutenant Roberts and Mr. Demere, purporting, that if we would send two of the persons in whom the people most confided, they would treat with them.

Capt. Screven of the St. John's rangers, and Capt. Baker of the St. John's riflemen, chagrined, no doubt, the former particularly, on account of his Lieutenant, by detention of our deputies, took about a dozen of our riflemen in a boat, and rowed directly under the stern of Captain Inglis, in whose vessel were a great part of the soldiery, and, in peremptory terms, demanded the deputies,

and were answered, after one shot from Col. Baker, by a discharge, down directly upon them, of near two hundred shot, both from swivels and small arms; which was kept up while they were in reach: the Captains and men in the boat, not in the smallest degree confused, or even perhaps disappointed by the attack, fired three rifles, most of them three several times, as they say, not without execution: and wonderful to tell, not a man of them was killed; one man only received a slug in the fleshy part of his shoulder, which was immediately cut out, without the smallest inconvenience or danger. The spectators all declare, as we now do, that such a providential deliverance has not yet been known.

This unmanly attack, upon a few men in an open boat, produced a general fire from our field pieces and intrenchments; and as smart a return from two four pounders and several swivels from the shipping, which lasted from about twelve o'clock to four; and although they often fired langridge, which continually whistled about our men, not a single man was even touched; but we have no doubt, a number of the enemy met with a worse fate, as they were seen frequently to fall.

About four o'clock we called a council, and determined to have the vessels immediately burnt, and issued orders to Col. M'Intosh accordingly: whereupon the Inverness, late Capt. M'Gillivray, loaded with rice and deer-skins, was set on fire, and cut loose. Upon this, the soldiers, in the most laughable confusion, got ashore in the marsh, while our riflemen and field-pieces, with grape-shot, were incessantly galling them. The shipping were now also in confusion; some got up the river, under cover of the armed schooner, while others caught the flame, and, as night approached, exhibited a scene, as they passed and repassed

repassed with the tide, which, in any but the present times, would be truly horrible, but now a subject only of gratulation and applause.

‘ The ships of Capt. Inglis and Wardell, neither got up the river, or on fire : they were ordered on shore, and now are prisoners of Captain Screven in the country, and their vessels brought down close into a wharf. They were permitted to write to Capt. Barclay in the evening, to inform him of their situation, and to request an exchange of prisoners, which the latter peremptorily refused.

‘ We have thus given you a particular detail of things, as they really happened, to prevent the belief of any erroneous intelligence ; and, from which you will be competent to judge of our situation.

‘ Col. M’Intosh laid before the board, a resolution of your Congress to aid us, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lowndes ; and we are very glad you have determined to afford us farther assistance. We wish it may arrive in time.

By order of the Council of Safety,
WILLIAM EWEN, President.

To the Hon. the Council of
Safety for South Carolina.

Published by order of the Congress,
PETER TIMOTHY, Sec.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in the West Indies, to his friend in New York, dated Feb. 14.

‘ We have just heard that a brig and a sloop from some part of America, laden with lumber, are taken by one of the English cruisers close in with St. Pierre, Martinico. This conduct enraged the French General, who immediately gave orders for one of his frigates to cruise and protect every American vessel within their limits.’

Extract of a letter from Charles-Town, South Carolina, to a merchant in London, dated March 12.

‘ Yesterday a very sharp engage-

ment happened off this place, between an English frigate and two French ships of 20 guns each, that were laden with implements of war for the Provincial army. The Captain of the English frigate insisted on examining the Frenchmen, which they refusing, an engagement ensued, which lasted about an hour and a half, when the frigate having her masts shot away, ceased firing ; and the other two vessels put in here and landed their cargoes. There are now in this port four transports, which were taken by one of our armed vessels of war.’

London, May 11. Last night the ministry received advice that the packet dispatched by Lord Dunmore, with intelligence and letters from his Lordship, Governor Martin, &c. &c. was lost off Scilly. The dispatches are all lost, but the crew are saved. She met General Burgoyne not far from Newfoundland, all well, and nothing material.

Government have received advice that Commodore Hopkins has taken New Providence, one of the Bahama islands ; and that Governor Brown escaped with great hazard on board a small schooner, and is arrived at St. Augustine.

A letter from Cadiz, March 12, says, ‘ Anglo-American ships frequently enter this as well as other ports of Spain, laden with the productions of the British Colonies. At present the differences between them and Great Britain are of sensible advantage to our commerce.’

Brussels, April 29. An ordinance has been published here, prohibiting the supplying the English Colonies in America with warlike stores, and also the exportation, during the term of one year, of warlike stores from the sea-ports ; of which the following is a translation.

Maria Theresia, &c. &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Our most dearly beloved Brother, the

the King of Great Britain having required Us to take proper Measures for preventing the Subjects of the Provinces under our dominions in the Low Countries, from furnishing Succours to the inhabitants of the English Colonies in America, actually in rebellion against their Mother Country; and as, in consequence of the friendship and good understanding subsisting between Us and his Majesty, We are desirous to testify to him our zeal to second views which so greatly interest the good of his service; We have, by advice, &c. ordered and decreed, and do order and decree, the points and articles following.

Article I. We forbid all our subjects, of what rank and condition soever, to furnish, directly or indirectly, by their own ships, or by foreign ships, any succour to the Americans, subjects of Great Britain, in artillery, arms, powder, flints, or other ammunition, or implements or instruments of war, under pain to the offenders of the confiscation of such effects, and a fine of 1000 florins, to be paid by the Captain or Owner, whose ship may be detained or sold for the recovery of the said fine.

Article II. We forbid provisionally, during the term of one year, under the same penalties, the exportation of every kind of arms, ammunition, instruments or implements of war, from our seaports, without a special licence from our Council of Finances, which shall not be granted but on examination of the case, and taking the necessary precautions to ascertain the destination of these effects, and to prevent their being transported to the English Colonies in America. This we give in Command, &c. [*Gazette.*]

Philadelphia, March 11. On Saturday arrived here Baron de Woodkle, formerly a general officer in the Prussian service.

Dr. Franklin has resigned his seat

in the Assembly of Pennsylvania (M) Rittenhouse is chosen in his stead being appointed by the Congress to go on an embassy to Canada.

Five thousand Provincial troops are gone to Canada.

General Arnold is raised to the rank of Major-general, and is to command in Canada.

General Lee is to command in Virginia.

John Dickenson, Esq; has joined the troops at New York, with a battalion of 1000 men from this city.

Tuesday last were brought to this city two brass field-pieces, cast at New York.—One of our regiments is landed on Nassau Island, or Long Island.—The Colonels, Armstrong, Thompson, Lewis, Howe, Moore, and Lord Sterling, are appointed Brigadier-generals.

Governor Franklin of New Jersey, has retired on board one of the King's ships off New York.

In Congress, February 28, 1776.

Resolved, That the committee of inspection and observation for the counties, districts or towns assigned for the residence of prisoners, be empowered to superintend their conduct, and in cases of gross misbehaviour, to confine them, and report to the Congress the proceedings had on such occasions.

Feb. 29. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to contract for the making musquets and bayonets for the use of the United Colonies, and to consider of further ways and means of promoting and encouraging the manufacturing of fire arms in the United Colonies.

March 4. Resolved, That the restraint be taken off, which by a resolution of the 26th of last month, was laid upon vessels loading or loaded with produce for Great Britain, Ireland, or the British West Indies, in consequence of permission, granted for arms and ammunition imported into these Colonies.

March

March 9. Resolved, That no oath by way of test be imposed upon, exacted, or required, of any of the inhabitants of these Colonies, by any military officer.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Williamsburgh, Virginia, Jan. 25.

The following is an extract of a letter from Lord Dunmore to General Howe, dated Nov. 30, 1775. 'I must inform you, that with our little corps I think we have done wonders. We have taken and destroyed above fourscore pieces of ordnance, and, by landing in different parts of the country, we keep them in continual hot water; but as Capt. Leslie tells me he means to give you particulars enough, shall say no more on that subject. Among the prisoners, we have taken one Oliver, Porter and Deane, two natives of Boston, bringing in gunpowder to North Carolina. The latter was sent from Boston to influence the minds of the people, in which he has been but too successful. He was taken from on board a schooner going from this place to the Western Islands, to bring powder to this Colony; and the others have carried arms against his Majesty in this province. I have sent them more with a view of intimidating others than to punish them, as they expect here that so sure as they are sent to Boston they are to be hanged. Robinson is a delegate of our convention. Matthews was a Captain of their minute-men. Perhaps they may be of some use to you, in exchanging them for good men.— The sloop not failing so soon as I expected, I have to inform you, that on the 14th inst. I had information that a party of about a hundred of the North Carolina rebels had marched to the assistance of those in this colony, and were posted at a place called the Great-Bridge, a very essential pass in the country. I accordingly embarked our little corps in boats, in the night of the 14th, with between

twenty and 30 volunteers from Norfolk. We landed within four miles of the bridge, and arrived there a little after day-light; but to our great mortification, found the rebels had flown the evening before. But hearing that a body between 2 and 300 of our rebels were within about ten miles of us, we determined to beat up their quarters, and accordingly proceeded about eight miles, when they fired on our advanced guards from the woods: on which I immediately ordered our people to rush in upon them, and at the same time sent a party of the regulars, with the volunteers, to out-flank them. The enemy immediately fled on all quarters, and our people pursued them for a mile or more, killed a few, drove others into a creek, where they were drowned, and took nine prisoners, among whom is one of their Colonels. We only had one man wounded, who is recovering. I immediately upon this issued the inclosed proclamation; which has had a wonderful effect, as there are no less than 300 who have taken and signed the inclosed oath. The — are also flocking in from all quarters, which I hope will oblige the rebels to disperse, to take care of their families and property; and had I but a few more men here, I would immediately march to Williamsburgh, my former place of residence, by which I should soon compel the whole colony to submit. We are in great want of small arms; and if two or three field-pieces and their carriages could be spared, they would be of great service to us; also some cartridge paper, of which not a sheet is to be got in this country, and all our cartridges are expended.— Since the 19th of May last I have not received a single line from any one in administration, though I have wrote volumes to them, in each of which I have prayed to be instructed, but to no purpose. I am therefore determined to go on doing the best of my power for

for his Majesty's service. I have accordingly ordered a regiment, called the Queen's own loyal regiment, of 500 men, to be raised immediately, consisting of a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, Major, and ten companies, each of which is to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, and fifty privates, with non-commissioned officers in proportion.— You may observe, by my proclamation, that I offer freedom to the — of all rebels that join me, in consequence of which there are between 2 and 300 already come in, and those I form into corps as fast as they come in, giving them white officers and non-commissioners in proportion.— And from these two plans, I make no doubt of getting men enough to reduce this colony to a proper sense of their duty. My next distress will be the want of arms, accoutrements, and money, all of which you may be able to relieve me from. The latter I am sure you can, as there are many merchants here who are ready to supply me, on my giving them bills on you, which you will have to withdraw, and give your own in their room. I hope this mode will be agreeable to you; it is the same that General Gage proposed. I have now, in order to carry on the recruiting business, vic-malling, cloathing, &c. drawn on you for 5000l. sterling, and have appointed a pay-master, who will keep exact accounts. I wish you would inform me, by the return of the sloop, what bounty money may be given to those who enlist. Having heard that 1000 chosen men belonging to the rebels, great part of whom were riflemen, were on their march to attack us here, or to cut off our provisions, I determined to take possession of the pass at the Great-Bridge, which secures us the greatest part of two counties, to supply us with provisions. I accordingly ordered a stockade to be

erected there, which was done in a few days; and I put an officer and 25 men to garrison it, with some volunteers and —, who have defended it against all the efforts of the rebels for these eight days past. We have killed several of their men, and I make no doubt we shall now be able to maintain our ground there; but should we be obliged to abandon it, we have thrown up an intrenchment on the land side of Norfolk, which I hope they never will be able to force. Here we are contending with only a very small part of a regiment, against the extensive colony of Virginia. If you would but spare me, for a few months, the 64th regiment now in the castle, and the remaining part of the 14th, I really believe we should reduce this colony to a proper sense of their duty."

Williamsburgh, Virginia Feb. 26.

We are informed, that on Monday last, the Hon. Richard Corbin, Esq. came to this city, and the next day, with the entire approbation of the Committee of Safety, continued his journey to Norfolk, with intention to go on board the *Dunmore*, to have a conference with Lord Dunmore, on the subject of a letter his Lordship had written to Col. Corbin, containing some proposition to negotiate an accommodation with Great Britain, and to receive letters which had come from London, and were to be delivered into his own hands.

The *Mercury* Frigate, Capt. Graham (formerly Macartney) having Gen. Clinton and Lord Percy on board, and two transports, with between 300 and 400 troops, chiefly light infantry of the 4th and 44th regiments, and a number of officers belonging to the 16th and 40th, besides some engineers, arrived at Hampton Road from Boston; since which they were joined by the King-

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fisher, and four or five tenders, off Hampton, and are bound for North-Carolina. They all sailed this afternoon.

Williamsburgh, Feb. 27. Col. Corbin is returned from his fruitless journey to Lord Dunmore, who refused to give a commission for holding an assembly, and only proposed that the principal gentlemen in the country should sign propositions for an accommodation, with which he would go home; but we presume he must get them signed by his old friends in the fleet, or about Norfolk, as he will get very few gentlemen's names to it. He said commissioners were to negotiate, but did not say who they were.

His lordship is not recalled, but has leave to go if he chuses it. His conduct is approved of, and he has unlimited power to draw on the treasury. Corbin says that he, General Clinton, and Capt. Hammond, all appeared in good humour, the latter declaring he had forbid his tenders to offer injury to individuals or their property, his sole design being to watch the water, and enforce the acts of trade. Gen. Clinton had four companies who had not landed, but, on the contrary, the transports with the Mercury had fallen down into the road (Hampton) under sailing orders; he did not mention his destination, but it was gathered from the young officers, that they were to pay a visit to Governor Martin, at Cape Fear, and then proceed to South Carolina. On hearing that part of our letter to Col. Corbin read, "that we were not authorized or inclined to intermeddle in the mode of negotiation, which must be left to the Congress; the General said there was nothing America could ask in a constitutional way but would be granted, but if we relied on the

Congress, we had nothing to expect from parliament. Lord Dunmore wanted to borrow his troops to drive ours from Kemp's, he asked if ours would not return? The other said he supposed they would; then, says the general, I don't think it worth while to meddle with them.

New York, March 6. We are informed by a captain of a vessel from Rhode-Island, that last week Capt. Wallace landed his marines on Conanicut in the evening, and began to burn the buildings, but being discovered by one of the centinels, a number of our people concealed themselves behind the walls and fences until they came near them: but the commander thinking it unfair to fire on them without giving them notice, called out, "Who comes there?" when he heard Wallace order his men to make ready, upon which our party instantly fired among them, and killed and wounded 30 of Wallace's people; among the slain was an officer, of marines and the drummer, who was killed by Wallace's side, which was plainly seen by the light of the houses on fire. Those that were not wounded of Wallace's party retreated on board the ships with greater haste than they landed.

Wednesday last Wallace and his fleet went down the bay to Rhode-Island, on which they gave him a canonading as he passed, and on Saturday he returned again, when they paid him the same compliment.

New-Haven, Feb. 21. The following is an extract of a letter from General Arnold in Canada, dated, the last day of January, 1775.

"I have the pleasure of informing you, my wound is in so fair a way, that I expect to be on my legs in a fortnight. Notwithstanding our misfortune, we have continued the blockade effectually, though the enemy

enemy

enemy are double our numbers, they have not dared to shew themselves without the walls. I expected Gen. Wooster from Montreal, to take the command here, a council of war thought his presence absolutely necessary there, so that I have had a most fatiguing time. The continual agitation I have been in has, in a great measure, retarded the healing of my wound. Yesterday I received a reinforcement of 100 men from Montreal, and expect several regiments from below in a short time. I have made every possible preparation to annoy the enemy; and if I am properly supported, as I make no doubt I shall be, from below, I have not the least doubt of Quebec's falling into our hands."

Montreal, Feb. 4. Quebec is inclosed by a considerable body of our forces, under General Arnold; they hope to avoid storming, and thereby prevent effusion of blood on both sides. The garrison consists of the seamen belonging to two frigates, and the merchantmen that winter at Quebec, two companies of wretched emigrants, raised from the outskirts of suburbs, the dependents of government; and a few citizens, whose exposed effects obliged their remaining to preserve. In the whole, we estimate from twelve to thirteen hundred men capable to bear arms; a body not sufficient to do the daily duty of guards only. To this may be added the want of wood, to that degree, that (by a deserter just escaped) without destroying the houses, there remains not fuel for five days. These circumstances, we flatter ourselves, will engage General Carlton, out of humanity, to offer terms before the season becomes so advanced, as to oblige the continental army to force their admittance.

Philadelphia, March 6. By an ex-

press from Montreal as late as the 20th of February, we learn, that our little army, under General Arnold, was reinforced by 600 fresh men, that they were in high spirits; that they kept up the blockade of Quebec, in which, it is said by some deserters, that the enemy are in great distress for want of fuel; that the sailors murmur a good deal; and talk of laying down their arms; that they had burnt several outhouses, wharfs, &c. for want of other fuel. He also informs, that Captain Dorsey and Jenkins, of Col. De Haas Battalion, with their companies, were arrived at Montreal, and that Captains Davis and Williams were within a few days march of it; so that in all probability those four companies would be before Quebec by the last of February. We also learn that our people, who are prisoners in Quebec, are well treated.

Extract of a letter from Montreal, Feb. 21, 1776.

"Capt. Graham of the second battalion is just arrived from Quebec; nothing very material, but that the blockade is kept up completely, and frequent desertions from the town: I am told they have been seen to break up the vessels in the harbour for fire-wood: this absolutely does great honour to Gen. Arnold and his little party, however they will now get ease, as troops are coming in pretty fast; one company of Pennsylvania troops arrived yesterday with some American manufactured Gunpowder, and many of the New-England Volunteers. We now have, I imagine, about 1500 men before Quebec, but before the reinforcement arrived, the blockade was kept up by 500 men, exclusive of a few Canadians, in whom little or no dependence could at that time be put, nor indeed at any time, without a greater force of continental troops."

The following extract is a proof how little foundation there is in the preamble to the subscription for the Clergy of the Church of England in America. The sum subscribed proves the credulity and servility of the subscribers. Will any one of them say, he has seen those "authentic advices of the distress of the clergy in America?"* If they have not, may it not be suspected that a servile desire to recommend themselves to the potent patrons of the subscription, more than real charity, moved them to contribute to a fund, which will most probably be applied to the support of those refugee American priests, who are mostly a disgrace to their profession.

If any thing could make these men, who are the real authors of this imposition upon the public, and the patrons of it, blush, it would be the proof of the strict and early attention to the clergy by the very people whom they have slandered as their persecutors; a slander which will convince the Americans how very well founded their repugnance was to the admission of episcopacy among them. *Extracts from the Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, Feb. and March 1776.*

And be it further ordained, that where the vestries shall not have compounded with their ministers for their receiving money in lieu of tobacco for their salaries, according to a late act of assembly, in such case the collector of the parish levy shall convey the tobacco so as to be received for levies, to the house of the minister, who shall receive the tobacco so brought from time to time, until his full salary of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, with the allowance of 4 per cent. for

casks, and 4 per cent. for shrinkage, with the usual expence for transporting the same to the nearest public landing, on some navigable river, is fully paid; and the residue of the tobacco so to be received, shall be by the collector carefully prized up in hogheads and sold, according to the directions of the last-mentioned act.— But this is not extend to, or affect such counties or parishes where by law the inhabitants are allowed to pay their levies at a certain price in money.

And be it further declared and ordained, that the several vestries shall be empowered to levy for the collector of their several levies such additional allowance for his trouble in collecting the tobacco in manner aforesaid, as to them shall seem reasonable, according to the extent of the parish; and shall also allow the minister two shillings and sixpence for every thousand pounds of tobacco by him received for his salary as aforesaid, for prizing up the same.

V I R G I N I A.

A petition of sundry inhabitants of the counties of Norfolk, and Princess Anne, was presented to the convention, and read; setting forth, that from the commencement of the present unhappy disputes between the British Parliament and the Colonies, they have been uniformly active in promoting the measures recommended by the General Congress and Convention, for the preservation and defence of their rights and liberties; that, in consequence of this conduct, many of them had been reduced to the cruel necessity of abandoning their aged parents, their wives and children, and leaving them to the mercy of a lawless, plundering soldiery, and the more savage slave; that their

* The preamble of the advertisement was in these words: 'Many authentic accounts having been received of the distresses of the Clergy of the Church of England in North America, the Archbishops and Bishops (with his Majesty's approbation) have opened a Subscription for their relief; and they doubt not of the concurrence, &c.'

plantations

plantations had been ravaged, their wives and children stripped almost to nakedness, their very bed-chambers invaded at the silent hour of midnight, by ruffians with drawn daggers; their houses not only robbed of plate, money, and every thing valuable, but wantonly reduced by fire to ashes; their persons treated with every indignity that elated insolence and cruelty could suggest; some of their friends dragged into confinement, and now languishing under the hands of oppression; that they lamented the tardy and equivocal conduct of some of their luke-warm friends, by which Lord Dunmore had been encouraged to begin these depredations, which, with some concealed as well as open and avowed enemies, he continued to commit so long with impunity; that whilst our troops keep possession of Norfolk, they enjoy a state of safety; but the possibility of their being dislodged, presents a dreadful prospect of the renewal of the exercise of greater cruelties; that they can but endeavour to guard against such calamities in future; that they apprehend the friends to their country are much inferior to its enemies among the leaders of the people in the two countries; that they have every thing to fear from those who have thereby been induced to bear arms against their country, should they have it in their power; that many of their friends have been obliged to abandon their homes, which has put it out of their power to bear testimony against many who had been apprehended, and justly deserved punishment; and praying that a strict enquiry might be made into the conduct of those who had appeared inimical to this country, and that they might be removed to some distant part of the colony, or so disposed of, as to prevent their doing farther mischief; and earnestly recommending, that the slaves who

had borne arms should be transported to the West India islands.

Convention in Virginia.—It is ordered, that no recruiting officer be allowed to enlist into the service any servant whatsoever, except apprentices bound under the laws of this country, nor any such apprentice, unless the consent of his master be first had in writing; neither any man, unless he be five feet four inches, healthy, strong made, and well-limbed, not deaf, or subject to fits. And be it further ordained, that over and above the rifle companies belonging to the German regiment, there be raised seventeen companies of expert riflemen, which shall be allotted by the Committee of Safety to the respective regiments.

Williamsburgh, March 1.

Extract of a letter from a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, to Col. Howe, dated at Halifax, Feb. 24, 1776.

A gentlemen by the name of Smith has just lodged seven of the leaders of the regulators in Halifax goal. He informs me, that the insurrection is entirely suppressed, with respect to the regulators; and says he thinks the Highlanders are dispersed before now. I do not give implicit credit to this last conjecture.

However, it is clear to me that there will not be a gun fired upon this occasion; for the number of our troops (not less, perhaps, than 5000) will undoubtedly awe the Highlanders into submission, if they are not already dispersed. Governor Martin, it seems, had kept up a correspondence with the disaffected in the western part of the province, had formed a plan of insurrection, issued Colonel's commissions to many counties for this purpose, and ordered that such men as should take arms should repair to the royal standard, at Brunswick, by the 15th of this month, promising that they

they should be then and there supported by 5000 regulars.'

Extract of a letter from Charlestown, South-Carolina, March 11.

'The Good Intent, Capt. Will. Baker, of 23 guns and 240 men, fitted out at this place, fell in the 18th inst. about 20 leagues from hence, with six transports and one of the King's sloops of war of 14 guns, when after a stout resistance the sloop was obliged to sheer of: four of the latter were taken by Capt. Baker and were brought in here this morning: they have on board provisions, cloathing, and ammunition, &c. The two other vessels with the sloop are supposed to be gone to Boston.'

Extract of a genuine letter from Philadelphia, dated March 12.

'No doubt you feel anxious for your country, and will be pleased to hear how matters stand on this side of the water. I shall therefore begin to the northward with Quebec: the whole province, except the city, submitted to the Continental arms, under the brave General Montgomery, before the first of December; and notwithstanding the severe climate, he marched with his men to join Colonel Arnold at Quebec, before which he lay till near the last. When the time of many of his soldiers being expired, he resolved on an attack, in which he fell, as you will see by the papers; since which our people have kept up the blockade of the town with about 500 men. The hardship those men have gone through is hardly credible, and too long for this letter. When the news of Montgomery's fall and defeat reached the other Colonies, it did not damp their spirits, but raised them. The Congress voted more regiments, which were immediately raised; and in two months from this defeat, 2000 new raised troops joined General Arnold before Quebec; and by the middle or latter end of March, that army will amount

to 5 or 6000 men, when Quebec will be again attempted. Boston is still in the hands of Howe, but we are in hourly expectation of hearing of their flight, as General Washington was to begin to canonade it last week. We have 2000 men before it—plenty of stores, which have arrived here this winter, the want of which has hitherto prevented our doing any thing. The frequent threats of ministerialists, and the late arrival of Clinton at New-York, has put that province in a warlike posture; the women, children, and most of their valuable effects are removed into the country; the town possessed and fortified by batteries and breast-work, and 5000 men who are constantly at work; so that in a short time it will be very strong: there is also 15 or 20,000 men ready to go to their assistance on a very short notice; so that every hour after the first twenty-four of any alarm, will produce hundreds of well-armed men.

'Rhode-Island is pestered by Wallace and his ships, who hardly ever lands but he loses more or less of his men; he carries on the war in a very piratical manner. Every now and then he lands to steal sheep, &c. at which time, if he can, he burns houses, and murders the helpless, not daring to wait; and as soon as he sees any of our armed men coming, he flies.

'Pennsylvania is still unattacked, but preparing for the worst. Our river is defended by chevaux-de-frise sunk in the channel (on which no less than three vessels have been sunk by carelessness of pilots) a very large and strong chain; a battery; a 20 gun ship; a large floating battery to carry 20 eighteen pounders: and 13 row galleys, with an eighteen pounder in their bows, and 50 men properly provided for in each; three battalions of regulars; and from 30 to 40,000 militia.

'Nothing

Nothing has happened in Virginia since the entire destruction of Norfolk; but they are there, as well as in North and South Carolina, preparing for the most vigorous defence; and by the month of April will have 30 or 40,000 men ready to take the field, all which will act jointly or separately, as exigencies may require. Amongst these are a great number of riflemen. But where are your resources, say you? Money we have sufficient. By our industry abroad, we have got safely landed in different parts of this Continent, (notwithstanding the low arts of the ministry, and all their men of war) upwards of 100 tons of powder, 150 tons of saltpetre, and a large quantity of small arms, which will supply us for the first part of the campaign; for the other, we expect to be under no obligations to any state on earth for the stores, &c.

At New York we have a founder who has already cast 14 or 15 excellent brass field-pieces. We have a foundry for iron ordnance, from 24 pounders to swivels. As to iron shot, we have plenty, and, on a pinch, could supply the whole world; and as for small arms, we are not at the least loss, except for the locks, in which branch there will soon be a great number of hands employed. — The means made use of to introduce the manufacture of saltpetre, has met with the desired success; so that the women make it in many parts of the country. From the various accounts, we shall by midsummer have 30 or 40 tons, or more, of our own manufacture. In one manufactory they make 50 cwt. per week. At Newbury, in New-England, they make at least 100 lb. per day. In short, it is now as easy to make saltpetre, as it is to make soft soap*. As to brimstone

and lead, the bowels of our country produce more than sufficient for a war of 1000 years.

“ In a short time we shall have at least 30 ships of war, from 38 guns downwards, besides (if the ministry carry on their piratical war) a great number of privateers. When you return, you will be surprized to see what the mother of invention has done for us; I really believe, if we are harassed for one year more, we shall not want any thing from Europe.

“ The ministry have often unjustly accused us of looking after independency; but what they pretend to dread, their measures will in a short time bring forth. ‘ Common sense,’ which I herewith send you, is read to all ranks; and as many as read, so many become converted; though perhaps the hour before were most violent against the least idea of independence. This summer’s campaign will, I make no doubt, set us free from the shackles of education; and the king of Britain, instead of being the idol of Americans, will be of little more importance here than to frighten little children.

You will see by the papers, that our people have opened their batteries on Boston, ‘ which is destined to the flames.’ I wish I could convey to you a small idea of the ardour which inflames our young men, who turn out with more alacrity on the least alarm, than they would to a ball.

I am, your’s, &c.”

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, March 18.

“ By a gentleman from Annapolis we learn, that the Otter sloop of war and five tenders went up to Annapolis in quest of provisions,

* For every old woman in America could make soft soap formerly, and as easily now, as the Americans can at present make saltpetre, find brimstone, or, in fact, stand up for the essential liberties of England, and its once hallowed dominions.

which

which he requested by letter to the governor, but was plumply refused by the people; that his arrival there had much frightened the women and children in Annapolis, so that the town was entirely deserted by them. The Otter then proceeded towards Baltimore, and in her way fell in with a ship loaded with flour, bound out, which had run ashore; but not being able to get her off, the people of Baltimore pushed off their armed ship, retook the flour loaded ship, got her off, and brought her back. The Otter and her five tenders lay in fight a great part of the time. We hear our Maryland brethren, on the first alarm, flew to arms with the utmost alacrity, and stood ready to repel the hostile invaders had they attempted to land."

Philadelphia, March 20. By a gentleman arrived in this city from Montreal, which place he left the 4th instant, we are informed that 6000 troops in the Continental service had arrived in that city, and 2000 at Quebec; and that Montreal had chosen two delegates (Messrs. Walker and Price) to send to the Congress, who set out on their way for Philadelphia the 1st instant.— Our river is full of ships of all nations. French, Spanish, Dutch, &c. colours in great numbers are to be seen upon the ships; but most French. The American ports are open to ships of all nations, and the trade is immense.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, March 21.

"The Mercury, of 20 guns, and an armed brig in the service of government, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, have taken within these few days near this place, eight sail of our vessels, from Curacoa and St. Eustatia, they were laden with powder and warlike stores; there were thirteen of them in company,

five of which had the good fortune to escape.

Williamsburgh, March 8. We have intelligence that the gaol distemper rages with great violence on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, particularly among the negroe forces; upwards of 140 of whom have died within a short time, and who, as fast as they expire, are thrown over board to the sharks who swarm thereabouts.

A letter from the Mayor of New-York to the printer of the Gazette at that place.

"Sir,

"Inclosed I send you a copy of a letter I received from Governor Tryon, inclosing an address to the inhabitants of this Colony, which address he has desired me to get published. I have therefore sent you a copy of the letter and address, in order for your inserting them in your paper, if you think proper.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,

"D. MATTHEWS.

"New-York, March 16, 1776."

"Ship Duchess of Gordon, North river, March 16, 1776.

"Sir,

"I desire you will lay before the gentlemen of the corporation the inclosed exhortation to the inhabitants of this Colony, and that you will communicate the same to the public, and also have it inserted in the several news papers published in the city of New-York. I am, sir,

your most obedient servant,

"WM. TRYON."

"David Matthews, Esq; Mayor of the city of New York."

"Ship Duchess of Gordon, North River, New-York, March 16, 1776.
To the inhabitants of the Colony of New-York.

"Notwithstanding prejudice, delusion, and faction have hitherto, among too many, usurped the seat of reason and reflection, and every exhort-

exhortation I have offered to the inhabitants of this province, (in whose affection I have been taught to be happy) has been reviled, and treated with neglect, yet as my wishes for their prosperity and feelings for their calamities, cannot easily be suppressed, eventowards the disobedient, I cannot but repeat my endeavours to recal those who have revolted from their allegiance to a sense of their duty, and to comfort those who have been the objects of oppression, for their zealous attachment to our happy constitution, and their steady obedience to the sovereignty of the British empire.

“ It is in the clemency and authority of Great Britain only, under God, that we can look for happiness, peace and protection; and I have it in command from the king to encourage, by every means in my power, the expectations in his Majesty’s well disposed subjects in this government, of every assistance and protection the state of Great Britain will enable his Majesty to afford them, and to cherish every appearance of a disposition on their part, to withstand the tyranny and misrule which accompany the acts of those who have but too well hitherto succeeded in the total subversion of legal government. Under such assurances therefore, I exhort all the friends to good order, and our justly admired constitution, still to preserve that constancy of mind, which is inherent in the breasts of virtuous and loyal citizens, and I trust a very few months will relieve them from their present oppressed, injured, and insulted condition.

“ England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, have united to place their whole strength, power, and confidence in his Majesty’s hands.

The numerous addresses from all parts of the king’s dominions in Europe, speak the loyalty and zeal with which his subjects there engage to support his Majesty in asserting the maintaining the just sovereignty of the British empire over all its members.

“ The British state moves not by sudden and violent sallies, nor wantonly oppresses; she has lenity for her basis, and is distinguished for moderation and forbearance; but when her just indignation is roused, the experience of other nations can testify her weight and force. It cannot be sufficiently lamented that the conduct of this country has called for so severe a rod. May a timely and dutiful submission avert its stroke.

“ I have the satisfaction to inform you, that a door is still open to such honest, but deluded people, as shall avail themselves of the justice and benevolence which the supreme legislature has held out to them of being restored to the king’s grace and peace, and that proper steps have been taken for passing a commission for that purpose, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, in conformity to a provision in a late act of parliament, the commissioners thereby to be appointed having also power to enquire into the state and condition of the Colonies for effecting a restoration of public tranquility.

WM. TRYON.”

In Congress, March 16, 1776.

“ The Congress, considering the warlike preparations of the British ministry to subvert our invaluable rights and privileges, and to reduce us, by fire and sword, by the savages of the wilderness and our own domestics, to the most abject and ignominious bondage; desirous, at

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the same time, to have people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence, and of their duty devoutly to rely in all their lawful enterprises on his aid and direction, do earnestly recommend that Friday the 17th day of May next be observed by the said colonies as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer; that we may with united hearts confess and bewail our manifold sins and transgressions, and by a sincere repentance and amendment of life appease his righteous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ obtain his pardon and forgiveness, humbly imploring his assistance to frustrate the cruel purposes of our unnatural enemies; and by inclining their hearts to justice and benevolence, prevent the further effusion of kindred blood. But if continuing deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, and inflexibly bent on desolation and war, they constrain us to repel their hostile invasions by open resistance, that it may please the Lord of Hosts, the God of Armies, to animate our officers and soldiers with invincible fortitude, to guard and protect them in the day of battle, and to crown the Continental arms by sea and land, with victory and success: Earnestly beseeching him to bless our civil rulers and the representatives of the people in their several assemblies and conventions; to preserve and strengthen their union; to inspire them with an ardent disinterested love of their country; to give wisdom and stability to their councils; and direct them to the most efficacious measures for establishing the rights of America on the most honourable and permanent basis; that he would be graciously pleased to bless all the people in these colonies with health and plenty; and grant that a spirit of incorruptible patriotism and of pure undefiled religion

may universally prevail: and this continent be speedily restored to the blessings of peace and liberty, and enabled to transmit them inviolate to the latest posterity. And it is recommended to Christians of all denominations, to assemble for public worship, and abstain from servile labour on the said day. By order of the Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.
Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, March 9.

' Gunpowder has lately fallen here considerably in price on account of the great quantity of that article, which has lately arrived in America, from foreign parts. Several hundred new firelocks have been lately made by some foreigners, which after being in the water for several hours, will do as much execution as if they had never been wet. The 17th inst. the Cornet, of 28 guns, commanded by Capt. Charles Atkins, belonging to this port, arrived here in a distressed situation, she having met an English frigate off St. Kitt's, when an engagement ensued, which lasted six glasses, wherein this frigate was obliged at last to sheer off, as she had her mizen-mast shot away, and it is supposed two-thirds of her crew were killed, as they fought yard-arm and yard-arm, during the greatest part of the action.

Extract of a letter from Charleston, South-Carolina, March 17.

' The Congress have resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to their constituents to promote union and harmony by every means in their power; that for this purpose, all those things be avoided which tend to promote disaffection between the people, utterly discountenancing national reflections, and engaging to be watchful and diligent, that the laws for the peace and good order of the Colony be observed inviolate as far as may be.'

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Several letters from the West Indies, mention the excessive dearness of provisions there, particularly at Antigua, St. Kitt's, &c. and add the transports lately blown thither have afforded them a little temporary supply.

In Provincial Congress, Charles-Town, March 16.

' Resolved, 1st, That any person in the different provinces, who has arms, ammunition, or other articles necessary for our defence, to dispose of, or shall import any of those articles for sale, and shall not after the publication of these resolutions inform the chairman, or deputy chairman of this Congress, of the quantity or quality of the same, he shall be held up to the public as an enemy to this country.

' Resolved, 2d. That any person who shall, during the unhappy contest with our parent state, dispose of any arms, ammunition, or other articles aforesaid, to any person knowing, or having reason to believe such person to be inimical to the liberties of America, or shall put such articles in the hands of any such person, or any other person, knowing or having reason to believe they are to be used against those liberties, he shall be held up as an enemy to this country: which being unanimously agreed to. Ordered the same to be published in hand-bills.

Extract of a letter from Charles-Town, South Carolina, March 18.

' The Provincial Congress having received an information, that certain persons have bought up, and others are now buying India corn, with a design to take advantage of the times, they yesterday agreed to the following resolutions, viz.

' Resolved, That such engrossing is intolerable, and ought not to be suffered at this present juncture.

' Resolved, That such persons as may have bought India corn, ought not to sell it an advanced price, and that proper information ought immediately to be laid before the Congress

or General Committee.

' The Congress have prohibited the exportation of corn and rice for six months; and have resolved to have public granaries forthwith, in order to lay up a proper quantity of flour and rice for public use, and have appointed commissioners to see that business be carried into immediate execution.'

Advices from Virginia say, that they have on foot in that colony a regular army of nine battalions, amounting to upwards of 7000 men, including officers, to be commanded by one major-general, and two brigadier-generals, besides minute-men, and a well trained militia of between 60 and 70,000 men. They make above 1000lb. of saltpetre in a day: They have opened and work sulphur and lead mines, which prove so fertile, that they will have enough of these articles in a year to supply the whole continent. They have established manufactories of guns and other arms; of which they make large quantities; so that they have no apprehension of the least want of arms or ammunition.

General Schuyler's account of his expedition to Tryon County.

Published by order of the Honourable Continental Congress.

Sir, Albany, January 23, 1776.

' On the evening of the twenty-first I returned from Tryon county; the following is a narrative of that little excursion.

As I had no troops here to carry into execution the resolutions of the Congress, I was under the necessity of communicating my business to the sub-committee of this county, which I did, having previously administered an oath of Secrecy. Whilst the committee were devising the means to collect a body of men for this service, and much puzzled what reasons to give for doing it, the letter and affidavit from Tryon county (copies of which I had the honour to transmit

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you by my last express) came to hand, and the accounts contained in them were made the ostensible reasons for raising the militia. Although I thought two or three hundred men, with the Tryon county Whigs, sufficient to complete my business, yet I readily consented that seven hundred should be called upon, at once to discourage the Tories in other parts of the country, and to give confidence to the Whigs in all parts, but such was the zeal and alacrity of the people, that although the weather was cold in the extreme, it was impossible to prevent their coming up, which they did in such numbers, that by the time I reached Caghawaga. I had very near, if not quite, three thousand men, including nine hundred of the Tryon county militia.

On Tuesday the sixteenth, I marched to Schenectady, and on the evening of that day a deputation from the Mohawk Indians met us, and delivered me the following speech, in a very haughty tone.

‘ We intended to have gone down to Albany, in order to speak to you, but thank God that he has given us an opportunity to meet you here, as we have some matters to communicate to you.’ To which I gave the following answer.—‘ I am very glad to see you here, and I shall be glad to hear what the brothers have to say, as my ears are always open to them.’—Whereupon Abraham proceeded as follows: ‘ Brothers, you lately sent to our place four men, who arrived to us last Sunday morning. They told us they were sent up to us by you, to inform us of those military preparations, which were making down in this quarter. By them you let us know that you thought it not prudent to send armed men amongst us, without previously notifying us. Likewise, Brothers, your messengers, informed us of the reasons of your coming in this manner. You in-

formed us that you had heard that there were a number of men embodied at Sir John’s, about Johnstown; you told us likewise, that as soon as they had completed their body, they intended to destroy the settlements up and down the river. You informed us that you were coming up, to enquire into the truth of the report, and who it was that gave out commissions, and what were their designs.

‘ At the same time you assured us, that no harm was intended against us, the Six Nations, as we had last summer publickly engaged that we would take no part against you in your dispute with the great King over the great water.

‘ Brothers, you told us that you would come to search into the truth of the report, and you assured us also, that you would not be the first aggressor, and that it should be their own fault, if any blood was spilt.

‘ You told us that you would acquaint the Lower Castle first of the design, that they should send up to the Upper Castle, and they to the Oneyda, and they to the Onondaga, and so through the whole Six Nations.

‘ Brothers, we thanked your messengers for the speech delivered to us, and we would consider of it for some time, to return them an answer. Accordingly, Brothers, a small number of us, who take care of the news, met in council on this occasion.

‘ We thanked your messengers for informing us first of your designs. We said we know the agreement which was entered into with the whole Twelve United Colonies. At that meeting; you remember it was agreed to remove all obstacles out of the way of the path of peace, to keep it open, that we might pass and repass without being annoyed.

‘ Brothers you told us that you came to enquire into the truth of the report, which might be done by four

or fix, without any danger in making the inquiry.

‘ We proposed your sending up six persons to enquire into the truth of this matter, as it would be a shame to interrupt them, as no person would be so mean to give them any obstruction.

‘ As for sending your belt forward, we thought to retain it, until we had heard whether our proposal had been accepted or no.

‘ And we desire that you would consider of this matter, and keep your troops at home, and let us know your mind; and if, after considering of our proposals, you do not agree to them, that you will then let us know what you intend to do.

‘ They likewise sent word to you, that when they had heard from you, whether you accepted of our proposals, that we would then do as you desire in sending up the news.

‘ Brothers, we expected an answer to our proposals, but none arrived until we were informed, by a woman who returned from Albany, that those preparations were actually making, and that troops were actually marching in the country. We then, Brothers, took the matter into consideration, and determined it was best for a party to meet you, and you see us this day, Brothers, arrived. We come, Brothers, to beg of you that you take good care and prudence of what you are going about. We beg of you, Brothers, to remember the engagement which was made with the Twelve United Colonies at our interview last summer, as we then engaged to open the path of peace, and to keep it undefiled from blood, at the same time something of a different nature made its appearance. You assured us, Brothers, that if any were found in our neighbourhood inimical to us, that you would consider them as enemies. The Six Nations then

supposed that the son of Sir William was pointed at by that expression.— We then desired particularly that he might not be injured, as it was not in his power to injure the cause; and that therefore he might not be molested. The Six Nations then said they would not concern themselves with your operation in other parts, but particularly desired that this path might be free from blood.

‘ And now, Brothers, we repeat it again; we beg of you to take good care, and not to spill any blood in this path, and the more especially, Brothers, as it is as but of this day that the Six Nations had so agreeable an interview with the Colonies, and our Chiefs are now hunting in the woods, and not dreaming that there is any prospect that this path is, or will be, defiled with blood.

‘ We informed you, Brothers, that we had heard of a woman, that you was advancing, and that you had cannon; we then took it into consideration; we thought it strange that cannon should be brought into the country, as the Twelve United Colonies had so lately opened the path of peace. As you will remember that this path was open last spring, and the Six Nations agreed to keep it open, we then thought what could influence the Twelve United Colonies to open this path, and from the present appearance it is as if with a design that the cannon should pass free from all obstruction.

‘ Brothers, attend! It was your request, and a matter agreed upon by the Twelve United Colonies, that we should mind nothing but peace; therefore, Brothers, as we mean to observe that agreement, we have expressed ourselves as above, and as, Brothers, we mind nothing but peace, we look upon ourselves as mediators between the two parties. Therefore, Brothers, as your messengers declared that

that you would not be the aggressors, we informed Sir John of this, and earnestly begged of him not to be the aggressor, or the means of shedding blood, and the same time assured him that if we found he should be the aggressor, we would not pay any farther attention to him, and likewise told them that if our Brothers of the United Colonies were the aggressors, that we should treat them in the same manner.

‘ This is what we told Sir John, as we look upon ourselves to be mediators between both parties, and as we have said before, desired him not to be the aggressor.

‘ To which Sir John replied, that we know his disposition very well, and that he had no mind to be the aggressor. He assured us that he would not be the aggressor, but if the people came up to take away his life, he would do as well as he could, as the law of nature justified every person to stand in his own defence.

‘ According to the news we have heard, it is as though Sir John would shut up the path of peace in that quarter, but that is impossible he should do it, as he has but a mere handful of friends. But, Brothers, if this company who are now passing by, should go up, and any thing bad should happen, we shall look on you as shutting up the path.

‘ It has been represented to you, Brothers, that it seems that Sir John is making military preparations, and that he is making a fort round his house; but, Brothers, as we live so near him, we should certainly know it if any thing of that nature should be done, especially as we go there so frequently on account of our father the minister, who sometimes performs divine service at that place. We have never seen any hostile preparations made there, there is no cannon nor any thing of that kind, and that all things remained in the same situation

it was in the life-time of Sir William.

‘ Brothers, we would not conceal any thing from you, it would not be right to use deceit, neither do we mean to do it; the minds of our counsellors are very much grieved, and aggrieved at that part of the disposition of those whom we may call our warriors, as there are some among us of different minds, as there are among you. Brothers, our counsellors remembering the covenant we last summer made with our brethren the Twelve Colonies, have all along strongly urged our warriors to peace, and have checked them when a contrary disposition appeared. Our minds are very much grieved to find any of our warriors of a different sentiment. We have hitherto been able to restrain them, and hope still to be able to do it, for matters are not now carried to extremity, but if they are, our warriors will not be restrained, because they will think themselves deceived if this military force comes into the country.’

‘ We have declared to you, brothers, that we would not deceive, and that we mean to declare our minds to you openly and freely. We the Sachems have all along inculcated to the warriors sentiments of peace, and they have hitherto been obedient to us, though there have been rumours that they should be disturbed, yet we have hitherto been able to calm their minds. But, now, Brothers, so large a party coming, alarms the minds of our warriors.

‘ They are determined, Brothers, to go, and be present at your interview with Sir John, and determined to see and hear every thing that should be there transacted; and if it shall then appear that this party shall push matters to extremes, we then cannot be accountable for any thing that may happen. But as for us, Brothers, the counsellors are fully determined ever to persevere in the path of peace.

‘ Brothers

‘ Brothers attend ! Though I have finished what I purposed to say, yet I will add one thing more. When the news of your approach arrived at our town, it caused great confusion, some were ready to take to their arms, observing that those reports respecting the unfriendly disposition of the colonies were now verified. I begged of them, brothers, to possess their minds in peace for a few days. I told them that I myself would go to Albany and inquire into the truth of the matter. I was so conscious of my own innocence, that no hostile appearance could deter me, however formidable. I therefore desire them to sit still until my return, which might be in two days, if I went to Albany ; this, brothers, is the present situation of our people, they are waiting to see what news I bring.

‘ Brothers, when I made this request to the warriors, that they should sit still till my return, they told me that they would, which they are now in expectation of, and will do nothing till I get back. But, brothers, after my return I will repeat to them the speech you will now make to me, and if any of our people should still persist to be present at your interview with Sir John, we hope, brethren, you will not think hard of us as counsellors, as it is not in our powers to rule them as we please. If they should go, and if any thing evil should happen, we beg to know, brothers, what treatment we may expect who remain at home in peace.

‘ Brothers, this is all we have to say, this is the business which has brought us down, and we now expect an answer to carry home to our people.

To which I delivered the following answer, which it was easy to be perceived had the desired effect.

‘ Brothers of the Mohawk nation,

‘ We, the commissioners appoint-

ed by the Congress and your Brothers of Albany and Schenectady, have paid great attention to the speech you have delivered to us ; we now desire you to open your ears, and attentively listen to what we have to say in answer.

‘ Brothers, it pleased us to hear you declare, that you would speak your minds freely ; we assure you that we shall do the same, and hide nothing from you of what is in our thoughts.

‘ Brothers, we were in hopes that the message, which we sent you by Mr. Bleecker, would have eased your minds, and have convinced you that we had no hostile intentions against you or any other Indians, for if we had, we would not have sent you that message, neither would we have supplied you with powder as we did last summer, and again the other day.

‘ Brothers, we are extremely sorry that you have not complied with our request, to send the speech which we sent you by Mr. Bleecker to the six nations, in the manner which we required.

‘ Brothers, you told us that five or six men would have been sufficient to have gone to Johnstown, and to have inquired what was transacting there, and that these people would have been in no danger, as it would have been a shame to have interrupted them. We acknowledge, Brothers, that it would have been a shame if we had sent them, and they had been interrupted ; but we have full proofs that many people in Johnitown, and the neighbourhood thereof, have for a considerable time past made preparations to carry into execution the wicked design of the king’s evil counsellors.

‘ Brothers, it is very true that last summer the United Colonies promised that the path to the Indian country should be kept open. They again repeat that promise ; and although

though it is by the special order of the Congress, that this body of troops are now marching up, yet it is not to shut the path, but to keep it open, and to prevent the people in and about Johnstown from cutting off the communication between us and our brethren of the six nations, and our other brethren living upon the river.

‘Brothers, although we have before observed that the people, living in and about Johnstown, are making hostile preparations against us, yet we will not shed a drop of their blood, unless they refuse to come to an agreement by which we may be safe, or unless they oppose us with arms. We do not mean that any of our warriors should set their foot on any of the lands you possess, or that of the six nations, unless our enemies should take shelter there, for those we are resolved to follow wherever they go. We again repeat, that we have no quarrel with you, and we do expect that you will not interfere in this family contest, but stand by as indifferent spectators, agreeable to the engagement of the six nations made to us last summer, at their own request.

‘Brothers, we assured you last summer that, as we had no quarrel with any Indians, we would not touch a hair of their heads; yet when our warriors were at St. John’s, they were attacked by Indians; two of your tribe, and some others, were killed. You have never blamed us for it, because you well knew that, as our lives are dear to us, we had a right to kill any man who attempts to kill us; you ought therefore not to be surpris’d if we take every precaution to prevent being destroyed by the friends of the king’s evil counsellors.

“Brothers, in a little time we may be called upon to go and fight against our enemies to the eastward, who are employed by the king’s

evil counsellors, and can you think it prudent that we should leave a set of people, who are our enemies, in any part of the country, in such a situation as to be able to destroy our wives and children, and burn our houses in our absence? Would you leave your wives and children in such a situation? The wisdom by which you have conducted your affairs, convinces us that you would not; and yet so cautious are we that no blood may be shed, that we shall send a letter to Sir John, inviting him to meet us on the road, between this place and his house, which if he does, we make no doubt but every thing will be settled in an amicable manner. And, that he may be under no apprehensions, we do now assure you, that if we do not come to an agreement, he will be permitted safely to return to his own house.

‘Brothers, we thank you that you have concealed nothing from us and we assure you that we scorn deceit as much as you do, and therefore we shall now speak our minds freely on what you have said respecting the conduct which your warriors mean to hold. We have no objection, nay, we wish that you and they should be present to hear what we shall propose to Sir John, and the people in and about Johnstown, who are our enemies. But we beg of you to tell your warriors, that although we have no quarrel with them, yet if we should be under the disagreeable necessity of fighting with our enemies, and your warriors should join them and fight against us, that we will do as we did at St. John’s, and repel force by force.

‘Brothers, you have asked us if your warriors should go, and if any thing evil should happen, what treatment you may expect who remain at home in peace.

Brothers, in the treaty held at Albany, last summer, you and your warriors

warriors were present, and you and they jointly promised to remain neuter, and not to interfere in this quarrel; should your warriors therefore now take up arms against us, we must consider it as a breach of the treaty, so far as it respects the lower Mohawk castle, of which breach we shall complain to our brethren the other nations: and, at the same time lay the matter before our Great Council, at Philadelphia, whose determination thereupon will be our future guide.

‘Brothers, we are surprised that the least doubt should remain on your minds, with respect to our friendly intentions towards you after the many instances we have given you of our love and friendship. But we must impute it to the wicked insinuations of our mutual enemies, who wish for nothing so much as to see the ancient covenant, which has so long subsisted between us, broke.

‘Brothers, you have observed that you would pay no regard to that party that should be the first aggressor. We cannot be the aggressors, for if our enemies in and about Johnstown had had no evil intentions against us, we should never have ever come thus far with an army. Whoever takes up arms against another, although he has not yet struck, must be considered as the aggressor, and not he who tries to prevent the blow.

‘Brothers, we have now freely and fully disclosed to you our minds. We hope you will remember what we have said, and repeat it to your brother counsellors and warriors; and, lest you should not be able to recollect every part of this speech, you may have your brothers Ka-

raghwadirhon * and Tezederonde-ron to attend you, if it be agreeable to you.

‘Brothers, your women have sent us a belt. We beg you to assure them of our regard, and to intreat them to prevent your warriors from doing any thing that would have the least tendency to intur our resentment, or interrupt that harmony which we wish may subsist to the end of time.”

To this they made the following short reply :

‘Brother Schuyler, the Great man, attend!

‘We have this evening heard what you have to say, and we are glad of it, and thank you for it.

‘Every thing that has been said to us, brother, has been perfectly agreeable to us.

‘I shall not attempt, brother, to make a particular reply to every thing that has been said to us; indeed it would not be proper at this time.

‘We are very glad, brother, that you have determined to write to Sir John, requesting an interview with him, in hopes of an amicable agreement.

‘Brother, you mention, that it would be agreeable to you that the warriors and counsellors, or Sachems, should attend.

‘Brother, we, the Sachems, will attend, even though we should do it at the risque of our lives.

‘Brother, we should be glad if you would inform us of the time and place of your interview with Sir John. You likewise told us, that if it was agreeable to us that your interpreters should attend, to recapitulate the speech you have made, which likewise is agreeable to us;

* Dean and Bleecker, interpreters.

and we desire that they may go with us, for by that means all mistakes may be prevented.

‘ Brother, you may depend on it that we will use our utmost influence with our warriors, to calm their minds.

‘ You may depend on it likewise, that our sisters will use their utmost influence for the same purpose.’

I then assured them again, that as we had no hostile intentions, they might rest assured that nothing disagreeable would happen to them, and that, if they attended at Johnstown as friends, they would receive the protection due to them as mediators, after which they returned. Early on Wednesday, the 17th, I marched, having previously sent a letter to Sir John Johnson, of which the following is a copy :

‘ Sir, *Schenectady, Jan. 16, 1776.*

‘ Information having been received that designs of the most dangerous tendency to the rights, liberties, properties, and even lives of those of his Majesty’s faithful subjects in America, who are opposed to the unconstitutional measures of his ministry, have been formed in part of the county of Tryon, I am therefore ordered to march a body of men into that county, to carry into execution certain resolutions of my superiors, and to contravene these dangerous designs.

‘ Influenced, sir, by motives of humanity, I wish to comply with my orders, in a manner the most peaceable, that no blood may be shed, I therefore request that you will please to meet me to-morrow at any place on my way to Johnstown, to which I propose then to march. For which purpose I do hereby give you my word and honor, that you, and such persons as you may choose should attend you, should pass safe and unmolested to the place where

you may meet me, and from thence back to the place of your abode.

‘ Rutger Bleecker, and Henry Glenn, esquires, are the bearers hereof, gentlemen who are entitled to your best attention, which I dare say they will experience, and by whom I expect you will favour me with an answer to this letter.

‘ You will please to assure lady Johnson, that whatever may be the result of what is now in agitation, she may rest perfectly satisfied that no indignity will be offered her. I am, sir, your humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

‘ To Sir John Johnson, Bart.’

He accordingly met me about sixteen miles beyond Schenectady, accompanied by some of the leading Scotchmen, and two or three others, when I delivered him the following terms.

Terms offered by the honourable Philip Schuyler, esq; Major-General in the army of the thirteen United Colonies, and commanding in the New-York department, to Sir John Johnson, baronet, and all such other persons in the county of Tryon, as have evinced their intentions of supporting his Majesty’s ministry to carry into execution the unconstitutional measures of which the Americans so justly complain, and to prevent which they have been drawn to the dreadful necessity of having recourse to arms.

First, That Sir John Johnson shall, upon his word and honor, immediately deliver up all cannon, arms and other military stores of what kind soever, which may be in his own possession, or which he has caused to be delivered into the possession of any persons whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, or that, to his knowledge, may be concealed

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in any part of the said county; that he shall distinguish all such military stores, of what kind soever, as belong to the crown, or were furnished with the design of arming the Indians, or the inhabitants of Tryon county, from those which may be private property, in order that a proper inventory may be taken of the last articles, that the same may be restored, or the value of them refunded when this unhappy contest shall be over.

Secondly, General Schuyler, out of personal respect to Sir John, and from a regard to his rank, consents that Sir John shall retain for his own use, a complete set of armour, and as much powder as may be sufficient for his domestic purposes.

Thirdly, That Sir John Johnson shall remain upon his parole of honor in any part of Tryon county, which he may choose to the eastward of the district unless it should appear necessary to the honorable Continental Congress to remove him to some other part of this or any other colony; in which case, he is immediately to comply with such orders as they may think proper to give for that purpose.

Fourthly, That the Scotch inhabitants of the said county shall, without any kind of exception, immediately deliver up all arms in their possession, of what kind soever they may be, and that they shall each solemnly promise, that they will not at any time hereafter, during the continuance of this unhappy contest, take up arms without the permission of the Continental Congress, or of their general officers; and for the more faithful performance of this article, the general insists, that they shall immediately deliver up to him six hostages of his own nomination.

Fifthly, That such of the other inhabitants of Tryon county, as

have avowed themselves averse to the measures of the United Colonies, shall also deliver up their arms, of what kind soever they may be, and enter into the like engagement as is stipulated in the preceding article, both with respect to their future conduct and the number of hostages.

Sixthly, That all blankets, strouds, and other Indian articles belonging to the crown, and intended as presents to the Indians, shall be delivered up to a commissary appointed by General Schuyler, in the presence of three or more of the Mohawk chiefs, in order that the same may be dispersed amongst the Indians, for the purpose of cementing the ancient friendship between them and their brethren of the United Colonies, for which sole purpose they ought to have been furnished.

Seventhly, If Sir John Johnson, and the people referred to in the foregoing articles, shall justly abide by, and perform what is thereby required of them, the General, in behalf of the Continental Congress, doth promise and engage that neither Sir John Johnson, nor any of those people, shall be molested by any of the other inhabitants of the said county, or by any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies; but that, on the contrary, they will be protected in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of their property, the sole intent of this treaty being to prevent the horrid effects of a civil and intestine war betwixt those who ought to be brethren. That all the arms, which shall be delivered up in consequence of the preceding articles, shall be valued by sworn appraisers. That if the Continental Congress should have occasion for them, they may be taken. If not, they will be delivered to the respective proprietors, when this unhappy contest shall be at an end.

He assured me that the Indians would support him, and that some were already at Johnson Hall for that purpose, and others on their way down.

In return I told him, that although averse to shedding any blood, yet if he resisted, that force would be opposed to force without distinction, and that the consequences would be of the most serious nature, unless he complied with my requisitions. He begged time, to answer, until next evening, to which I consented.

About an hour after he had left me, Abraham, and another of the Mohawks, called upon me; I acquainted him of the information I had received from Sir John, which he denied to be true, giving me assurances that the Mohawks would not interfere otherwise than as mediators; I answered, that I hoped they would not, but that if they did, I should surely not hesitate one moment to destroy all that should appear in arms against us. On Thursday the 18th, I approached to within four miles of Johnstown, and about six o'clock received the following answer to my terms.

“Terms proposed by Sir John Johnson, Baronet, and the people of Kinsborough and the adjacent neighbourhood, to the Honorable Philip Schuyler, esq; Major-General in the army of the Thirteen United Colonies, and commanding in the New-York department.

“First, That Sir John Johnson and the rest of the gentlemen expect, that all such arms of every kind as are their own property, may remain in their possession, all the other arms shall be delivered up to such person or persons as may be appointed for that purpose. As to military stores, belonging to the crown, Sir John has not any.

“Secondly, answered in the first.

“Thirdly, Sir John expects that he will not be confined to any certain county, but be at liberty to go where he pleases.

“Fourthly, The Scotch inhabitants will deliver up their arms, of what kind soever they may be; and they will each solemnly promise, that they will not, at any time hereafter, during the continuance of this unhappy contest, take up arms without the permission of the Continental Congress, or of their general officers. Hostages they are not in a capacity to give, no one man having command over another; nor power sufficient to deliver such; therefore this part of the article to be passed from, or the whole included. Women and children to be required, a requisition so inhuman as we hope the General will dispense with.

“Fifthly, Answered in the fourth.

“Sixthly, Sir John has not any blankets, strouds, or other presents intended for the Indians.

“Sevently, If the above proposal are agreed to and signed by the general, Sir John and the people referred to will rely on the assurances of protection given by the general.
J. JOHNSON, ALLAN M'DONNELL.

Johnson Hall, 18th Jan. 1775.

“To the honorable Philip Schuyler, esq. Major General.”

To which I returned the following answer.

Cognuage, Jan. 18, eight o'clock,
Gentlemen, P. M. 1776.

Messrs. Adams and M'Donnell have delivered me your answer to my proposals of yesterday's date. The least attention to the articles I offered, when compared with yours, must convince you that you omitted replies to several of them, consequently what you have sent me is very imperfect, and also unsatisfactory. I wave pointing out some inconsistencies in
your

your proposals, as the whole are exceptionable, excepting the last.

I must therefore obey my orders, and again repeat that in the execution of them I shall strictly abide by the laws of humanity, at the same time assuring you that if the least resistance is made, I will not answer for the consequences, which may be of a nature the most dreadful.

If Lady Johnson is at Johnson Hall, I wish she would retire, and therefore inclose a passport, as I shall march my troops to that place without delay.

You may, however, have time to reconsider the matter; and for that purpose I give you until twelve o'clock this night, after which I shall receive no proposals, and I have sent you Mr. Robert Yates, Mr. Glen and Mr. Duer, to receive the ultimate proposals you have to make. This condescension I make from no other motive than to prevent the effusion of blood, so far as it may be effected without risking the safety of the country, or being guilty of a breach of the positive orders I have received from the Honourable Continental Congress. I am, Gentlemen, with due respect, your humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

To Sir John Johnson, and Mr. Allan M'Donnell.

Immediately after I had sent this away, the Sachems and all the warriors of the Lower Mohawk town, and some from the Upper, called upon me, and informed me that Sir John Johnson had related to them the contents of the terms I had offered to him and his associates; that Sir John declared he only meant to guard himself from any insult that might be offered by riotous people; that he had no unfriendly intentions against the country, and begged that I would accept of the terms he had offered. In reply I explained my proposals, and Sir John's answer; pointed out the impropriety of closing with him

on the conditions he wanted, and told them that I had given him until twelve o'clock to comply, after which I should take such measures as would force him, and whoever assisted him, to a compliance. They were contented with the reasons I gave, but begged, that if his answer was not satisfactory, that I would give him until four o'clock in the morning, that they might have time to go and shake his head (as they expressed it) and bring him to his senses; and they begged it as a favour to be charged to them, that I would not remove him out of the county; they apologized for the threats of their warriors, said that they were not all present at the treaty at Albany, but that now they were all here, and declared that they would never take arms against us.

I paid them a compliment on their peaceable intentions, and informed them that although Sir John's conduct was extremely obnoxious, and that we should be justified in making him a close prisoner, yet I would grant their request for two reasons, first to shew our love and affection to them, and to convince them that they could obtain that by asking it as a favour, which they could not by threatening; secondly, that by leaving of him, they might, by their advice and example, teach him to alter his conduct.

At twelve, the following answer, from Sir John, came to hand:

Answers to the terms proposed by the Honourable Philip Schuyler, Esq; Major-general in the army of the Thirteen United Colonies, and commanding in the New York department, to Sir John Johnson, bart. the inhabitants of Kingsborough, and the neighbourhood adjacent.

First and second articles agreed to, except a few favourite family arms.

Third, Sir John Johnson having given his parole of honour not to take

up

up arms against America, and conceiving the design of this military operation to be with no other view than that of removing of the jealousies of which his countrymen are unhappily and unjustly inspired with against him, can by no means think of submitting to this article in its full latitude, though for the sake of preserving peace and removing any suspicions of undue influence, he consents not to go to the westward of the German flats and Kinsland districts; to every other part of the continent to the southward of this county he expects the privilege of going.

Fourth, Agreed to, except to that part of the article which respects to the giving hostages. After the Scotch inhabitants have surrendered their arms, the General may take any six prisoners from amongst them as he chooses, without resistance. They expect, however, that the prisoners taken will be maintained, agreeable to their respective rank, and that they may have the privilege of going to any part of the provinces of New-Jersey or Pennsylvania, which the General, or the Continental Congress, may appoint. They likewise expect, from the General's humanity, that provision will be made for the maintenance of the prisoners wives and children, agreeable to their respective situation in life. Yet, for the sake of promoting the harmony of the country, they will not break off this treaty merely on that account, provided the General thinks he cannot exert a discretionary power in this matter, in which case they rely upon the General's influence with the Continental Congress, who, they cannot persuade themselves, will be inattentive to the voice of humanity, or to the feelings of parents who may be torn from their families. Those to whose lot it may fall to be taken prisoners, it is expected they will be allowed a few days to settle their business, and the gentlemen to wear their side arms.

Fifth, Neither Sir John Johnson or the Scotch gentlemen can make any engagement for any other persons than those over whom they may have influence. Neither can they possibly know the names of all such persons who have shewn themselves averse to the measures of the United Colonies. They give their word and honour that, so far as depends on them, the inhabitants shall give up their arms, and enter into the like engagement with the Scotch inhabitants. The General has it more in his power to discover those who are obnoxious, and to make as many as he pleases prisoners; neither shall they adopt the quarrel of any such persons as their own.

Sixth, Sir John gives his word and honour that he has no blankets, shrouds, or other presents belonging to the crown, intended for the Indians, and therefore this requisition cannot be complied with.

Seventh, If the above proposals are agreed to, and signed by the General, Sir John and the people referred to, will rely on the assurances of protection given by the General. But as it will be impossible for the arms to be collected till Saturday next at twelve o'clock, all the men, referred to in the above articles, will be then paraded in John's-Town, and ground their arms in the presence of such troops as the General may appoint.

JOHN JOHNSON.
ALLAN M'DONNELL.

Johnson-Hall, Jan. 18. 1776.

Upon which I told the Indians, that I believed the matter would be settled in a peaceable manner. They then retired with repeated expressions of their approbation of my conduct, and of esteem for Congress, I then sent the following to Sir John, viz.

Cagnuage, Jan. 19, 1776.

General Schuyler's feelings as a gentleman induce him to consent that Sir John Johnson may retain the few favourite

favourite family arms, he making a list of them.

‘ The General will also consent, that Sir John Johnson may go as far to the westward as the German flats and Kingsland districts in this county, and to every other part of this colony to the southward and eastward of said districts, provided he does not go into any sea-port town; the General, however, believes that if Sir John’s private business should require his going to any of the other ancient English Colonies, that he will be permitted it, by applying to Congress for leave.

‘ The General will take six of the Scotch inhabitants prisoners, since they prefer it to going hostages. It has been the invariable rule of Congress, and that of all its officers, to treat prisoners with the greatest humanity, and to pay all due deference to rank. He cannot ascertain the places to which Congress may please to send them; for the present they will go to Reading or Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. Nor can he make any promises with respect to the maintenance of the women and children. His humanity will certainly induce him to recommend to Congress an attention to what has been requested on that head.

‘ General Schuyler expects that all the Scotch inhabitants of whatsoever rank, that are not confined to their beds by illness, shall attend with their arms, and deliver them on Saturday at twelve o’clock, which if not faithfully performed, he will consider himself as disengaged from any engagements entered into with them.

‘ General Schuyler never refused a gentleman his side arms.

‘ The prisoners that may be taken, must be removed to Albany immediately, where the General will permit them to remain a reasonable time to settle their family affairs.

‘ If the terms General Schuyler

has offered, on the 17th inst. are accepted with the above qualifications, fair copies will be made out and signed by the parties, one of which will be delivered to Sir John and Mr. M’Donell signed by the General. To prevent a waste of time, the General wishes Sir John and Mr. M’Donell immediately to send an answer. He remains, with due respect, Sir John’s and Mr. M’Donell’s humble servant,
PH. SCHUYLER.’

Which was agreed to, and on Friday the 10th I marched to Johnstown, having first detached parties to different parts of the country to bring in the other Tories, not comprehended in the agreement with Sir John. In the afternoon, the arms and military stores, in possession of Sir John, were delivered up; a much smaller quantity than I expected. On Saturday the 20th, at 12 o’clock, I drew my men in the street, and the Highlanders, between two and three hundred, marched to the front, where they grounded their arms; these secured, I dismissed them with an exhortation, pointing out the only conduct which could insure them protection. I then sent for two of the persons mentioned in Conner’s affidavit, the rest not being in the county, and tried by every means in my power to make them confess what Conner charged them with; they strenuously denied the charge, and when I produced Conner, they called him a perjured wretch, and declared their willingness to be hanged, if upon farther examination I should have just grounds to conclude that his charge was supported; I then sent several field-officers and a party with Conner to the spot where the arms were supposed to be hid; he pointed out a small artificial oval island in a duck pond, the greatest diameter of which was about twenty-eight feet, and the shorter about twenty, and raised about three feet above the surface of the water in its highest part,

part, and sloping down to the pond; on its being observed that it was too small to hide so many arms, he said they were put up in four piles. The ground was then cleared of the snow and broke up; it was immediately perceived that the ground had not lately been broken up; they however dug down until they got as low as the surface of the water, and then tried with sticks, swords, and other instruments, but found nothing. The gentlemen present unanimously reported that they were convinced that Conner was an impostor. As such I shall keep him confined, until I receive farther directions from Congress.

On Saturday evening I returned to Cagnage. Some of the parties, I had sent the preceding day, were returned with about fifty tories, sixty more were brought in on Sunday the 21st. I left Colonel Herkimer, and the committee of Tryon county, to receive the arms of the remainder, and to fix on six of the principal leaders, and send them to me. I expect the whole disarmed, or to be disarmed, will amount to above six hundred. Not being satisfied with the ammunition, &c. delivered me by Sir John, I wrote him the following letter.

Sir, *Cagnage, Jan. 21, 1776.*

Although it is a well known fact that all the Scotch people, that yesterday surrendered arms had, not broad swords when they came to the country, yet many of them had, and most of them were possessed of durks, and as none have been given up of either, I will charitably believe that it was rather inattention than a wilful omission. Whether it was the former or the later must be ascertained by their immediate compliance, or non-compliance, with that part of the treaty which requires that all arms, of what kind soever, should be delivered up.

After having been informed by you, at our first interview, that the

Scotch people meant to defend themselves, I was not a little surprised that no ammunition was delivered up, and that you had none to furnish them with. These observations were immediately made by others as well as me; I was too apprehensive of the consequences, which might have been fatal to those people, to take notice of it on the spot. I shall, however, expect an eclarcissement on this subject, and beg that you and Mr. M'Donell will give it me as soon as may be. I am, gentlemen, with due respect,

Your humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

To Sir John Johnson, Baronet.

And then marched back to this place. I have had much anxiety, and an incredible deal of trouble; to prevent so large a body of men, collected on a sudden, with little discipline, from running into excesses. I am, however, happy that nothing material has happened that can reflect disgrace on our cause.

I forgot to observe, that previous to my leaving this place, I had sent a message to the Mohawks, advising them of my intended march into the county of Tryon, and assuring them that no violence was intended them, copy of which, with copy of their answer, I inclose.

After I had finished in Tryon county, I dispatched Mr. Deane, the interpreter, with a speech and belt to the Six Nations. Congress will perceive that my speeches are very crude and inaccurate; but although at best incompetent, yet, at this time, I have another excuse from the hurry and confusion which the command of such a multitude must necessarily create. Indeed I never had, during the whole time, less than thirty people about me, nor was it possible to retire to any place where the same inconvenience would not have attended. I am,

am, Sir, most respectfully, your obedient humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

To the Hon. John Hancock, Esq; &c.

From the PENNSYLVANIA VOTES.

Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1776. A. M.

Mr. Speaker laid before the House a letter from Benjamin Franklin, Esq; which was read by order, and is as follows, viz.

' Sir, *Feb. 26. 1776.*

' I am extremely sensible of the honour done me by my fellow-citizens, in choosing me their representative in Assembly, and of that lately conferred on me by the House, in appointing me one of the Committee of Safety for this province, and a delegate to the Congress. It would be a happiness to me if I could serve the public duly in all those stations; but, aged as I now am, I feel myself unequal to so much business, and on that account think it my duty to decline a part of it. I hope, therefore, that the House will be so good as to accept my excuse for not attending as a member of the present assembly, and if they think fit, give orders for the election of another in my place, that the city may be more completely represented.

' I request also that the House would be pleased to dispence with my farther attendance as one of the committee of safety.

' With the greatest and most sincere respect to yourself and the House, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.'

To the Hon. John Morton, Esq;

Upon consideration of the foregoing letter.

Resolved, That the seat of the said member in this House be vacated accordingly, and that the speaker do

issue his order to the provincial secretary for the election of another fit person in the room of the member who has resigned.

The House proceeded in the consideration of the memorials and petitions from the officers and privates of the military association, and after farther debate,

Ordered, That Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Gray, Mr. Reed, Mr. Rodman, Mr. Brown, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Slough, Mr. Rofs, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Chreist, Mr. Kachlein, Mr. Dougherty and Mr. Hunter, be a committee to revise the rules and regulations formed by this House for the better government of the military association, together with the resolutions directing the mode of levying taxes on non-associators, to report such alterations and additions thereto as shall appear necessary; also to select from the petitions of the associators, lately presented, such parts as point out defects and propose amendments to the said rules and regulations, and lay them before the House, in one view, for the more easy consideration thereof.

Thursday, Feb. 29, 1776. — The resolutions of Congress, laid before the House the twenty-second instant were again read by order, and are as follow, viz.

In CONGRESS, *Oct. 26, 1775.*

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Provincial Assemblies, Conventions, or Councils or Committees of safety of the United Colonies to export to the foreign West-Indies on account and risk of their respective Colonies as much provision or other produce, except horned cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry, as they may deem necessary for the importation of arms, ammunition, and saltpetre.

Nov 4. Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Assemblies

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or Conventions of the Colonies respectively, to set and keep their gunsmiths at work to manufacture good firelocks, with bayonets; each firelock to be made with a good bridle lock, three quarters of an inch bore, and of good substance at the breech.—The barrel to be three feet eight inches in length. The bayonet to be eighteen inches in the blade, with a steel ramrod, the upper end thereof to be trumpet-mouthed; that the price to be given be fixed by the Assembly, or Convention, or Committee of Safety of each Colony; and that, until a sufficient quantity of good arms can be manufactured, they import as many as are wanted by all the means in their power.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Legislatures, Assemblies or Conventions of the Colonies, to enact a law or pass an ordinance, inflicting the following punishments upon such as harbour deserters knowing them to be such, viz. a fine upon all such offenders not less than thirty, nor more than fifty dollars, and in case of inability to pay the fine, to be punished with whipping, not less than thirty-nine lashes, for each offence. Also that they empower the commander in chief, or the officer commanding a detachment, or any outpost, to administer an oath, and swear any person or persons to the truth of any information or intelligence, or any other matter relative to the public service.

Nov. 25. Resolved, That all such ships of war, frigates, sloops, cutters and armed vessels, as are or shall be employed in the present cruel and unjust war against the United Colonies, and shall fall into the hands of, or be taken by, the inhabitants thereof, be seized and forfeited to and for the purposes herein after-mentioned.

That all transport vessels in the same service, having on board any troops, arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, or military or naval stores,

of what kind soever, and all vessels, to whomsoever belonging, that shall be employed in carrying provisions or other necessaries to the British army, or armies, or navy, that now are or shall hereafter be within any of the United Colonies, or any goods, wares or merchandize for the use of such fleet or army, shall be liable to seizure, and with their cargoes shall be confiscated.

That no master or commander of any vessel shall be intitled to cruize for or make prize of any vessel or cargo, before he shall have obtained a commission from the Congress, or from such person or persons as shall be for that purpose appointed in some one of the United Colonies.

That it be and is hereby recommended to the several legislatures in the United Colonies; whether Assemblies or Conventions, as soon as possible to erect courts of justice or give jurisdiction to the courts now in being, for the purpose of determining concerning the captures to be made as aforesaid, and to provide that all trials in such case be had by a jury, under such qualifications as to the respective legislatures shall seem expedient

That all prosecutions shall be commenced in the court of that colony in which the captures shall be made, but if no such court be, at that time, erected in the said Colony, or if the capture be made on open sea, then the prosecution shall be in the court of such Colony as the captor may find most convenient, provided that nothing contained in this resolution shall be construed so as to enable the captor to remove his prize from any Colony competent to determine concerning the seizure, after he shall have carried the vessel so seized within any harbor of the same.

That in all cases an appeal shall be allowed to the Congress, or such person or persons as they shall appoint for the trials of appeals pro-

provided the appeal be demanded within five days after definitive sentence, and such appeal be lodged with the secretary of Congress within forty days afterwards, and provided the party appealing shall give security to prosecute the said appeal to effect. And in case of the death of the secretary during the recess of Congress, then the said appeal to be lodged in Congress within twenty days after the meeting thereof.

That when any vessel or vessels shall be fitted out at the expence of any private person or persons, then the captures made shall be to the use of the owner or owners of the said vessel or vessels; that where the vessels employed in the capture shall be fitted out at the expence of any of the United Colonies, then one third of the prize taken shall be to the use of the captors, and the remaining two thirds to the use of the said Colony. And where the vessel so employed shall be fitted out at the Continental charge; then one third shall go to the captors, and the remaining two thirds to the use of the United Colonies, provided nevertheless, that if the capture be a vessel of war, then the captors shall be intitled to one half of the value, and the remainder shall go to the Colony or continent, as the case may be, the necessary charges of condemnation of all prizes being deducted before distribution made.

That, in cases of recaptures, the recaptors have and retain, in lieu of salvage, one eighth part of the true value of the vessel and cargo, or either of them, if the same hath or have been in the possession of the enemy twenty-four hours, and less than forty-eight hours; one third part if more than forty-eight and less than ninety-six hours, and one half if more than ninety-six hours, unless the vessel shall, after the capture, have been legally condemned as prize, by some Court of Admiral-

ty, in which case the recaptors to have the whole. In all which cases the share detained, or prize to be divided between the owners of the ship making the recapture, the Colony or the continent as the case may be, and the captors agreeable to the former resolution.

Dec. 26. Whereas the Congress, on the twenty-ninth day of November, Resolved, That a farther sum of Three Millions of Dollars be emitted in bills of credit,

Resolved, That the Thirteen United Colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit so directed to be emitted.

That each colony provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the said bills, in such manner as may be most effectual and best adapted to the condition, circumstances and equal mode of levying taxes in each colony.

That the proportion, or quota of each respective Colony, be determined according to the number of inhabitants of all ages, including negroes and mulattoes in each Colony.

That it be recommended to the several Assemblies, Conventions, or Councils or Committees of Safety of the respective Colonies, to ascertain, by the most impartial and effectual means in their power, the number of inhabitants in each respective Colony, taking care that the list be authenticated by the oaths or affirmations of the several persons who shall be entrusted with this service; and that the said Assemblies, Conventions, or Councils or Committees of Safety, do respectively lay before Congress a return of the number of inhabitants of their respective Colonies, as soon as the same shall be procured.

That each Colony pay its respective quota in four equal payments; the first to be made on or before the last day of November,

1783; the second on or before the last day of November, 1784; the third on or before the last day of November, 1785, and the fourth or last on or before the last day of November, 1786.

And that for this end, the several Assemblies or Conventions provide for laying and levying taxes, in their respective Colonies, towards sinking the Continental bills; that the said bills be received by the collectors in payment of such taxes, and be by the collectors paid into the hands of the Provincial treasurer, with all such other monies as they may receive in lieu of the Continental bills, which other monies the Provincial treasurer shall endeavour to get exchanged for Continental bills, and where that cannot be done, shall send to the Continental treasurers the deficiency in silver and gold, with the bills, making up the quota to be sunk in that year, taking care to cut, by a circular punch of an inch diameter, an hole in such bills, and to cross the same, thereby to render them unpassable, though the sum or value is to remain fairly legible. And the Continental Treasurers, as fast as they receive the said quotas, shall, with the assistance of a Committee of five persons, to be appointed by the Congress then sitting, or by the Assembly or Convention of the province of Pennsylvania, examine and count the Continental bills, and in the presence of the said Committee burn and destroy them.

And the silver and gold sent them to make up the deficiencies of quotas, they shall retain in their hands, until demanded in redemption of Continental bills that may be brought to them for that purpose, which bills so redeemed they shall also burn and destroy in the presence of the said Committee. And the treasurers, whenever they have

silver or gold in their hands, for the redemption of Continental bills, shall advertise the same, signifying that they are ready to give gold or silver for such bills to all persons requiring it in exchange.

Resolved, That the inspectors of the press deliver the proof sheets and checks of the Continental bills to the Continental Treasurers, and that they deliver one of each to the Delegates of every Colony to remain with the Provincial Treasurer to be appointed in such Colony, and retain the rest in their hands.

Whereas there is reason to believe, that divers persons, either from inattention to the public good, or with design to retard the recruiting service, have arrested and imprisoned, for very trifling debts, many soldiers who had engaged to risk their lives in defence of the rights and liberties of America; and as it has always been found necessary, in time of war, to regulate and restrain a practice of such pernicious tendency, and in such cases to abate the rigors of law.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several legislatures in these Colonies, whether Assemblies or Conventions, to pass acts or ordinances prohibiting the arrests of Continental soldiers for small debts. And, in order that the same rule may pervade all the Colonies, that no such soldier be arrested at the suit of any of his creditors, unless the said creditor make oath that the soldier is justly indebted to him in the sum of thirty-five dollars, over and above all discounts; and that the estate of no soldier be liable to attachment at the suit or for the benefit of all his creditors, unless their debts in the whole, on being ascertained by their oath, shall amount to more than one hundred and fifty dollars.

Extract from the minutes,
CHARLES THOMSON, sec.
By

*By the Great and General Court of the
Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.*

A P R O C L A M A T I O N .

The frailty of human nature, the wants of individuals, and the numerous dangers which surround them, through the course of life, have in all ages, and in every country, impelled them to form societies, and establish governments.

As the happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it, in reason, morality, and the natural fitness of things. And therefore every act of government, every exercise of sovereignty, against, or without, the consent of the people, is injustice, usurpation, and tyranny.

It is a maxim that in every government, there must exist somewhere, a supreme, sovereign, absolute, and uncontrollable power: but this power resides always in the body of the people; and it never was, or can be delegated to one man, or a few; the great creator having never given to men a right to vest others with authority over them, unlimited either in duration or degree.

When kings, ministers, governors, or legislators, therefore, instead of exercising the powers intrusted with them according to the principles, forms and proportions, stated by the constitution, and established by the original compact, prostitute those powers to the purposes of oppression;—to subvert, instead of supporting a free constitution;—to destroy, instead of preserving the lives, liberties and properties of the people;—they are no longer to be deemed magistrates vested with a sacred character, but become public enemies, and ought to be resisted.

The administration of Great-Britain, despising equally the justice,

humanity and magnanimity of their ancestors; and the rights, liberties and courage of AMERICANS, have, for a course of years, laboured to establish a sovereignty in America, not founded in the consent of the people, but in the mere will of persons a thousand leagues from us, whom we know not, and have endeavoured to establish this sovereignty over us, against our consent, in all cases whatsoever.

The Colonies, during this period, have recurred to every peaceable resource in a free constitution by petitions and remonstrances, to obtain justice; which has been not only denied to them, but they have been treated with unexampled indignity and contempt; and at length, open war of the most atrocious, cruel and sanguinary kind, has been commenced against them. To this, an open, manly and successful resistance has hitherto been made, Thirteen Colonies are now firmly united in the conduct of this most just and necessary war, under the wise councils of their Congress.

It is the will of providence, for wise, righteous, and gracious ends, that this Colony should have been singled out, by the enemies of America, as the first object both of their envy and their revenge; and after having been made the subject of several merciless and vindictive statutes, one of which was intended to subvert our constitution by charter, is made the seat of war.

No effectual resistance to the system of tyranny prepared for us, could be made without either instant recourse to arms, or a temporary suspension of the ordinary powers of government, and tribunals of justice. To the last of which evils, in hopes of a speedy reconciliation with Great-Britain, upon equitable terms, the Congress advised us to submit:— And mankind has seen a phenomenon

menon without example in the political world, a large and populous Colony, subsisting in great decency and order, for more than a year, under such a suspension of government.

But as our enemies have proceeded to such barbarous extremities, commencing hostilities upon the good people of this Colony, and with unprecedented malice exerting their power to spread the calamities of fire, sword and famine through the land, and no reasonable prospect remains of a speedy reconciliation with Great-Britain, the Congress have resolved :

“ That no obedience being due to the act of parliament for altering the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, nor to a governor or lieutenant-governor, who will not observe the directions of, but endeavour to subvert that charter, the governor and lieutenant governor of that colony are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant. And as there is no council there, and inconveniencies arising from the suspension of the powers of government are intolerable, especially at a time when General Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities against his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that colony; that, in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the charter, it be recommended to the Provincial convention, to write letters to the inhabitants of the several places which are intitled to representation in assembly, requesting them to chuse such representatives; and that the assembly, when chosen, do elect counsellors; and that such assembly and council exercise the powers of government, until a governor of his Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter.”

In pursuance of which advice,

the good people of this colony have chosen a full and free representation of themselves, who, being convened in assembly have elected a council; who, as the executive branch of government, have constituted necessary officers through the colony. The present generation therefore, may be congratulated on the acquisition of a form of government more immediately in all its branches, under the influence and controul of the people; and therefore more free and happy than was enjoyed by their ancestors. But as a government so popular can be supported only by universal knowledge and virtue, in the body of the people, it is the duty of all ranks to promote the means of education, for the rising generation, as well as true religion, purity of manners, and integrity of life, among all orders and degrees.

As an army has become necessary for our defence, and in all free states the civil must provide for and controul the military power, the major part of the council have appointed magistrates and courts of justice in every county, whose happiness is so connected with that of the people, that it is difficult to suppose they can abuse their trust. The business of it is to see those laws enforced, which are necessary for the preservation of peace, virtue and good order. And the great and general court expects and requires that all necessary support and assistance be given, and all proper obedience yielded to them; and will deem every person, who shall fail of his duty in this respect towards them, a disturber of the peace of this colony, and deserving of exemplary punishment.

That piety and virtue, which alone can secure the freedom of any people, may be encouraged, and vice and immorality suppressed, the

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Great and General court have thought fit to issue this proclamation, commanding and enjoining it upon the good people of this colony, that they lead sober, religious and peaceable lives, avoiding all blasphemies, contempt of the holy scriptures, and of the lord's day, and all other crimes and misdemeanors, all debauchery, prophaneffs, corruption, venality, all riotous and tumultuous proceedings, and all immoralities whatsoever; and that they decently and reverently attend the public worship of God, at all times acknowledging with gratitude his merciful interposition in their behalf, devoutly confiding in him, as the god of armies, by whose favor and protection alone they may hope for success, in their present conflict:

And all judges, justices, sheriffs, grand jurors, tything-men, and all other civil officers within this colony, are hereby strictly enjoined and commanded that they contribute all in their power, by their advice, exertions and examples, towards a general reformation of manners, and that they bring to condign punishment every person, who shall commit any of the crimes or misdemeanors aforesaid, or that shall be guilty of any immoralities whatsoever; and that they use the utmost endeavours, to have the resolves of the Congress, and the good and wholesome laws of this colony duly carried into execution.

And as the ministers of the gospel, within this colony, have, during the late relaxation of the powers of civil government, exerted themselves for our safety, it is hereby recommended to them, still to continue their virtuous labours for the good of the people, inculcating by their public ministry, and private example, the necessity of religion, morality, and good order.

In COUNCIL, *Jan. 19, 1776.*

Ordered, That the foregoing proclamation be read at the opening of

every superior court of judicature, &c. and inferior court of common pleas, and court of general sessions for the peace within this colony, by their respective clerk; and at the annual town meetings in March, in each town. And it is hereby recommended to the several ministers of the gospel, throughout this colony to read the same in their respective assemblies on the lord's day next after their receiving it, immediately after divine service.

Sent down for concurrence.

PEREZ MORTON, deputy sec.
In the House of Representatives,
Jan. 23, 1776.

Read and concurred,

WILLIAM COOPER, speaker, pr. tem.
Consented to,

William Sever, Walter Spooner,
Caleb Cushing, John Winthrop,
Thomas Cushing, Moses Gill,
Michael Farley, Samuel Holten,
Charles Chauncy, Joseph Palmer,
John Whetcomb, Jedediah Foster,
Eidad Taylor, John Taylor,
Benjamin White, James Prescott.

By order of the General Court,
PEREZ MORTON, deputy sec.
GOD save the PEOPLE.

Portsmouth, April 29. Sailed the Worcester and Speedwell for North America.

St. James's, April 27. The fleet of transports, having on board the first division of the Hessian troops under the command of Lieutenant General Heister, left the Weser on the 17th instant, arrived off Dover on Wednesday last the 24th, and came yesterday morning to Spithead. The troops are all in perfect health; and are preparing for their immediate departure for North America. *Gazette.*

This article, though in the Gazette, was not true. The Hessian general refused to sail to America till the arrival of the second division of his troops. An express was sent to London. The ministry were perplexed

perplexed. The King being made acquainted with the affair, ordered the Hessians to go directly; adding that he would take the matter upon himself, and settle it with the Landgrave. And General Harvey was sent (April 26) to explain and enforce this command to the Hessian general. The wind being fair to carry the troops to America, occasioned his anxiety to get them away. It was the second of May before this misunderstanding was settled; and on this day this wind changed. However on the 6th in the afternoon the wind was favourable again, and they sailed.

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, May 7.

'Yesterday afternoon, about five o'clock, sailed his Majesty's ship Preston, Commodore Hotham; Rainbow, Sir George Collier; Emerald, Captain Caldwell; Brune, Captain Ferguson; Jersey, Captain Halstead, Strombolo, Captain Phipps, and Carcass Bomb, Captain Read, with transports with the Hessian troops, foot guards, artillery, and many victuallers, under their convoy for North America. Above 300,000l. of foreign specie was put on board the men of war.

Whitehall, May 3. General Howe, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, having taken a resolution on the 7th of March to remove from Boston to Halifax, with the troops under his command, and such of the inhabitants, with their effects, as were desirous to continue under the protection of his Majesty's forces; the embarkation was effected on the 17th of that month, with the greatest order and regularity, and without the least interruption from the rebels. When the packet came away, the first division of the transports was under sail, and the remainder

were preparing to follow in a few days; the admiral leaving behind as many of the ships of war as could be spared from the convoy, for the security and protection of such vessels as might be bound to Boston. *Gazette.*

Whitehall, May 3. The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing Richard Lord Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the Hon. William Howe, esq. Major-General of his Majesty's forces, and General of his Majesty's forces in North America only, to be his Majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's Colonies and plantations in North America; and for granting pardon to such of his Majesty's subjects there, now in rebellion, as shall deserve the royal mercy. *Gazette.*

His Majesty hath also been pleased to appoint Henry Strachy, esq. to be secretary of the said commission. *Gazette.*

Portsmouth, May 12. This morning Lord Howe sailed from St. Helens on board his Majesty's ship Eagle for America.

Gov. HUTCHINSON'S letters continued from volume II. page 162.

Boston, June 22, 1772.

To Governor Pownall.

The union of the colonies is pretty well broke, I hope I shall never see it renewed. Indeed our sons of liberty are hated and despised by their former brethren in New-York and Pennsylvania, and it must be something very extraordinary ever to reconcile them.—

Boston, June 30, 1772.

Dear Sir, (Capt. Gambier) Allow me now and then to enquire after you, and Mrs. Gambier and the little folks. You are in the midst

midst of the great and important affairs of Britain, and consequently of all the known parts of the globe, with which in a greater or less degree it is now connected. We are an insignificant province, where there is little or nothing that is interesting to any but ourselves. You can expect nothing from me therefore of any moment; except we should get into the way of pulling down the houses of the King's servants again, attacking his troops, burning his ships, or such like exploits. The Province House they design shall fall down. Some of our heroes talked of selling it, but finding my consent was necessary to every valid act, they laid aside their design. Our last ships carried you the news of the burning of the Gaspee schooner, at Providence. I hope if there should be another like attempt, some concerned in it may be taken prisoners and carried directly to England. A few punished at Execution dock would be the only effectual preventive of any further attempts. In every colony they are sure of escaping with impunity. Dalrymple is preparing for an expedition, it is thought to the southern part of the Continent, I pity him. He seems distressed in spite of all his endeavours to put on another face. One of the regiments at Halifax or some other is to accompany him, the other the 64th to take his place here. I have by degrees, brought the assembly to such a state, that although there are a small majority, four enough, yet when they seek for matter for protests, remonstrances, &c. they are puzzled where to charge their grievances, which they look for in the first place, and then consider whether the things they complain of are grievances or not. Under such circumstances, and the advantage of having them in the town of Boston, where I can see a company of them every day, which by the way you would think

to be dearly earning your salary, I hope to pass through a session without much trouble. Some foolish thing or other from such people is always of course. I see our old friends Burch, Paxton, &c. every day or two, not every night, they frequently desire when I write to make their compliments.

I am most sincerely, dear Sir,
your faithful and most obedient servant.

Dear Sir, Boston, July 21, 1772.

[This letter has internal appearances of Secretary Pownall's being the gentleman intended]

Government is in a languid state. The laws against offenders in some capital points cannot be executed.— The acts of trade are very little regarded. The custom-house officers when they know of breaches, do not care to hazard their lives by seizures and prosecutions. The case you know is the same in every other colony. When there is a general disposition to oppose the execution of laws from an opinion that they are unconstitutional, it seems necessary that the legislative power should afford every further aid to the executive. In this subordinate state the legislative declines and rather countenances the people in their opposition. The next resort is to the supreme legislative. The interposition of this authority is become necessary to effect due submission to the laws, merely for that purpose, any interposition will always be thought inexpedient by that party in England which wishes to clog all public measures. It will in time become necessary to retain the colonies in any degree of subordination. Then the nation will be roused and unite in measures for that purpose. As soon as the Colonies are convinced of this, it will immediately appear that all this new doctrine of independence will be disavowed, and the first inventors or broachers of it will be sacrificed to

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the rage of the people who have been deluded by them. Until then, or so long as I continue in my present station, I must make the best use I can of that check which they allow to be mutual, and prevent their further advance by all means in my power. If I am able to do any thing farther, it must be by convincing the majority of the people of the absurd principles of their present leaders, and persuading them to receive more just notions of government in general, and of their own constitution in particular. In this way I have certainly lessened the numbers of the opposition, and moderated the tempers of the whole.'

Dear Sir, Boston, Aug. 27. 1772.
['Tis uncertain who is the Gentleman addressed.]

' Upon reading the first paragraph I recollected, that when I was young at college, or soon after, I read with attention what Mr. Locke had wrote upon toleration. I was astonished that ever any body who thought at all, should have thought differently upon the subject, and yet all the world until then easily received the absurdities of the contrary doctrine. My poor ancestors (of my country I mean, and not of my family) I look back upon with pity, for their intolerant spirit, which was the more inexcusable, because they were at the same time vehemently inveighing against the same spirit in others. [If Mr. Hutchinson's family had not a different origin from the rest of mankind, he might have looked farther back, and have pitied the intolerant and inconsistent spirit of his popish or pagan ancestors; but this is not the only instance by many, occurring in his letters, of near and short sightedness.] I am not sure that if we were unrestrained, we have not a majority of the same spirit at this day. It is certain we have but little catholicism among the laity, and the clergy in general of every denomination are bigots. My education has

been among the congregationalists, and I generally attend the public worship with them. I remember somewhere to have met with a story of a very moderate Papist urge to profess himself a Protestant, who though he had no scruples, yet said he would never change his religion unless he was sure of being damned for not doing it. [One would imagine from the manner in which this story is introduced, and the story itself, that Mr. Hutchinson was but a moderate or very indifferent Protestant, and that he would have continued of any profession, in which he had been born and educated, let it have been ever so unscriptural, unless he was sure of being damned for not changing it.] As I have no scruples, I frequently attend at the King's chapel. Considering the commission I sustain, I think there is a decency and propriety in so doing.

We have so often expected measures which would settle the affairs of America and been disappointed, that I shall always be afraid to depend upon appearances. Every colony seems determined not to submit to the duties. Pennsylvania and New York have, within these two years, imported several thousand chests of tea from Holland, and I suppose not ten chests from England. There is an aversion in the sea officers to act as officers of the customs. There would be more likelihood of success, if the commissioners of the customs were allowed small armed vessels to cruise in the several bays. The expence would not be great, and might be limited, and it would soon appear, whether the extraordinary seizures would not equal it. But if this is done, some further provision is necessary by parliament, and it ought to be made as penal to fire on armed vessels fitted out for this purpose as on the King's ships. They should have King's colours, and might have commissions

missions in the King's name with the acts of the Governors of the colonies, except Connecticut and Rhode-Island. But before America is settled in peace, it would be necessary to go to the bottom of all the disorder which has been so long neglected already.— The opinion that every colony has a legislature within itself, the acts and things of which are not to be controlled by parliament, and that no legislative power ought to be exercised over the colonies, except by their respective legislatures, gains ground every day, and it has its influence upon all the executive parts of government. Grand juries will not present; petty juries will not convict the highest offenders against acts of parliament. Our news-papers publicly announce this independence every week: and what is much more, there is scarce an assembly which has not done it at one time or other. The assembly of this province has done as much the last session by their public votes and resolves, and by an address which they have sent to Dr. Franklin, to be presented to the King: so there is sufficient grounds for parliament to proceed if there is a disposition.— What, it will be said, can be done? A test as general as the oaths required instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy would be most effectual; but this there is reason to fear would throw America into a general confusion, and I doubt the expediency; but can less be done than affixing penalties and disqualifications or incapacities upon all who by word or writing shall deny or call in question the supreme authority of parliament over all parts of the British dominions.— Can it be made necessary for all judges to be under oath, to observe all acts of parliament in their judgments?— And may not the oaths of all jurors, grand and petit, be so framed as to include acts of parliament as the rule

of law, as well as law in general terms? and for assemblies or bodies of men who shall deny the authority of parliament, may not all their subsequent proceedings be declared to be *ipso facto* null and void, and every member who shall continue to act in such assembly be subject to penalties and incapacities? I suggest these things for consideration. Every thing depends upon the settlement of this grand point. We owe much of our troubles to the countenance given by some in England to this doctrine of independence. If the people were convinced that the nation with one voice condemned the doctrine, or that parliament at all events was determined to maintain its supremacy, we should soon be quiet. The demagogues who generally have no property would continue their endeavours to enflame the minds of the people for some time, but the inhabitants in general have real estates which they would not run the hazard of forfeiting by any treasonable measures. If nothing more can be done, there must be further provisions for carrying the act of trade into execution, which I am informed administration is very sensible of, and have measures in contemplation. Thus you have a few of my sudden thoughts, which I must pray you not to communicate as coming from me, lest I should be supposed here to have contributed to any future proceedings respecting America. I have only room to add that I am with sincere respect and esteem &c.

Dear Sir, *Boston, 29th Aug. 1772.*
[The same gentleman that he wrote to
21st July.]

I troubled you with a long letter the 21st July. Give me leave now on y to add one or two things which I then intended, but to avoid being too tedious, omitted. People in this province, both friends and enemies to government, are in great expecta-

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tions from the late affair at Rhode-Island of burning the King's schooner, and they consider the manner in which the news of it will be received in England, and the measures to be taken as decisive. If it is passed over without a full enquiry and due resentment, our liberty people will think they may with impunity commit any acts of violence be they ever so atrocious, and the friends to government will despond and give up all hopes of being able to withstand the faction. The persons who were the immediate actors, are men of estate and property in the colony. A prosecution is impossible. If ever the government of that colony is to be reformed, this seems to be the time, and it would have a happy effect in the colonies which adjoin to it. Several persons have been advised by letters from their friends, that as the ministry are united and opposition at an end, there will certainly be an inquiry into the state of America the next session of parliament. The denial of the supremacy of parliament, and the contempt with which its authority has been treated by the Lilliputian Assemblies of America, can never be justified or excused by any one member of either house of parliament.

Boston, 2d Sept. 1772.

Dear Sir, [Samuel Hood, Esq;]

‘ Captain Linzee can inform you of the state of Rhode-Island colony better than I can; so daring an insult as burning the King's schooner by people who are as well known as any who were concerned in this last rebellion, and yet cannot be prosecuted, will certainly rouse the British Lion which has been asleep these four or five years. Admiral Montague says, that Lord Sandwich will never leave pursuing the colony, until it is disfranchised. If it is passed over, the other colonies will follow the example.

Boston, 8th Dec. 1772.

Dear Sir, [Mr. Jackson.]

‘ They succeed in their unwearied endeavours to propagate the doctrine of independence upon parliament and the mischiefs of it every day increase. I believe I have repeatedly mentioned to you my opinion of the necessity of parliament's taking some measures to prevent the spread of this doctrine, as well as to guard against the mischiefs of it. It is more difficult now than it was the last year, and it will become more and more so every year it is neglected, until it is utterly impracticable. If I consulted nothing but my own ease and quiet, I would propose neglect and contempt of every affront offered to parliament by the little American assemblies, but I should be false to the King, and betray the trust he has reposed in me.

Boston, Jan. 1773.

[John Pownall, Esq;]

My dear Sir.

‘ I have not answered your very kind and confidential letter of the 6th October. Nothing could confirm me more in my own plan of measures for the Colonies than finding it to agree with your sentiments. You know I have been begging for measures to maintain the supremacy of parliament. Whilst it is suffered to be denied, all is confusion, and the opposition to government is continually gaining strength.

Boston, 19th April, 1773.

Dear Sir, [John Pownall, Esq;]

‘ Our patriots say that the votes of the town of Boston, which they sent to Virginia, have produced the resolves of the assembly there appointing a Committee of Correspondence; and I have no doubt it is their expectation that a committee for the same purpose will be appointed by most of the other assemblies upon the continent. If any thing therefore be done by parliament respecting America, it now seems necessary that it should be general, and not confined

particular colonies, as the same spirit prevails every where, though not in the like degree.

Addition to Mr. Jackson's Letter, dated the 12th Aug. 1773.
August 20.

' You see no difference between the case of the colonies and that of Ireland. I care not in how favourable a light you look upon the Colonies, if it does not separate us from you. You will certainly find it more difficult to retain the Colonies than you do Ireland. Ireland is near and under your constant inspection. All officers are dependant and removable at pleasure. The Colonies are remote, and the officers generally more disposed to please the people, than the King or his Representative. In the one you have always the *ultima ratio*: In the other you are either destitute of it, or you have no civil magistrature to direct the use of it.— Indeed, to prevent a general revolt, the naval power may for a long course of years be sufficient, but to preserve the peace of the Colonies, and to continue them beneficial to the mother-country, this will be to little purpose; but I am writing to a gentleman who knows these things better than I do. *Private. (not sent.)*

Boston, 18th Oct. 1773.

Dear Sir, [Mr. Rowland.]

' They [the leaders of the party, as Mr. H—n stiles them] give out openly that they must have another convention of all the Colonies, and the speaker has made it known to several of the members, that the agent in England recommends it as a measure necessary to be engaged in without delay, and proposes, in order to bring the dispute to a crisis, that the rights of the Colonies should be there solemnly and fully asserted and declared, that there should be a firm engagement with each other, that they will never grant any aid to the crown,

even in case of war, unless the King, and the two houses of parliament first recognize those rights, and that the resolution should be immediately communicated to the crown, and assures them that in this way they will finally obtain their end. I am not fond of conveying this sort of intelligence, but as I have the fullest evidence of the fact, I don't see how I can be faithful to my trust and neglect it; therefore though I consider this as a private letter, yet I leave it to you to communicate this part of it so far as his Majesty's service may require; and as I have nothing but that in view, I wish it may go no farther. The measure appears to me of all others the most likely to rekindle a general flame in the Colonies.

Private. Boston, Oct. 19th, 1773.

My Lord, [Lord Dartmouth.]

' After I had sealed my letters which I intended by the ship, a gentleman furnished me with the copy of a letter to the speaker of the house, from their agent in England: it has been shewn to several members of the house, and to other persons, and therefore is no secret. I felt some reluctance at communicating it in a private way, but upon consideration it appears to me of such importance, that your Lordship should be acquainted with it, that I doubted whether I should be faithful to my trust if I did not lay it before you. If it should be known to have come from me, or perhaps to have been sent from England, it may be the means of preventing any further useful intelligence, which I may otherwise obtain from the same person. —

What Mr. Hutchinson's opinion about royal charters, compared with acts of parliament was, may be learnt from the following extract out of a separate letter to Lord Dartmouth of Oct. 16, 1773, when writing about the Penobscot lands, he says, ' be the claim

claim ever so good, the *salus populi* so much depends upon the preservation of an interest of this nature (the pine timber) that the assembly must be left without any ground of complaint, if a territory which was united to the Massachusetts, without any special claim to it, merely by force of a royal charter, shall by the authority of an act of parliament be separated and erected into a distinct government.'

Private. Boston, Dec. 14, 1773.

My Lord, [Lord Dartmouth.]

'Before the peace I thought nothing so much to be desired as the cession of Canada. I am now convinced, that if it had remained to the French none of this spirit of opposition to the mother country would have yet appeared, and I think the effects of it worse than all we had to fear from the French or Indians.

Boston, 7th Dec. 1762.

Sir, [R. Jackson, Esq;]

'When our ancestors first came over, they apprehended themselves subjects to no other laws or rules of government, than what arise from natural reason and the principles of equity, except any positive rules from the word of God. I intended to have sent you a collection of punishments inflicted for a great variety of offences, some of which would have diverted you, and all of them would have tended to discover to you the cast and genius of our first settlers, but my time since the date of my last has been much taken up in preparing a defence of the province title to the lands between Nova Scotia and the province of Main. I hope to have leisure before another opportunity of writing to you. I am.'

The above will shew what were once the sentiments of the first settlers of this country, upon a point that has since been greatly litigated.

Boston, Jan. 3, 1763.

Dear Sir, [Col. Cushing.]

'You have been by your fireside, and so have I by mine, poring over old year books, and when I am tired I relieved myself with historical facts of our own country, for I design to carry down Mr. Prince's chronology, and as Bishop Burnet did; but it shall not be published while I live, and I expect the same satisfaction which I doubt not the Bishop had, of being revenged of some of the r——s, after I am dead. I wish you may have the pleasure of reading it.'

Whoever continues Mr. Prince's chronology, Mr. Hutchinson will certainly make a considerable figure in it, should his character be painted with a Burnet's freedom; whether the author means to take a personal revenge, or faithfully to inform his reader.

Boston, Jan. 1769,

Dear Sir, [Mr. Jackson.]

'I sent you under a blank cover by way of Bristol and Glasgow, the account of proceedings in New York assembly, which you will find equal to those of the Massachusetts. Perhaps if they had no troops, the people too would have run riot as we did.— Five or six men of war, and three or four regiments disturb no body, but some of our grave people who do not love assemblies and concerts, and can't bear the noise of drums upon a Sunday. I know I have not slept in town any three months these two years, in so much tranquility as I have done the three months since the troops came, and one of the clergy told me a few days ago, he doubted whether it would ever do for the town to be without one regiment at least.'

By whose solicitations troops were procured, may be inferred from what Mr. Bollan writes to Mr. Hutchinson in a letter, dated

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Henrietta-street, Aug. 11. 1767.

‘ Mr. Paxton has several times told me, that you and some other of my friends were of opinion that standing troops were necessary to support the authority of the government at Boston, and that he was authorized to inform me this was your and their opinion. I need not say that I hold in the greatest abomination such outrages that have taken place among you, and am sensible it is the duty of all charter or other subordinate governments to take due care and punish such proceedings, and that all governments must be supported by force when necessary; yet we must remember how often standing forces have introduced greater mischiefs than they relieved, and I am apprehensive that your distant situation, from the center of all civil and military power, might in this case, sooner or later, subject you to peculiar difficulties.

‘ When Malcolm’s bad behaviour made a stir here, a minister who seemed inclined to make use of standing forces, supposing this might not be agreeable to me, I avoided giving an opinion, which then appeared needless and improper, but afterwards, when it was confidently said that preparations, were making to send a considerable number of standing troops in order to compel obedience, I endeavoured to prevent it, and in particular told a worthy gentleman, who though he does not stand very high in administration, has sometimes, I believe, considerable influence; that some of the principal merchants said, that they who should send over the standing troops reported would certainly be cursed to all posterity.’

What will posterity say of those that by letters or private messages, endeavoured to procure their being sent, and at last prevailed?’

Pennsylvania Journal.

The following Letters were lately published by order of the Honourable Continental Congress.

My dear General, [Montreal, Nov. 17.]

‘ With great pleasure I transmit you a letter from Col. Arnold for Gen. Washington, together with the copy of his letter to me. Col. Easton has six guns mounted on shore, three twelve pounders, one nine ditto, and two sixes, at the Sorrel, and the two row gallees. Mr. Carleton, with his eleven sail, has not yet been able to pass him by. Indeed Easton has obliged him twice to weigh anchor, and remove higher up the river. I am making all dispatch to attack him on my side, with field artillery mounted in batteaus. I have had great difficulty about the troops. I am afraid many of them will go home; however, depending on my good fortune, I hope to keep enough to give the final blow to ministerial politics in this province, as I hope effectual measures will be taken to prevent their laying hold of it again.

‘ I must beg the boats may be sent back, if possible, which take up the discharged men. Some of them might be left at the Point au Fere. I am exceedingly hurried, and have not done half my business with you. I shall establish a post, which will set out next Monday for Ticonderoga. Will you appoint a post-master there? May you enjoy better health. I am, &c. RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

[Gen. Schuyler.]

Ticonderoga, Nov. 22. 1775. 9 o’clock, P. M.

Sir,

‘ I sent off the express about noon to day, who brought me your favour of the 9th. Since his departure, I received a letter from General Montgomery, inclosing a copy of one from Col. Arnold. Copies of both I do myself the honour to transmit to you.

‘ If General Carleton had reached Quebec before Col. Arnold, it is probable

bable the latter might have met with more difficulties than he expected, from the reinforcement the former carried with him, but I hope by this time that our troops are in barracks at Quebec.

Col. Arnold's march does him great honour. Some future historian will make it the subject of admiration to his readers. I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER.

Nov. 23. The frost has been so severe last night, that the lake, as far down towards Crown Point as we can see, which is about three miles, is entirely closed.

The Hon. John Hancock,

Esq; &c. &c.'

St. Maria, two leagues and a half from

Point Levy, Nov. 8, 1775.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 29th ult. I received at ten o'clock this morning, which gave me much pleasure: I heartily congratulate you on your success thus far: I think you have great reason to be apprehensive for me, the time I mentioned to General Washington being so long since elapsed; I was not then apprised, or indeed apprehensive of one half of the difficulties we have to encounter, of which I cannot at present give you a particular detail. Can only say we have hauled our batteaux up over falls, up rapid streams, over carrying places, and marched through morasses, thick woods, and over mountains about three hundred and twenty miles, many of which we had to pass several times to bring over our baggage. These difficulties the soldiers have with the greatest fortitude surmounted, and about two thirds of the detachment are happily arrived here, and within two days march; most of them in good health and high spirits.

The other part, with Col. Enos, returned from the Dead river, contrary to my expectation, he having or-

ders to send back only the sick, and those that could not be furnished with provisions: I wrote Gen. Schuyler the thirteenth of October, by an Indian I thought trusty, inclosed to my friend in Quebec, and as I have had no answer from either, and he pretends being taken at Quebec, I make no doubt he has betrayed his trust, which I am confirmed in as I find they have been some time apprised of our coming to Quebec, and have destroyed all the canoes at Point Levy; to prevent our passing: This difficulty will be obviated by birch canoes, as we have about twenty of them, with forty savages who have joined us, and profess great friendship, as well as the Canadians, by whom we have been very friendly received, and who will be able to furnish us with a number of canoes.

I am informed by the French there are two frigates and several small armed vessels lying before Quebec, and a large ship or two lately arrived from Boston; however, I propose crossing the St. Lawrence as soon as possible, and if any opportunity offers of attacking Quebec with success, shall embrace it, otherwise shall endeavour to join your army at Montreal. I shall as often as in my power advise you of my proceedings, and beg the favour of hearing from you by every opportunity.

The inclosed letter to his Excellency General Washington, beg the favour of your forwarding by express. I am very respectfully, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

BENE. ARNOLD.

Brig. Gen. Montgomery.

P. S. Since my writing the above, I have seen a friend from Quebec, who informs me a frigate of twenty-six guns and two transports, with one hundred and fifty recruits, arrived from St. John's, Newfoundland, last Sunday, which, with the inhabitants who have been compelled to take up arms,

arms, amount to about three hundred men. That the French and English inhabitants in general are on our side, and that the city are short of provisions; I shall endeavour to cut off their communication with the country, and make no doubt, if no more recruits arrive, to bring them to terms soon, or at least keep them in close quarters until your arrival here, which I wait with impatience, but if St. John's should not have surrendered, and you can possibly spare a regiment this way, I think the city must of course fall into our hands.

B. A.

Point Levy, Nov. 14, 1775.

Dear Sir,

The foregoing is a copy of my last, by the two Indians you sent by express the 29th ult. who, I hear this moment, are taken five leagues above this, since which I have waited two or three days for the rear to come up, and in preparing ladders, &c. The wind has been so high these three nights, that I have not been able to cross the river. I have near forty canoes ready; and, as the wind has moderated, I design crossing this evening; the Hunter sloop and Lizard frigate lie opposite to prevent us, but make no doubt I shall be able to avoid them. I this moment received the agreeable intelligence (via Sorrel) that you are in possession of St. John's, and have invested Montreal. I can give no intelligence, save that the merchants ships are busy day and night in loading, and four have already sailed. I am Sir, yours, &c.

B. ARNOLD.

Philadelphia, Jan. 10, 1776. The following gentlemen are appointed officers in the four battalions to be raised in Pennsylvania.

Second Battalion. Colonel Arthur St. Clair. Lieutenant Colonel, William Allen. Major, Joseph Wood.

Third Battalion. Colonel, John Shee. Lieutenant-Colonel, Lambert

Cadwallader. Major, Henry Becker. *Fourth Battalion.* Colonel, Antony Wayne. Lieutenant-Colonel, Francis Johnston. Major, Nicholas Honfager.

Fifth Battalion. Colonel, Robert Mageau. Lieutenant-Colonel, Joseph Penrose. Major, George Nagel.

Captains, according to rank, who are not yet nominated to particular battalions. 1. John Boatty. 2. Thomas Craig. 3. William Butler. 4. John Miller. 5. William West. 6. John Brisban. 7. Samuel Benezet. 8. Perisfor Frazer. 9. Thomas Robinfon. 10. Rudolph Bunner. 11. Stephen Bayard. 12. John Lacey. 13. Peter Scull. 14. Caleb Noarth. 15. Christopher Stuart. 16. Alexander Graydon. 17. Thomas Church. 18. Samuel Watson. 19. James Hulings. 20. Frederick Vernon. 21. David Lenox. 22. Walter Stuart. 23. Thomas Byles. 24. John Reese. 25. John Spohn. 26. Nathaniel Vansant. 27. James Moore. 28. Henry Allice. 29. James Taylor. 30. Peter Decker. 31. Joseph Hubley. 32. Matthew Duncan.

First Lieutenants. 1. Joseph Potts. 2. John Richardson. 3. Alex. Johnson. 4. Thomas Moore. 5. Joseph Devanport. 6. John Chlten. 7. Evan Edwards. 8. John Bankson. 9. Benj. Bartholomew. 10. Matt. Knox. 11. James R. Reed. 12. S. Moore. 13. James Christie. 14. John Lawrence. 15. John Christie. 16. John Williamson. 17. George Tudor. 18. John Gros. 19. John D. Wilpert. 20. Robert Wilkins. 21. Daniel Broadhead, jun. 22. John Morgan. 23. Samuel Smith. 24. Andrew Kechlein. 25. Adam Betting. 26. William Davison. 27. William Bird. 28. M. Kimle. 29. John Priestly. 30. Charles Phile. 31. Michael Hoffnagle. 32. John Helme.

Second Lieutenants. 1. James Montgomery. 2. Ezra Bartleson. 3. Alex-

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ander M^cClintock. 4. William Tilton. 5. Walter Bicker. 6. Rofs Curry. 7. John Budd Don. 8. John Dugard. 9. Robert Greg. 10. William Crawford. 11. William Chambers. 12. John Finley. 13. Thomas Jennings. 14. John Craig. 15. Richard Collier. 16. Andrew Forrest. 17. Henry Epple. 18. Robert Connelly. 19. Isaac Seely. 20. Thomas Boude. 21. Michael Ryan. 22. Thomas Holland. 23. Henry Bicker, jun. 24. William Standley. 25. Charles M^cHenry. 26. John Woodside. 27. Charles Beatty. 28. John Rudolph. 29. Charles Scitz. 30. Benjamin Armitage. 31. Andrew Dover. 32. Edward Young.

Ensigns. 1. Benjamin Miller. 2. James Hunter. 3. Alexander Hall. 4. Job Vernon. 5. ——— Henry in Canada. 6. Thomas Parke. 7. Joel Westcoat. 8. James M^cKee. 9. James O'Harra. 10. John Gansell. 11. William Craig. 12. William Old. 13. Thomas Wallace. 14. James Savage. 15. John Evans. 16. Isaac Vanhorn. 17. Ezekiel Letts. 18. Harman Stout. 19. James Black. 20. Thomas M^cIntire. 21. Jacob Funck. 22. Edward Hoffingdon. 23. James Cloyd. 24. Samuel Shriver. 25. Abel Morris. 26. John Wallace. 27. John Berkley. 28. James Maloy. 29. Mordecai Davis. 30. John Dover. 31. Levi Griffith. 32. James Gibbons.

At a meeting of the American philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, on Friday last, the following gentlemen were chosen officers for the ensuing year, *to wit.*

President, Benjamin Franklin, Esq;
L. L. D. F. R. S. &c.

Vice President, Samuel Rhoads, Esq;
Doctor Thomas Bond, Rev. Doctor William Smith.

Secretaries, Robert Strettell Jones,
A. M. Benjamin Rush, M. D. Professor of Chemistry in the College of

Philadelphia. Mr. Richard Wells,
Thomas Bond, A. M.

Curators, Samuel Duffield, M. D.
David Rittenhouse, A. M. Mr. P. E.
Du Simitiere.

Treasurer, Thomas Coombe, Esq,
In Congress, January 17, 1776.

Resolved, That the Colonels of the several battalions, ordered to be raised, do immediately order their officers on recruiting service, to such parts where they are best known and have the greatest probability of success.

That the recruiting officers ought to be careful to enlist none but healthy, sound, and able-bodied men, not under sixteen years of age.

That the colonels of the several battalions aforesaid appoint some place or places of rendezvous to which the recruits may be sent, and where the battalions may be quartered.

That the greatest attention ought to be paid to the behaviour of the troops in quarters, that they may give no reasonable cause of complaint.

That the quarters of the troops be duly discharged once every week.

That an allowance of ten shillings per man be made to the recruiting officers in lieu of their expences in recruiting, exclusive of the subsistence money allowed them, and that in case any men be enlisted contrary to the foregoing regulations, the pay they may have received and the subsistence money that may be paid for them shall be stopped from the pay of such recruiting officers.

That the colonels of the several Pennsylvania battalions be supplied with money for the recruiting service by the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, and disburse the same to the several recruiting officers, the colonels and other officers to be accountable for what they shall receive, and all arrears they may fall into to be stopped from their pay.

That no bought indented servants be employed on board the fleet or in
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the army of the United Colonies, without the consent of their masters.

Extracts from the Minutes,
CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

The Rev. Mr. Daniel M^rCauley is appointed chaplain to the first battalion of the *Pennsylvania Regulars*.

Philadelphia, March 31. On the 21st instant the Congress came to the following resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several assemblies, conventions and councils, or committees of safety, and committees of correspondence and inspection, that they exert their utmost endeavours to promote the culture of hemp, flax, and cotton, and the growth of wool, in these United Colonies.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the said assemblies, conventions and councils, or committees of safety, that they take the earliest measures for erecting and establishing in each and every colony, a society for the improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and to maintain a correspondence between such societies, that the rich and numerous natural advantages of this country for supporting its inhabitants may not be neglected.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the said assemblies, conventions, and councils, or committees of safety, that they forthwith consider the ways and means of introducing the manufactures of Duck and sail cloth, and steel, into such colonies where they are not now understood; and of encouraging, encreasing, and improving them where they are.

As in the execution of the resolve of Congress, of the 14th of March, respecting the disarming disaffected persons, many fire-arms may be taken which may not be fit for use, to arm any of the troops mentioned therein, therefore it is resolved, That all the fire-arms so taken, being appraised

according to said resolve, none of them shall be paid for but those that are fit for the use of such troops, or that may conveniently be so made, and the remainder shall be safely kept by the assemblies, conventions, councils, or committees of safety for the owners, to be delivered to them when the Congress shall direct.

In Congress, March 23, 1776.

Whereas the petitions of these united Colonies to the King, for the redress of great and manifest grievances, have not only been rejected, but treated with scorn and contempt; and the oppositions to designs evidently formed to reduce them to a state of servile subjection, and their necessary defence against hostile forces actually employed to subdue them; declared rebellion. And whereas an unjust war hath been commenced against them, which the commanders of the British fleets and armies have prosecuted, and still continue to prosecute with their utmost vigour; and in a cruel manner wasting, spoiling and destroying the country, burning houses and defenceless towns, and exposing the helpless inhabitants to every misery from the inclemency of the winter; and not only urging savages to invade the country, but instigating negroes to murder their masters. And whereas the Parliament of Great Britain had lately passed an act, affirming these colonies to be in open rebellion; forbidding all trade and commerce with the inhabitants thereof, until they shall accept pardons and submit to despotic rule; declaring their property, wherever found upon the water, liable to seizure and confiscation: and enacting that what had been done there, by virtue of the royal authority were just and lawful acts, and shall be so deemed: from all which it is manifest, that the iniquitous scheme, concerted to deprive them of the liberty they have a right

to by the laws of nature and the English constitution, will be pertinaciously pursued. It being therefore necessary to provide for their defence and security, and justifiable to make reprisals upon their enemies, and otherwise to annoy them, according to the laws and usages of nations; the Congress, truiting that such of their friends in Great Britain (of whom it is confessed there are many entitled to applause and gratitude for their patriotism and benevolence, and in whose favour a discrimination of property cannot be made) as shall suffer by captures, will impute it to the author of our common calamities, to declare and resolve as followeth; to wit.

Resolved, that the inhabitants of these colonies be permitted to fit out armed vessels to cruize on the enemies of these united colonies.

Resolved, that all ships and other vessels, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, and all goods, wares, and merchandizes, belonging to any inhabitant or inhabitants of Great Britain, taken on the high seas, or between high and low water mark, by any armed vessel fitted out by any private person or persons, and to whom commissions shall be granted, and being libelled and prosecuted in any court erected for the trial of maritime affairs in any of these colonies, shall be deemed and adjudged to be lawful prizes, and after deducting and paying the wages of the seamen and mariners, on board of such captures as are merchants ships and vessels, shall be entitled to according to the terms of their contracts until the time of the adjudication, shall be condemned to and for the use of the owner or owners, and the officers, marines and mariners of such armed vessel, according to such rules and proportions as they shall agree on. Provided always that this resolution shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to any vessel bringing settlers, arms, ammuni-

tion, or warlike stores, to and for the use of these colonies, or any of the inhabitants thereof, who are friends to the American cause, or to such warlike stores, or to the effects of such settlers.

Resolved, that all ships or vessels, with their tackle, apparel, and furniture, goods, wares, and merchandizes, belonging to any inhabitant of Great Britain, as aforesaid, which shall be taken by any of the vessels of war of these united Colonies, shall be deemed forfeited, one third, after deducting and paying the wages of seamen and mariners, as aforesaid, to the officers and men on board, and two thirds to the use of the united colonies.

Resolved, That all ships or vessels, with their tackle, apparel, and furniture, goods, wares, merchandizes, belonging to any inhabitant of Great Britain, as aforesaid, which shall be taken by any vessels of war fitted out by and at the expence of any of the united colonies, shall be deemed, forfeited, and divided, after deducting and paying the wages of seamen and mariners as aforesaid, in such manner and proportion as the assembly or convention of such colony shall direct.

Resolved, That all vessels, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, and cargoes belonging to inhabitants of Great Britain, as aforesaid, and all vessels which may be employed in carrying supplies to the ministerial armies, which shall happen to be taken near the shores of any of these colonies, by the people of the country or detachments from the army, shall be deemed lawful prize, and the Court of Admiralty within the said colony is required, on condemnation thereof, to adjudge, that all charges and expences which may attend the capture and trial be first paid out of the monies arising from the sales of the prize, and the remainder equally divided among all those who shall have been actu-

actually engaged and employed in taking the said prize: Provided, that where any detachments of the army shall have been employed as aforesaid, their part of the prize-money shall be distributed among them in proportion to the pay of the officers and soldiers so employed.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Philadelphia, April 8, 1776. In Congress, March 6, Resolved, that any goods, wares, and merchandizes, except staves, and empty casks, other than shaken or knocked down casks for molasses, may be exported from the Thirteen United Colonies, by the inhabitants thereof, and by the people of all such countries as are not subject to the King of Great Britain, to any parts of the world, which are not under the dominion of the said King; provided that no vessel be permitted to export any greater number of shaken or knocked down molasses casks, than the same vessel is capable of carrying when they shall be filled with molasses.

Resolved, That any goods, wares, and merchandizes, except such as are of the growth, production, and manufacture of, or brought from, any country under the dominion of the King of Great Britain, and except East-India tea, may be imported from any other parts of the world, to the Thirteen United Colonies, by the inhabitants thereof, and by the people of all such countries as are not subject to the said King, liable however to all such duties and impositions as now are or may hereafter be laid by any of the said Colonies.

Resolved, That nothing herein contained shall be understood to prevent such future commercial regulations as shall be thought just and necessary by these United Colonies or their respective legislatures.

Resolved, That no slaves be imported into any of the Thirteen United Colonies.

Resolved, That all goods, wares, and merchandizes, except such as are made prize of, which shall be imported directly, or indirectly from Great Britain or Ireland, into any of these United Colonies, contrary to the regulations established by Congress, shall be forfeited, and disposed of agreeable to such rules as shall be made by the several assemblies or conventions, and shall be liable to prosecution and condemnation in any court erected, or to be erected, for the determination of maritime affairs in the colony where the seizure shall be made.

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Convention in Virginia.

Resolved unanimously, that this Convention do highly approve of Col. Woodford's conduct, manifested as well in the success of the troops under his command, as in the humane treatment of, and kind attention to, the unfortunate, though brave officers and soldiers, who were made prisoners in the late action near the Great Bridge, and that the president communicate to Col. Woodford the sense of his country on this occasion.

Whereas Lord Dunmore, by his proclamation, dated on board the Ship William, the 7th day of November 1775, hath presumed, in direct violation of the constitution, and the laws of this country, to declare martial law in force, and to be executed throughout this colony, whereby our lives, our liberty, and our property, are arbitrarily subjected to his power and direction: and whereas the said Lord Dunmore, assuming powers which the King himself cannot exercise, to intimidate the good people of this Colony into a compliance with his arbitrary will, hath declared those who do not immediately repair to his standard, and submit in all things to a government not warranted by the constitution, to be in actual rebellion, and

and thereby to have incurred the penalties inflicted by the laws for such offences; and hath offered freedom to the servants and slaves of those he is pleased to term rebels, arming them against their masters, and destroying the peace and happiness of his Majesty's good and faithful subjects, whose property is rendered insecure, and whose lives are exposed to the dangers of a general insurrection: We, as guardians of the lives and liberty of the people, our constituents, conceived it to be indispensably our duty to protect them against every species of despotism, and to endeavour to remove those fears, with which they are so justly alarmed.

If it were possible the understandings of men could be so blinded, that every gleam of reason might be lost, the hope, his lordship says, he hath ever entertained of an accommodation between Great Britain and this colony, might now pass unnoticed; but truth, justice, and common sense, must ever prevail, when facts can be appealed to in their support. It is the peculiar happiness of this colony, that his lordship can be traced as the source of innumerable evils, and one of the principal causes of the misfortunes, under which we now labour. A particular detail of his conduct, since his arrival in this colony, can be considered only as a repetition, it having been already fully published to the world by the proceedings of the General assembly, and a former Convention; but the unremitting violence, with which his lordship endeavours to involve this country in the most dreadful calamities, certainly affords new matter for the attention of the public, and will remove every imputation of ingratitude to his lordship, or of injustice to his character. His lordship is pleased to ascribe the unworthy steps he hath taken against this colony to a necessity arising from the conduct of its inhabitants, whom he hath considered in a rebellious state,

but who know nothing of rebellion, except the name. Ever zealous in support of tyranny, he hath broken the bonds of society, and trampled justice under his feet. Had his lordship been desirous of affecting an accommodation of these disputes, he hath had the most ample occasion of exerting both his interest and abilities; but that he never had in view any such salutary end, most evidently appears from the whole tenor of his conduct. The supposed design of the Canada bill having been to draw down upon us a mercilefs and savage enemy, the present manœuvres amongst the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and the schemes concerted with Doctor Connelly, and other vile instruments of tyranny which have appeared by the examination of the said Connelly, justify the supposition, and most fully evince his lordship's inimical and cruel disposition towards us, and can best determine whether we have been wrong in preparing to resist, even by arms, that system of tyranny adopted by the ministry and parliament of Great-Britain, of which he is become the rigid executioner in this colony. The many depredations committed also upon the inhabitants of this colony, by the tenders and other armed vessels employed by his lordship for such purposes; the pilfering and plundering the property of the people, and the actual seduction and seizure of their slaves, were truly alarming in their effects, and called aloud for justice and resistance. The persons of many of our peaceable brethren have been seized and dragged to confinement, contrary to the principles of liberty, and the constitution of our country: yet have we borne this injurious treatment with unexampled patience, unwilling to shed the blood of our fellow-subjects; who, prosecuting the measures of a British Parliament, would sacrifice our lives and property to a relentless fury and unabating avarice. If a governor can

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be authorized, even by Majesty itself, to annul the laws of the land, and to introduce the most execrable of all systems, the law martial; if, by his single fiat, he can strip us of our property, can give freedom to our servants and slaves, and arm them for our destruction, let us bid adieu to every thing valuable in life; let us at once bend our necks to the galling yoke, and hug the chains prepared for us and our latest posterity!

It is with inexpressible concern we reflect upon the distressed situation of some of our unhappy countrymen, who had thought themselves too immediately within the power of Lord Dunmore, and have been induced thereby to remain inactive. We lament the advantage he hath taken of their situation, and at present impute their inactivity in the cause of freedom and the constitution, not to any defection or want of zeal, but to their defenceless state; and whilst we endeavour to afford them succour, and to support their rights, we expect they will contribute every thing in their power to effect their deliverance: yet if any of our people, in violation of their faith plighted to this colony, and the duty they owe to society, shall be found in arms, or continue to give assistance to our enemies, we shall think ourselves justified, by the necessity we are under, in executing upon them the law of retaliation.

Impressed with a just and ardent zeal for the welfare and happiness of our countrymen, we trust they will, on their part, exert themselves in defence of our common cause, and that we shall all acquit ourselves like freemen, being compelled, by a disagreeable, but absolute necessity, of repelling force by force, to maintain our just rights and privileges; and we appeal to God, who is the sovereign disposer of all events, for the justice of our cause, trusting to his uner-

ring wisdom to direct our councils, and give success to our arms.

Whereas Lord Dunmore, by his proclamation, dated on board the Ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th day of November 1775, hath offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him, and take up arms against the good people of this colony, giving thereby encouragement to a general insurrection, which may induce a necessity of inflicting the severest punishments upon those unhappy people already deluded by his base and insidious arts; and whereas, by an act of the General Assembly now in force in this colony, it is enacted, that all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection, shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy: We think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced, by his lordship's proclamation, or other arts, to desert their master's service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the Convention. And to the end that all such, who have taken this unlawful and wicked step, may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due to their crimes, we hereby promise pardon to them, they surrendering themselves to Col. William Woodford, or any other commander of our troops, and not appearing in arms after the publication hereof. And we do further earnestly recommend it to all humane and benevolent persons in this colony, to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.

And whereas, notwithstanding the favourable and kind dispositions shewn by the Convention and the natives of this colony, and the extraordinary and unexampled indulgence by them held

held out to the natives of Great-Britain, residing in this colony (the Scotch who gave themselves this title in their petition) many of these have lately become strict adherents to the Lord Dunmore and the most active promoters of all his cruel and arbitrary persecutions of the good people of this colony, not only by violating the Continental Association, to which they had solemnly subscribed, in many the most flagrant instances, not merely by giving intelligence to our enemies, and furnishing them with provisions, but by propagating, as well in Great-Britain as in this colony, many of the most mischievous falsehoods, to the great prejudice and dishonour of this country: And moreover, many of these natives of Great-Britain, instead of giving their assistance in suppressing insurrections, have, contrary to all faith, solemnly plighted in their petition, excited our slaves to rebellion, and some of them have daringly lead those slaves in arms against our inhabitants; the committee having these things in full proof, and considering their alarming and dangerous tendency, do give it as their opinion, and it is accordingly resolved, that the former resolution in their favour ought from henceforth to be totally abrogated and rescinded; that none of the freemen, inhabitants of this country, wherever born, ought to be exempted from any of the burthens or dangers to which the colony is exposed; but that, as good citizens, it is incumbent on them to use every exertion of their power and abilities in the common defence; and should any persons of ability decline or shrink from so necessary a duty to the community, that all such, except those who have taken up arms against our inhabitants, or shewn themselves to us, may be permitted, under a licence of the Committee of Safety, to leave the country.

A copy of the oath extorted from the people of Norfolk and Princess Anne, by Lord Dunmore.

We the inhabitants of — being fully sensible of the errors and guilt into which this colony hath been misled, under colour of seeking redress of grievances, and that a set of factious men stiling themselves committees, conventions, and congresses, have violently, and under various pretences, usurped the legislative and executive powers of government, and are thereby endeavouring to overturn our most happy constitution, and have incurred the guilt of actual rebellion against our most gracious sovereign: We have therefore taken an oath abjuring their authority, and solemnly promising, in the presence of Almighty God, to bear faith and true allegiance to his sacred Majesty George the Third; and that we will, to the utmost of our power and ability, support, maintain, and defend, his crown and dignity, against all traitereous attempts and conspiracies whatsoever. And whereas armed bodies of men are collected in various parts of this colony, without any legal authority, we wish them to be informed, that however unwilling we should be to shed the blood of our countrymen, we must, in discharge of our duty to God and the King, and in support of the constitution and laws of our country, oppose their marching into this county, where their coming can answer no good end, but, on the contrary, must expose us to the ravages and horrors of a civil war; and, for that purpose, we are determined to take advantage of our happy situation, and will defend the passes into our country, and neighbourhood, to the last drop of our blood.

One of Lord Dunmore's tenders went to a place called Mulberry-Island, in Warwick county, and landed her men, who went to Mr. Benjamin

amin Wells's house, with their faces blacked like negroes, whose companions they are, and robbed the house of all the furniture, four negroes, a watch, and stock-buckle. The inhuman wretches even took the bed on which lay two sick infants.

In Provincial Congress, Charlestown, March 16.

‘ Resolved, 1st, That any person in the different provinces, who has arms, ammunition, or other articles necessary for our defence, to dispose of, or shall import any of those articles for sale, and shall not, after the publication of these resolutions inform the chairman, or deputy chairman of this Congress, of the quantity or quality of the same, he shall be held up to the public as an enemy to this country.

‘ Resolved, 2d, That any person who shall, during the unhappy contest with our parent state, dispose of any arms, ammunition, or other articles aforesaid, to any person knowing, or having reason to believe they are to be used against those liberties, he shall be held up as an enemy to this country: which was unanimously agreed to.

Extract of a letter from Charlestown, South Carolina, March 18.

‘ The Provincial Congress having received an intimation, that certain persons, have bought up, and others are now buying India corn, with a design to take advantage of the times, they yesterday agreed to the following resolutions, viz.

‘ Resolved, That such engrossing is intolerable, and ought not to be suffered at this present juncture.

‘ Resolved, That such persons as may have bought India corn, ought not to sell it at an advanced price, and that proper information ought immediately to be laid before the Congress or General Committee.

‘ The Congress have prohibited the exportation of corn and rice for six months; and have resolved to

have public granaries forthwith, in order to lay up a proper quantity of flour and rice for public use, and have appointed commissioners to see that business be carried into immediate execution.’

Extract of a letter, dated North-Carolina, March 10, 1776.

‘ With very great pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your obliging favour; and my happiness in writing to you is increased by the immediate defeat of those disturbers of government called Highlanders and regulators who had embodied themselves to a great number, and were within 20 miles of Wilmington. It is inconceivable to imagine what joy this event has diffused through this province; the importance of which is heightened by Clinton and Lord William Campbell's being now in Cape Fear, in sanguine expectation of being joined by the above defeated and routed fellows, and with a determined resolution of attacking the weakest part of America, the which, I presume, they supposed North-Carolina to be. But how amazingly mortified must they prove, in finding that this weak, poor, and insignificant Carolina, in less than 15 days, could turn out more than 10,000 independent gentlemen volunteers, and within that time to pursue them to the very scene of action. Since I was born I never heard of so universal an ardour for fighting prevailing, and so perfect a union among all degrees of men. This will enable his generalship Clinton to give his master and the ministry a just account of the weakness of the southern colonies, how liable they are to be subdued, and what very small numbers will be sufficient for that purpose. It is most heartily wished that his Lordship Campbell, Clinton, and Martin, would think it worth their while to land at Cape Fear, before the dispersion of the forces, and it is not doubted but, in that case, a very handsome account

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would be given of them by the defeat of the formidable triumvirate.

You will rejoice with me in finding all the machinations of our governor brought to nought. He has been most indefatigable in his endeavours to bring upon this province every species of calamity, by secretly spiriting up our internal foes, misrepresenting our weakness, and soliciting forces to destroy us, which, however, I hope will be entirely out of his power, as I think the province will and ought to call for hostages from the regulators and Highlanders, to be safely kept in some other province, beyond the possibility of a rescue, during the present commotions.

Another letter from the same Province.

Parties of men are dispersed all over the colony, apprehending suspected persons, and disarming all the Highlanders and Regulators that were put to the rout in the late battle. The conquerors have already taken 350 guns and shot bags, about 150 swords and dirks, 1500 excellent rifles, two medicine chests, fresh from England, one of them valued at 300l. sterling; a box containing half joanesses and guineas secreted in a stable at Cross Creek, discovered by a negro, and reported to be worth 15000l. sterling, also thirteen waggons, with complete sets of horses. 850 common soldiers were made prisoners, disarmed and discharged. Col. Long has also apprehended several of their officers, who are now in Halifax goal, viz. Col. John Piles, Major Thomas Collins, Captain David Jackson, Enoch Bradby, John Piles, and Thomas Readford, Lieutenant Stephen Parker and Daniel M'Donald, the latter wounded through the thigh; Ensign Dunning and Dr. Robertson. There are in the same goal four persons of the name of Field, one Turner and three Bells, a midshipman and a quarter gunner of the Scorpion; likewise one Kingsborough M'Donald, Mr. Rutherford, Hector M'Neal and Alex-

ander M'Donald, Captains Morrison, M'Kensie, Ure, Leggate, Cross, Parsons, M'Coy, Muir, Micheson, M'Carter, and Adjutant Frazer; Lieutenants M'Iver and Hews, Cameron, Donald Hews, Donald Cameron, and sundry other Lieutenants and Ensigns, whose names we have not an account of; Kennett M'Donald, Aid de Camp; James Hepburn, Secretary; Parson Beattie, and Dr. Morrison, Commissary. Gen. M'Donald, and Brigadier Gen. M'Leod (the latter of whom was killed, and the other taken prisoner,) set out at the head of this banditti with the avowed intention of carrying Governor Martin to the interior part of the province. These two officers passed through Newbern a few months ago, where they took a solemn oath, before the committee, that their business in that province was only to see their friends and relations.

It is an undoubted fact, that between 8 and 9000lb. of gun-powder is just brought into this colony from one of the French islands, with a number of field-pieces, four and six pounders, some musquets, &c. Several French gentlemen likewise came in the vessel, one of whom, shortly after their arrival, set out for Philadelphia.

Extract of a letter from Brigadier General James Moore, in the Continental service, to the Honourable Cornelius Harnet, Esq; President of the Provincial Council, North-Carolina, dated Wilmington, March 2, 1776.

On the earliest intelligence that the tories were collecting and embodying at Cross Creek, which I received on the 9th of February, I proceeded to take possession of Rockfish-bridge, within seven miles of Cross Creek, which I considered as an important post. This I effected on the 15th, with my own regiment, five pieces of artillery, and a part of the Bladon militia; but as our numbers were by no means equal to that of the tories, I thought it most advisable

to intrench and fortify that pass, and wait for a reinforcement. By the 19th I was joined by Col. Lillington with 150 of the Wilmington minute-men, Colonel Kenon with 200 of the Duplin militia, and Col. Ash with about 100 of the volunteer independent rangers, making our number then in the whole about 1100; and from the best information I was able to procure, the tory army, under command of General M'Donald, amounted to about 14 or 1500. On the 20th they marched within four miles of us, and sent in, by a flag of truce, the Governor's proclamation, a manifesto and letter from the General, copies of which, together with another letter, and my answer, you have inclosed. I then waited only until Col. Martin and Col. Thackston, who I had certain intelligence were on their march, should get near enough to cut off their retreat, and determined to avail myself of the first favourable opportunity of attacking them. However, contrary to my expectations, I learnt on the 21st that they had, the night before, and that night, crossed the N. West river, at Campbelltown, with their whole army, sunk and destroyed all the boats, and taken their route the most direct way to Negro Head Point; I then dispatched an express to Col. Caswell, who was on his march to join us with about 800 men, and directed him to return and take possession of Corbert's ferry over Black River, and by every means in his power to obstruct, harass, and distress them in their march; at the same time I directed Colonel Martin and Colonel Thackston to take possession of Cross Creek, in order to prevent their return that way. Col. Lillington and Col. Ash I ordered, by a forced march, to endeavour, if possible, to reinforce Col. Caswell; but if that could not be effected, to take possession of Moore's Creek Bridge, whilst I proceeded back with the re-

mainder of our army to cross the North West Elizabeth Town, so as either to meet them on their way to Corbert's ferry, or fall in their rear and surround them there. On the twenty-third I crossed the river at Elizabeth Town, where I was compelled to wait for a supply of provisions till the 24th at night, having learnt that Colonel Caswell was almost entirely without. Just when I was prepared to march, I received an express from Colonel Caswell, informing that the tories had raised a flat, which had been sunk in Black River, about five miles above him, and by erecting a bridge, had passed it with their whole army. I then determined, as the last expedient, to proceed immediately in boats down the North West river, to Dollison's landing, about sixty miles, and take possession of Moore's Creek Bridge, about ten miles from them, at the same time acquainting Colonel Caswell of my intentions, and recommending to him to retreat to Moore's Creek Bridge, if possible, but if not, to follow on in their rear. The next day by four o'clock we arrived at Dollison's landing, but we could not possibly march that night for want of horses for the artillery; I dispatched an express to Moore's Creek Bridge, to learn the situation of affairs there, and was informed that Col. Lillington, who had the day before taken his stand at the bridge, was that afternoon reinforced by Colonel Caswell, and that they had raised a small breastwork, and destroyed a part of the Bridge.

The next morning, the 27th, at break of day, an alarm gun was fired, immediately after which, scarcely leaving our people a moment to prepare, the tory army, with Captain M'Clod at their head, made their attack on Col. Caswell and Col. Lillington, and finding a small intrenchment next the bridge, on our side empty, concluded that our people

had abandoned their post, and in the most furious manner advanced within thirty paces of our breast-work and artillery, where they met a very proper reception. Captain M'Cleod and Captain Campbell fell within a few paces of the breast-work, the former of whom received upwards of twenty balls through his body; and in a very few minutes their whole army was put to flight, and most shamefully abandoned their General, who was next day taken prisoner. The loss of the enemy in this action, from the best accounts we have been able to learn, is about thirty killed and wounded; but as numbers of them must have fallen into the creek, besides many more that were carried off, I suppose their loss may be estimated at about seventy. We had only two wounded, one of which died to-day. This, Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you, has happily terminated a very dangerous insurrection, and will, I trust, put an effectual check to Toryism in this country.

The situation of affairs at this place made it necessary for me to return here, which, at the special request of the committee, I did last night, with my regiment. The large requisitions made by the men of war, who now lie just before the town, gave the inhabitants reason to apprehend every thing that could be suffered from their disappointed vengeance, however, the committee have spiritedly determined rather to suffer the worst of human evils than afford them any supplies at all, and I have no doubt we shall be able to prevent them from doing any great injury.

In order to lessen as much as possible the expence incurred by this expedition, I some time ago directed Col. Martin to disband all the troops under his command, except 1000, including the regulars, and with those to secure the persons and estates of the insurgents, subject to your farther or-

ders, and then to proceed to this place, unless otherwise directed. However, as I do not think the service just now requires such a number of men in arms, I shall immediately direct him to disband all except the regulars, and with those to remain in and about Cross Creek until further orders.'

Extract of a letter from Colonel Richard Caswell, late a Delegate for the province of North Carolina, in the Continental Congress, and now Commander of a body of troops in that province, to the Hon. Cornelius Harnett, Esq; President of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, dated from his camp at Long Creek, Feb. 29, 1776.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that we had an engagement with the Tories, at Widow Moore's Creek Bridge, on the 27th current. Our army was about one thousand strong, consisting of the Newbern battalion of minute-men, the militia from Craven, Johnston, Dobbs, and Wake, and a detachment of the Wilmington battalion of minute men, which we found encamped at Moore's Creek, the night before the battle, under the command of Col. Lillington. The Tories by common report were three thousand, but General M'Donald, whom we have a prisoner, says there were about fifteen or sixteen hundred; he was unwell that day, and not in the battle. Captain M'Cleod, who seemed to be the principal commander, and Captain John Campbell are among the slain. The number killed and mortally wounded, from the best accounts I was able to collect, was about thirty, most of them were shot on their passing the bridge. Several had fallen in the water, some of whom I am pretty certain, had not risen yesterday evening, when I left the camp; such prisoners as we have made, say there were at least fifty of their men missing. The Tories were
totally

put to the rout, and will certainly disperse. Colonel Moore arrived at our camp a few hours after the engagement was over; his troops came up that evening, and are now encamped on the ground where the battle was fought; and Col. Martin is at or near Cross Creek, with a large body of men; those, I presume, will be sufficient effectually to put a stop to any attempt to embody them again. I therefore, with Colonel Moore's consent, am returning to Newbern, with the troops under my command, where I hope to receive your orders to dismiss them. There I intend carrying the General. If the council should rise before my arrival, be pleased to give orders in what manner he shall be disposed of. Our officers and men behaved with the spirit and intrepidity becoming freemen, contending for their dearest privileges.

A letter from Donald M'Donald, Esq; lately created Brigadier-General in the Tory army, by Governor Martin, to Brigadier-General Moore.

‘ Sir,

‘ I herewith send the bearer, Donald Morrison, by advice of the commissioners appointed by his Excellency Josiah Martin, and in behalf of the army now under my command, to propose terms to you as friends and countrymen. I must suppose you unacquainted with the Governor's proclamation, commanding all his Majesty's loyal subjects to repair to the King's Royal Standard, else I should have imagined you would ere this have joined the King's army, now engaged in his Majesty's service. I have therefore thought proper to intimate to you, that in case you do not, by twelve o'clock to-morrow, join the Royal Standard, I must certainly consider you as enemies, and take the necessary steps for the support of legal authority.

‘ I beg leave to remind you of his

Majesty's speech to his parliament, wherein he offers to receive the misdeeds with tenderness and mercy, from motives of humanity. I again beg of you to accept the proffered clemency. I make no doubt but you will shew the gentleman sent on this message, every possible civility; and you may depend, in return, that all your officers and men, which may fall into our hands, shall be treated with an equal degree of respect. I have the honour to be, in behalf of the army, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

DON. M'DONALD.

Head-Quarters, Feb. 19, 1776.

His Excellency's proclamation is herewith enclosed.

To the Commanding Officer
at Rock-fish.

Brigadier-General Moore's answer.

‘ Sir,

‘ Yours of this day I have received, in answer to which I must inform you, that the terms which you are pleased to say in behalf of the army under command, are offered to us as friends and countrymen, are such as neither my duty or inclinations will permit me to accept, and which, I must presume you are too much of an officer to expect of me. You were very right when you supposed me unacquainted with the Governor's proclamation, but as the terms therein proposed are such as I hold incompatible with the freedom of Americans, it can be no rule of conduct for me. However, should I not hear farther from you before twelve o'clock to-morrow, by which time I shall have an opportunity of consulting my officers here, and perhaps Col. Martin, who is in the neighbourhood of Cross Creek, you may expect a more particular answer; mean time you may be assured, that the feelings of humanity will induce me to shew that civility to such of your people as may fall into our hands, as

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I am desirous should be observed towards those of ours, who may be unfortunate enough to fall into yours.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And very humble servant,

JAMES MOORE.

Camp at Rockfish, Feb. 19, 1776.

From Brigadier-General Moore, to Brigadier-General M'Donald.

Sir,

Agreeable to my promise of yesterday, I have consulted the officers under my command respecting your letter, and am happy in finding them unanimous in opinion with me. We consider ourselves engaged in a cause the most glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind, in support of which we are determined to hazard every thing dear and valuable; and in tenderness to the deluded people under your command, permit me, Sir, through you to inform them, before it is too late, of the dangerous and destructive precipice on which they stand, and to remind them of the ungrateful return they are about to make for their favourable reception in this country. If this is not sufficient to recall them to the duty which they owe to themselves and their posterity, inform them that they are engaged in a cause in which they cannot succeed, as not only the whole force of this country, but that of our neighbouring provinces, is exerting and now actually in motion to suppress them, and which must end in their utter destruction. Desirous, however, of avoiding the effusion of human blood, I have thought proper to send you a copy of the test recommended by the Continental Congress, which if they will yet subscribe and lay down their arms, by twelve o'clock to-morrow, we are willing to receive them as friends and countrymen. Should this offer be rejected, I shall consider them as enemies to the constitutional liberties of America, and treat them accordingly.

I cannot conclude without reminding you, Sir, of the oath which you and some of your officers took at Newbern, on your arrival to this country, which I imagine you will find difficult to reconcile to your present conduct. I have no doubt that the bearer, Capt. James Walker, will be treated with proper civility and respect in your camp. I am, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant;

J. MOORE.

Camp at Rockfish, Feb. 20, 1776.

From Brigadier-General M'Donald, to Brigadier-General Moore.

Sir,

I received your favour by Capt. James Walker, and observed your declared sentiments of revolt, hostility, and rebellion to the King, and to what I understand to be the constitution of this country, If I am mistaken, future consequences must determine; but while I continue in my present sentiments, I shall consider myself embarked in a cause which must, in its consequences, extricate this country from anarchy and licentiousness. I cannot conceive that the Scotch emigrants, to whom I imagine you allude, can be under greater obligations to this country, than to that King under whose gracious and merciful government they alone could have been enabled to visit this western region: and I trust, Sir, it is in the womb of time to say, that they are not that deluded and ungrateful people which you would represent them to be. As a soldier in his Majesty's service, I must inform you, if you are yet to learn, that it is my duty to conquer, if I cannot reclaim, all those who may be hardy enough to take up arms against the best of masters, as of Kings. I have the honour to be, in behalf of the army under my command, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

DON. M'DONALD.

Head-Quarters, Feb. 1776.

James Moore, Esq;

North

North-Carolina, March 4.

Wilmington District, Peter Simon, of Rhode-Island, maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was on board a vessel, bound from Dominica to Ocracock, and taken off Harteras by the sloop General Gage, George Stibbles, master, and brought into Cape Fear about the 25th of February; that Captain Collet was on board the said sloop when this deponent was taken, and was very communicative with him, shewing his papers and instructions, and informing what route he was to take, &c. That the said Collet said, he expected to find General Clinton here with 15 or 1600 men, and that the General was to be reinforced in April with 9000. After this junction, they were to march to Cross Creek by way of Waggamaw, and there join General M'Donald. That there was only a sufficient number of men for a garrison to be left at Boston, and that 25,000 men were to be landed in the Jerseys, between Philadelphia and New-York, in flat-bottomed boats; and that if they could not possess New-York, they were to destroy it. That the said Collet declared, that he would kill man, woman, and child, reserving all the young ladies for his private pleasures. That the night before last this deponent, with several other persons, made their escape, and came up to Wilmington, and further saith not,

PETER SIMON.

Sworn before me, March 9.

WILLIAM PURVIANCE, J. P.

Madrid, April 22. Several of our frigates have been sent from Acapulca to make discoveries and propagate the gospel among the Indians to the North of California; in which expedition, in the month of July 1774, the Spaniards navigated as high upon the coast as the latitude 58 d. 20 m. (Six degrees above Cape Blanco). They discovered several good ports and navigable rivers upon the West

coast of this great continent. In one of the largest ports they have established a garrison, and called the port Presidio de San Carlos, and have left a mission at every port where inhabitants were to be found. The account mentions the Indians to be a docile sort of people, agreeable in the countenance, honest in their traffic, and neat in their dress, but at the same time idolaters of the greatest degree, never before having any intercourse with Europeans. M. Bucarelli, viceroy of New Spain, has received his Catholic Majesty's thanks for the discoveries, as they were made under his direction, and the several navy officers upon that service have been preferred. It is imagined that those new discoveries will be very advantageous, as the coast abounds with plenty of whales, as also a fish equal to the Newfoundland cod, known in Spain by the name of bacallao. —

Madrid Gazette, published by authority.

Extract of a letter from Gibraltar, March 25.

' Since my last of the 14th of November, the Hanoverian troops are arrived, the battalions, about 500 men each; and the whole commanded by Col. La Mottee, an old experienced officer. Notwithstanding those troops were so little accustomed to the sea, after a long voyage every man landed in perfect health, not a sick man or woman among such a number.

Extract of a letter from Lisbon, April 13.

' Yesterday six American vessels, one of which mounted twenty-two guns, and was convoy for the others, sailed from this port for Philadelphia. They were all laden with ammunition, military stores, &c. Each vessel had a Portuguese on board for a Captain, and sailed under Portuguese colours.

Extract of a letter from Barbadoes, dated April 13.

' — As great a hurry as I am in,

is, is it possible to let drop my pen without touching upon the public calamities of our country? Indeed it is not; especially when I see myself likely to fall one of the first victims, or my poor slaves rather, to the general scarcity of provisions. We are upon our last hoghead of half rotten beans, and have no other resource than to some more than half rotten ship corn, and the only corn to be bought in any of the towns. Is this the way the ministry are to come at conquest over the American rebels, through the destruction of a set of the most loyal subjects in all the King's dominions? Almost ———.

There is not a grain of meal for sale at Nevis.

A letter from St. Kitt's, dated April 20, says, 'The Captain of a vessel arrived here yesterday from New Providence, relates, that that island was invaded by the Provincials, under the command of Commodore Hopkins, in a ship of 36 guns, and eight other vessels. Having landed 1000 men at the east end of the island, and marched up to the castle, which surrendered without much resistance, there having been but five cannon fired on them; they took from thence Governor Montford Brown, his secretary, and the King's Surveyor, two brass mortars of 32 inches, 18 or 20 smaller, 80 pieces of cannon, from 18 to 36 pounders, and all the powder they could get, which was about 18 barrels, the rest having been sent away privately in the night, before they surrendered, by an armed schooner in the King's service. The invaders were near three weeks at Providence; they used no kind of violence to the inhabitants, nor took any private property without paying for it; they assured Brown they would very soon provide another Governor for a companion; from which it is conjectured that they intend their next visit to Bermuda.'

Extract of a letter from Capt. Dempster, of the Blue Mountain Valley Transport, dated Newry, Ireland, May 7, 1776.

'I wrote you from America the misfortune which befel me in the loss of my ship, but as you probably never received it, I will inform you of the misfortunes that have befallen me from my leaving the Downs till my arrival in Ireland. I left the Downs towards the end of October last, when that dreadful gale of wind drove so many ships ashore on the coasts of England and Ireland. But I escaped from that tolerably well. The remainder of my passage was one continued gale of wind, until my arrival on the coast of America, where I found my ship disabled in every respect, being leaky, &c. having had a 13 weeks passage. The moment I came off New York, I sent my chief mate on shore by a pilot boat, in order to get on board the ships of war lying there, to demand assistance in carrying the ship into New York, where we might refit, in order to proceed to Boston, our intended port. But unluckily for me, as I afterwards learnt, my mate was taken prisoner, and was obliged by threats to discover what the ship was, where bound, and of no force. Upon this intelligence, they fitted out four armed vessels, with about 60 men each, in all upwards of 200 men, an overmatch (as you may easily believe) for a ship with four small guns, and sixteen hands in all, after being 13 weeks at sea, and hardly able to keep the ship from sinking. When the vessels made their appearance, I took them for vessels from the men of war, the officer who commanded the party being dressed in the uniform of a Lieutenant of the Navy, and I did not then know my mate was taken prisoner. They boarded the ship in every part, and carried her about ten or twelve miles up a river where

where two of the King's ships lay, to a place called Elizabeth-Town, making a prize of the ship and cargo and myself a prisoner upon parole. After the Americans, by order of the Congress, had unloaded the ship, by an order from that same power I was set at liberty conditionally, that I should not go near either the army or the navy, but return to Britain the first opportunity, which I gladly embraced by coming home in the Catharine, Capt. Moore, bound for Newry; and happy was I to get away, lest they had recalled this indulgence, I arrived here the 5th of May, after a pleasant passage of five weeks, and shall proceed with all speed.

JOHN HAMILTON DEMPSTER.'

Cambridge, March 14. Capt. Manly has taken another transport, 400 tons burthen, laden with peas, potatoes, pork, four-crust, ten packages of medicine, six carriage guns, four swivels, three barrels of powder, &c. and carried her into Newberry.

In fight of the Capes of Virginia, April 17.

Gentlemen,

* I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that at one P. M. this day, I fell in with the sloop Edward, belonging to the Liverpool frigate. She engaged us near two glasses. They killed two of our men, and wounded two more. We shattered her in a terrible manner, as you will see. We killed and wounded several of her crew. I shall give you a particular account of the powder and arms taken out of her, as well as my proceedings in general. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that all our people behaved with much courage,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

JOHN BARRY.'

To the Hon. John Hancock, Esq;
or any of the Marine Com-
mittee.

Watertown, April 8. Last Friday

se'nnight, Capt. Jolley Allen, late a shopkeeper in Boston (with some other Tories) in a sloop, ran ashore on the back of Cape Cod, thinking they had got into the harbour of Halifax. This is a valuable prize, being laden with piece goods and some cash.

Philadelphia, April 6. By the Massachusetts paper we find the following vessels are ordered for trial the latter end of March and beginning of April, having been taken by our several cruisers going with cargoes on board for the use of the enemies of the United Colonies then penned up in Boston. This is but a part of what we have taken.

Ship Jenny, William Foster, 100 tons. Ship Concord, James Laurea, 300. Schooner Two Sisters, Robert Robins, 80. Ship Friends, Archibald Bowie, 200. Brig Sukey, M. Engs, 90. Sloop North Briton, John Ritchie, 60. Brig Nancy, Robert Hunter, 250. Sloop ———, Smith, 80. Sloop Little Hannah, Robert Adams, 140. Sloop Betsey, Atkinson, 69. Sloop Industry, Samuel Lane, 40. Sloop Success, John Hitch, 50. Schooner Fisher, John Moody, 50. Snow James, William Little-dale, 180. Ship Henry and Esther, ——— Nellis, 300. * Sloop Sally, Robert Basden, 70. Sloop Polly, White, 25. Schooner Industry, Coffin, 85. Schooner ———, Dowse, 15. Ship Happy Return, James Hall, 130. Ship Norfolk, Jonathan Grindall, 120. Sloop Dolphin, Lot Norton, 80. Brig St. Lawrence, James Coffin, 165. Sloop Sally, George Middleton, 70. Sloop, Lively Locomust, Weyman, 30. Sloop Britannia, James Hall, 80. Sloop Betsey, William Heath, 115. Ship Harriot,

* This sloop was American property, and was taken by the Niger man of war, who put the said Basden, one of their officers on board as prize master.

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Wemist

Wemif's Orock, 240. Ship Jenny,
William Wood, 200. Brig Nelly,
John Robinfon, 180. Sloop Rain-
bow, Perkins, 60.

Newport, April 8. Last Friday the ministerial fleet went a little without the mouth of our harbour, and in the evening they all returned and anchored between Gould Island and Cod-dington's Point, except the Glasgow of 20 guns, and a small tender, which kept out all night. As soon as it was light the next morning, a party of the troops stationed on the island got down two of their 18 pounders upon the point, and played so well upon them, that they hulled the Rose two or three times, the Nautilus once or twice, and sent a shot through and through one of the armed tenders; upon which Captain Wallace, of the Rose, sent off a boat to cut away the buoy of his anchor, then slipped his cable, and made off as fast as possible, and the rest of his fleet followed in the utmost hurry and confusion, having fired about 15 cannon upon our people without the least effect, though they stood in considerable numbers as open as they could well be, without the least breastwork or other shelter.

For several hours before, and during the above engagement, a vast number of cannon were heard from the S. E. and about sunrise eight or ten sail of ships, brigs, &c. were seen a little to the eastward of Block Island, and indeed the flashes of the cannon were seen by some people about day-break. These things caused much speculation; but in a few hours the mystery was somewhat cleared up, for away came the poor Glasgow, under all the sail she could set. And though she scuttled away, and handed most of her sails, just before she came into the harbour, it was plainly perceived by the holes in those she had standing, and by the hanging of her yards, that she had been treated in a very rough manner. The other ves-

sels seen off, stood up the Western Sound; and by authentic intelligence received on Saturday evening, we are fully convinced they were twelve sail of the continental navy, very deeply laden with cannon, mortars, cannon shot, bombs, and other war-like stores, from the West Indies: so that their cargoes were the sole cause of the Glasgow's making her escape.

As soon as the Glasgow got in, the Rose, Captain Wallace; the Nautilus, Captain Collins; the Swan, Captain Ayscough, with several tenders and prizes, stood out to sea, leaving the Glasgow, a large snow, and two small sloops at anchor, about three quarters of a mile from Brenton's Point. The ensuing night, a party of troops carried one eighteen pounder, one nine, one six, and two four pounders on the said Point, and early yesterday morning saluted the Glasgow with such warmth, that she slipped her cable, and pushed up the river without firing a gun, under all the sail she could make, and the others followed with great precipitation. By the terrible cracking on board the Glasgow, the noise and confusion among her men, it is thought the cannon did good execution. The wind shifting to the northward about noon, these vessels ran down the back of Conanicut, and stood out to sea, supposed to have gone in quest of Captain Wallace.

Yesterday in the forenoon, as a company of American regulars were getting up the cable and anchor which the Glasgow had a little before left in her great fright, a large sloop came in, which Wallace had carried out with him the day before: and it being a very thick air, and she expecting to find the Glasgow lying where she was left, got close in with the boat before they discovered her, when the boat immediately laid her on board, and brought her in here. She had on board seven men and one woman,

woman. This sloop was loaded with flour, &c. and was, when taken, bound from Maryland to Providence.

New York, April 10. On Saturday last the continental fleet fell in with the Glasgow man of war, off Montock Point, at the east end of Long Island, when admiral Hopkins being the foremost ship, he attacked the Glasgow, when a hot engagement ensued, but before another ship could come up, the Glasgow sheered off with considerable damage. The fleet afterwards took a bomb brig, and three tenders, all which they carried safe into New London on Sunday morning.

A letter from Philadelphia, dated the 11th of April, relates the engagement between the Glasgow and Commodore Hopkins, as follows: 'The Glasgow, a brig, and three armed vessels, fell in with Hopkins's squadron on their passage from New Providence to Philadelphia, when the Commodore attacked the Glasgow, on which a general engagement ensued, which lasted three glasses, in which the Glasgow received so much damage, that she was obliged to make the best of her way to Norfolk in Virginia, leaving the brig and the other vessels in possession of Commodore Hopkins.'

The London Gazette of June 8, gave the following account.

Admiralty-Office, June 8, 1776.

'By letters received from Vice-Admiral Shuldham, dated at Halifax the 25th of the April last, it appears, that on the 15th of that month, Captain Furneaux of the Syren, one of the frigates under his command, took a brigantine, belonging to the rebels, which was carrying from Philadelphia to Charlestown in South-Carolina, a company of artillery, consisting of a Captain, commissioned by the Continental Congress, and 79 men, most of whom have since entered into his

Majesty's service with General Clinton: It also appears, that the other cruizers of his Squadron had intercepted and taken forty-four merchant ships and vessels belonging to his Majesty's rebellious subjects in North America; and that Captain Barkley, of the Scarborough, who had been sent to Savannah, in the province of Georgia, for provisions, had liberated thirteen vessels richly laden, which had been seized and detained there by the rebels: and the Admiral transmits, with the above-mentioned letters, the following account which he had received from Captain Tyringham Howe of his engagement in the Glasgow, with five armed ships and vessels of the rebels, viz.

'On Saturday the 6th of April 1776, at two, A. M. Block Island, then bearing N. W. about eight leagues, we discovered a fleet on the Weather Beam, consisting of seven or eight sail; tacked and stood towards them, and soon perceived them to be two or three large ships, and other square-rigged vessels; turned all hands to quarters, hauled up the main-sail, and kept standing on to the N. W. with a light breeze and smooth water, the fleet then coming down before it. At half past two, a large brig came within hail, and seemed to hesitate about giving any answer; but still kept standing towards us; and, on being asked what other ships were in company with her, they answered, *The Columbus and Alfred, a 22 gun frigate.* And almost immediately a hand granadoe was thrown out of her top. We exchanged our broadsides: she then shot a-head, and lay on our bow, to make room for a large ship, with a top light, to come on our broadside, and another ship ran under our stern, raked as she passed, and then luff up on our lee-beam, whilst a brig took her station on our larboard quarter: and a sloop kept altering her

L 2 station

station occasionally. At four the station of every vessel was altered, as the two ships had dropt on each quarter, and a brig kept astern, giving a continual fire, bore away, and made sail for Rhode-island, with the whole fleet within musquet-shot on our quarters and stern. Got two stern chase guns out of the cabin, and kept giving and receiving a very warm fire. At daylight perceived the rebel fleet to consist of two ships, two brigs, and a sloop, and a large ship and a snow which kept to windward as soon as the action began. At half past six the fleet hauled their wind, and at seven tacked and stood to the S. S. W. We had one man killed and three wounded by the musquetry from the enemy.'

The following is a state of the rebel armed vessels abovementioned :

Alfred, commanded by Hopkins, 20 nine pounders on the lower, 6 ten pounders on the upper deck ; 220 men, including 60 marines.

Columbus, commanded by Whipple, 18 nine pounders on the lower, 10 six pounders on the upper deck ; 220 men ; including 60 marines.

Annadona Brig, commanded by Biddle, 16 six pounders on the upper deck ; 130 men, including 30 marines.

Cabot Brig, commanded by Hopkins, jun. 14 six pounders on the upper deck ; 120 men, including 30 marines.

Providence Sloop, commanded by Hazard, 12 six pounders on the upper deck ; 90 men, including 28 marines.

The Glasgow had 20 guns, nine pounders, and 150 men.

By letters lately received from Vice-Admiral Young, dated at Antigua, the 3d of March, and from Vice-Admiral Gayton, dated at Jamaica the 28th of that month, it likewise appears, That the cruizers under the command of the former had seized twenty-six, and those under the com-

mand of the latter nine ships and vessels, either belonging to or employed in carrying on a trade with his Majesty's rebellious subjects in North America. [Gazette.]

Letters from New York, March 22, 1776.

' I am very sorry things are carried to such extreme lengths on both sides of the Atlantic, as to threaten a loss of communication. What will it profit both countries, to drive things to extremities ? We were once happy in each other's prosperity, we mourned and rejoiced together. When a ship of war entered our harbour, those were happiest that could first bring the officers home, and shew them respect. What an unhappy change is this ! they now dare not come on shore, and we have no communication with each other, but at the point of the sword. General Howe is about to leave Boston by permission, after a siege of two years. British arms shine in full glory there ; and if he comes here, what honour can be had from warring upon fellow-subjects ? It is more noble and princely to publish an act of grace, and pass by all mistakes. We are but men, and so are you, with this difference, that you are too proud for mere men. I guess your time is come to let fall some of your dignity. You are a nation remarkable for pride ; and having had our assistance in so many wars, has enabled you to look all the world in the face. I don't pretend to prophecy how you will look, when on a requisition for men and money in time to come, you will find no answer. You cannot expect the old harmonious *band-in band* will ever be seen again. After thirteen years scorn on our unnoticed petitions, we were drove to desperate measures. As I hate all politics, farewell to them for ever ; I wish I could retire to some hermit's hut, and there spend my days in praying for forgiveness of sins, &c.

The

The same Date.

‘ It is a certain truth, that two French noblesse were incog. last summer with the Congress. I am afraid something is brewing that will be like an explosion. Saw in town a few weeks ago a French officer, stiff in lace, with a white cockade in his hat, that could not speak a word of English ; he had a negro behind him bearing his sword, that spoke for him. They came from New England, and were bound to Philadelphia. A few weeks after he saw another of the same fort moving the same way. We get what arms and ammunition we want from France, Holland, and Spain, notwithstanding all the precaution of your court. We have also a Prussian officer here, a baron, come to offer his service to the Congress, it is said from the King of Prussia. There are some thousands of French troops at Domingo, and thereabouts ; some say they are to be here, if wanted ; other say, they are waiting to see us declare for independence, and then will attack some of the English West India Islands. There is a great talk of independence, and the unthinking multitude are mad for it ; but how matters will terminate, I cannot judge, but believe great will be the opposition to such a declaration. A pamphlet called Common Sense, has carried off its thousands ; an answer thereto is come out, but instantly seized in the printer’s shop, and burnt in the street, as unfit to be read at this time. I fear, from this line of conduct, the people here will shake you off, and, once gone, will never be regained. I guess by this time Quebec is in our hands ; that step is not generally approved, the casting vote was a Philadelphian, who resolved when he went in Congress not to vote on that side, but was over-persuaded, for which he was very sorry when done. That colony, as well as this, were extremely

displeased at it, and neither of us liked the expedition, as it could answer no purpose, but to irritate, cost money, and waste men. Every avenue leading from the river into the city of New York is fortified, in consequence of expected troops. General Lee is gone to the southward to meet General Clinton. It is remarkable that both those Generals arrived here on one day : and though it was Sabbath, it threw the whole city in such a convulsion as it never knew before, moving away their effects. All that day, and all night, were their carts going, and boats loading, and women and children crying, and distressed voices heard in the roads in the dead of the night. Clinton came here to pay a short visit to Governor Tryon, and to see how matters stood here ; but, to his great surprise, found he could not put his foot on shore. He expressed much concern at seeing so much distress on his account ; he declared his juvenile love for this place brought him here, and was pleased to send for the mayor to desire he would acquaint the people he only came on a visit, and would go away as soon as he could. Common rum 6s. and 7s. a gallon—poor sugar 4l. a hundred by the hoghead—molasses none—cotton 4s. a pound.

April 12. 1776. ‘ If you have any idea of our situation, you must be solicitous to hear from us. When you are informed that New York is deserted by its old inhabitants, and filled with soldiers from New England, Philadelphia, Jersey, &c. you will naturally conclude the environs of it are not very safe from so undisciplined a multitude as our Provincials are represented to be ; but I do believe there are very few instances of so great a number of men together with so little mischief done by them. They have all the simplicity of plowmen in their manners, and seem quite strangers to the vices of older soldiers ; they have

have been employed in creating fortifications in every part of the town ; it would make you sorry to see the place so changed ; the old fort walls are demolished in part, though that is an advantage to the Broadway, as it opens the view there greatly ; there is a battery carried across the street, erected partly at Lord Abington's expense ; for the Fascines were cut out of the wood that belongs to the Warren estate ; you may remember it lies opposite to ———, and shaded one half the road called the New Road ; it was a beautiful wood Oliver Del ——— y had been nursing these forty years ; it looks in piteous state now. Mr. Del ——— y hoped to have it somewhat spared, by telling the N. Englanders, who were cutting it, that a third part belonged to one of the protesting Lords ; one of them answered, ' Well, an if he be such a great liberty-boy, and so great a friend to our country, he will be quite happy that his wood was so happy for our use.' He was obliged to retire, and leave it to their mercy. You remember Bayard's-Mount covered with cedars ; it commanded a prospect exceedingly extensive, the top of it so cut away, that there is room enough now for an house and garden ; there is a very good and a very advantageously situated fortification there erected ; round the hospital another ; in short, every place that can be usefully employed in that way, either is or will be so used : You may recollect a sweet situation at Horne's Hook, that Jacob Walton purchased, built an elegant house, and greatly and beautifully improved the place ; he was obliged to quit the place, the troops took possession and fortified there. — When Mrs. Walton received the order to go out of her house, she burst into tears, for she was fixed to her heart's desire. By how uncertain a tenure do we hold the good and desirable possessions of this world ? When

you were here a few years ago, did we dream that Englishmen would drive us to so much distress and misery as we do and are like to suffer ? Oh, the houses in New York, if you could but see the insides of them ! Occupied by the dirtiest people on the continent (for the empty houses are almost all taken up by the soldiers) ; Kennedy's new house, Mallet's, and one next to it, had six hundred men in them ; if the owners ever get possession again, I am sure they must be years in cleaning them, unless they get new floors, and new plaister the walls. Gov. Tryon loses his credit with the people here prodigiously ; he has lately issued a proclamation, desiring the deluded people of this colony to return to their obedience, promising a speedy support to the friends of government, declaring a door of mercy open to the penitent, and a rod for the disobedient, &c. — It is generally a matter of laughter and surprize, that he could do any thing so weak and ill-judged. The friends of government were provoked at being so distinguished, and the friends to liberty hung him in effigy, and printed a dying speech for him. A letter too was intercepted from him, hastening Lord Howe to New York, as the rebels were fortifying. These things have entirely lost him the good will of the people ; and to complete the conduct, he refused letting the passengers to England, by the packet, go, without taking an oath, consisting of a variety of articles ; among others, they were not to give any kind of information of what passed in America to any person whatever, besides the King and his ministers. — The gentlemen all complained much of the oath, and except one whom necessity obliged to go, were determined to stay rather than take it. It has been dispensed with however from the Americans. You cannot think how sorry I am the Governour has so lost himself ;

himself; a man once so much beloved, his absence from the government, so much regretted, his return so pleasing to most people, now spoken of with contempt and distrust. O Lucifer, once the son of morn, how fallen! General Washington is expected hourly; General Putnam is here, with several other Generals, and some of their ladies. All communication with the men of war has been stopped some days ago, and a guard kept at the watering place, to prevent their getting any; in consequence of which a skirmish happened on Sunday last: our troops took prisoners some men from a barge that came for water, a 20 gun sloop fired upon our men, but only one was wounded as the story goes. There is no such thing as coming to the truth of any thing now a-days. To the great joy of its old inhabitants, Boston is left by the (to speak in the style of the times) ministerial troops; with great precipitation did they quit it, and to their credit left the town in a much better condition than was expected. Major ——— left a letter on the table, directed to the owner of the house he lived in, intimating he expected to pay the rent, and was willing to make good any damage the furniture might have received. It was a day of general rejoicing and thanksgiving the day the Bostonians entered their town again, though we New Yorkers have been in fear ever since of their coming here: the variety of reports keeps one's mind always in agitation, I believe they have been sent off a dozen times, and sometimes just into the Hook; we have been so often alarmed now, that I fancy, like the boy in the fable, report may cry out till the wolves are in the fold, before we shall attend to her. Clinton and Howe, to be sure, have set the continent a racing from Boston to Carolina. — Clinton came into our harbour; a-way flew the women, children, goods,

and chattles, and in came the soldiers flocking from every part. No sooner was it known that he was not going to land here, than expresses were sent to Virginia and Carolina to put them on their guard; his next expedition was to Virginia; there they were ready to receive him; from thence, without attempting to land, he sailed to Carolina. Now General Howe is leading us another dance. Some companies from Philadelphia, coming here, were ordered back again, on a report of his intention to pay the city a visit. Since that it is said, that part of the fleet are already gone to Halifax, part to either Carolina or Quebec, yet I am not certain to which, but from my very foul wish they were going up the river Thames. There is a talk of erecting batteries at a place called *Red Hook*, which will make it very dangerous for men of war to lie in our harbour. We lovers of peace have all our hopes rested on the commissioners; if wishes could have filled their sails, they had reached the continent ere this. A pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* has converted thousands to independence that could not endure the idea before: If I knew how, would have sent it to you, for I think you want common sense in England very much, or you would have found out some means of making peace with us before we had gone to so vast an expence, and put you to so much greater. ——— is among the runaways, and only waits for a boat to carry her goods to ——. I am chagrined at losing a neighbour. Whenever my friends are going, I accuse Lord North; indeed I do not curse him; but I am not Christian enough to bless him. A stuttering man the other day moving away his goods, something broke by accident, which put him in a violent passion, and he stammered da—da—damn Lord North, da—da—damn Lord North, several times,

times, to the diversion of the bystanders ; so all the evils are charged to his Lordship's account, except by Dr. —, who preaches in the — meeting ; he says, it is not Lord North or South, nor English Parliament or French, but it is your sins have brought it on you : Lord North, he says, is commissioned by the Almighty to plague us for our iniquities ; and by him we may infer he is acquitted. Our ports are opened by the Congress to every part of the world except Britain, her Islands, and Ireland ; the merchants have raised their goods to an enormous price ; many articles are very scarce indeed ; but we must learn to do without them ; there is quite a hue and cry about pins. Dr. Franklin, &c. is gone to treat with the Canadians.

April 15th, 1776.

‘ The packet now lies ready for sailing at the side of the Governor's ship, waiting for his orders, perhaps to carry the fate of Quebec. As we have no account from them can say nothing from that quarter. Our Continental Congress only wait the arrival of the Commissioners, to see if we can make up on honourable terms ; if not, they will declare independent, and then farewell to Great Britain, for all which she may thank her haughty pride. We daily expect Washington with his 20,000 Yankies. Howe has evacuated Boston, to the great joy of all there ; they took the wrong bull by the horn ; one third of America is lost to Great Britain without recovery. So much for fleets and armies to enforce unjust measures. We all live here like nuns shut up in a nunnery. No society with the town, for there is none there to visit ; neither can we go in or out after a certain hour, without the counter sign. It is said General Howe is gone to Halifax, the only colony the King has in America. Since the arrival of these Yankies, the men of war here are not allowed provi-

sion nor water, and they in their turn are driving back all boats from the Jerseys, and cutting off our supplies of provisions from thence. In short, a general ruin seems to have overspread the whole face of the earth ; but we trust in that arm that led the armies of Israel through the Wilderness, for our redemption. All America seems so engaged in war, that no other conversation has any place : It will from necessity teach us the wholesome lessons of frugality and economy. Manufactories of flax, wool, and cotton, are carrying on in all the colonies, that the poor may live, and the public be obliged with their labour. We are well supplied with Dutch goods, and soon shall with French ; it is impossible the men of war can watch all our vessels, though they lie at the Hook on purpose ; we have so many creeks and harbours that they know nothing of, that they cannot ruin us. Our Congress have opened the ports by a proclamation, allowing a trade to all the world, except Great Britain, and her West India Islands. Never was a people more spirited to oppose ministerial measures than all America are. I wish the people on your side would really see things as they are, they would be glad to sue for peace, and make the best come off they could. If it is possible send us a few pins and needles, and Scotch thread, any body coming this way will take charge of them.

Head Quarters, New York, April 5, 1776.

‘ The soldiers are strictly enjoined to retire to their barracks and quarters, at tattoo-beating, and remain there until the revellie is beat.

‘ Necessity obliges the General to desire the inhabitants of the city to observe the same rule, as no person will be permitted to pass any centry, after this night, without the counter-sign.

‘ The inhabitants, whose business requires

requires it, may know the counter-sign, by applying to any of the brigade Majors.

Head Quarters, New York, April 8, 1776.

‘ The General informs the inhabitants, that it is become absolutely necessary, that all communication between the ministerial fleet and shore should immediately be stopped; for that purpose has given positive orders, the ships should no longer be furnished with provisions. Any inhabitant or others, who shall be taken that have been on board (after the publishing of this order) or near any of the ships, or going on board, will be considered as enemies, and treated accordingly.

‘ All boats are to sail from Beekman’s Slip. Captain James Alner is appointed inspector, and will give permits for oystermen. It is expected and ordered, that none attempt going without a pass.

‘ ISRAEL PUTNAM,

‘ Major General in the Continental army, and commander in chief of the forces in New York.’

April 17. In order that it may be more convenient for the people at the North River, his Excellency General Putnam has been pleased to order, that a person should be appointed there, to give permits to oyster-boats, &c. going down; and Mr. Simon Schermerhorne is appointed for that purpose.

N. B. All boats and crafts, going up either river, are allowed to pass without permits.’

Whereas the Asia having quitted her station, and left the harbour, the navigation between this city and New Jersey, by the Kills, is become quite safe; the troops upon Staten Island and Bergen Neck, are to let all boats coming to New York, or returning to Jersey, to pass and repass, without molestation. Given at head quarters at New York, the 14th of April 1776.

HORATIO GATES, Adj. General.

New York, April 10. Monday night 1000 of the Continental troops stationed here, went over and took possession of Governor’s Island, and began to fortify it. The same night a regiment went over to Red Hook, and fortified that place likewise.

On Sunday morning, about ten o’clock, his Majesty’s ship *Savage*, and the James pilot boat, came under the cover of a thick fog, to the watering place on Staten Island. Each sent a boat on shore to take in water, of which Captain *Stevenson* received intelligence, and prepared to attack them. The ship received information of our approach, and fired a signal gun for the boats to retreat, which they endeavoured to effect under a brisk and constant fire from the *Savage*; but being fired on by our men, and closely pursued, they left one of their cutters behind with 13 men.— Three killed, and a number wounded, were carried off in the other boat.

The prisoners arrived at the head quarters on Monday evening, together with four deserters from the *Phoenix*, who inform us, they were immediately after this fray put to short allowance. By several gentlemen who were spectators of this engagement from Red Hook, we learn, that a number of men were seen to drop from the tops and bowsprit of the *Savage*. Our brave riflemen kept such a hot and incessant fire on the ship, that she found it expedient to cut her cable, and retreat out of their reach. They left behind them one standard, one musket, twenty-seven iron bound casks, a table and anchor, a speaking trumpet, watch coats, &c.

Provincial Gazette, New York, March 16, 1776.

‘ Whereas the ministry of Great Britain are not only depriving us of the means of defence, but have arbitrarily ordered their ships of war, in a piratical manner, to ruin our commerce, and deprive us of some of the necessaries of life, which renders

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it the incumbent duty of the representatives of the people of this colony, to provide for the comfortable subsistence of their constituents.

Resolved, That this Congress will lend to any person, for the term of two years, from the date hereof, a sum not exceeding 200 pounds, for the purpose of erecting works, without delay, for the making of salt, out of sea-water, in this colony, upon his giving to Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Esq; as treasurer of this Congress, or to the treasurer of this Congress for the time being, good and sufficient security for the payment of the same; and in default of erecting such works, to be subject to the re-payment of the principal, and of seven per cent. interest, on the sum so borrowed, and the further penalty of 30l.

Resolved, That any person who shall, on or before the first of December next, make the greatest quantity of good merchantable salt in this colony, not less than twelve hundred bushels, shall be entitled to 100 l. premium.

Resolved, That any person who shall, on or before the said first day of December, make the second greatest quantity of salt, of the quality aforesaid, in this colony, not less than nine hundred bushels, shall be entitled to 75 l. premium.

Resolved, That any person, who shall, on or before the said first day of December, make the third greatest quantity of salt, of the quality aforesaid, in this colony, not less than six hundred bushels, shall be entitled to 50l. premium: Provided, that any person who shall claim any of the above premiums, for having manufactured salt as aforesaid, shall produce a certificate thereof, signed by three of the principal freeholders of the neighbourhood where the said works shall be erected, and an affidavit of the person who shall have made,

and of some other person who shall have measured the said salt, in order to entitle him to any of the premiums above-mentioned.

Resolved, That the Committee of Safety be, and they are hereby directed, to collect dissertations on the making of salt, without delay, and that they cause five hundred of the said dissertations to be printed, in order that the inhabitants of this colony be informed of the process used in the making of salt. And that the said committee be also directed to publish, with the utmost dispatch, two hundred copies of these resolutions, and the other resolutions of this Congress, for encouraging the erecting of powder mills within this colony.

Extract from the minutes,

ROBERT BENSON, Sec^y

Extract of a letter from New York,
April 18.

The day before yesterday, several gentlemen of the first character in America, sailed in an armed vessel from this port, by order of the Congress, with proposals to the States of Holland, and the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, inviting them to trade with them. Eleven thousand Provincial troops, from Gen. Washington's army, arrived here yesterday noon; there are amongst them several German officers, and three Prussian engineers. They are all in high spirits.

This morning arrived in the harbour, twenty-three transports, from the eastward, having on board the brigade commanded by General Sullivan.

TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

My Lord,

If constitutional allegiance to my King, a warm attachment to my country, and the most sanguine emotions

* *Born in the City of Oxford.*

for

for peace and permanent union between the parent state and her colonies, will sufficiently expiate for epistolary freedom, permit a minister of the King of Kings to address a minister of the King of Great-Britain, France, Ireland, and North America: for it is the language of my soul, that the precious American jewel may speedily and immoveably be set in the most effulgent diadem.

Your Lordship sustains a twofold character: a soldier of the Lord of lords, and secretary of state for the northern department, under our rightful Sovereign. High and honourable offices indeed! but every soldier is not an intrepid warrior, or as a noble Lord once expressed it, 'There are many professors, but few possessors;' nor is every servant of the crown infallible: in both these, every man at best is but a fallible being. This doctrine your Lordship once loved, being then a *real follower of the Lamb*: for I well remember several opportunities, and the happy and precious moments of each, when we bowed together at the sacred altar †; at which when I beheld a right honourable Communicant, with his livery servants, on his right hand and left; my soul was raised almost to the third heaven, and my spirits filled with evangelical love! For not many mighty, not many noble, are truly godly. As your Lordship's condescension was so laudable, honourable, and scriptural, as to appear a professor of Christianity, a witness for God, and the truly humble soul, I trust, and firmly believe, that 'the most fine gold is not yet become dim.' To whom then shall I write, or speak in behalf of the miserable convulsed empire; for your Lordship hath (*I trust*) eternal life at heart, and everlasting felicity, by faith, in full view.

The Parliament of Great Britain say, they have a right to tax or bind

† *Of the Lock Chapel,*

the Americans in all cases whatsoever to which they answer, 'As they were born free, free they will be, or die;' and upon many of their hats there is this motto, '*Freedom or Death.*'— Upon o'hers, '*God and our Rights.*'

Since the battle of Lexington, I have been twice in eight of the Thirteen United Colonies, namely, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, &c. † and Maryland: all which, except New York, are almost unanimous in the voice of Liberty. Indeed none (save a few officers under the crown) are willing to be bound by the British Parliament, in all cases whatsoever. The Americans declare, a master can lay no greater burden on a slave, than to bind him in all cases whatsoever.— These things the United Colonies have imbibed, and before this can reach your Lordship, Canada will, in all human probability, be added to the Thirteen: for St. John's and Montreal have, upon capitulation, surrendered, and the rest of the province, in every other respect, bids fair for a general surrender, or subjection to the American side. In New York city and province, altho' there are, I verily believe, more friends to government (as they call themselves) than all the rest of the Colonies together can produce; yet in the city and province there is on the other side of the question a majority large enough to subdue them at any time; for instance, a few weeks ago some of these friends appeared in the province in opposition to the American voice; whereon a small party went out immediately, who subdued and disarmed them. These friends, my Lord, are

† *Altho'ugh New Castle, &c. belong to Pennsylvania, yet as they in assembly are distinctly represented, and also in the Congress, those counties therefore are viewed as, and called one of the United Colonies.*

not worthy of the appellation ; they are only sycophants ; they flatter with their lips and pens, and deceive (I fear) your Lordship and others in administration, from packet to packet. They have repeatedly insinuated, that the New England governments have nothing else in view but independence. It is totally repugnant to truth. Before the sword was drawn, there could not possibly be greater loyalists. In the year 1769, I arrived first in America ; and they daily manifested what loving subjects they were : and the dissenting clergy also in every opportunity, were particularly anxious to invoke the Great Jehovah, in behalf of their dread sovereign, in whom they spake in terms the most pathetic ; also for all his governors and officers, as well as for others, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, might still be and flourish under his sceptre. Add to this, I justly may, the several conversations I have had with, and the private prayers I have heard by those gentlemen concerning his Majesty, his crown and dignity : with all which every loyalist could but be perfectly well pleased. To these facts, my Lord, I have not only been an ear witness in one colony ; but in many, nay even in Massachusetts-Bay, and her capital.

‘ Now, my Lord, for Christ’s sake, attend faithfully.

‘ About two months ago I viewed the camps, Roxbury and Cambridge. The lines of both are impregnable ; with forts (many of which are bomb proof) and redoubts, supposing them to be all in a direction, are about 20 miles ; the breastworks of a proper height, and in many places 17 feet in thickness, the trenches wide and deep in proportion, before which lay forked impediments, and many of the forts, in every respect, are perfectly ready for battle ; the whole, in a word, an admiration to every spectator : for verily their fortifications ap-

pear to be the works of seven years, instead of about as many months. At these camps are about 20,000 men, well disciplined. The generals and other officers, in all their military undertakings, solid, discreet, and courageous, the men daily raving for action, and seemingly void of fear. There are many floating batteries, and also batteaus in abundance ; besides this strength, 10,000 militia are ordered in that government, to appear on the first summons. Provisions and money there are very plenty, and the soldiers faithfully paid. The army in great order, and very healthy, and about six weeks ago lodged in comfortable barracks. Chaplains constantly attend the camps morning and night. Prayers as often offered up for peace and reconciliation, and the soldiers very attentive. The roads at the time I viewed the camps were almost lined with spectators, and thousands with me can declare the above respecting the camps to be a just description ; but, my Lord, I have more facts to mention,

A Continental and Provincial currencies, to facilitate this great undertaking, are emitted, which circulate freely, and are daily exchanged for silver and gold. Their harbours, by spring, will swarm with privateers : an admiral is appointed, a court established, and *the 3d instant the Continental flag on board the Black Prince, opposite Philadelphia, was hoisted.*— Many of the captains of those vessels in the last war, proved their intrepidity to the world by their prizes, and some of them have already taken many valuable prizes which government had ordered to Boston, and thereby must have much distressed the troops : all which the prints will particularize.

‘ The appointment of the Continental and Provincial Congresses and committees, your Lordship, without doubt, before now, must be fully acquainted

quainted with. These sets of gentlemen, by virtue of the great privileges with which the colonies have intrusted them, claim now the following prerogatives, over the united colonies. The Continental Congress is over all, under the King; the Provincials over the committees, and the committees over the counties. The Congresses and committees have so raised and regulated the militia and minutemen whom they have raised almost in every county, that they make, in every city and town, the most warlike appearance. Saltpetre is made in abundance, and powder-mills constantly employed in many provinces; and many believe that there is now in the possession of the Americans, powder enough for three years. This to me is very obvious. Soon after General Gage collected the troops from the several provinces into one body at Boston, the Congresses ordered all the shop-keepers not to sell their powder to fowlers and hunters, but to keep the same for the use of the colonies, which in general was faithfully observed. Before this, a person might get a large quantity of powder almost at every large store, or merchant's shop in every city, town, and country on the continent. Now all this collected together, and what the mills have made, together with the great quantities taken at St. John's, Montreal, other forts, and on the seas, must make an immense quantity: add to this, the constant employment of the mills, and a great number of privateers faithfully looking out for yours. And, my Lord, how is it possible for all store ships to escape a fleet so large, which at this time, I firmly believe, is composed of 50 sail, and by next spring I shall not marvel if their fleet be doubled.

Iron guns of the best quality have been made in America, and as they have plenty of iron and lead mines, they can make what quantity of can-

non, shot, and bullets they please; but administration have lately supplied them with a very valuable assortment of such stores*. Rifles infinitely better than those imported, are daily made in many places in Pennsylvania, and all the gunsmiths everywhere constantly employed. In this country, my Lord, the boys, as soon as they can discharge a gun, frequently exercise themselves therewith, some a fowling, and others a hunting. The great quantities of game, the many kinds, and the great privileges of killing, make the Americans the best marksmen in the world, and thousands support their families principally by the same, particularly riflemen on the frontiers, whose objects are deer and turkeys. In marching through woods, one thousand of these riflemen would cut to pieces ten thousand of your best troops. I don't, my Lord, speak at random, or write partially; I have travelled too much among these men to be insensible of their abilities.— Oh, my Lord! If your Lordship knew but one half what I know of America, your Lordship would not persist, but be instantly for peace, or resign.— But, my Lord, construe this epistle as you please; nevertheless, my meaning is, that it should not in the least convey, or even hint, any thing about the legality or illegality of the unhappy dispute. Many great and celebrated writers have moved every nerve, but hitherto in vain. What then can I do, who am but a babe? Not much truly; but when a house is in flames, all run without distinction, some with buckets, some with grapplings, and others with engines, wishing they providentially may extinguish the fire. Now, my Lord, the British empire is really in flames! I cannot therefore be inactive. Suffer then the insignificant with the most signi-

* *Store-vessels bound to Boston, taken by the Continental Captains.*

ficant,

ficant, to help forward with something. I present therefore for your Lordship's acceptance, an engine of facts: the carved works are but homely; but the essential parts are sound, and substantial: try them lawfully and faithfully, and I (by God's permission) will pledge my life they will stand the test; facts are at all times proof against the most inveterate foes. By way of appertinances, I must add,—Up the North river, in the province of New York, there is erected an impregnable fort, against which vessels cannot possibly many minutes survive. In the New England governments, batteries are already made before most of their sea-ports. The minute-men beforementioned, like firemen, have all things proper and ready to attend on the first alarm. The American coast, long as it is, both by land and sea, is faithfully watched, and posts are everywhere established. Whether therefore administration have in view the east or west of the continent, it matters not; set but a foot ashore to execute their plan, and the same will instantly find enemies; nay, let thousands be landed, and they will immediately find swarms of foes; for the electrical posts riding day and night will soon make them sensible thereof. My Lord, administration have not one friend they can call theirs in every respect, that is a resident among the Americans; they have several, it is true, who for sordid gain, act under the Rose; but woe to them if they should be discovered. Many examples have been already made, and this may be relied on; that in a few months (as ways and means are now under consideration) administration will in every respect in America be friendless. The destroying of Falmouth, and Lord Dunmore's proclamation, proclaiming a jubilee to the slaves and convicts in Virginia, provided they repair to the royal standard in due time, have exasperated the

Americans beyond description, and made the breach infinitely wider.—A few days ago his Lordship's party was repulsed with great loss. His Lordship, my Lord, can do nothing but cause the men and treasure now under his command to be sacrificed and expended in vain; for he is surrounded by hundreds of the best riflemen, who have driven his troops out of their intrenchments, &c. Most, if not all, by this time, of his Majesty's Governors are afloat, and rendered incapable of fulfilling your Lordship's commands*.

* The most celebrated military authors are reprinted for the use of the young officers, that they may be furnished with every pre-requisite against spring. The ship-carpenters are very busy in getting the rest of the privateers ready, and also other hands to equip them wholly for sailing.

Now, Right Honourable Sir, what will you do? Where will your Lordship look? Where can administration fix their ideas with the least view of success? Say, my Lord, that their troops are good; the Americans have again and again repulsed them; not one plan of administration hath had the wished for success; in general they have turned out abortive.—Say further, that 20 or 30,000, nay double the numbers shall be sent to subdue the Americans,—20,000 (descending to the camp phrase) may nearly serve for a breakfast, or rather do for a relish, and so from time to time British troops may be transported *for the American sacrifice*. But administration can destroy all their seaports; I reply, a few months ago they might have wrought such devastation, but now they will find it impracticable. Some harbours are blocked up, batteries before others erected, as above-

* Each riding at anchor before his government, or as near as convenience will admit.

mentioned,

mentioned, and when the icy impediments are dissolved in their harbours, no marvel, my Lord, if some of the British armament, as well as transports, or store-ships be taken : about an hundred privateers, with the most intrepid marines, and those persons, who last natural war immortalized their names, again chosen for captains, are (touching their schemes) no contemptible enemy by sea. Convinced I am fully, that an hundred thousand of the best troops Europe can raise will not subdue the Americans, nor make them acquiesce in the parliamentary claims—Let government say what they please in favour of their forces—Remember, my Lord, the Americans have just such blood, the like courage, the same spirits, and are equal in colour and stature, and as well disciplined. . . . Some of their fathers, grand-fathers, and great-grand-fathers, are to British dust returned, and in silent repose, while their sons and grand-sons are struggling for their birth-rights : for they traditionally or constitutionally retain the idea of liberty, and with him of old say, ‘ God forbid that we should sell the inheritance of our fathers ! ’ Whether this will be believed or not, I don’t know ; but one thing I know, albeit the King requesteth, nevertheless, like Naboth, they will resist even unto death.—Blessed be God, we have no Jezebel to stir up his Majesty, for his Consort is the best of Queens, and as such the Americans extol her Majesty daily. Perhaps, my Lord, this may be viewed as partiality ; but I can assure your Lordship, I write from conviction, and not from a partial spirit. If I am charged anywhere herein with partiality, as it is most natural and also very fashionable now to act the sycophant where one’s interest is, I certainly flatter your Lordship (as I fear too many have) for I have no interest nor kindred here, nor hopes

of interest for, or reward for any thing of this nature that I have done or can do. But I have immense hopes and views. My time here is very short, and ere long I shall be in a world of spirits, where the most noble, the right honourable and reverend persons must all appear ; ‘ I know not therefore how to give flattering titles unto man : for in so doing my Maker would soon take me away.’

‘ If figuratively two persons may represent both parties in dispute, there is a striking similarity in sacred writ, with which your Lordship is perfectly acquainted, and by which I beg permission to mention the following things.

‘ I view both sides, as to their precious blood, as good old Jacob viewed his sons, Joseph and Benjamin, and am equally with him unwilling that either should be slain.—If the British troops must be represented by the elder brother, grieved to my very heart I must be to hear that he is sacrificed ; and if the American forces may be compared to the younger, I shall equally lament his death.—May God of his infinite mercy save both by a speedy accommodation. Benjamin hath repeatedly petitioned Joseph for redress of grievances ; but Joseph would not receive his petitions, but made himself strange, and spake roughly unto him, charging him with having and holding unjustly Pharaoh’s cup * of which the poor lad is perfectly innocent.—Oh that Joseph would take Benjamin in his arms and embrace him, for they are brothers ! If Benjamin have err’d, let the age and wisdom of Joseph overlook and obliterate all : let him no longer refrain, but fall on his neck and kiss him, and let love and virtue re-unite them. As Joseph em-

* *Not rendering unto Caesar the things which be Caesar’s.*

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braced and owned Benjamin as his brother, and returned his money, so let the Parent state embrace and own the colonies *without fee or reward*, and instantly the sword on both sides will be sheathed; and then Benjamin as usual will go and carry corn and money to Joseph, and take his superb clothing in exchange. But if Joseph will yet refrain and not be reconciled, Benjamin is determined to clothe himself with his own wool, and keep his money and send his corn to other merchantmen. Let facts, my Lord, apologize for prolixity; I will conclude now with a few lines.

‘ The Americans may be led with a *hair*; but they have too much English blood in them, are too well disciplined, and too numerous to be driven even by an hundred thousand of the best forces government can raise. Where government can produce one thousand on the continent, America with as much ease and expence can produce ten thousand in opposition: for men, women and children are against the proceedings of administration throughout the United Colonies to a wonderful majority. The women, both old and young, being greatly irritated at the inflexibility of administration, are not only willing their sons and brothers should turn out in the field, but also declare that they will give them up and themselves likewise as a sacrifice before they will bow to Pharaoh’s task-masters; this makes the raising of troops on the continent very easy. Let a person go into any province, city, town, or county, and ask the females, ‘ Are you willing your sons or brothers should go for soldiers and defend their liberties?’ they would severally answer, ‘ Yes, with all my soul, and if they won’t go, I won’t own them as my sons, or brothers; for I’ll help myself if there should be any need of mine; if I can’t stand in the ranks, I can help forward with

powder, balls, and provisions,’ and presently this will appear more pellucid. Last summer I saw in Philadelphia a company of school-boys, called the Academy Company, in their uniforms, with real arms and colours. Upon this, I asked how many such companies were in the city, and for what they were designed; to which I was answered by a gentlewoman the mother of two of this company: ‘ There are three companies, and as to the design, they are to learn the art or theory of war; and if there should be any occasion for them in the field of battle, they will go, for they are all volunteers; but I for my part am, I do aver, Sir, heartily willing to sacrifice my sons, believing that with such sacrifice God is well pleased: for he has hitherto marvellously blessed our arms and conquered our enemies for us, and he who in the days of his flesh spoiled principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, will in the end, I doubt not, evince the world that he is conqueror. This, my Lord, is the language of the American women; your Lordship knows it is generally the reverse with the English, the mother’s and sister’s lives are bound up in the boys; but I am afraid I shall trespass on your Lordship’s patience, Therefore,

‘ In the great name, and for the sake of the ever blessed Trinity, I now beseech your Lordship to weigh thoroughly and with patience, impartiality, and love, this narrative of facts; and may that every blessed adorable person Jesus Christ, the wonderful counsellor and prince of peace, give your Lordship a right judgement and understanding in all things, and coun- cil and influence administration to act wisely, and repeal the acts in dispute, and so make peace. I am, my Lord, Your Lordship’s ready and willing servant, for Christ’s sake.

B. P.

Maryland, Dec. 20, 1775.

P. S.

A S. Some months ago I fully intended to see your Lordship before now ; but the prohibition of exportation taking place before I could finish my business here, hath rendered it very difficult for me to embark at present ; the first eligible opportunity in the spring (if any should offer) I intend to embrace and embark for Europe.

From the Pennsylvania Journal.

To the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania.

Some men talk of peace and reconciliation in a way that does little credit to their understandings, and less to their political principles. If honest, they are cowards ; if knaves, they are fools. The excellence of the English constitution, and the happiness we enjoyed in a state of dependence on Great-Britain were spoken of with such warmth, eagerness and seeming devotion, that I am turned out of the path I had prescribed for myself, to set the matter in its true light.

My signature is *Salus Populi*, and my professed design is to throw out such hints to your consideration as may tend to the advantage of the great North American community without regard to sect or party, or to this or that one's sentiments or interest, where the welfare of the whole world may be injured thereby. He therefore who would sacrifice the public to private interest, and whose views extend not to the general good of his country, will find little to please him in what I advance. I give this cautionary admonition however to every one, that as he regards his future welfare and happiness, and wishes to merit the divine favour, let him now conduct himself. We are not brought into our present critical circumstances for nothing : and if we neglect to make the best of them we will scarcely obtain the approbation of the Almighty.

Though much might be said not

very advantageous to the British constitution, yet I will waive it for the present. She most assuredly has not yet found out any effectual method of securing the rights of the people from the encroachments of the crown. But be her constitution ever so good, it is little to us. That constitution is certainly not very extraordinary, which has not vigour sufficient to support itself against the slightest attack ; and this is the constitution of the colonies. In all your endeavours to preserve your privileges, did it ever enter into your heads to apply to the powers of your constitution for protection ? No, and if it had, what would it have done for you ? Nothing. Mercantile combinations have done more in a few months for the preservation of the liberties of America than all your constitutional powers would have effected in ten thousand years. It is for this reason that, the tories and an administration which is doing all in its power to enslave you wish to see every thing pass through, what they affect to call a constitutional channel. I say, mercantile combinations have done more in a few months than all our constitutional powers could have effected in ten thousand years, and yet every one who reflects how reluctantly that measure was lately complied with, will leave little to the hazard of such future combinations. On this precarious tenure have we held every privilege which should be dear to man for these twelve years past : and on this tenure we must yet hold them, if some people can have their way.

The happiness we enjoyed in a state of dependency on Great-Britain before the year 1763, is the cry with which they hope to lull us to rest on the lap of an abandoned government, which knows no right but the pleasure of a Prince, and his courtly sycophants. That we occasionally enjoyed a state of much happiness both before and since the year 1763, cannot

N be

be denied, but the portion of that happiness which arose from our dependence on Great-Britain is not quite so evident as some people may imagine. Let us examine this matter with candour and honesty: and here it must strike us at first view, that we enjoyed more happiness when they let us alone, than when they exercised any degree of that authority over us, which as long as we are dependent we must acknowledge they possess. This, I apprehend, is not saying much for the happiness of a state of dependency on Great-Britain. Whence sprung our happiness then, will some people enquire? I will unfold to you the source of that happiness you so pant after, and which, if you pursue the path pointed out to you by providence, will shortly return and remain with you for ages, in all probability, until the curtain which divides time from eternity is withdrawn, and the scenery of this world brought to a period.

It sprung from the fertility of the soil, and the sobriety, industry and equality of the inhabitants alone: sources from whence happiness always has, and ever will spring to the people who are so favoured of heaven as to be possessed of them. Take away any one of these sources and you take away a proportional part of the happiness you enjoyed: take them all away, and were your dependence on Great-Britain ten times what it is at present, you would not be happy. Our dependence on Great-Britain never did, nor never could add the ten thousandth part of a grain to that happiness which flowed so abundantly to us from the forementioned sources. It is not in the nature of dependence to confer happiness, but the reverse. Every dependency presupposes a kind of mastery, and there is but one only that can bestow happiness, viz. a dependence upon God. We enjoyed happiness in a state of dependence, but not from that state. He who is a dependant has a master, and he who

has a master is a servant, if not a slave.

The state of equality which as yet subsists among us, and ought for ever to be preserved, is a principal source both of our happiness and of the preservation of our liberties. Any one who will read the ministerial pamphlet entitled, *A letter from the People of Great-Britain to the People of America*, will there find how eagerly they wish to form distinctions amongst us, that they may create a few more tools of oppression. They wish to see us aspire to nobility, and are ready to gratify us whenever we do. They can now depend only on the crown officers and their dependants, with a few of the heads of some sects in religion, who prefer basking in the sunshine of British royalty and court favour, to the simple practice of the pure religion of their forefathers. Only be reconciled for a few years longer, until they raised a number of our first men to the different ranks of nobility, and then preserve your liberties if you can.

Some think they say every thing against a state of independence by crying out, that in a state of dependence we enjoyed the protection of Great-Britain; aye, and when we enjoyed something else, which sounds not so agreeably we enjoyed a large share in the wars, with these favourable circumstances, that every war between Great-Britain and France is principally carried on in America, and that we assist her through these wars only to give her an opportunity of quarrelling with us afterwards.

But do not we pay dearly for this protection? The restriction of our trade alone is worth ten times the protection, besides the sums we pay in customs and other duties to the amount of more than a million annually. The customs of the port of London alone are near two millions sterling per annum. How many London or America may contain a century hence if she now becomes independent,

pendent, God only knows. Our present dependancy costs us as much in twenty years now, as would enable us with the Divine assistance to finish the present war with success, and protect our trade in a state of independency for five hundred years to come.

Let us for once suppose an independency, that we may observe the consequence. We should then trade with every nation that would trade with us, *i. e.* with every nation in Europe at least. Suppose we were attacked by some foreign power in this state of independency, for this is the bugbear; what then? the nation that would be fool enough to do it would raise a hornet's nest about its ears; for what nation would stand by and without a murmur see itself cut off from the source of trade it enjoys with America, which would be the case were we once subdued. No, every nation which enjoyed a share of our trade would be guarantee for the peaceable behaviour and good conduct of its neighbours; and Great-Britain herself twenty years hence become a firm friend and ally, if her friendship could then be worth the acceptance, for the twentieth part of that trade she now affects to despise. But it could never be the interest of any other nation to make war with us after we had obliged Great-Britain to let us alone. Can it ever be the interest of America to make war upon Europe? no more can it be the interest of any power in Europe to make war upon America, after she has fought herself into a state of independency. To ask what should we do for fleets to protect our trade, is as absurd, as to ask if timber grows in America. During this present war we need fleets, and it may be owing to the weakness of human counsels that we entered so late into any measure for that purpose. Had we fitted out 60 or 70 of our best sailing vessels,

and the moment the King's ships seized the first of our vessels, legally cleared out, sent them off to the West Indies with orders to seize every English vessel that came in their way, we would not now be insulted by fleets on our coasts, nor our towns be daily in danger of being reduced to ashes. They would have had something else to busy themselves with.— But the war once over, fleets to protect our trade will be nearly unnecessary. Our trade will protect itself. It never will be the interest of any nation to disturb our trade, while we trade freely with it, and it will ever be our interest to trade freely with all nations. As long as the wide Atlantic ocean rolls between us and Europe, so long will we be free from foreign subjection were we once clear of Great-Britain; and as long as we remain free from foreign subjection, so long will our trade protect itself.

Our situation in this respect is peculiar to ourselves, we have no haughty neighbouring tyrant to disturb our internal repose, and the fleets of no nation will disturb us on the high seas, while a commercial intercourse subsists between us. The consequence of independency to America, if she make a right use of the present occasion, will be a perfect state of political liberty, a good sound wholesome constitution, a free and enlarged trade, and peace to the end of time, unless our sins should bring down the divine vengeance upon us. That of a connection with Great-Britain on the principles of our former dependancy is a weak, feeble, unwholesome constitution, unable to stand against the slightest shock, a very restricted losing trade, and the prospect of being the seat of every war between Great-Britain and France as long as that connection shall last.

Every prospect of the future strongly invites us to embrace independency, and what is of the greatest

weight with me, every providential occurrence for more than twenty years past seems preparatory to it. The last war trained many of us to the use of arms, and taught us to look steadfastly into the face of an enemy, the conqueror of Canada, with the Canada bill, a twelve years struggle against oppression to wean our affections, our present happy and unexampled union, and a successful end of the first campaign of a righteous war against the oppressions of the state we depended on, have fixed the time for that independency, which even the present administration acknowledges must one day take place. The voice of God therefore to America appears at present to be, 'If you will remain free and happy, if you wish not to entail a civil war or slavery on your offspring, if you spill not your blood at present in vain, and despise not what I have been doing for you these twenty years past, though you know it not; fix a constitution which will give perfect liberty to all my people now in, or that hereafter shall fly to America for shelter from tyranny and oppression, and declare for independency immediately, and put your trust in me alone for success.

SALUS POPULI.

From the same.

To the People of Pennsylvania.

'In my last address to you, I pointed out the consequences of an independency, so far as it respects the states of Europe. The reasons on which I founded our safety from foreign invasions, I think, will scarcely be denied, or if they should, not easily confuted. I hear but little said on that head at present. Perhaps it ceases to be a scarecrow and is therefore taken down; but as it will never do for the enemies of our liberties to give up the point, it is only to hang up one more terrific in his stead. In intestine confusions, continual war with each other, republic and presbyterian

governments, compose the bugbear of the day, and the very name of them frightens people more than the whole force of Great-Britain. My present design is to remove this dreadful chimaera from your imaginations, and to shew you that nothing but a reluctance in you to independency can ever be the cause of any such evils, and I earnestly crave your attention to the subject, and intreat you to weigh my reasons impartially.

'In the first place then, it never was, nor can it ever be the interest of any civil society to exalt any set of religious tenets above all others, or to unite the church and state. Most of the wars, which deluged the world in blood for centuries together, arose from this false policy. The priesthood of any sect in religion, with sorrow I repeat it, can easily be made the tools of tyranny and arbitrary power. To crowned heads they are useful; but where no such exist, these establishments of the kind are truly a nuisance. We have no establishment in this province, and consequently little distinction of sects, all men live in good neighbourhood with one another, however different in religious sentiments. The States-General, even in the days of fiery persecution, soon found the necessity of effectually excluding religion from interfering in state affairs, and in our days when that page is totally destroyed, and mankind have learned to think more liberally, none can suspect any thing of the kind; but those who labour incessantly to deserve it. And yet they have been hitherto disappointed and I hope ever will. I know the present Continental Congress, or any other assembly of men of sentiment and education in America, would as soon agree to subject the united colonies to the King of Cassiera, or to the see of Rome, as to any one sect of religion now existing in the world. Doubtless every sect will

will be permitted to enjoy its complete privileges within itself. But for any one to be allied to the state is absurd to imagine. Depend on it, they who hold it up to terrify you believe no such thing. They cannot unless they have taken leave of their senses. In the next place war is not, nor can it ever be our element. — Trade and agriculture are the true sources of wealth and happiness to a society. The majority of no nation ever gained any thing by war, except when in defence of their privileges. And even in that case the retaining them is the utmost they can expect. An ambitious monarch, who prefers self-exaltation to the blood of his subjects may be for war, because as the war is carried on at the expence of the people, and he alone reaps the rewards of victory, he has a chance to be a gainer thereby. His subjects cannot, for they must not only fight his battles, but pay all the expence of the war. I set it down therefore, that the representatives of a free people, if free from the influence of royalty, can never be for war, except when the rights of the society are invaded.

• Besides the colonies are at present nearly on an equality with respect to warlike knowledge, and will be completely so before the present war is at an end. There will therefore be no temptation on that score, and all the regular troops, as long as such are needful, will be in the pay of the continent, and can never be employed by one colony against another. Disband them at the end of the war, and settle them on plantations, or assist them in setting up their trades, and let your strength consist in a well regulated militia, and you will have done with war for ever.

• For freemen to prefer the chance of war to peace, liberty, trade, and agriculture, is as unnatural as to pre-

fer wounds, bruises, poverty, and death, to health, riches, and all the pleasures and enjoyments of life. To see a society of farmers, tradesmen, and merchants quit their peaceful employments and make war upon one another would be a phenomenon which the world has not yet beheld, and I will venture to say never will. God has placed us at the greatest distance possible from external oppressors, and he has placed our interest as far from internal ones.

Some men have an uncommon talent at making men forget what is before them, and calling off their attention from certainty to speculation, from truths supported by facts to chimerical suppositions, and from what really exists, to what never can exist, and they can make many believe the one so firmly, that it is scarcely in the power of self-evidence to overcome their credulity. Hence it is that so many shudder at the thoughts of what will happen to us after we are fairly let loose from Great-Britain, and are frightened almost out of their senses, on account of the divisions which will then disturb our internal repose.

I have heard it alledged by able politicians, that the reason which induced the crown to give so many different constitutions to the several colonies, was that it might make a union of them impracticable. Be this as it may, it is certain that a union of our legislatures in any opposition to the crown, was impracticable. It was not, nor is it now in our power to get any governor on the continent, except two, to give his assent to any bill for the purpose, and according to the constitution of the colonies no act of our assemblies can be deemed law without such assent. This shews the evil of a negative on the voice of the people. Now though a constitutional union of the colonies by their legislatures

tyres was impracticable, and though the ministry and their tory friends exerted their utmost influence to prevent any kind of union, and to break it afterwards, yet it took place and still continues, contrary to every expectation and endeavour of internal and external enemies. All colony distinctions are now at an end, and cursed will he be who endeavours to revive them. Can any be so stupid as to believe, that they who remain united without law, without authority, and without restraint, merely because they know it to be their interest, will break that union when it shall be established under a continental legislature, and supported by public authority. The same interest and wisdom which joined against such odds will certainly keep us together when aided by constitution and law. The arts of peace ever form the true basis of human felicity, and while we remain free that mutual intercourse which adds wealth to every social enjoyment will be constantly preferred to the wild schemes of mad ambition, which purchase a few gratifications to one, at the price of the lasting misery of thousands.

To imagine therefore that our remaining united, until we had obliged Great-Britain to acknowledge us an independent people, would be cause of future wars among the colonies, is as absurd and irrational as to imagine that harmony could produce discord. On the contrary every cause of quarrel would for ever subside. All the unlocated lands in America would be taken under the care of the continental legislature, and settled upon one general plan, which would prevent a thousand contentions which must remain while they are in the gift of the crown. Lands will then be equally open to all America will be the country, and all of us as much one people as the inhabitants of any

one colony are at present. Let proper care be taken by the people at large at the time of forming the continental constitution, to fix such an equal plan of representation, on principles which will continue it so, as will make the general good and general interest, and to secure that motion to power and authority, which is necessary to preserve it from corruption by a constant rotation, and war will be unknown in America.

[To be continued.] *JAN 122*

Philadelphia, March 21. In Congress, Resolved this day, That it be recommended to the several assemblies, conventions, and councils, or committees of safety, and committees of correspondence and inspection, that they exert their utmost endeavours to promote the culture of hemp, flax, and cotton, and growth of wool, in these United Colonies.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the said assemblies, conventions, and councils, or committees of Safety, that they take the earliest measures for erecting and establishing, in each and every colony, a society for the improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and to maintain a correspondence between such societies, that the rich and numerous natural advantages of this country, for supporting its inhabitants, may not be neglected.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the said assemblies, conventions, and councils, or committees of safety, that they forthwith consider of ways and means of introducing the manufactures of duck and sail cloth, and steel, into such colonies where they are not now understood; and of encouraging, increasing and improving them where they are.

March 26. Resolved, That any goods, wares, and merchandizes, except staves and empty casks, other than shaken or knocked down casks for molasses, may

may be exported from the Thirteen United Colonies, by the inhabitants thereof, and by the people of all such countries as are not subject to the King of Great-Britain, to any parts of the world, which are not under the dominion of the said King; provided that no vessel be permitted to export any greater number of shaken or knocked down molasses casks than the same vessel is capable of carrying when they shall be filled with molasses.

Resolved, That any goods, wares, and merchandizes, except such as are of the growth, production, and manufacture of, or brought from, any country under the dominion of the King of Great-Britain, and except East-India tea, may be imported from any other parts of the world, to the Thirteen United Colonies, by the inhabitants thereof, and by the people of all such countries that are not subject to the said King, liable however to all such duties and impositions as now are or may hereafter be laid by any of the said colonies.

Resolved, That nothing herein contained shall be understood to prevent such future commercial regulations as shall be thought just and necessary by these United Colonies, or their respective legislatures.

Resolved, That no slaves be imported into any of the Thirteen United Colonies.

Resolved, That all goods, wares, and merchandizes, except such as are made prize of, which shall be imported directly or indirectly from Great-Britain or Ireland, into any of these United Colonies, contrary to the regulations established by Congress, shall be forfeited, and disposed of agreeable to such rules as shall be made by the several assemblies or conventions, and shall be liable to prosecution and condemnation in any court erected, or to be erected, for

the determination of maritime affairs in the colony where the seizure shall be made. By order of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

London, May 28. This day were dismissed, the Earl of Holdernesse, Governor to the Prince of Wales, and Bishop of Osnaburgh, &c. Dr. Markham, Bishop of Chester, Preceptor; Leonard Smelt, Esq; Sub-Governor, and the Rev. Cyril Jackson, Sub-Preceptor. The reason assigned for these unexpected removals was, in substance, that Lord Holdernesse disapproved of Mr. Jackson's employing too large a share of the Prince's time in Latin, that his Lordship had said more time ought to be allowed for the external accomplishments (i. e. the graces) and complained of the Sub-preceptor's conduct in these instances to the King, who thereupon dismissed Mr. Jackson. The Bishop of Chester thought this conduct of Lord Holdernesse exceedingly disrespectful to himself; and told his Lordship that he ought to have made his complaint against the Sub-preceptor to the Preceptor, and not to the King. The Bishop desired an audience, and stated this matter to his Majesty, who expressed his sense of Mr. Jackson's services and attention to his children; but Lord Holdernesse's complaint he said was so strong, he saw one of them must go, and therefore he had dismissed Mr. Jackson; Lord Holdernesse being a man of high rank, family, &c. Upon this Lord Holdernesse desired to resign; and Mr. Smelt, who for some time had wished to retire, desired to resign also. As the Governor and Preceptor disagreed, his Majesty thought fit to dismiss the whole: he made assurances to the Bishop of Chester of his protection. Lord Bruce was appointed Governor, with a promise to be created Earl of

Aylesbury, and Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Litchfield, was appointed Preceptor ; and the Rev. W. Arnald, was appointed Sub-preceptor ; but Lord Bruce feeling himself unequal to the task, and Lady Bruce disapproving of this promotion of his Lordship, he solicited leave to resign ; and on the 5th day of June, the Duke of Montagu was appointed Governor, and Col. Geo. Hotham was appointed Sub-governor. Lord Carmarthen, who married Lord Holderness's daughter, was made a Lord of the bed-chamber, in the room of Lord Bruce ; and Lord Bruce was, according to promise, created Earl of Aylesbury ; and made Governor of Windsor, in the room of the Duke of Montagu.

May 2. The Emperor of Germany has been advised by Mr. Bolts (who had a dispute with the East India Company in England) to begin a trade with the East-Indies. Mr. Bolts has been with the Emperor above three months. Eight ships for Asia are sitting out at Leghorn, under the direction of Mr. Bolts ; they are to take cannon and other stores, in order to make a settlement.

The London Gazette having given a very short account of the evacuation of Boston, (See page 56.) we have selected from the several public prints, American and English, with the assistance of private information, the following particulars.

Cambridge, Feb. 22. We hear from Dorchester, that about four o'clock last Wednesday morning a large party of the ministerial troops were discovered crossing the ice on Boston neck to Dorchester neck, supposed to be about a thousand ; the centry immediately discharged his piece at them, and ran to the guard-house to inform Captain Barnes (who commanded the guard) who had already taken the alarm by the centries firing their pieces ; and from information he

could get of the course they were steering, judged their design was to cut off the retreat of the guard, which consisted only of 60 men. Captain Barnes immediately marched his guard off the neck to the edge of the marsh, and just escaped them, and left the guns that had been fired should not alarm the camp, he had sent off several messengers ; the enemy marched along with two field-pieces, and posted themselves in so advantageous a manner, that Capt. Barnes could not attack them with the least hope of success, but waited for the reinforcements. In the mean time the regulars improved every minute of their time in setting fire to the buildings on Dorchester neck, while they still moved towards the castle, where boats were ready to receive them, but our troops were so close upon them, that they put out the fire of six or seven of the buildings, and reached the point next to the castle before the regulars had reached the castle, who had made prisoners of six of the guard, and one old man, an inhabitant. P. S. It is about two miles from the encampment at Dorchester over the causeway, &c. to the said guard-house, and one mile from thence to the point next the castle.

As soon as the Congress heard of the Prohibitory Act, and of the hiring of foreign troops, they sent orders to General Washington to decide the business at Boston, that the army there might be ready to act as exigencies should require. That officer thereupon changed his operations from a blockade to an attack. He began bombarding the town from a battery of eighteen pounders upon Phipp's farm, while he was preparing a more important attack upon Dorchester heights. The cannonade from Phipps's farm lasted several days ; at length he opened his bomb battery on the Dorchester side, and threw several shells

shells into Boston, which set the town on fire in several places, and so alarmed General Howe, that he not only saw the inevitable destruction of the town, while his troops were in it, but his communication with his own lines upon Boston neck rendered difficult and hazardous; therefore he resolved to dislodge the Provincials, if possible, from their post upon Dorchester heights; but just as he was preparing to put a body of troops into the boats, to be conveyed across the little bay to Dorchester, a terrible storm arose, the sea ran so high there was the greatest danger, and the bank, which before was dry and hard, became so soft, the men must have been above their knees in mud, before they could have got to the boats. — These difficulties obliged General Howe to abandon his design for that day; and next day the Provincials had made their works so strong, he laid aside the design entirely; and resolved to quit Boston. Such of the inhabitants as were desirous of going with him, being in number about 1500, and who were most obnoxious to the Americans, he ordered on board the ships: the troops followed; the stores, and part of the cannon, were also put on board. General Washington entered Boston with drums beating, and colours flying, as General Howe quitted it. The retreat of the rear of the last, was somewhat precipitate.

All the iron ordnance upon the neck, and at Bunker's hill fell into the hands of the Provincials; as did all the artillery hories, which General Howe had not time to put on board ships. Two bombs, which also he had not time to put on board, he threw into the sea. The confusion was very great. The fleet consisted of one hundred and forty sail. They fell down to Nantasket-road, (March 25, 1776) at the mouth of Boston

harbour. It was resolved to go to Halifax. General Robinson, (late Colonel) was sent thither immediately to provide quarters for the troops. — The soldiers were equally miserable with the inhabitants; almost naked; the weather intensely cold; no fuel; destitute of even salt provisions.

A circumstance which throws great light upon the conduct of the two commanders, deserves to be noticed. It has been variously stated, but the following is the best we can obtain.

The embarkation to Dorchester being impracticable, General Howe informed the select-men of the town, that he saw Mr. Washington was determined to have the town, that the town was of no consequence to the King's service, and that he would abandon it, if Mr. Washington would not disturb his embarkation; he thought it a pity so fine a town should be burnt, and added the distress such desperation must occasion to the inhabitants; the conflict of the two armies in the town; and shewed them the combustibles he had laid, and the other necessary preparations for setting it on fire in an instant, in every part.

The select men, by General Howe's permission, sent an account of this conversation to General Washington, and implored him in the most earnest manner, to spare the town. It is certain, a kind of truce took place; for the firing on both sides immediately ceased. But whether any conditions respecting the stores were made, has not yet satisfactorily appeared. — General Howe had received no advices from England since those brought him by Admiral Shulham, dated Oct. 22, 1775. He did not know that Lord Dartmouth had retired from the office of Secretary for the American department, for his letter, from which the slight mention of this matter was made in the Gazette (see page 56.) was directed to the Earl of Dartmouth. O *Frost*

From an officer of distinction at Boston,
to a person in London, March 3, 1776.

For these last six weeks, or near two months, we have been better amused than could possibly be expected in our situation. We had a theatre, we had balls, and there is actually a subscription set on foot for a masquerade. England seems to have forgot us, and we have endeavoured to forget ourselves; but we were roused to a sense of our present situation last night, in a manner unpleasant enough. The rebels have been for some time past erecting a bomb battery, and last night began to play upon us. Two shells fell not far from me. One fell upon Colonel Monckton's house, and broke all the windows, but luckily did not burst till it had crossed the street. Many houses were damaged, but no lives lost. We expect some carcasses to-night, if the fear of destroying the r own property does not prevent it. What makes this matter more provoking is, that their barracks are so scattered, and at such a distance, that we can't disturb them, although from a battery near the water-side they can reach usefully.

4th March. Bad news this morning from New York. A man who calls himself Lord Sterling (I believe one of his family has a right to the title) has put himself at the head of 3000 men, in conjunction with that arch rebel (Lee) and has driven all the well-affected people from the town of New York. If something is not speedily done, his Britannic Majesty's American dominions will probably be confined within a very narrow compass. The rebel army is not brave, I believe, but it is agreed on all hands, that their artillery officers are at least equal to our own. In the number of shells that they flung last night, not above three failed.— This morning we flung four, and three of them burst into the air,

5th March. This is, I believe, likely to prove as important a day to the British empire, as any in our annals. We underwent last night a very severe cannonade, which damaged a number of houses, and killed some men. This morning at day-break we discovered two redoubts on the hills on Dorchester Point, and two smaller works on their flanks. They were all raised during the night, with an expedition equal to that of the genii belonging to *Aladin's* wonderful lamp. From these hills they commanded the whole town, so that we must drive them from their post, or desert the place. The former is determined upon, and five regiments are already embarked. A body of light infantry, under the command of Major Musgrave, an excellent officer, and a body of grenadiers, are to embark to-night at seven. I think it is likely to be so far a general affair, that we shall take our share in it.— Adieu balls, masquerades, &c. for this may be looked upon as the opening of the campaign,

It is worth while to remark, with what judgment the leaders of the rebels take advantage of the prejudices, and work upon the passions of the mob. This 5th of March is the anniversary of what they call the bloody massacre, when in (I think) 1769, the King's troops fired on the people in the streets of Boston. If ever they dare stand us, it will be to-day; but I hope to-morrow to be able to give you an account of their defeat.

6th March. A wind, more violent than any thing I ever heard, prevented our last night's purposed expedition, and so saved the lives of thousands. To-day they have made themselves too strong to make a dislodgment possible. We are under their fire, whenever they chuse to begin; so that we are now evacuating the town with the utmost expedition,
and

and leaving behind us half our worldly goods. Adieu! I hope to embark in a few hours.

7th March. When the transports came to be examined, they were void of both provisions and forage. If any are got on board to-day, it will be as much as can be done. Never were troops in so disgraceful a situation, and that not in the least our own fault, or owing to any want of skill or discretion in our commanders, but entirely owing to Great-Britain being fast asleep. I pity General Howe from my soul.

9th March, Transport. I have slept one night on board; the troops are embarking as fast as possible.— I mistook when I imagined the works already made could destroy the town; but the rebels possess a hill so situated, that if they pleased to erect a battery, it would entirely consume us. They, as yet, have not proceeded to make a work, nor do they attempt to molest us in our embarkation. It appears as if there was at least a tacit agreement between Washington and General Howe.

10th March. To-day the horse-transporters are ordered to fall down to Castle William, a fort about three miles from the town in our possession; it commands the harbour, and the troops now here will embark the last. The retreat from the town of Boston is to be covered by a large body of grenadiers, and light infantry, and the 5th and 10th regiments. The Fowey, a man of war, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain George Montagu, covers the retreat by water. A packet is to sail, I hear, as soon as the army is clear of the town; so probably I shall not have it in my power to inform you whether we are attacked in our retreat or not; if I have, I will.

Nantasket Road, March 17. According to my promise I proceed to give a brief account of our retreat,

which was made this morning between the hours of two and eight. Our troops did not receive the smallest molestation, though the rebels were all night at work on the near hill, which I mentioned to you in my last letter; and we kept a constant fire upon them from a battery of four 24 pounders. They did not return a single shot. It was lucky for the inhabitants now left in Boston they did not. For I am informed every thing was prepared to set the town in a blaze had they fired one cannon. The dragoons are under orders to sail tomorrow for Halifax, a cursed, cold, wintry place, even yet. Nothing to eat, less to drink. Bad times, my dear friend. The displeasure I feel from the very small share I have in our present insignificance, is so great, that I don't know the thing so desperate I would not undertake in order to change our situation.'

Extract of a letter from Boston.
His Majesty's ship Chatham, 24 March
1776.

'The retreat of the troops from this garrison cannot fail to be differently represented in England; for which reason I have found time from our great hurry to give you some account of it. In the first place, the General not receiving any letters or dispatches from government since the middle of October, could not fail of making every body very uneasy; it looked as if we were left destitute to get out of a bad scrape as we liked best. Our provisions falling short added to our discontents. The fleet afforded us no relief. Little indeed was in their power; their own ill equipment was enough to make them as dissatisfied as ourselves. The Provincials, who knew exactly the state of our garrison, harassed us from their batteries, with an intention of making our people more dissatisfied in hopes of desertions. Finding no probability of supply, and dreading the consequence

sequence of farther delay, it was thought prudent to retire to the ships, and to save what we could. Our not being burthened with provisions permitted us to save some stores and ammunition, the light field-pieces, and such things as are most convenient of carriage. The rest, I am sorry to say, we were obliged to leave behind; such of the guns as by dismounting we could throw into the sea was done so; the carriages were disabled, and every precaution taken that our circumstances would permit, for our retreat was by agreement.— The people of the town, who were friends to government, took care of nothing but their merchandize, and found means to employ the men belonging to the transports in embarking their goods, by which means several of the vessels were entirely filled with private property instead of the King's stores. By some unavoidable accident the medicines, surgeons chests, instruments and necessaries were left in the hospital. The confusion unavoidable on such a disaster will make you conceive how much must be forgot where every man had a private concern. The necessary care and distress of the women, children, sick and wounded, required every assistance that could be given. It was not like breaking up a camp, where every man knows his duty; it was like departing your country with your wives, your servants, your household furniture, and all your incumbrances.— The officers who felt the disgrace of their retreat did their utmost to keep up appearances. The men, who thought they were changing for the better, strove to take the advantage of the present times, and were kept from plunder and drink with difficulty. In bad plight we go to Halifax.— What supply we are to expect there I do not know; our expectations are not very sanguine. The neglect shewn us bears hard on us all; the soldiers

thinks themselves betrayed; the officers all blame the admiralty, and your friend Lord ~~Somerset~~ is universally execrated; the sea officers complained they were hurried out of England in a most shameful condition, not half-manned, and ill provided. Fleet and army complain of each other, and both of the people at home. If we fare as ill at Halifax as we have done here lately, I fear we shall have great desertion, as the opportunity will be more convenient.

A Passenger from Boston gives the following account :

On the 2d of March the Provincials began to bombard the town from a place called Phipps's farm, and on the 3d they opened a twenty-four pound battery in Dorchester neck, which annoyed the army exceedingly. On the 5th, General Howe embarked six regiments to attack this battery; but a strong easterly wind preventing the men of war from covering and supporting them, it was thought advisable to desist.— The next day he renewed the attempt, but found the work so strong, that he returned without effecting any thing. In the mean time the Provincials had thrown near an hundred bombs into the town, and fired with considerable execution from their battery. General Howe therefore got some of the select men to go out to General Washington to inform him, that if the firing continued, he must set fire to the town to cover his retreat. Two of the select men returned, and having communed with General Howe, went back, and the firing immediately ceased.

General Howe then began his embarkation. The Refugee inhabitants went first, not being suffered to carry any thing but necessaries.— The mortars and heavy artillery could not be embarked; these therefore they endeavoured to burst, by charging them full with powder, and firing it off;

off; but this did not answer their wishes. They attempted also to destroy all the small arms belonging to the town. While this work was going on, a deserter from the Provincial camp informed General Howe on the 10th, that General Washington was preparing for a general storm. Upon this intelligence the General and all the troops immediately embarked, leaving the artillery, stores, &c. damaged only, as the hurry and confusion would permit.

It now appeared by the movements of the Provincial army, that they were taking stations upon Hog and Noddles Islands, and preparing to attack Castle William. If they had succeeded in this, they would have had the command of Boston harbour, and destroyed the fleet. General Howe, therefore, dismantled, and blew up Castle William, and then fell down with the whole fleet into Nantasket road, which is an open and exposed station. The transports were mostly small schooners, under the protection of three men of war. March is the most tempestuous month of the year upon the American coast; so that without a miracle this wretched fleet must be dispersed and lost. It is impossible that more events could concur to render their distress complete, and their ruin almost inevitable. The terms of agreement between the two Generals were secret; but it is supposed that nothing was to have been destroyed, and that this breach of it determined the Provincials to enter the town sooner than was intended.

Cambridge, March 27. Among other commodities belonging to the late garrison at Boston, we have got their orderly book, by which it appears, that General Howe had 7575 effective men, exclusive of the staff, so that with the marines and sailors, he might be considered as 10,000 strong.

The following is a true list of the stores, &c. left in Boston by the ministerial troops on evacuating that place:

100 pieces of cannon in town, from 9 to 32 pounders.

100 ditto, at the castle.

4 mortars, 13 and a half inches, two of them with beds weighing 5 tons each.

2500 chaldron of sea coal.

25,000 bushels of wheat.

2300 bushels of barley.

600 bushels of oats in one store.

100 jars of oil, containing 1 barrel each.

150 horses marked G. R.

Extract of a letter from a master at arms on board one of his Majesty's ships of war in Boston harbour, dated March 23.

'The town of Boston is now inhabited by about 15,000 Provincial troops, who were fortifying that place in the strongest manner with the greatest alacrity, under the direction of four Prussian, one French, and some American engineers. The army at Cambridge has been lately reinforced with 5000 fresh (recruits). The garrison at Boston have hoisted a flag, which is kept continually flying, and has on it the following motto, 'An appeal to heaven.'—Commodore Banks is to command here in the room of Admiral Shuldham, who is to go with the troops to Halifax. The bay swarms with American privateers, but we hope to protect the transports which are daily expected from the West Indies, and to send them safe to Halifax.'

New York, March 25. On Saturday last an express arrived here from Boston, which he left the Tuesday before, with a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to Brigadier-General Lord Sterling, at New York, of which the following is a copy:

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Cambridge, 19th March, 1776.

My Lord,

‘ I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 11th inst. to give you my congratulations upon your appointment by the Honourable Congress. If the intelligence is true, and to be depended on, which was brought by the gentleman to New York, I think with you, that we shall have an opportunity of securing, and putting the continent in a tolerable posture of defence; and that the operations of the summer’s campaign will not be so terrible as we were taught to expect from the accounts and denunciations which the ministry have held forth to the public.

‘ I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the morning of the 17th instant, General Howe, with his army, abandoned the town of Boston without destroying it; an event of much importance, which must be heard with great satisfaction; and that we are now in full possession. Their embarkation and retreat were hurried and precipitate, and they have left behind them stores, of one thing and another, to a pretty considerable amount, among which are several pieces of heavy cannon, and one or two mortars, which are spiked. The town is in a much better situation, and less injured than I expected, from the reports I have received; though to be sure, it is much damaged, and many houses despoiled of their valuable furniture.

‘ The fleet is still in King and Nantasket roads, and where they intend to make a descent next is altogether unknown; but, supposing New York to be an object of great importance, and to be in their view, I must recommend your most strenuous and active exertions in preparing, to prevent any designs or attempts they may have formed or make against it. I have detached the riflemen and five battalions from hence to your as-

sistance, which will be followed by others, as circumstances will allow.— These, with what forces you have, and can assemble, if there should be any occasion, I trust, will be sufficient to hinder the enemy from possessing the city, or making a lodgement, till the main body of this army can arrive.

‘ I am, my Lord; with great esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

‘ G. WASHINGTON.’

The courier, who was himself in Boston, reports, that the enemy left there about forty horses almost starved; and that before they went off, they dismantled all the vessels in the harbour. General Putnam was arrived at New Haven, on his way to New York.

The following proclamation was published by General Washington, on his taking possession of the town of Boston:
By his Excellency George Washington, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of the Thirteen United Colonies.

‘ Whereas the ministerial army has abandoned the town of Boston, and the forces of the United Colonies under my command, are in possession of the same: I have therefore thought it necessary for the preservation of peace, good order and discipline, to publish the following orders, that no person offending therein, may plead ignorance as an excuse for their misconduct.

‘ All officers and soldiers are hereby ordered to live in the strictest peace and amity with the inhabitants; and no inhabitant, or other person, employed in his lawful business in the town, is to be molested in his person or property, on any pretence whatever.

‘ If any officer or soldier shall presume to strike, imprison, or otherwise ill-treat any of the inhabitants, they may depend on being punished with the

the utmost severity ; and if any officer or soldier shall receive any insult from any of the inhabitants, he is to seek redress in a legal way, and no other.

Any non-commissioned officer or soldier, or others under my command, who shall be guilty of robbing or plundering in the town, are to be immediately confined, and will be most rigidly punished. All officers are therefore ordered to be very vigilant in the discovery of such offenders, and report their names and crime to the commanding officer in the town, as soon as may be.

The inhabitants and others are called upon to make known to the Quarter-master-general, or any of his deputies, all stores belonging to the ministerial army, that may be remaining or secreted in the town : any person or persons whatever, that shall be known to conceal any of the said stores, or appropriate them to his or their own use, will be considered as an enemy to America, and treated accordingly.

The select men and other magistrates of the town, are desired to return to the commander in chief, the names of all or any person or persons, they may suspect of being employed as spies upon the continental army, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

All officers of the continental army, are enjoined to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty, and to promote peace and good order. They are to prevent, as much as possible, the soldiers from frequenting tippling-houses, and strolling from their posts. Particular notice will be taken of such officers as are inattentive and remiss in their duty ; and on the contrary, such only as are active and vigilant will be entitled to future favour and promotion.

Given under my hand, at head quarters, in Cambridge, the 21st

day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Boston, March 29.

The address of the honourable council and house of representatives to his Excellency George Washington, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of the forces of the United Colonies.

May it please your Excellency.

When the liberties of America were attacked by the violent hand of oppression—when troops hostile to the rights of humanity, invaded this colony, seized our capital, and spread havoc and destruction around it ; when our virtuous sons were murdered, and our houses destroyed by the troops of Britain, the inhabitants of this and the other American colonies, impelled by self-preservation and the love of freedom, forgetting their domestic concerns, determined resolutely and unitedly to oppose the sons of tyranny.

Convinced of the vast importance of having a gentleman of great military accomplishments, to discipline, lead, and conduct the forces of the colonies, it gave us the greatest satisfaction to hear that the honourable Congress of the United Colonies, had made choice of a gentleman thus qualified ; who leaving the pleasure of domestic and rural life, was ready to undertake the arduous task. And your nobly declining to accept the pecuniary emoluments annexed to this high office, fully evidenced to us that a warm regard to the sacred rights of humanity, and sincere love to your country, solely influenced you in the acceptance of this important trust.

From your acknowledged abilities as a soldier, and your virtues in public and private life, we had the most pleasing hopes ; but the fortitude and equanimity so conspicuous in your conduct ; the wisdom of your councils ; the mild, yet strict government of the army ; your attention to
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the civil constitution of this colony ; the regard you have at all times shewn for the lives and health of those under your command ; the fatigues you have with cheerfulness endured ; the regard you have shewn for the preservation of our metropolis, and the great address with which our military operations have been conducted, have exceeded our most sanguine expectations, and demand the warmest returns of gratitude.

‘ The supreme ruler of the universe having smiled on our arms, and crowned your labours with remarkable success ; we are now, without that effusion of blood, we so much wished to avoid, again in the quiet possession of our capital ; the wisdom and prudence of those movements, which have obliged the enemy to abandon our metropolis, will ever be remembered by the inhabitants of this colony.’

‘ May you still go on approved by heaven, revered by all good men, and dreaded by those tyrants who claim their fellow men as their property.— May the United Colonies be defended from slavery by your victorious arms. May they still see their enemies flying before you : and (the deliverance of your country being effected) may you, in retirement, enjoy that peace and satisfaction of mind, which always attends the good and great : and may future generations in the peaceful enjoyment of that freedom, the exercise of which your sword shall be established, raise the richest and most lasting moments to the name of a *Washington*.

His Excellency's Answer.

Gentlemen,

‘ I return you my most sincere and hearty thanks, for your polite address ; and feel myself called upon by every principle of gratitude, to acknowledge the honour you have done me in this testimonial of your approbation of my appointment to the exalted station I now fill ; and what is more pleasing,

of my conduct in discharging its important duties.

‘ When the councils of the British nation had formed a plan for enslaving America, and depriving her sons of their most sacred and invaluable privileges, against the clearest remonstrances of the constitution, of justice and of truth ; and to execute their schemes, had appealed to the sword, I esteemed it my duty to take a part in the contest, and more especially, on account of my being called thereto by the unsolicited suffrages of the representatives of a free people ; wishing for no other reward, than that arising from a conscientious discharge of the important trust, and that my services might contribute to the establishment of freedom and peace, upon a permanent foundation, and merit the applause of my countrymen, and every virtuous citizen.

‘ Your professions of my attention to the civil constitution of this colony, whilst acting in the line of my department, also demand my grateful thanks. A regard to every Provincial institution, where not incompatible with the common interest, I hold a principle of duty, and of policy, and shall ever form a part of my conduct. Had I not learnt this before, the happy experience of the advantages resulting from a friendly intercourse with your honourable body, their ready and willing concurrence to aid and to counsel, whenever called upon in cases of difficulty and emergency, would have taught me the useful lesson.

‘ That the metropolis of your colony is now relieved from the cruel and oppressive invasions of those who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination, and to trample on the rights of humanity, and is again open and free for its rightful possessors, must give pleasure to every virtuous and sympathetic heart, and being effected without the blood of our soldier

diers and fellow-citizens, must be ascribed to the interposition of that providence, which has manifestly appeared in our behalf through the whole of this important struggle, as well as to the measures pursued for bringing about the happy event.

May that Being who is powerful to save, and in whose hands is the fate of nations; look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion upon the whole of the United Colonies; may he continue to smile upon their counsels and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of virtue and mankind.— May this distressed colony and its capital, and every part of this wide extended continent, through his divine favour, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety secured upon a solid, permanent, and lasting foundation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Halifax, April 3. The first division of the fleet and transports from Boston, containing chiefly the inhabitants, &c. arrived here yesterday, after a passage of only six days. And the second division, containing the troops arrived this day, after a passage of only four days. They have little or no provisions; nor can this place supply them with any, neither are there conveniences on shore for this unexpected body of people. It is fortunate for the King's troops, that the Provincials did not attack this place last summer, which they certainly intended; but General Pribble, who was to have commanded the expedition, and had actually embarked 1500 New England troops in a large number of Marblehead schooners for that purpose; but hearing that the small pox was very prevalent here at that time, the scheme was laid aside. The New England people are incredibly afraid of the small pox.

Though General Howe arrived at

Halifax on the 3d of April, he sent no advice of it to England till the 12th of May, when the packet failed from thence, and arrived in England on the third of June.

At the same time arrived from Halifax, Francis Legge, Esq; Governor of Nova Scotia, and Sir James Wright, bart. Governor of Georgia; and a day or two after arrived the Glasgow frigate also from Halifax; all which left that place the 12th of May. General Howe had begun to build redoubts, &c. behind Halifax, to protect that place. The sick he had landed upon an island in the harbour. Another vessel which left Halifax May 24, brought advice, that General Howe was preparing to embark his army, and that he should be ready by the 28th. Martial law was proclaimed in this province on the 22d of February last.

Extract of a letter from Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 19.

On Thursday last arrived here the Greyhound man of war, Capt. Dickson; in six weeks from Cors., with nine victuallers under convoy; and the same day failed the Rose, Captain Wallace.

On Friday arrived the Savage sloop of war, Capt. Bromedge, from New York, with dispatches for Admiral Shuldham and General Howe.

Sunday last arrived the Argo transport, with Col. Enoch Markham, and three companies of the 46th regiment.

Capt. Nordberg, of the 60th regiment, who commanded at Fort George, is arrived there, having escaped from the Provincials.

A ship freighted with sundry articles, being a donation from London for the army, is safely arrived here.

A regiment is raising here, to be called the Loyal Nova Scotia volunteers, and General Howe has issued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all deserters who will surrender

render before the 24th of June, and enter into the said corps.

A special court of sessions was held here the 10th instant, to settle the price of provisions, as on account of the arrival of the troops every advantage had been taken of the fullness of the town, and the great demand for every article thereof. The order of sessions runs thus: 'That all butchers and others selling dead meat shall expose the same publicly for sale, and shall not ask or demand for the best prime pieces of beef, pork, mutton, lamb, and veal, more than a shilling currency the pound, avoirdupoise, and the coarser parts in proportion. Fowls, dead or alive, not exceeding 2s. each, and chickens in proportion. Hares or rabbits, 1s. 6d. each; tame ducks, 2s. each; wild ducks 1s. 6d. each; partridges, 1s. 3d. each.' The above prices are in currency only.

'We have now two ships of 140 tons each, with their cargoes, consisting of Russia bar iron, ditto hemp, ditto sail-cloth, and ditto linen, on sale, which were taken from the Americans, and were condemned in our admiralty court. Every thing is very quiet here; they are throwing up new works, and making the place more tenable than it was; and an expedition is concerting, but I believe they wait the succours from England before they mean to put it in execution.

'Provisions, as you see by the above, are very dear; 20 years ago we bought here all the same articles for one fourth of the present prices; even the common sort of soap is sold at 1s. a pound.'

The London Gazette Extraordinary, published June 10, 1776.

Whitehall, June 10. This morning Major Caldwell, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the British militia in Canada, arrived from Quebec, in

his Majesty's sloop Hunter; by whom was received the following letter from General Carleton to Lord George Germaine; together with the copy of a letter from General Carleton to General Howe.

Quebec, May 14, 1776.

My Lord,

'After this town had been closely invested by the rebels for five months, and had defeated all their attempts, the Surprise frigate, Isis, and sloop Martin came into the basin the 6th instant.

'As soon as that part of the 29th they had on board with their marines, in all about two hundred, were landed, they, with the greatest part of the garrison, by this time much improved, and in high spirits, marched out of the ports of St. Louis and St. John's, to see what those mighty boasters were about; they were found very busy in their preparations for a retreat; a few shots being exchanged, the line marched forward, and the plains were soon cleared of those plunderers; all their artillery, military stores, scaling-ladders, petards, &c. were abandoned: The Surprise, Martin, and a province armed vessel, went up the river, when they also quitted the Gaspé, and the armed schooner Mary: the rear of the rebels have halted at Dechambault, and the Surprise, with the other two vessels, are a little upon this side of the falls of Richelieu.

'This ended our siege and blockade; during which the mixed garrison of soldiers, sailors, British and Canadian militia, with the artificers from Halifax and Newfoundland, shewed great zeal and patience, under very severe duty and uncommon vigilance, and indispensable in a place liable to be stormed, besides great labour necessary to render such attempts less practicable.

'Notwithstanding the inclement season

season they preserved good health, and their spirits increased every day. A copy of my letter to General Howe will inform your Lordship of our situation to the defeat of the rebels upon the 31st of December.

For three months after they confined their operations to the preventing all supplies from coming to town, and in burning our suburbs and shipping; the latter have almost all escaped, but the greatest part of the suburbs of St. Roque and St. John having been burnt; the remainder was brought into town for fuel, which was much wanted.

The beginning of February the rebels again attempted to enter into a correspondence by a flag of truce, encouraged to it, I suppose, by a permission granted for the prisoners baggage to enter the town; but as they were told immediately to withdraw, unless they came to implore the King's mercy, they have not since returned.

March the 25th, the advanced guard of a party, raised by Mr. Beaujeu to relieve the town, was defeated; the rest dispersed. The 31st it was discovered that the rebel prisoners had formed a plot to escape, to seize the guard of St. John's gate, and let in Mr. Arnold; which was effectually disappointed.

The 4th of April the rebels opened a battery of four guns and one howitzer from the opposite side of the river St. Charles: these were also intended to burn the town and shipping. From both they fired red hot balls.— The 23d they attempted throwing some shells into town from a battery on the heights opposite to port St. Louis: all these batteries were much damaged by our artillery.

May the 3d, about ten at night, a fireship attempted to run into the Cul-de-Sac, where the greatest part of our shipping were laid up; but this also proved abortive, and she

burnt to the water's edge, without doing us the least injury; it is supposed they intended a general assault, had they succeeded in setting fire to the ships and lower town.

I cannot conclude this letter without doing justice to Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, who has been indefatigably zealous in the King's service, and to his regiments, wherein he has collected a number of experienced good officers, who have been very useful.— * Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the battalion of seamen; his officers and men discharged their duty with great alacrity and spirit. The same thing must be acknowledged of the masters, inferior officers, and seamen belonging to his Majesty's transports, and merchant-men detain'd here last fall: only one seaman deserted the whole time. The militia, British and Canadian, behaved with a steadiness and resolution that could hardly have been expected from men unused to arms. Judges, and other officers of government, as well as merchants, cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience, to preserve the town; the whole indeed upon the occasion shewed a spirit and perseverance that do them great honour.

The 47th from Halifax, and the great part of the 29th, are since arrived.

Major Caldwell, who commanded the British militia all winter, as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, and is bearer of these dispatches to your Lordship, has proved himself a faithful subject of his Majesty, and an active diligent officer. He, and indeed almost every loyal subject, are very considerable sufferers by the present hostile invasion.

I am, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

* Captain of his Majesty's Ship *Lizard*.

P 2

Copy

Copy of a letter from General Carleton to General Howe, dated Quebec, Jan. 12, 1776.

Sir,

The 5th of December Mr. Montgomery took post at St. Croix, within less than two miles of Quebec, with some field artillery; his heavy cannon were landed at Caprouge; at the same time Arnold's party took possession of the avenues leading to the town, and prevented all communication with the country. The 7th a woman stole into the town with letters addressed to the principal merchants, advising them to an immediate submission, and promising great indulgence in case of their compliance. Inclosed was a letter to me in very extraordinary language, and a summons to deliver up the town; the messenger was sent to prison for a few days, and drummed out.

To give more efficacy to these letters, five small mortars were brought to St. Rocks, and a battery of five cannon and one howitzer, raised upon the heights within about seven hundred yards of the walls. Soon after Arnold appeared with a white flag, said he had a letter for me, but was refused admittance, and ordered to carry back his letter.

After every preparatory stratagem had been used to intimidate our wretched garrison, as Mr. Montgomery was pleased to call it, an assault was given the 31st of December, between four and five in the morning, during a snow storm from the north-east. The alarm was general: from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, round to the bastion, every part seemed equally threatened. Two real attacks took place upon the lower town; one under Capt. Donions, led by Mr. Montgomery, the other by Mr. Arnold, upon the part called the Saut au Martreot. This at first met with some success, but in the end was stopped.

A sally from the upper town under Capt. Laws attacked their rear, and sent in many prisoners; Captain M^r. Dougal afterwards reinforced this party, and followed the rebels into the post they had taken. Thus Mr. Arnold's corps, himself and a few others excepted, who were wounded and carried off early, were completely ruined. They were caught as it were in a trap; we brought in their five mortars and one cannon. The other attack was soon repulsed with slaughter. Mr. Montgomery was left among the dead.

The rebels have on this assault between six and seven hundred men, and between forty and fifty officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. We had only one Lieutenant of the navy, doing duty as a Captain in the garrison, and four rank and file, killed, and thirteen rank and file wounded; two of the latter are since dead.

You will be pleased to transmit a copy of my letter to the Secretary of State, by the first opportunity, for his Majesty's information, &c.

G. C.

On the 11th of June, (one of the usual days for publishing the Gazette) the following letter was published in the Gazette.

Admiralty-Office, June 11, 1776.

By letters from Captain Douglas, of his Majesty's ship Isis, dated Quebec the 8th and 15th of May, received yesterday by Captain Hamilton, late of the Lizard, who arrived from thence in his Majesty's sloop the Hunter, it appears that the Isis, which sailed from Portsmouth the 11th of March, having succours on board for the relief of the place, made the island of St. Peter's on the 11th of April; that he had from thence with the greatest difficulty made his way, pressing the ship by force of sail for fifty or sixty leagues through large fields of thick ice; that on the 21st of April, when he got clear of the

the ice, he made the island of Anticosti, and the same evening entered the river St. Lawrence; that on the 30th he anchored in a snow storm near the Pilgrim islands, and from thence as the storm cleared up, observed successive smokes from Cape to Cape towards Quebec; and that, after various obstacles from fogs, calms, or contrary winds, he arrived on the 3d of May near the Aux Coudres, where he was joined by his Majesty's ship, the Surprize, and Martin sloop, which sailed on the 20th of March from Plymouth, having likewise succours on board. Captain Douglas adds, that having secured here all the French pilots, and every hour becoming more and more precious, he gave orders on the 5th of May to Captain Linzee of the Surprize, to make the best of his way, and give notice to Governor Carleton of the approaching relief. Captain Linzee arrived in view of the town at six o'clock the next morning; and after answering the private signals from the garrison, came to an anchor in the basin of Quebec, between the rebel battery on Point Levi, and the Lower Town, where the Isis and Martin came to an anchor also, very soon after; and the several detachments they had on board were immediately landed. Captain Douglas further observes, that the General wisely availing himself of the different impressions which the arrival of the ships had made on the minds of the rebels, marched out to give them battle, but that they as instantly retreated; on which Capt. Douglas ordered Capt. Linzee and Capt. Harvey of the Martin sloop, with a Provincial armed vessel, to proceed up the river as far as the Rapids, in hopes to annoy them in their retreat, which was attended with good effect, as it hindered the parties on the opposite sides of the river from joining in their flight towards Mon-

treil. He represents their flight to have been very precipitate, as they left not only their cannon undischarged, their scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and provisions, but even many of them their musquets.

The Surprize and Martin were farther successful in taking an armed schooner belonging to the rebels, carrying four six pounders and six three pounders, but the men escaped into the woods; they also recovered his Majesty's schooner the Gaspee, which in the last winter had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and had been sunk by them, but was soon weighed and found to be not materially damaged. It also appears, from Capt. Douglas's letters, that on the 8th of May his Majesty's ship Niger arrived with three transports, having on board the 47th regiment, from Halifax; and that on the 10th, Captain Lutwidge, of his Majesty's ship the Triton, arrived with the Lord Howe and Bute transports, having troops on board, together with the British Queen, Agnes, and Beaver, victuallers from England.

Captain Douglas speaks highly in commendation of the captains and officers of the ships employed to carry succours, for their perseverance and exertion in the many difficulties they had to encounter in the passage through the gulph, and in every other part of the service.

Canada is the only part of America where travellers meet with post-horses. The carriages used in Canada are nearly in the shape of an English whisky, or one horse-chaise; with a little seat in front for the driver. A gentleman has favoured us with a list of the stages between Quebec and Montreal: with the prices at each stage, in Halifax currency, which is at the standard of five shillings for a Spanish milled dollar.

The

| <i>The Stages from Quebec to Montreal.</i> | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Post-houses.</i> | <i>Numbers of Leagues.</i> | <i>Prices.</i> |
| St. Foix ——— | One League and half | 1 6 |
| Carrouge ——— | One League and half | 1 6 |
| * Ferry at Carrouge | ————— | 1 0 |
| St. Augustin — | Three Leagues | 3 0 |
| Point Aux Trembles | Two Leagues and half | 2 6 |
| Jacquartier ——— | Two Leagues and half | 2 6 |
| * Ferry ——— | ————— | 1 0 |
| Cape Sancté ——— | Two Leagues | 2 0 |
| Dechambault ——— | Two Leagues | 2 0 |
| Bas Grondines — | Three Leagues | 3 0 |
| Haut Grondines — | One League and half | 1 6 |
| St. Ann's ——— | Ditto | 1 6 |
| * Ferry ——— | ————— | 0 6 |
| Batiseau ——— | Ditto | 1 6 |
| * Ferry ——— | ————— | 0 6 |
| Champlain ——— | Two Leagues | 2 6 |
| * Ferry ——— | ————— | 0 6 |
| Champlain Haut — | Two Leagues and half | 2 6 |
| Cape Madelain — | Two Leagues | 2 0 |
| To the passage to Trois R. | One League | 1 0 |
| Take the ferry here to | Trois-Rivieres | 2 6 |
| Point du Lac — | Three Leagues | 3 0 |
| Masfish ——— | Three Leagues | 3 0 |
| Riviere Deloup — | Ditto | 3 0 |
| Mashinogee — | Two Leagues and half | 2 6 |
| Here take passage by | water to Bertié, five Leagues | 5 0 |
| Doutray ——— | Two Leagues and half | 2 6 |
| Valletree ——— | Three Leagues and half | 3 6 |
| St. Sulpice ——— | One League and half | 1 6 |
| Arpentini ——— | Three Leagues | 3 0 |
| Ferry to Long Point on | the Island of Montreal. | 1 0 |
| Point Aux Trembles | Two Leagues | 2 0 |
| Montreal ——— | Three Leagues | 2 0 |

Total expence to Montreal £. 3. 8 6

London Gazette of June 25.

Whitoball, June 24, 1776. The following letter from General Carleton to Lord George Germaine was this morning received by Lieutenant Fooks, of his Majesty's ship Lizard, arrived from Quebec in the Hope transport.

On board the Maria, opposite St. Ann's, May 25, 1776.

My Lord,

I have this moment received an account from Captain Forster, that

he, with a detachment of the 8th regiment, some Canadians, and a number of Indians, had taken, the 19th instant, a fort at the Cedars, two pieces of cannon, and 390 rebel prisoners at discretion. The day following a party of 120 rebels crossed from the island of Montreal to Kinchin; those were attacked by Mess. Lorimer and Mangtuny, defeated and taken.

The small force that is arrived is drawing nearer to the rebels, to see if any

any assistance can be given to the King's good subjects above, who have begun rather sooner than I could have wished. The rebels are still numerous in the province, and talk of large reinforcements. I am, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

Lieutenant Fooks sailed from Quebec on the afternoon of the 26th of May, and gives an account, that before his departure, some Indians had arrived from the party at the Cedars, about eight leagues from Montreal, who informed him that the Indians of the western confederacy were in motion to join the King's troops, and that a very large body of them were within three days March of the Cedars: he adds, that the same night he left Quebec he met the transports with the British regiments from Ireland, under convoy of the Carysfort and Pearl, and had no doubt of their arriving at Quebec the next morning; and that his arrival at the Isle of Coudre on the 28th, he found the transports with the Brunswick troops, under convoy of the Juno and Blonde, at anchor, waiting for the return of tide, in order to proceed up to Quebec, the wind being then unfavourable; but that Lieutenant General Burgoyne was gone before in the Surprise frigate, and probably would land at Quebec on the evening of the 26th.

Admiralty-Office, June 25.

Commodore Hotham, who sailed in the Preston with some others of his Majesty's ships, to convoy the transports, having on board the first division of Hessian troops, and the party of guards ordered to join the army under the command of General Howe, gives an account in a letter received from him, dated the 5th instant, that he was then arrived in lat. 44: 57 deg. north lon. 30: 12 deg. west from the Lizard, with all his convoy, except the Malaga brig,

which had parted company in a gale of wind the 26th of May. He adds that the troops continued very healthy and in good spirits.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, dated May 10, 1776.

When I arrived here on the 5th of November last, I found the place in a defenceless state. I had persuaded the master of the vessel I was in to take on board upwards of 100 men, who were waiting at Newfoundland for a passage hither; for I had some intimation of the state of affairs here, though nothing near so bad as I found it; and it was fortunate we did bring these men, for the greater part of them were carpenters, and other artificers, and were of the greatest service in repairing our defences, and making platforms for our cannon; so that I sincerely think we could not have done without them. We had at that time not a single soldier. On the 12th of Nov. Col. Maclean arrived with about 170 men of his regiment, and it was lucky he did; for on the 14th Arnold appeared before the town, and I really believe the gates would have been opened to him by the disaffected and faint-hearted among us, if it had not been for the Colonel. On the 19th General Carleton arrived. The first thing the General did was to turn out the suspected, and all who would not assist in the defence of the place. This occasioned a great trooping out of town; but though it diminished our numbers, it added greatly to our strength, and has proved our safety; for what could we have done with such a parcel of false friends, and trembling ones? as it was, God-knows we had enough to do.

On the 1st of December Montgomery landed at Point aux Trembles, he appeared before the town on the 5th, and sent us a summons, which was turned back without being attend-

ed

ed to. On the 16th he began to throw bombs into the town; and on the 17th he began to cannonade, but with very little effect. At different times he attempted several proposals, but none were hearkened to. About the 20th we were informed by deserters that he was preparing to storm us; on the 25th some of their people were seen near the walls before daylight, and we had a terrible alarm, but they did not follow their purpose. From that time to the 31st the garrison were all under arms every night; and that day, in the morning, they made their attack in good earnest. While two parties made false attacks in two different parts of the wall, Montgomery attempted the south end, and Arnold the north end of the lower town. Montgomery was killed at the first discharge; his whole party must have been cut off if a Canadian officer had not failed in his duty. On the other side of the town Arnold was surrounded, but got off very early with about 20 of his party; the retreat of the rest was cut off by a sortie from the palace gate.

The prisoners we made amounted to 452, officers included. Arnold then turned his siege into a blockade, and we continued pretty quiet till the 16th of February; we then found they were beginning to receive reinforcements, and we have been in continual uneasiness and expectation ever since. They erected three new batteries, with which they did some damage to the shipping in the *Cul de Sac*, and killed a few people. At last, on the 3d of May, they took the opportunity of the flood to send a fire-ship up the river, in order to set fire to the shipping, and at the same time we could see them drawn up, ready to attack the walls, if the fire-ship took place: in truth, their scheme was well laid. The ship coming from below was at first supposed to be a

friend arrived from sea to our relief: it was night, and it was not till she was very near our shipping that she was discovered to be an enemy. On this we began a heavy fire on her; and when they found they were discovered they lighted the train, and in a moment she was in a blaze; her sails immediately took fire, and checked her way, and the tide then beginning to ebb she was carried down the river by it. The fellows on board made their escape in boats. Had their scheme succeeded, it must have thrown us into great confusion; and if they had taken that opportunity to assault, for which they prepared; we should have been in imminent danger; but it pleased God to preserve us. Their ladders were laid round the town at hand for them a day or two before: On the 6th of May, in the morning; we were again alarmed with another ship, and we all repaired to our alarm points; but we were soon agreeably disappointed at finding it to be the *Surprize* frigate come to our relief, which was presently followed by the *Isis* of 54 guns; and the *Martin* sloop. They had on board about 100 marines, and two companies of the 29th regiment, which were landed with all expedition, and at noon we marched out to attack the enemy, but they did not chuse to wait for us. We have taken all their ammunition, baggage, &c. in such prodigious quantities, that it is inconceivable where they could get it. The *Surprize* frigate, and the *Martin* sloop, with two armed schooners that we had here, sailed up the river about the time we marched out, and have taken on the river the *Gasppee* sloop of war, which the rebels had seized last November, with a number of other vessels and boats, and a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and a number of prisoners, we know not precisely how many. The utmost

of

of our numbers that marched out did not exceed 800 men, for no militia was ordered out, only such as offered themselves as volunteers, and the rebels considerably exceeded 3000 men.

My fatigue has been great. Before this affair, I scarcely ever laid two successive nights in my cloaths, but on this occasion I slept in my cloaths 80 successive nights (except when I was on duty, and did not sleep at all) and my room was a guard-room. We have not wanted provisions, but we have wanted wood very much, which in this excessive cold country is terrible indeed.

This, as nearly as I can make out, was our garrison during the siege :

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----|-------|
| Col. Maclean's men | - | 170 |
| A company of the 7th regiment | 60 | |
| Marines | - | 40 |
| | | ----- |
| | | 270 |

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------|
| Seamen | - | 450 |
| Militia, about | ~ | 800 |
| | | ----- |
| | | 1520 |

Out of these we had scarcely any that could be called regular troops.— Col. Maclean's is a corps just beginning to be raised, and the company of the 7th is composed of three-fourths of recruits last spring (most of them Norfolk men.) Indeed the militia was of more importance than you can conceive, and behaved very well.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, May 24, 1776.

On the 22d General Carleton left this place by water, with the 29th regiment about 600, and 340 of the 47th regiment. For three weeks we have had strong north-west winds, very unfavourable for the arrival of the troops from England, and for the General's progress up the river. The rebels never stopt in their flight from hence, till they got to Sorrel, (140 miles from Quebec, and about 40 this

side of Montreal) where they are fortifying themselves, and gathering all the provisions they can. Their numbers before Quebec were more than we really believed, they were near 4000; 1000 more have since joined them from the lower colonies.

Yesterday an express arrived, acquainting us that Lieutenant Colonel Caldwell and Governor Hamilton had come down from the upper posts with the greatest part of the 8th regiment, with 500 Indians and some Canadians from Detroit; at a place called the Cedars, about 45 miles from Montreal, they attacked a guard of 400 rebels, commanded by a Col. Buttle; they killed or took almost the whole of them, and were on their march to Montreal.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, May 25.

Though I have hardly any thing new to write you since my last, by the Hunter sloop of war, yet I would not miss the opportunity of the sailing of a vessel which goes from hence tomorrow with the Lieutenant of the Lizard, who carries dispatches from Captain Douglas to the admiralty.

Both the army and navy seem heartily to concur in the business they are sent on, and every preparation is making to proceed up the river as soon as the German troops arrive.— The seven regiments from Ireland gave us spirits on their arrival, and with what have dropped in before (for General Howe sent us a battalion of 700 men) we now muster 10,000 effective men. The royal Canadians which General Carleton raised, are very respectable soldiers, for the siege has quite perfected them in their duty. Since the opening of the river, we have had arrived here many sail, 27 of which were victuallers. We are in daily expectations of General Burgoyne and the transports, and be assured, from every appearance, that there

there is not the least doubt of the entire recovery of this province, which I think will be a mortal stroke to the Provincial association, and consequently the means of a reconciliation between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

To the People of Pennsylvania.

(Continued from page 102.)

I have shewn in my last, directed to the people of North America, the impossibility of a re-union with Great-Britain on the principles of the year 1763, if we mean to preserve our liberties. To be effectually secured from future mischiefs and machinations in a case of re-union, there must not be one crown officer either civil or military left on the continent, nor a British ship of war permitted to enter our harbours. From them our present distresses sprang, and by them they will be continued. And while any such is permitted to remain among us, we keep our enemy in our bosom, and the robber in our house. Be our doors ever so strongly bolted it will add nothing to our security. Nothing but a division among the colonies, when it shall be finally debated in Congress whether we shall be independent or not, can be the cause of future wars to America. This is the single point on which our future happiness or misery will finally turn.

It is easy talking of a re-union and permanent security to our liberties, and public orators may say it is very plain. I am no member of Congress, no committee-man, nor in the secrets of either; but I will throw out some hints to both, which it might not be amiss to consider. Our welfare will greatly depend on the weight they have in the minds of those who are entrusted with our public affairs.

He betrays an uncommon degree of ignorance of human nature, who thinks that a cordial re-union can

take place between Great-Britain and any one of the United Colonies.—

Slaves have been known to prefer servitude to freedom, but this has always happened where their masters used them exceedingly well. The moment ill usage and a disregard of their interest take place, the happiness of such a dependence and connection is gone for ever. Our connection can no longer exist on former principles. These principles did not, nor could not protect us. They once existed, and what good did they do us; Did they save us from our present troubles? I say therefore, if a re-union takes place, it must be on the principles of unlimited dominion on the one hand, absolute submission on the other. They will sooner treat with you as independent states, than grant you all that is necessary to secure your privileges, while you acknowledge subjection. But granting they should be willing to grant absolute security, which they never will; the Colonies which have suffered least may re-unite on these terms: others, I am confident neither can nor will, until they are deprived of that foresight which distinguishes them from the lamb which licks the hand of the butcher. To imagine that three of the southern and four of the northern Colonies can ever re-unite on any other principle than that of absolute conquest is folly in the extreme.

Blood once shed puts a final period to all other accommodations; and the exciting a slave to eat the throat of his master produces a similar effect. A spirit once kindled by blood, can never be cooled but by the same; or a total extinction of its fire. And God is so far from desiring or expecting a friendly re-union and connection in such cases, that he has continually declared the contrary in every dispensation since the murder of Abel, by constantly repeating, 'that he who shed

sheddeh man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' I therefore repeat it, that a re-union of most of the colonies is now become impossible. Can any of the New-England Colonies ever be cordially united to Great-Britain? Can they ever approach their sea coasts without viewing with horror and indignation the ravages of her fleets and armies? Can Virginia, the Carolinas, or even New York, ever be content with governors appointed by the crown? The day they can contentedly submit to such appointments, or such re-union, the spirit of freedom will forsake these colonies. Freemen will never grow on such a soil. When this takes place, Great-Britain may convert her African into an American Company of slave traders, and send her ships to carry her white negroes to the West Indies to work her sugar plantations. I have a better opinion of them, than to think them ripe for such a metamorphosis; I therefore conclude they will fight for independency, and they will obtain it. On this account, an attempt of any of the Colonies to be re-united to Great-Britain, would be a very unwise and unhappy measure. A war twice fought always costs less blood and treasure than once effectually gone through.—There are some, who knowing that a republic well regulated is ever unfavourable to that ambition which aims to be aggrandized at the public expence, will make strenuous opposition to independency, and they would willingly disunite the colonies rather than join in asserting it. To such I would throw out some cautionary observations.

1st, A division of the Colonies will not prevent the independence of those which stand out.

2dly, The provinces which submit will return to trade and agriculture, and consequently lose the use of arms,

while they that stand out will be expert warriors.

3dly, The continent will be divided into two distinct empires or republics, a northern and a southern: for assure yourselves, Virginia will never submit, and the Carolinas (if not Maryland) will join her.

4thly, While there is land to settle, and two empires on the continent, war will be the consequence.

5thly, When Great Britain is so far reduced as to declare them independent, who will protect the submitting colonies from the resentment of incensed warriors, whom they deserted? Such colonies will finally be divided between the two powers.

The man who traces these hints fairly, be he who he may, if he means not to sell his right to America will be a strenuous advocate for independency, and a united continental legislature.

From the same.

To the People of North America.

Having dispatched my two irregular numbers, which were particularly directed to the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, I now return to the plan I first set out upon, which was to lay such objects before you, as if properly attended to, will enable you to secure that to your offspring, for which you at present contend, and put it out of the power of any set of men, however cunning and ambitious, to rise into power and importance at your expence. The subject of my present number, however ill qualified I may be to discuss it, is of very great consequence to America; it being impossible to make the best of our present advantages, unless old prejudices are effectually removed.

I wish it to be examined with care and reviewed with impartiality; as truth is my object, and the happiness of mankind, without regard to sect,

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party,

party, province, or district, the end of my labour.

Pure monarchy is that form of government which is framed for the exaltation of the prince alone, and his interest and grandeur are of primary consideration; the people are only of consequence so far as their welfare is involved in his. The grand monarch is the only being known to the constitution, who like the divinity, pardon the comparison, derives every power from himself, from whom the other members of the community derive every privilege they possess, and on whose will they depend for a continuance. Aristocracy divides all the privileges of the state, among the grandees of the nation, and constituting them the sole legislators and executors, lodges all power in their hands. Oligarchy distributes the powers of government into a few hands, who are generally the leaders of so many factions which exist in the state. In all these forms the people are of but small, if of any consideration, and the farther we diverge from pure monarchy, the more intolerable they become. Popular government sometimes termed democracy, republic or common wealth, is that plan of civil society, wherein the community at large takes the care of its own welfare, and manages its concerns by representatives elected by the people out of their own body.

Seeing the happiness of the people is the true end of government, and it appears by the definition that the popular form is the only one which has this for its object, it may be worth enquiring into the causes, which have prevented its success in the world.— In this enquiry it would ill become us to sit down contented with the accounts given of royal ambassadors, or men of ambition who can never arrive to the height they aspire to in a republic. With such men it is impossible for a common-wealth to

confer happiness on its members.— Were they honestly to investigate the subject perhaps they would alter their opinions. The necessity of mutual defence first gave rise to social connexions, which were consequently of the military kind. Thus very great distinctions between the members of the same community, were incorporated into the very constitution of the state, and formed an insuperable obstacle to a perfect republic. Every nation which has hitherto attempted to set up a republic, entered on the measure too late. They were the convulsed remains of some government erected upon military principles, and finding it hard to content those with the simple rights of freemen, who were once possessed of all power, they too easily gave way to claims of a superior nature, whereby they admitted an interest separate and distinct from, and inconsistent with, the general welfare of the people: this interest for ever clashing with that of the community, produced continual confusions, until the people, wearied out with the struggle, gave up to the aristocratical party, or blindly following some popular leader, in confidence of his attachment to their interest, gave all power into his hands, which generally ended in tyranny.

The inexperience of mankind was another cause of the decay of popular governments; being unacquainted with legislative representation, established on the principles of a free, uninfluenced, and general election, they met in large and consequently tumultuous assemblies; this gave ambitious and designing men, to whom such a form of government is always unfavourable, great opportunities of breeding disturbances and creating factions, which generally terminated in its dissolution. Besides this manner of conducting public affairs, not suiting extensive dominion, the privileges of the society were continually confined to the pre-
cincts

incts of the capital, and as soon as their territories extended beyond these bounds, slavery took place, which inducing the necessity of standing armies, laid a foundation for overturning itself. The feuds and animosities attendant on this mode of managing public affairs, gave great opportunities to those whose ambitious designs were incompatible with the good of the society, to bring it into dislike and contempt. Far from trying to remedy any defects in the system, or to put an end to factions and disturbances, they used their utmost abilities and cunning, to heighten the old and excite new, until the minds of the people were so torn to pieces, and worn out by feuds and confusions, that they were ready to submit to any thing, which could relieve them from their unhappy situation; then artfully charging the troubles themselves had occasioned, to the fault of the constitution, they easily obtained such a change in its form as was more favourable to their designs.

Political writers either mistaking the true causes, of the uneasiness which are found in ancient popular governments, or willing to make court to princes, have greatly contributed to bring the republican forms of government into discredit; this has been carried to such a length with many, that the mentioning a democracy constantly excites in them the idea of anarchy; and few, except such as have emancipated themselves from the shackles of political bigotry and prejudice, can talk of it with patience, or hearken to any thing offered in its defence.

One or all of the foregoing causes have at one time or another contributed to the destruction of republics; but of all others the first has done most. Where two or more separate interests exist in a government, there contention will remain until one becomes master. A nation must consist

of all kings; all nobles, or all simple freemen to prevent such confusions and preserve its privileges. Every attentive reader of history must perceive this. The history of the Roman common-wealth, abating for its foreign wars, is little else but a relation of feuds, factions, and animosities, occasioned by the existence of a rank of nobles, whose interest was unconnected with that of the Plebeians; they formed schemes and adopted plans to balance the powers and reconcile the interests of these two ranks; but all to no purpose: tyranny at last destroyed them both.—The irreconcilableness of these two interests did more to prevent the formation of a republic in Great-Britain, than all the ambition of a Cromwell; and if I mistake not, Ludlow, in his memoirs charges its failure to this cause alone. Where no King is, that body must enjoy his power or be annihilated: they must and will hang together. To a man of reflection this will readily appear, and fully explain the reasons why a parliament that dethroned a King, voted a House of Lords useless. They will be an everlasting plague to the society which has not a King, for they will always be aiming at kingly authority; and where there is a King their dignity and consequence will flow from him, and they will be his tools, if he makes no attack on their peculiar privileges.

Two or more distinct interests can never exist in society, without finally destroying the liberties of the people. The best plans will fail in accomplishing this, until mankind shall have universally learned to do to others as they would be done unto. The whole wisdom of the British nation, at a time when its virtue and wisdom was at the highest, exerted its utmost efforts to form a perfect plan of political freedom, and to preserve and secure the rights of the three distinct classes of King, Lords, and Commons,
and

and it was thought they had effected it; but latter experience has proved the contrary. The crown of Great-Britain is now as absolute in legislature as the Crown of France, and were it not for the Habeas Corpus act, and trial by jury, the consequences of offending it would be full as fatal.

‘Kings and nobles are artificial beings for whose emolument civil society was never intended, and notwithstanding they have had the good fortune to escape without general censure from the world, yet I will boldly affirm that nine tenths of all the public calamities which ever beset mankind, were brought on by their means. The protest which the Almighty entered against Kings, when the Jews demanded one, shews in what estimation they are held by the divinity. Point me out the King that does not verify the description, and I will begin to suspect the divinity of the bible. Wicked Kings and Governors make up the history of the Old Testament, and the chief part of the labour of the prophets was to keep them within bounds. It is thought to be vastly in favour of king’s that we are commanded to pray for them; but if the nature or design of prayer were attended to, it would certainly make against them. If the wickedest of men stand most in need of prayers; it is no wonder that so many clergymen are continually sending up petitions for Kings; but it is certainly much against them that all these prayers do them so little good.

‘Mankind never suffered so much during the existence of a republic as they have suffered in the short reigns of many Kings. A Harry the 8th did more mischief to his subjects than any republic ever did to its members, notwithstanding that they were so ill constituted. But the true principles of republicanism are at present so well understood, and the mode of con-

ducting such a government so simple and easy, and America so fit for its reception, that a dozen of wise heads and honest hearts might in one day form a plan for the United Colonies, which would as much excel any one now existing; as the British constitution does that of Castreia.

‘When I seriously consider this, and take a calm survey of the state of civil government throughout the world, the modes whereby they acquired their present forms, and the causes which gave rise to them, I cannot help cherishing a secret hope, that God has destined America to form the last and best plan which can possibly exist, and that he will gradually carry those who have long bent under the galling yoke of tyranny in every other quarter of the globe, into the bosom of perfect liberty and freedom in America. Were the great men of the present day, and all those who choose to interfere in public affairs only to set before them the god-like pleasure of conferring the most lasting and complete state of happiness human nature is capable of, in a state of civil society on millions yet unborn, and the eternal reward which must attend the doing of so much good, I cannot help thinking but contracted views, partial interests and party factions would sink under and yield to considerations of so greatly superior a nature.

‘Few opportunities have ever been offered to mankind of framing an entire constitution of government upon equitable principles. All modern writers on this subject, agree that mankind are entitled to freedom by birth, and that they are independent of, and on a level with each other, when they enter into society. This being the case, it is evident that where great distinctions exist in a community before its constitution is formed, its members do not enter on equally advantageous

vantageous terms, and it will be difficult if not impossible to frame an equitable plan. Rome had her Patres, and Patres Conscripti, before she attempted it, and the consequence was an eternal clashing of interest which kept their constitution so fluctuating, that they never could be said to have any thing permanent, but their hatred to Kings, and this was the only stable principle which preserved the common-wealth as long as it lasted.

Whenever any rank in society is invested with more than an equal share of the privileges and powers of that society, it must be at the expence of the other ranks. Men, naturally on a level, ought to remain so by the constitution of the society, if they will secure the liberty and welfare of the community, and every civil and necessary distinction, as that of legislator and magistrate, and the other civil officers should be so settled as never to remain long in one family, otherwise it will end in the enslaving of that people. All natural distinctions, such as weak and strong, wise and foolish, and every accidental or adventitious one; such as learned and unlearned, rich and poor, may safely exist in the community, without interrupting its peace and felicity; but every family distinction which a society creates, will finally prove destructive to that society. Princes of the blood, princes of the empire, and peers of the realm, ever have been, are now, ever will be, the convenient and necessary tools of royal tyrants, scattered up and down the community, for the more ready accomplishing his will who created them. All political distinctions ought to be the gift of the free people at large, and continually to revert to them at the end of the political year, to be renewed or otherwise, as they shall think proper,

Almost every civil constitution now existing in the world is partly the spurious offspring of some former very defective one. Perhaps America is the only country in the world, wholly free from all political impediments at the very time it is laid under the necessity of framing a civil constitution. Having no rank existing above that of freemen, she has but one interest to consult, and that interest, blessed be God for it, is the true and only interest of man as member of society.

SALUS POPULI

From the Pennsylvania Journal.

Memento to the Americans.

Remember the stamp act, by which immense sums were to be yearly extorted from you.

Remember the declaratory act, by which a power was assumed of binding you, in all cases whatsoever, without your consent.

Remember the broken promise of the ministry*, never again to attempt a tax on America.

Remember the duty-act.

Remember the massacre at Boston, by British soldiers.

Remember the ruin of that once flourishing city, by their means.

Remember the massacre at Lexington.

Remember the burning of Charlestown.

Remember General Gage's infamous breach of faith with the people of Boston.

Remember the cannonading, bombarding, and burning of Falmouth.

Remember the shrieks and cries of the women and children.

Remember the cannonading of Stonington and Bristol.

Remember the burning of Jamestown, Rhode-Island.

* In Lord Hillsborough's circular letter,

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Remember the frequent insults of Newport.

Remember the broken charters.

Remember the cannonade of Hampton.

Remember the act for screening and encouraging your murderers.

Remember the cannonade of New-York.

Remember the altering your established jury laws.

Remember the hiring foreign troops against you.

Remember the rejecting of Lord Chatham's, Mr. Hartley's and Mr. Burke's plans of conciliation.

Remember the treatment of Franklin and Temple.

Remember the rejecting of all your numerous humble petitions.

Remember the contempt with which they spoke of you in both houses.

Remember the cowardly endeavour to prevent foreign nations supplying you with arms and ammunition, when they themselves knew they intended coming to cut your throats.

Remember their hiring savages to murder your farmers with their families.

Remember the bribing negro slaves to assassinate their masters.

Remember the burning of Norfolk*.

Remember their obliging you to pay treble duties, when you came to trade with the countries you helped them to conquer †.

Remember their depriving you of all share in the fisheries, you equally

* *This and all the before-mentioned, were open, defenceless towns, which, by the laws of war, should always be spared.*

† *Act of Parliament, 14 George III, laying a duty of three-pence per gallon on all spirits imported into Canada from Britain; and nine-pence, if from any of the North American colonies.*

with them spent your blood and treasure to acquire.

Remember their old restrictions on your woollen manufactories, your hat-making, your iron and steel forges and furnaces.

Remember their arbitrary admiralty courts.

Remember the inhuman treatment of the brave Col. Allen, and the irons he was sent in to England.

Remember the long, habitual, base venality of British Parliaments.

Remember the corrupt, putrified state of that nation, and the virtuous, sound, healthy state of your own young constitution.

Remember the tyranny of Mezentius, who bound living men, face to face, with dead ones, and the effect of it †.

Remember the obstinacy and unforgiving spirit of the King evident in the treatment of his own ~~brats~~ ^{brats}.

Remember that an honourable death is preferable to an ignominious life; and never forget what you owe to yourselves, your families, and your posterity.

On the raising of Flax in America.

Squire Shrewdly. Well, neighbour Wheatly, what is the intelligence from the great city? the moon will light you home, suppose you stay an hour extraordinary, and take a friendly pipe—what are the assembly about?

Wheatly. Why Squire, I generally get through my business as quick as I can, and don't trouble my head much with public affairs.—I suppose they are in good hands, and so I trust such matters to our learned men—but now I think on't—I had half an hour's talk with one of our members (who speaks as freely to me now, since he's a member, as he did before) and he told me the citizens had been acting a strange

† *The corruption of the one poisoned the other.*

part,

part, which neither he nor any of his brethren could get to the bottom of—they have presented a petition to the house, requesting a bounty on the raising of flax, and also praying the assembly to set up, all round the country, a number of thingumbobs for spinning wool and cotton, by which one person can perform the work of three—now our member thought, as the city has always been contwifted careful of doing favours to the country, that they have some underhand design to over-reach us; for some of 'em, you know, Squire, wo'd cheat the Old Boy himself if they could.

Squire Shrewdly. Very well, neighbour, and pray what was your opinion of the matter—did you venture to offer a conjecture upon the occasion, or did your deference for the learned, as you are pleased to term them, induce you to suspend your judgment, till you get to your own fire-side.

Wheatly. I had to be sure some thoughts on the occasion, but you know 'Squire, it is not fit at all times to tell one's thoughts.

Squire Shrewdly. You say right—but there are other times, when one may speak them without reserve, so I beg you will give me your honest sentiments on the subject.

Wheatly. Why 'Squire, if I must speak, I can't help saying, that it looks very like a scheme of the citizens, to get us to put money into their pockets; they can't ship off wheat and flour as usual to Europe and the West-Indies, and therefore, thinks they, if we can get the farmers to raise a large quantity of flax, they will be obliged to bring it to town, and the merchants will send it off to Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia; and so whilst we have got our wheat shut up in our barns, and our mills all standing still, they will be making a pretty penny of us: And don't you

observe, 'Squire, their cunning, in wanting to set up them spinning things about the country for us to spin cotton and wool. Thinks they, if once we can get the country people to use 'em, they will work so fast, that all the wool will be presently spun up; and then they will send to the Carolinas for cotton, and we shall be obliged to buy it, or be idle. Thus, you see, they are scheming it both ways, to make money of us—but don't catch old birds with chaff, 'Squire.

Squire Shrewdly. This is a very serious matter, neighbour Wheatly, and you have roused a variety of thoughts in my mind. As I have always found you ready to listen to reason, and frankly to acknowledge an error, when you discover it, I with the more pleasure, frequently converse with you.—Your notions, neighbour Wheatly, on this subject, are much too confined. Don't you know, that all intercourse with Great-Britain is suspended?—That there has been, for above twelve months, a total stoppage to the importation of linen (except a little smuggled in from Holland) and that all the flax now on the continent, will scarcely make us a night-cap a-piece? Is not your wife daily cutting up sheets and aprons, to put patches on your children's shirts? nay, did not you tell me, that the piece of brown homespun linen, sticking out of your pocket, was for the body-lining of your daughter's wedding gown, because there was no white to be had—how then did you expect to be clothed the ensuing year, unless an ample quantity is provided? It is not enough for you to raise flax for your own family; you seem to know that there are several Colonies which seldom raise any, and therefore, the very argument you use against it, should induce you to cultivate it, in the most extensive manner. If you have no market for your wheat, you ought greedily to embrace

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the offer of so good a substitute, for a hundred pounds reaped by the one, is as good as a hundred pounds by the other. So far from suspecting the citizens of unfriendly designs, you are extremely obliged to them for the proposal; for, let the bounty be what it will, a considerable part will come out of their pockets, and the whole benefit will be reaped by you. As to the invention for expediting the spinning of cotton and wool, the gain will also be wholly on your side; for if it lessens labour, it will certainly lessen the cost of your clothes, and thereby enable you to supply yourselves perhaps as cheap as you have been used to buy out of the stores: therefore, the citizens are generously giving up their own interest, to serve the present cause, for just so much as you make for yourselves, just so much will they be obliged to lessen in their importations, when trade resumes its old channel.

Wheatly. Why, 'Squire, you astound me—I really ask their pardons, I now see it as plain as the pipe in your worship's mouth, that we ought to raise as much flax as we can, and to spin as fast as we can too. I will sow every grain of my seed instead of carrying it to the oil-mill, and let my window shutters go unpainted for another year, when oil will be as plenty in the country as small beer; and if our member gives his vote against setting up a thingamentary in our county, he shan't have my interest at the next election; and so, 'Squire, I must mount my horse and jog on.

Colony of Massachusetts's Bay, Essex, &c.

At a court erected to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the sea-coast of America, and brought into the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, or Essex, to be held at Ipswich, in the said county of Essex, on Monday the eighteenth day of March 1776, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, will be tried the justice

of the capture of the following vessels, viz. of a ship called the *Jenny*, burthen about four hundred tons, commanded by William Foster; of a ship called the *Concord*, burthen about 300 tons, commanded by James Lawrea; and of a schooner called the *Two Sisters*, burthen about eighty tons, commanded by Robert Robbins.

At the same court to be held at Ipswich aforesaid on Tuesday the nineteenth day of March 1776, will be tried the justice of the capture of the following vessels, viz. Of a ship called the *Friends*, burthen about two hundred tons, commanded by Archibald Bowie: of a brigantine called the *Sukey*, burthen about ninety tons, commanded by Maddet Eng: of a sloop called the *North Briton*, burthen about sixty tons, commanded by John Ritchie: of a sloop called the *Sally*, burthen about seventy tons, laden with wine, commanded by Robert Bafden, an officer of the *Niger* frigate, the said sloop having been first taken by the said *Niger* frigate from some of the inhabitants of the United Colonies.

At the same court to be held at Ipswich aforesaid on Wednesday the 20th day of March 1776, will be tried the justice of the capture of the following vessels, viz. Of a brigantine named the *Nancy*, burthen about two hundred and fifty tons, commanded by Robert Hunter: of a certain sloop burthen about eighty tons, commanded by one Smith, and having on board as cargo, turnips and Spanish milled dollars: of a brigantine named the *Little Hannah*, burthen about one hundred and forty tons, commanded by Robert Adams: of a sloop named the *Betsy*, burthen about sixty tons, commanded by one Atkinson.

At the same court to be held at Ipswich on Thursday the twenty-first day of March 1776, will be tried the justice of the capture of the following vessels, viz. of a sloop called the *Industry*, burthen about forty tons, commanded by Samuel Lane: of a sloop called

called the *Success*, burthen about fifty tons, commanded by John Fitch; of a schooner called the *Fisher*, burthen about fifty-five tons, commanded by John Moody; and of a sloop named the *James*, burthen about one hundred and eighty tons, commanded by William Littledale; all which vessels, said to be improved in supplying the fleet and army employed against the United Colonies, and taken and brought into the county of Essex aforesaid, together with their cargoes and appurtenances, are libelled in the court aforesaid, and trials will be had thereon at the several times above appointed (unless the length of some trials should necessarily prevent the hearing of any causes on the days above assigned; in which case such causes will be tried as soon afterwards as may be, and the whole in the order above-mentioned.) Of all which trials this notice is given, pursuant to the laws of the colony aforesaid, that the owners of the aforesaid vessels, or any persons concerned therein, may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the said vessels, or any of them, with their cargoes and appurtenances, should not be condemned.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, jun. judge of said court.

Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, Essex, ss.

A brig named the *Henry* and *Esther*, burthen about 300 tons, commanded by one Nellis, and said to be improved in supplying, or otherwise used in the service of the fleet and army employed against the United Colonies, and taken and brought into the county of Essex, together with her cargo and appurtenances, is libelled in the court erected to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the sea-coasts of America, and brought into the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, or Essex; and a trial will be had thereon at said court, to be held at Ipswich, in said county of Essex, on

Thursday the 28th day of March 1776, at the hour of ten in the forenoon. And this notice is given thereof, pursuant to the laws of the Colony aforesaid, that the owners of said vessels, and any persons concerned therein, may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the said vessel and her cargo and appurtenances, should not be condemned.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, jun. judge of said court.

Scheme for the settlement of a new colony to the west-ward of Pennsylvania, for the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions in America, for the further promotion of the Christian religion among the Indian natives, and for the more effectual securing them in his Majesty's alliance.

That humble application be made either to his Majesty or the General Assembly of Connecticut, or to both, as the case may require, for a grant of so much land as shall be necessary for the settlement of an ample colony, to begin at the distance of 100 miles westward of the western boundaries of Pennsylvania, and thence to extend one hundred miles to the westward of the river Mississippi, and to be divided from Virginia and Carolina by the great chain of mountains that runs along the continent from the north-eastern to the south-western parts of America,

That humble application be made to his Majesty, for a charter to erect the said territory into a separate government, with the same privileges which the colony of Connecticut enjoys, and for such supplies of arms and ammunition as may be necessary for the safety and defence of the settlers, and that his Majesty would also be pleased to take the said new colony under his immediate protection.

That application be made to the assemblies of the several British colonies in North-America, to grant such

Supplies of money and provisions as may enable the settlers to secure the friendship of the Indian natives, and support themselves and families till they are established in said colony in peace and safety, and can support themselves by their own industry.

That at least twelve reverend ministers of the gospel be engaged to remove to the said new colony, with such numbers of their respective congregations as are willing to go along with them.

That every person, from the age of fourteen years and upwards (slaves excepted) professing the Christian religion, being protestant subjects of the crown of Great-Britain, and that will remove to said new colony with the first settlers thereof, shall be entitled to a sufficient quantity of land for a good plantation, without any consideration money, and at the annual rent of a pepper corn: said plantation to contain at least three hundred acres, two hundred acres of which to be such land as is fit either for tillage or meadow,

That every person under the age of fourteen years (slaves excepted) who removes to said province with the first settlers thereof, as well as such children as shall be lawfully born to said first settlers in said province, or in the way to it, shall be entitled to three hundred acres of land when they come to the age of twenty-one years, without any purchase money, at the annual quit-rent of two shillings sterl. for every hundred acres; the quit-rent arising from such lands to be applied to the support of government, the propagation of the Christian religion among the Indian natives, the relief of the poor, the encouragement of learning, and in general to such other public uses, as shall be judged by the legislature of the province to be most conducive to the general good,

That every person who is so entitled to any land in the province, shall be at liberty to take it up when they please; but when taken up shall be obliged to clear and fence at least fifteen acres on every farm of three hundred acres, within five years after the appropriation of said land, and also to build a dwelling-house of at least fifteen foot square with a good chimney on the premises within the said term, on pain of forfeiting said land.

That the said plantations shall be laid out in townships, in such manner as will be most for the safety and convenience of the settlers.

That in order to prevent all jealousies and disputes about the choice of said plantations, they shall be divided by lot.

That as soon as possible after a sufficient number of persons are engaged, and a proper charter obtained, and the necessary preparations are made for the support and protection of the settlers, a place of general rendezvous shall be appointed, where they shall all meet, and from whence they shall proceed in a body to the new colony; but that no place of rendezvous shall be appointed till at least two thousand persons able to bear arms are actually engaged to remove, exclusive of women and children.

That it be established as one of the fundamental laws of the province, that Protestants of every denomination who profess the Christian religion, believe the divine authority of the sacred scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the doctrine of the trinity of persons in the unity of the Godhead, and whose lives and conversations are free from immorality and prophaneness, shall be equally capable of serving in all the posts of honour, trust or profit in the government, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious principles in other res.

respects : but that none of any denomination whatsoever, who have been guilty of profaning the name of God, of lying, drunkenness, or any other of the grosser immoralities, either in their words or actions, shall be capable of holding any office in or under the government till at least one year after the conviction of such offence. The christianizing the Indian natives, and bringing them to be good subjects, not only to the crown of Great-Britain, but to the King of all Kings, being one of the essential designs of the proposed new colony, it is a matter of the utmost importance that those poor ignorant heathen should not be prejudiced against the Christian religion by the bad lives of those in authority.

That Protestants of every denomination who profess the Christian religion, shall have the free and unlimited exercise of their religion, and shall be allowed to defend it, both from the pulpit and the press, so long as they remain peaceable members of civil society, and do not propagate principles inconsistent with the safety of the state.

That no member of the church of Rome shall be able to hold any lands or real estate in the province, nor be allowed to be owners of, or have any arms or ammunition in their possession on any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any mass-houses, or Popish chapels be allowed in the province.

That no person shall be obliged to pay any thing towards the support of a minister of whose congregation he is not a member, or to a church to which he does not belong.

That the Indians shall on all occasions be treated with the utmost kindness, and every justifiable method taken to gain their friendship ; and that whoever injures, cheats, or makes them drunk, shall be punished with peculiar severity,

That so soon as the province is able to support missionaries, and proper persons can be found to engage in the affair, a fund shall be settled for the purpose, and missionaries sent among the neighbouring Indian nations ; and that it shall, in all time coming, be esteemed as one of the first and most essential duties of the legislature of the province, by every proper method in their power, to endeavour to spread the light of the glorious gospel among the Indians in America, even to its most western bounds.

That as the conversion of the Indians is a thing much to be desired, from the weightiest considerations, both of a religious and political nature, and since the colony during its infancy, will be unable to provide the necessary funds for that purpose, some proper person or persons shall be sent to Europe, duly authorized from the government; to ask the assistance of such as desire to promote that great and good work.

Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1756.

To the Hon. Thomas Pownall, Esq;

Sir,

As I hope you have before now had answers from England, to what you wrote in relation to my new Colony scheme, it would oblige me if you would please to communicate them, that I may know what encouragement the design is like to meet with in England, and in what manner I must proceed for the future. — I have now between 4 and 5000 persons able to bear arms, engaged to go and settle in the proposed colony, if the scheme goes on, and can easily procure more than double that number ; among those already engaged are fifteen ministers. As I have the fullest conviction of the importance and laudableness of the design, it is my fixed determination (from which I believe I never shall deviate, whatever changes

changes may come) that I will not finally give up the scheme, till every rational and justifiable method has been tried to carry it into execution; nor can I believe that any body will oppose such a design as this, but those who are either enemies to their country, or who are swayed by private interest. I am informed that you are going to England; if so, you will undoubtedly have an opportunity of communicating what has been done to the Earl of Halifax, and such others at the head of affairs as you think proper; all I desire is that truth may appear, and if the real interests of Great-Britain and America are pursued, I have no doubt of this scheme or some other like it taking place. Should that be the case, it would give me a pleasure to contribute my mite towards it: and if I live till next spring, I suppose I shall be more at liberty than I have been for many years past, to prosecute such a design, and I dare say it will in the end be found true, that the people I have engaged, and their influence, will be of great importance to any good designs that may be formed for the safety of those parts of America. I am but lately returned from a journey of about four months, during which time, I have travelled above 1800 miles, out and home, chiefly on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, —things there are in as melancholy a situation as can well be imagined. — I saw great numbers of houses left desolate, and fields of corn destroyed; and both going out and returning home, I met droves of people who had fled from their habitations, and were travelling with what little effects they could take with them, to seek for safety elsewhere. In short, almost every day's journey presented a new scene of misery, ruin, and desolation. The people in the several

provinces had been crying and praying for protection from those in authority; but could get none at all for a long time, and what they had afterwards was far from being sufficient for their safety, they were therefore under a necessity of flying for their lives, or suffering themselves and families to be murdered, which was in fact the case of a great number. I saw myself several houses at and near New River, or Great Hanawa in Virginia, where the people had been murdered, and I saw one woman who had been scalped, and stabbed in several places, but was like to recover; what amends our governors and assemblies can possibly make for the miseries which their quarrellings have brought upon the people, is hard to imagine.—Protection undoubtedly was the original design of government, and where that is denied, the people are worse off than they would be if they were reduced to their primitive state of nature—nay, even the wildest anarchy could hardly be worse than government managed as it frequently has been in the colonies southward of New England, and this will undoubtedly often be the case, so long as the interests of those that govern, and those that are governed run counter to each other.—If any schemes be gone into for settling a new colony, I hope things will be put on such a footing, as will prevent those jars and contentions between the different branches of the legislature, which have almost ruined some of the colonies—the true interests of the King and the people most certainly are the same, and it is a great unhappiness that those who have had the management of those interests have so often made them to appear different. Were I to form my ideas of the King, from the representations that are sometimes given of him by governors, I should believe he was a tyrant, and were I to form my
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opinion of the people, from what is sometimes the conduct of their representatives, I should believe them rebels; and if such sentiments should get fixed in the breast of the King and the ministry, or prevail among the people, what must be the consequence? Would not the King in such a case turn tyrant in earnest; and would not the people think themselves dissolved from their obligations of allegiance to such a King, and only wish for an opportunity to cast off the yoke that galled their necks—In short, such a form of government, and such methods of managing it, as leaves the least room for jealousies and disputes, between the King or his representatives, and the people; and as it has the greatest tendency to promote mutual confidence and affection between them, must be best both for the King and the people, for in union there is strength; but an house divided against itself cannot stand—how far these sentiments may agree with the views of the ministry is not in my power to determine, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with their secrets or system; nor am I certain that my declaring my sentiments may not be an objection with them, if it should come to their knowledge against my being employed in any schemes for making settlements at the Ohio.—However, if I may but be a means of getting a good scheme carried on, I do not intend to give myself any great anxiety whether I have any hand in them or not; and let confusion seize every knave who will sacrifice his King and his country's cause, to his own private interest or honour.—It is of but little consequence whether one man be poor or rich, whether he be honourable or despised; but it is of great importance whether a whole colony, and perhaps twenty others that may afterwards be settled on the same plan, be free and happy with their posterity

after them, or whether they be slaves and miserable; nor is civil slavery the only thing to be feared, for religious tyranny is generally its companion.—I hope you will favour me with a line before you embark for England; and if I am not mistaken, I have a right to claim one from your promise; I sincerely wish you a good voyage, with a happy sight of your friends, and am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

SAM. HAZARD.

P. S. I have desired my brother to wait upon you for an answer, which he will convey to me.

Extract of a letter from Bristol, dated July 2.

'This day arrived here Capt. Furse, in a schooner, from Boston, in 30 days. He was taken in his passage from Grenada to Boston, loaded with rum and molasses, for the garrison at Boston, but met with an American privateer, boarded by a number of hands, and carried into Boston. They kept his ship and cargo, but permitted him to buy a small schooner to come home with his people.

'The following is the intelligence received by Captain Furse, who left Boston the 1st of June 1776, and arrived at Bristol after a passage of 30 days:—The town and harbour of Boston are now completely fortified, and they have in garrison 1600 continental troops, well armed and disciplined, as are also 10,000 minutemen in the country, who are ready to march at an hour's notice, and can be collected in a short space of time, proper alarm signals being fixed for that purpose. After garrisoning of Boston, the rest of the army marched in divisions for New York. They are a body of fine fellows, and actual service has made them good soldiers.'

The Alfred, Columbus, and a brig, part of Commodore Hopkins's fleet,
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arrived from New London at Newport the 29th of April. Both those harbours are now fortified. At Philadelphia a vast supply of arms, ammunition, and stores of every kind, have been received lately; not less than 300 tons of powder, and full 10,000 stand of arms, were imported in one month.

On the 18th of April, a ship was stopped in Virginia with Scotch fugitives on board, who were apprehended, and a considerable amount in specie taken from them. Several of the same country were committed to prison for corresponding with Lord Dunmore, and were to be tried at Williamsburgh, at which General Lee has his head quarters, and commands an army in that province of 10,000 men.

Lord George Germaine's letters to Governor Eden informing him of Lord Cornwallis's destination, force, &c.—were intercepted and sent to the Congress. The army in Canada, which consisted of 15 battalions, was entrenched near the river Sorel.

It seems the people were much alarmed at Boston on the news of the defeat at Quebec, fearing that the Indians might join the troops, and come down upon them; that General Washington had left a garrison at Boston, and was gone with 20,000 men to New York.

American United Colonies.

In Congress, May 15, 1776. Whereas his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, has by a late act of parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown. And whereas no answer whatever, to the humble petition of the colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great-Britain, has been, or is likely to be given; but the whole force of that Kingdom, aided by foreign mer-

cenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these colonies. And whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience, for the people of these colonies to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great-Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown shall be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of these colonies for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of ourselves, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of our enemies:

Therefore, resolved, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.—

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

The following is the substance of the instructions sent to the representatives of the town of Boston.

“Gentlemen, at a time, when, in all probability, the whole United Colonies are upon the verge of a glorious revolution; and when, consequently, the most important questions that were ever agitated before the representative body of this colony, touching its internal police, will demand your attention; your constituents think it necessary to instruct you in several matters what part to act, that the path of your duty may be plain before you.

‘We have seen the humble petitions of these colonies to the King of Great-

Great-Britain repeatedly rejected with disdain. For the prayer of peace the sword is tendered; for liberty, chains; and for safety, death. The instruments of hostile oppressions are licensed to rob us of our property, to burn our houses, and to spill our blood.— Every barbarous nation, who could be influenced, have been invited to assist in prosecuting these purposes.

‘ We have seen the people of Great-Britain so lost to every sense of virtue and honour, as to pass over the most pathetic and earnest appeals to their justice with an unfeeling indifference. The hopes we placed on their exertions, having long since failed. In short, we are convinced, that it is the fixed and settled determination of the ministry and parliament of that island to conquer and subject the colonies, and that the people there have no disposition to oppose them.— A reconciliation with them appears to us to be as dangerous as it is absurd. A spirit of resentment once raised, it is not easy to appease: the recollection of past injuries will perpetually keep alive the flame of jealousy, which will stimulate to new impositions on the one side, and consequently resistance on the other: and the whole body politic will be continually subject to civil commotions.

‘ We therefore think it almost impracticable for these colonies to be ever again subject to, or dependant upon Great-Britain, without endangering the very existence of the state; placing however unbounded confidence in the supreme councils of the Congress, we are determined to wait, most patiently to wait, till their wisdom shall dictate the necessity of making a declaration of independance.— Nor should we have ventured to express our sentiments upon the subject, but from the presumption, that the Congress would chuse to feel themselves supported by the people of each

colony before they adopt a resolution so interesting to the whole. The inhabitants of this town, therefore, unanimously instruct and direct you, that at the approaching session of the General Assembly you use your endeavours that the delegates of this colony, at the Congress, be advised, that in case the Congress shall think it necessary, for the safety of the United Colonies, to declare them independent of Great-Britain, the inhabitants of this colony, with their lives; and the remnant of their fortunes; will most cheerfully support them in their measure. *See Page 232.*

Philadelphia, May 20.

Extract of a letter to the Congress, dated Montreal, March 10, 1776.

‘ Sir, By Col. Campbell, who arrived here early this morning from Quebec, we are informed, that two men of war, two frigates, and one tender, arrived there early on Monday the 6th instant. About eleven o’clock the enemy sallied out, to the number, as is supposed, of 1000 men: Our forces were so dispersed at different parts, that not more than 200 could be collected together at the head quarters.—This small force could not resist the enemy: All our cannon, 500 musquets, and about 200 sick, unable to come off, have fallen into their hands. The retreat was made with the utmost precipitation and confusion. However, Col. Campbell informs us, that he imagines that we have lost very few men except the sick abovementioned.’

The following ships have been taken by the Provincials in Boston harbour, in sight of the men of war; viz. the brigantine Jane, James Fulton, master, from Cork, laden with coals, candles, provisions.—The brig William, Rd. Pine, master, from St. Michael’s, with wine and fruit. The ship Hope, Captain Lamsdale from England, last from Cork, having on

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board 1500 barrels of gunpowder, all copper hooped, 1000 carbines, with bayonets, scabbards, and steel hammers, 1000 carbine cartouch boxes and rings, with sundry travelling carriages for heavy cannon, &c. a vast variety of tools, implements, and necessaries of iron ware for the army and artillery. She is estimated to be worth 50,000l. sterling. This ship had six carriage guns, and twenty men, and was taken by Captain Mugford's vessel of inferior force, without firing a gun. The enemy on board the men of war, were intolerably vexed to see her taken.

A letter from Boston, May 29, says, 'By the assiduousness of the inhabitants, and some Prussian engineers, the fortifications of this place will in a few days be rendered so strong, as to be able to defend Boston from the attack of our enemies, if ever so numerous or powerful.'

Providence, May 11. The General Assembly, in their last session, passed an act, intitled, 'an act for repealing an act for the more effectual securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects, in this his colony and dominion of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, and altering the form of commissions of all writs and processs in the courts, and of the oaths prescribed by law.'

Boston, May 20. Several persons, by virtue of an order of the Congress, have, by the general committee of this city and county, been committed to prison, for refusing to deliver up on oath, to the order of the committee, all their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, which were demanded of them, after they had refused to sign an association prescribed by the Congress, to defend by arms these United Colonies against the hostile attempts of the British fleet and armies.

Friday last information was given to our Congress that some men on

Long-Island were counterfeiting the continental money, also Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York currency, a party of minute-men were ordered out the same day in search of them, they were all taken with what cash they had struck off, their presses, tools, &c. they were yesterday brought to town, and committed to goal.

Almost every able-bodied inhabitant of this place having voluntarily engaged to work two days a-week for six weeks on the fortifications, those at Fort-Hill, Noddle's-Island, Dorchester-Point, and at the castle, are nearly completed.

Water-Town, May 27. Monday last the freeholders and other inhabitants of this town being duly warned, and assembled at the house, the question was put, 'Whether, that if the Hon. Congress should, for the safety of the colonies, declare themselves independent of the kingdom of Great-Britain, they, the said inhabitants will solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support them in the measures.'

It passed unanimously in the affirmative.

Thursday last 24 Indians, the chiefs of several Indian nations, arrived here from Albany. They are to set out for Philadelphia in a few days, in order to wait on the Hon. the Continental Congress.

Extract of a letter from an officer in the British army at Halifax, to a merchant in London, dated May 27.

'I have seen several accounts which mention that the Indians intend to remain neuter in the present contest, I wish it was true; on the contrary, by intelligence from Boston we understand, that several tribes have taken up the hatchet against our forces, and that some of them are arrived at Cambridge.'

Extract

Extract of a letter from Boston, brought by the Syrena, Capt. Furze, who left that place June 3, 1776.

‘ Since my last, when the King’s troops left us, nothing very material has happened. The Provincials, from their first coming into this town, have been very busy in fortifying the hills, and throwing up works on every place that commands the harbour, expecting, I suppose, another visit from the King’s troops: and several vessels are fitting out here as privateers, from 16 to 28 guns. They endeavour to ensnare the seamen of all the prizes they take, by fair words and fine promises. Four of Captain Furze’s men have entered on board one of them.

‘ Yesterday an American vessel, which had been taken by a King’s frigate, and a midshipman and hands put on board to carry her to Halifax, was, by the pilot they took in, brought into this harbour and secured, and now lies safe, and the officer and men are made prisoners. A fifty gun ship and two frigates lie here, to prevent any British vessels falling into the hands of the Provincials, from their not knowing of the evacuation; but two have been already taken in this harbour notwithstanding, in spite of all the endeavours to prevent it.

Eight battalions of the Pennsylvania troops marched for Canada some time since; and seven regiments are to go thither from New-York, the Congress being very solicitous to preserve the province, as it will cut out work enough for the King’s troops during the summer, and thereby save the other colonies. The head quarters of the Provincials, by the last advices from thence, were near the river Sorel.

‘ General Washington is gone from hence to New York, expecting work will be cut out for him at that place very shortly; the garrison there has been greatly augmented, not only from this but also the rest of the colonies, we are told that they have not less than 18000 men under arms.

The Jane (formerly the Minerva) Fulton, a transport, from Clyde to Boston, was taken by the Provincials on the 6th of May, and carried into Salem. The following is a letter from the master:

‘ Sir, *Salem, May 14, 1776.*

‘ This is to acquaint you, that we were taken by an armed schooner, Captain Tucker, commander, on the 6th of this instant, within two miles of the light-house at Boston, and in sight of four men of war. We are used very well, and have liberty to walk where we please; but when we shall get home I cannot tell, but will come as soon as possible.

– JAMES FULTON.’

The above ship had a cargo on board, worth upwards of 6000*l.* which is mostly insured at Glasgow.

Extract of a letter from Whitehaven, June 14.

‘ On Monday arrived here a schooner, which sailed the 14th of May from Squam (a creek on the N. E. side of Cape Ann, a few leagues from Boston) commanded by Captain Woods and Robinson, whose ships, the Jenny and Nelly, were taken by the Provincials; as were also the James, Littledale, and the Norfolk, Grindall; all of this port. The above schooner was purchased by the Captains who came home in her, jointly with Capt. Littledale and Capt. Nellis, of the Henry and Esther, of Whitby, who, with their people, being prisoners, had obtained leave to depart the continent, and take their passage for Great-Britain; but some disagreeable accounts coming to the Provincials, they unbent their sails, and took away her rigging till they gave further permission. During this suspense Captain Littledale, and Captain Nellis were drowned by the boat oversetting in going on shore. The schooner sailed the Monday following this accident. When she left the Squam, upwards of thirty vessels were upon the stocks at

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Newbury, among which were one of 24, and another of 36 guns; one of 36 was launched a few days before a little to the northward of Newbury. Ships, they were informed, were arriving from Bilboa and military stores. The men of war sometimes pursue them to the mouth of the river, at the entrance of which there is a very bad bar, about three miles from the town. Numbers of people were employed at Newbury making saltpetre, of which one man will, with indifferent materials, make a pound a day.

Another letter from the same place, dated June 18.

'The following declaration has been published here by Captain James Hall, of the Happy Return, belonging to this port, who was taken by the Provincials on his passage to Boston, and is since come home in a schooner which he and two other masters bought for that purpose, which arrived here the 10th inst.

'On the 25th of January, at eight o'clock, A. M. the Happy Return, of Whitehaven, James Hall, commander, was taken by the Hancock privateer, Capt. John Manly, and at the time of being taken was within two miles of the Renown man of war, then in Nantasket road, who did not offer the least assistance, though the wind was off shore, being at N. N. W.

'The same day as the above, at nine o'clock, A. M. the Norfolk of Whitehaven, was taken in the same manner by the same privateer. At half past nine o'clock, A. M. the privateer and prizes fell in with two King's tenders, one of which immediately ran in for Boston; but the other engaged the privateer for half an hour, and then left her. The tender and privateer appeared to be a very equal match, and when the tender left the privateer, Captain Manley had but six cartridges left; and he said if both the tenders had attacked

him, he should not have fired a gun. At six o'clock they were carried into Plymouth.

'To the truth of the above I am ready to make oath.

JAMES HALL.'

Philadelphia, March 31. The bill intitled, 'An act to increase the number of representatives in assembly for the city of Philadelphia, and in the several counties therein named,' being transcribed according to order, and read the third time, in the house of assembly, the question was called for and put by the speaker, whether the said bill should pass the house and be sent to the governor? carried in the affirmative.

Philadelphia, April 4. Yesterday arrived here four Indian chiefs, they are come at the particular request of the Congress; another powerful chief is expected every day. It is said that they are all determined to take up the hatchet in defence of the colonies.

Philadelphia, April 16. Mr. Divies, a merchant of Virginia, who is just arrived at this place, informs us, that Major Rogers, together with five Indian chiefs, is gone to wait on the Congress, they having requested the major's attendance, who has hitherto acted with the greatest caution, neither speaking his sentiments for or against government; but we now imagine he will take an active part, and bring the Indians from the back settlements in defence of America.— One Captain Watkins, a great acquaintance of Guy Johnstone, has for several months been tampering with the chiefs of the different tribes of the Indians, in order to get them to take the hatchet against our unhappy country, but has met with no success.

Philadelphia, May 31. This day arrived upwards of seven hundred Indians from the back settlements: more are hourly expected. They are to go to the camp at Cambridge.

Extract

Extract of a letter from Mr. Broome, in Philadelphia.

‘ We have lately opened a trade with the Dutch, French, and Spaniards, which is likely to be very extensive, and will be very advantageous to the colonies in general. The Dutch are rather cautious, and negotiate their business as private as possible. The French and Spaniards trade openly with us; and if they meet with any of his Majesty’s cruisers, do not hesitate to tell them they are bound to some port in America. Much has been observed respecting the Indians; so far concerning their conduct I can assure you, that the tribes of the Six United Nations are all in favour of America, as are several others. I believe there may be one or two tribes (who have had great presents made them, and large promises, by friends of government) inclined to join the British army.

On the 23d of May, in the morning, (the day that parliament was up) the Right Hon. Hans Stanley, and the Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, after breakfasting with Lord North, set out for Paris. The purpose of their errand was variously guessed; that conjecture which gained most credit was, that they went to continue for a longer term the pacific disposition of the French court. In such a matter money and confidence are most probably the best helps, and this is not the most unlikely way of accounting for the extraordinary debts of the civil list; for with a most enormous income, and a very little apparent expenditure at home, there must be some great outlet, and this is perhaps the most probable. Le Duc de Choiseul about this time was coming into favour: the Queen of France has a high opinion of him. About a month after the arrival of the English gentlemen at Paris, the King said of Choiseul ‘ that he had a fine place in the country, and wondered he did not live there.’

The armaments in France are very considerable. Seamen are taken into the King’s service in every port, as fast as they arrive, not (say the French) with a view of entering into a direct war with Great-Britain, but to put their West India islands in a proper state of defence; and to have it more in their power to favour and protect their trade with North America, which is of great advantage to them. It is certain this is much encouraged by their ministry. A considerable quantity of rice lately arrived at Nantz, which has reduced the price of that article to 19 livres, and 600 hogheads of tobacco, which was immediately bought up by the farmers general.

Extract of a letter from Marseilles, June 2.

‘ The dispute between Great-Britain and her colonies proves very advantageous to the commercial nations in the south of Europe, as it causes the North American commerce to flow into them, which was formerly secured to the English, and was very lucrative to that nation.

‘ At present trade seems more than usually brisk here; and by advices from Spain and Portugal we likewise judge, that those people ardently embrace the opportunity offered to them of opening new sources of riches and prosperity. Anglo-American ships frequently enter the ports of Cadiz and Lisbon.’

Extract of a letter from Lisbon, dated June 12, to a gentleman in Bristol.

‘ While I was at Lagos, the Duc de Chartres arrived there in the Provence of 64 guns, where he found the Solitaire also of 64 guns; and the rest of the French fleet, which consisted of 15 sail, one of the officers informed me, they were expected to rendezvous there in a few days; but letters from Cadiz of last post mention the arrival there of Mons. de Bouganville (whom I saw at Lagos, and

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is second captain on board the Duke's ship) in a small tender early in the morning, and that in the evening of the same day, the whole Spanish fleet left Cadiz, except two vessels which were then not quite ready, but were ordered to follow with all expedition; and last Saturday accounts were received, that the two fleets were joined. A proceeding so very extraordinary, that our politicians here raised shrewd conjectures, and foretel events that will put an end to the general repose of Europe; as some design must be the motive of these united and powerful armaments; and as we are certain they are not intended against the Moors, there is too much reason to suspect they are hostile to the interests of Great-Britain.'

The Ann and Isabella, with part of the 17th regiment, arrived at Cape Fear the 18th of April 1776, being the first vessel of Sir Peter Parker's fleet, that arrived there; from that date to the second of May, there came to Cape Fear 13 sail of transports, the Pigot and a victualler; on the 3d, Sir Peter Parker and 20 sail arrived with Lord Cornwallis and General Vaughan, and two companies of artillery were with them, and a bomb tender with Col. James, all the troops in perfect health. Governor Martin and Lord William Campbell were at Cape Fear, as was also Gen. Clinton. It was not known on the 9th of May whether General Clinton was to disembark his troops at Cape Fear, or to proceed elsewhere. Ships of war at Cape Fear: Bristol, Solebay, and Sphinx; the sloops Pelican, Cruger, Scorpion, and the Syren frigates cruising off Cape Fear: The Acteon frigate, the Nancy ordnance ship, and a victualler, were not come the 9th of May; at which time, Sir Peter Parker dispatched this account to Admiral (now Lord Shuldhan) at Halifax, who sent it express to England, where

it arrived on the second of July; but it was not published in the Gazette.

On the third of July the Unity, Wardle, arrived at Portsmouth from Georgia; She brought very few letters. The account given by the passengers is, that the whole system of government had been changed, and every thing was in great confusion when the ship came away. Her having leave to sail was doubtful for some days; at last she obtained permission under very disagreeable circumstances, for every passenger that comes home is in a state of banishment from that province, and leaves his effects behind in a state little short of confiscation. The passengers say that one of the first acts of the new government was to inflict a severe fine on all who refused to take up arms, and this fine to be collected monthly.

There are no late accounts from Lord Dunmore; but advices from Virginia say, that they have on foot in that colony a regular army of nine battalions, amounting to upwards of 7000 men, including officers, to be commanded by one Major-general, and two Brigadier-generals, besides minute-men, and a well-trained militia of between 60 and 70,000 men. They make above 1000lb. of saltpetre in a day: they have opened and work sulphur and lead mines, which prove so fertile, that they will have enough of these articles in a year to complete the whole continent. They have established manufactories of guns and other arms; of which they make large quantities; so that they have no apprehension of the least want of arms or ammunition,

The government of South Carolina is wholly changed. Mr. Rutledge is chosen president; the house of assembly and council have met; the latter consists of gentlemen of the first property in the province. Mr. Rutledge

ledge opened the session with a speech, recommending unanimity and perseverance; hoped the province would never acquiesce in the new claim of the British ministry, viz. *unconditional submission*. Both houses presented addresses, in which they stile him 'his Excellency,' and declare their firm resolution to die rather than submit. They have re-enacted the former laws of the province, and by new laws have made it felony, without benefit of clergy, to speak disrespectfully of the Continental Congress; to furnish any kind of assistance to the British ships, or troops, &c. By another law the inhabitants of the province are forbid to correspond with Great-Britain. In the preamble to one of the acts, they say, they are ready to submit to a constitutional dependence upon Great-Britain, but no other.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a General Assembly begun and holden at Charlestown, on Tuesday the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy six; and from thence continued, by divers adjournment, to Thursday the eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

An Act to prevent sedition, and punish insurgents and disturbers of the public peace.

Whereas a horrid and unnatural war is now carried on by the ministry and parliament of Great-Britain, against the United Colonies of North America in general, and this colony in particular, with a cruel and oppressive design of robbing the colonies and good people of this colony of their dearest and most valuable rights as freemen, and reducing them to a state of the most abject slavery and oppression: and whereas also, in order further to accomplish the said iniqui-

tous and unwarrantable designs, every means has been adopted by a wicked administration to sow civil dissensions and animosities, and to create disorder, confusion and bloodshed amongst the good people of this colony, by employing secret emissaries to stir up in the minds of wicked and evil-disposed persons, persuasions and principles inimical to the ties of humanity, and the common rights of mankind, and thereby inducing them not only to disturb the common peace, safety, and good order of this colony, but to take up arms and spill the blood of their fellow-citizens, who are only acting in the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hands of a lawless and despotic power: to the intent therefore, and in order the more effectually to preserve and secure the peace, order, and good government of this colony, and to deter and prevent such evil-minded persons from committing such offences, and all such other offences declared in this act, to the great danger of the lives, liberties, and properties of the inhabitants of this colony: Be it enacted by his Excellency John Rutledge, Esq; president and commander in chief in and over the colony of South Carolina, and by the honourable the Legislative Council and General Assembly of this colony, and by the authority of the same, that if any person or persons within this colony do, or shall, from and immediately after the passing of this act, take up arms with a hostile intent, and by force and violence, or by words, deeds, or writing, or any other means whatsoever, cause, induce, or persuade, or attempt to cause, induce, or persuade any other person or persons, with such hostile intent to take up arms, and by force and violence to oppose and subvert the authority of the government of this colony, established by the constitution, agreed on and confirmed

in Congress at Charlestown, on the twenty-sixth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, or to wound, maim, or kill any person or persons, or destroy any of the houses, goods, or chattels of any such persons, who shall under, and by virtue of any authority of the said government, be acting in support and defence of the same, or the execution of any power, authority or office derived therefrom, all and every of such person or persons, and the aider and abettor, or aiders and abettors of such person or persons so offending, in either of the offences aforesaid, shall, on being indicted and convicted of the same, by due course of law, be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any persons within this colony shall immediately after the passing of this act, or at any time thereafter, by letter, writing, message, or other means of intelligence, hold any correspondence or intercourse, or conspire or concert in any manner whatever with, or aid or abet any land or naval force, raised or to be raised, or which shall be sent by Great-Britain, in a hostile manner, against this colony, or any other force or body of men within this colony, who shall, in a hostile intent or manner, oppose the power and authority of the present government of this colony, established as aforesaid, with an intent to promote the accomplishments of any hostile plan of operation designed by such force or forces against the lives, liberties and properties of all or any of the inhabitants and friends to the constitution of this colony, established as aforesaid; every such person or persons so offending in any of the said offences, shall, on being indicted and convicted thereof by due course of law, be deemed and adjudged guilty

of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within this colony shall, immediately after the passing of this act, or at any time thereafter, furnish or supply, or cause or procure to be furnished or supplied, with any bills of exchange, monies, goods, provisions, liquors, or other necessary articles of subsistence, or any military or naval stores whatever, any of the land or naval forces, raised or to be raised, or sent by Great-Britain, or any authority derived from that government, against this colony, or shall, in like manner, furnish or supply, or cause to be furnished or supplied, any force or body of men who shall, in a hostile manner, oppose the government of this colony, established as aforesaid; every such person or persons so offending in either of the offences aforesaid, and the aider or abettor, or aiders and abettors of any of the said offences, shall, on being indicted or convicted thereof, by due course of law, be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within this colony shall, at any time, after the passing of this act, compel, induce, persuade, or attempt to compel, induce, or persuade any white person or persons, or any free Negro or Negroes, Mulatto or Mulattoes, Indian or Indians, to desert from their habitation or habitations, or any Negro or other slave or slaves to desert from his or their master, mistress, or owner, and to join any land or naval force, raised or to be raised, or sent by Great-Britain, or any authority derived from that government, against the United Colonies of America, or this colony, or to join any person or persons armed in

a hostile manner, with intent to oppose or subvert the government of this colony, established as aforesaid, or with intent of killing any person or persons, or destroying his, her, or their goods or property who shall be acting, or ready and willing to act in support and defence of such government, or any of the inhabitants of this colony and friends to the same; every such person or persons so offending in any of the above offences, and all such as shall aid and abet the said offender or offenders in the perpetration and execution of any of the said offences, shall, on conviction thereof, by due course of law, be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. Provided always, nevertheless, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed or taken to prevent the good people of this colony from arming of slaves or negroes, for the better defence of this colony against all enemies whatsoever who shall invade or attack the same, or endanger the safety thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within this colony, shall, immediately after the passing of this act, or at any time thereafter, collect or assemble with any body or assembly of persons, or cause or procure them to be so collected and assembled, with intent, in a riotous and seditious manner, to disturb the public peace and tranquility, and the good order of the government, and by words or otherwise to create and raise traitorous seditions or discontents in the minds of the good people of this colony, against the authority of the present government, established as aforesaid; every such person or persons, so offending in any of the said offences, shall, on conviction thereof, by due course of law, be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the lands and tenements, goods and chattels, and other real and personal estate of all such person or persons, who shall be duly convicted, by virtue of this act, of any of the crimes and offences thereby made felony, shall within one month after such conviction, by the sheriff of each district respectively, in which such real and personal estate of the person or persons so convicted, or any part thereof shall be found, with three freeholders of the said district; be appraised upon oath, and the said appraisement duly returned, by the said sheriff of such district, to the secretary's office in Charles-Town, within one month after such appraisement made, and the said sheriff of such district in which the appraisement is made, as aforesaid; shall, within one month thereafter, expose such estate so appraised to public sale; first giving twenty-one days public notice of the sale; and shall, within three months after such sale, deposit the amount of the same, deducting legal poundage and charges; in the office of the colony treasury in Charles-Town, and the commissioners of the colony treasury, or any one of them, on receipt of such monies from the Sheriff, as aforesaid, shall give a receipt or voucher for the same.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Sheriff or Sheriffs, for any of the districts in this colony, shall in any wise transgress, or disobey, or neglect the putting in execution, any of the provisions or clauses in this act, respecting their duty and office; every Sheriff so offending, disobeying or neglecting the same, shall forfeit his office, and incur the penalty of one thousand pounds current money, to be sued for, and recovered by bill or plaint in any court of record in this colony, wherein no essoin, privilege, protection or

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wage;

wager of law, or more than one im-
parlance shall be allowed.

And be it further enacted by the
authority aforesaid, That the monies
arising from the sale of all such estates
as shall become forfeited, by virtue
of this act, shall be appropriated for
a fund, and shall become a reprisal
fund, for reimbursing all such losses
and damages which have been, or
shall be sustained by any person or
persons who have been, are, or shall
be, engaged in opposition to the op-
pressive measures of the British mini-
stry, or the defence of the present
established constitution, and the liber-
ties of this colony.

And be it further enacted by the
authority aforesaid, That no person or
persons shall be reimbursed, by virtue
of this act, for any losses or damages
sustained from persons acting in open
hostility against the present constitution
of government, and the liberties of
this colony, unless the said reimburse-
ment be on application, and oath
made of the damages actually sustain-
ed, deemed just and reasonable by the
General Assembly of this colony, or
such other body or persons as the le-
gislative body of this colony shall ap-
point, Provided always, nevertheless,
That such person or persons, to whom
such reimbursement shall be thought
reasonable, do first, before the receipt
thereof, take and subscribe the oath
of fidelity, ordained in the present
constitution, if such person or persons
had not before taken and subscribed
the same.

And be it further enacted by the
authority before said, That the fines
and penalties to be incurred, by vir-
tue of this act, shall, upon recovery
thereof, be paid into the colony trea-
sury, to be applied to, and for, such
uses and purposes as are herein men-
tioned.

G. G. POWELL, speaker of the
Legislative Council.

JAMES PARSONS, Speaker of the
General Assembly.

In the Council-chamber, the 11th
day of April 1776. Assented to,

J. RUTLEDGE.
General Assembly of South Carolina,
April 16, 1776.

‘ Ordered that the following reso-
lutions be forthwith printed and made
public. By order of the house,

PETER TIMOTHY, Cl. G. A.:

‘ Whereas the Hon. the Continen-
tal Congress hath resolved, ‘ That
in the present situation of affairs, it
will be very dangerous to the liber-
ties and welfare of America, if any
colony should separately petition the
King or either house of parliament :’
And whereas no step should be left
unessayed to promote the general
welfare ; and whereas the sending
commissioners from Great-Britain to
treat with the different colonies is
dangerous to the stability of the li-
berties of America : therefore,

‘ Resolved, that it is the opinion
of this house, that no measures shall
be left unessayed to establish the liber-
ties of America, and to place them as
far as may be out of the reach of
fraudulent schemes to subvert them
by negotiation ; and that this colony
should not enter into any treaty or
correspondence with the court of Great
Britain, or with any person or per-
sons under that authority, but through
the medium of the Continental Con-
gress :

‘ Resolved also, That it is the opi-
nion of this house, that if any person
or persons sent from Great-Britain to
treat with the several colonies, shall
arrive in this colony by water, such
person or persons, and their retinue
or company, should not, upon any
pretence, be allowed to land or re-
main longer in the colony than 48
hours, wind and weather permitting ;
or while so remaining, to hold any
communication with any person in
the,

this colony, but through his Excellency the president; and if any such persons shall arrive by land, they should be forthwith carefully escorted out of the colony, and not be permitted to hold any intercourse with persons not for that purpose authorised by the president, and that for the mere purpose of accommodation.

Admiralty-Office, June 29. Vice-admiral Shuldham, in his letter dated the 20th of May, gives an account, that the cruisers of his Squadron had intercepted and taken 24 ships and vessels belonging to or trading with his Majesty's rebellious subjects in North America, in addition to those mentioned in his letter of the 25th of April, among which was the Lion schooner, bound from Cape Francois to Rhode-island, laden with arms and ammunition. *Gazette.*

Portsmouth, June 27. Yesterday the transports, having on board the Brunswick troops, and the company of Hannau artillery, sailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, under convoy of his Majesty's ships the Amazon and Garland. *ibid.*

Portsmouth, June 29. Yesterday in the evening sailed with a fair wind his Majesty's ships the Diamond and Unicorn from Spithead, and the Ambuscade from St. Helen's, having under their convoy the transports with the second division of Hessian troops. *ibid.*

[This fleet was obliged by contrary winds to put into Plymouth on the 7th of July. It consisted of 72 sail, and had on board about 4000 Hessians, 1000 Waldeckers, two companies of Chasseurs, *i. e.* riflemen, 200 English recruits, and 2000 baggage horses. The horse-transports are Dutchmen, very slow sailing vessels. They sailed from Plymouth on the 19th of July.]

St. James's, July 6. The King has been pleased to confer the honour of the most honourable order of the Bath

on Guy Carleton, Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's province of Quebec, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in the said province, and on the frontiers of the provinces bordering thereupon. *Gaz.*

Whitehall, July 6. General Howe, in his dispatches to Lord George Germaine, dated Halifax, June the 7th and 8th, which were yesterday delivered by Captain Dudingston of the navy, gives an account that the troops under his command were embarked, and waited only for favourable weather to proceed to sea. *ibid.*

He also mentions that an ordnance storeship, named the Hope, had been taken in Boston bay. *ibid.*

The General had just received advice that some of the transports with the Highlanders were arrived at the entrance of the harbour, and was not without hopes that they should all join under sail the next day. *ibid.*

[This is the first mention of General Howe in the Gazette, since his departure from Boston. To the particulars given in page 113, it will not be improper to add, that on the 6th of June he received dispatches, which were sent from England on the second of May. On the 10th of June he left Halifax, not in consequence of any orders from England, but to execute a plan of his own. He left 1500 men at Halifax, to protect the place. On the 12th of June, the fleet and troops sailed (as is supposed) for New York. General Howe went in a single frigate on the 10th, it is supposed to reconnoitre. Two transports foundered in a gale of wind, just as they were got out of the harbour, and about 300 troops with the crews perished. Part of Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, and part of two battalions of the 71st, arrived at Halifax June 7. General Howe, during his stay at Halifax, found

the people friendly to the King's cause, and he got about 400 recruits in the colony, which were put on board the fleet. He never landed his troops during his stay there. He was in great want of provisions, and that is supposed to have been the true cause of his departure.

Several of the late inhabitants of Boston, who fled to Halifax with General Howe, have received Letters from their friends at Boston, giving an account of the proceedings of the Provincials on their taking possession of Boston. The first thing they set about was putting up to sale the effects of all those gentlemen and traders who had left Boston, and gone with General Howe to Halifax, which they sold, and the amount is to be appropriated to the stock of the province; but where there were some of the family left behind, they consented to leave them their household goods, after taking an inventory of them, and obliging the family to give security to be accountable for the value on demand; but every thing in the stores and in trade were sold without reserve. They had also put several gentlemen, whom they adjudged to be of exceptionable characters, and not friends to their cause, under confinement, particularly Dr. Whitworth and son, John Rowe, Esq; Mr. Samuel Wallis, Mr. Jerry Allen, Mr. Cream Brush, and Mr. Jackson, the two last in close confinement.

Admiralty-Office, July 23. By a letter received from Vice-admiral Lord Howe, dated the 23d of June last, it appears that his Lordship arrived on that day off the port of Halifax in the Eagle; and having learned that the fleet and army under the conduct of Vice-admiral Lord Shulldham had left that port on the 10th of June, his Lordship intended to proceed immediately to join him. [Gaz.]

Other accounts mentioned, that Lord Howe arrived at Halifax, with

sixty sail of transports, being the Scotch troops, which he met with at sea, or near Halifax; and that he would follow his brother as soon as he had taken in fresh water, of which he was in great need.

Extract of a letter from an officer of Lord John Murray's regiment, dated Halifax, June 20.

'Soon after we left the Clyde, on the coast of Ireland, a violent storm separated the fleet; we lost company with our convoy, the Flora frigate, and found that out of all the fleet that sailed only five of us were remaining together. We spoke with several ships on our voyage bound from the West Indies to London, but received no news from them. Without any material accident, we arrived off Cape Cod, and ran in for Boston harbour, but were greatly surprised to find so very few shipping there; we hoisted our colours as usual, and soon after were saluted by a number of shells from the garrison; we began then to think what had really happened, and seeing a fisherman at some little distance, we fired a gun at him, which brought him speedily on board, who informed us of the fleet and army having left Boston ever since the 24th of March, and that they were gone as he supposed to Halifax. The wind being favourable we weighed immediately and stood out, and then only spoke with the men of war, three of whom were left to protect such vessels as not knowing of the evacuation might put in there. The Hope transport ran past the men of war, as we did, without seeing them, and was taken in the harbour. We arrived safe here, but too late to join the expedition, which sailed from hence under General Howe on the 10th inst.'

Province of Nova Scotia, ff.

Whereas this his Majesty's province has been, and is now threatened with an invasion from the neighbouring colonies, by certain people in arms
against

against his Majesty's present government, for refusing to concur with them, in disobedience to the laws of Great-Britain, and for affording, agreeable to our duty, supplies and refreshments to his Majesty's garrison of Boston: we wish it to be known, that however unwilling we should be to shed the blood of our American countrymen, we must, in discharge of our duty to God and the King, and in support of the constitution, and laws of our country, oppose their entry into this province, and any and every of their proceedings therein, where their coming must expose us to the ruin and destruction of our property, and to all the ravages and horrors of a civil war: 'And we do solemnly promise, in the presence of 'Almighty God, to bear faith and 'true allegiance to his Sacred Majesty 'King George the Third; and we 'will to the utmost of our power and 'ability support, maintain, and defend his crown and dignity against 'all traitorous attempts and conspiracies whatever.' And furthermore, we inhabitants of the township of Windsor, do for the purposes aforesaid, voluntarily enrol ourselves in a company of militia, whereof is to be our Captain, and are to be our Lieutenants in the volunteer regiment of militia, under the command of the Honourable Michael Franklyn, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of this province; on condition nevertheless that we are not on any occasion whatever to serve out of this colony, nor are we to be required to do duty in consequence of this enrollment, but in case of an actual invasion of this province by such a body of forces as may make it necessary to aid and support the King's troops stationed in the said colony.

Given under our hands, at Windsor, this day of March, anno domini 1776.

[It does not appear, from any published account, that Nova Scotia was at this time threatened with an invasion from the other colonies. Last year there was such a design, see page 113.]

Recapitulation of defeats, which were from time to time published in the London Gazette.

'The late imperfect and scanty account in the Gazette, of the troops under General Howe being forced to evacuate Boston by the Provincial troops, is so gross and serious an affront to the people of this country, as to deserve the severest censure, and animadversion.

'In this country, and even in realms subjected to the most arbitrary and despotic sway, the accounts of the operations of their military armaments have ever been submitted to the public eye, that the merits of the commanders might be stamped with public applause, or their defeats rectified by public justice and example; that the minds of men might be exhilarated by the common success, or that the truth might be the reformer of ministerial errors in government.

'Nor can those in the least conversant with foreign Gazettes, deny the truth of the above proposition, nor that all the manœuvres, the conduct, and the future designs of officers have been submitted to the public eye in every part of Europe.

'But since it is, so natural to governors to obtain applause where they can, and acquire the sanction of public opinion, by a declaration of their success, I shall proceed to consider the right this country has to receive information of the failure of public enterprises, leaving it to abler heads to reason upon it abstractedly, and wishing only to prove this undeniable fact. By many instances, the reasons which have induced Generals to abandon an enterprize, to forsake a post, or to fail in their projects, have constantly been

been submitted to the tribunal of the public.

‘ It would be too superfluous to argue that the late evacuation of Boston, was a defeat; it was a dereliction of a central and a favourite post; it was an inconvenient, unseasonable retreat; it was caused by superiority of force; it was urged by necessity; it was not done by advice, nor was it effected without loss.

‘ There is no man can deny that the battle of Almanza was peculiarly detrimental to the great object of the succession war, nor that the account of it must necessarily lay open the future designs of the allies; yet so ready were the ministers at that time to give every information to the public, that in the Gazette 25th of April 1707, it was first mentioned and quoted from an account printed at Paris, and afterwards in a letter from Lisbon; and the particulars at large in Lord Galway’s express by Colonel Wade, were handed to the public in an extraordinary Gazette of the 1st of June 1707, which were afterwards republished in the ordinary and regular Gazette. And it is remarkable that the account concludes with the design of garrisoning Alicant, and the General’s intention to preserve the strong holds on the enemy’s coasts. Here not only the past but the future operations of the war were laid open to the public eye; and the Queen sent a message expressly informing the Lords of the ill success, and urging them to enquire into the reasons of it. The examination of the Lords Galway, Tyrawley, and Lord Peterborough, were the consequence of it; nor was it then doubted that the parliament and the public had not a right to the fullest information, *flagrante bello*.

‘ In the war before last, when the unfortunate battle of Fontenoy had caused general dismay, particulars of the action were set forth in the Ga-

zette Extraordinary of the 11th of May 1745. The account takes up three pages of the Gazette, and the most information is conveyed to the world. The capitulation of Ostend, where the allies removed full as creditably as the troops at Boston, is set forth in August 1745, in the fullest and clearest manner.

‘ But what comes more in point is the account of the battle of Preston Pans; the Gazette of the 28th of Sept. 1745, contains the association for the support of public credit; yet the account which might so materially affect, is mentioned in the same Gazette, and the whole truth is laid open; and that the King’s troops were defeated, is wrote in letters of sunshine.

‘ This is followed by other Gazettes of the 21st and 24th, wherein the said particulars are further amplified and explained.

‘ Upon the 7th of December 1745, the Gazette advertizes that they would give the fullest account of the arrival of the rebels at Derby, and other particulars which were set forth in the Gazette Extraordinary of December 12, 1745; and the affair of Carlisle being taken is set forth in the Gazette of the 26th of December 1745.

‘ The taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, which every body knows was the cause of the Dutch forsaking their alliance, is mentioned from the Hague Gazette the 14th of Sept. 1747, in the amplest manner, with all the consequences that followed it.

‘ In the commencement of the late war, the defeat of General Braddock is mentioned in the Gazette of the 26th of August 1755, and all the consequences that followed it.

‘ And so desirous were administration to inform the public about the circumstances attending the surrender of Port Mahon, that the account was first given in a letter quoted from Compeigne, July 16, 1757.

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The address from the city of London upon the loss of Minorca, in the Gazette of August 21, 1756, was the consequence of it, and that unanimous answer of the father of his people, wherein he deplores the loss of this island, and declares that he shall be ready to see justice done upon any man who had failed in their duty to him, or to their country.

July 2, 1757, the Gazette describes the loss of the battle of Colin, and the steps the King of Prussia had taken on that unfortunate affair.

The unfortunate battle of Hastenbeck, which produced the convention of Closter Seven, was submitted to the public in the Gazette of October 11, 1757.

The letters of the General and Admiral in the affair of the Isle of Aix at large, the reasons of their abandoning that enterprize, are laid open in the Gazette of Sept. 14, 1758, in the most unreserved manner; and also the letter of General Bligh, with the account of the affair of St. Cas, and the reasons of his return to England, are published in the fullest manner in the Gazette of Sept. 11, 1758; and in the glorious administration of Mr. Pitt, the unsuccessful affair of Ticonderago, the whole particulars, the observations and the schemes of the commanders, and General Abercromby's letter, are set forth as a foil to the rest of the conduct of that great man, who wished that truth should be the severe but just judge of his conduct in the Gazette of August 22, 1758.

Upon this fair and irrefragable state of the accounts published for a series of years, of all the defeats which have happened to the enterprizes of this country; it appears that the public have a right to information of the failure, as well as the success of the British armaments; nor has there ever been an instance to the

contrary, till the impudence of the flagitious administration has denied them this among other unquestionable rights; nor can there be a doubt; that Lord G. Germaine, or whoever else advised such a measure, has justly incurred the weight of public vengeance, and that it is impeachable matter.

The feelings of the people of England have been so numbed by the whole course of the conduct of administration in this nefarious war, that they seem to be insensible to their wrongs; but foreigners see it in a different light, and the London Gazette is considered by them as an artful forgery to screen the conduct of administration from the light: And in the Hague Gazette of the 14th of May, after reciting the account in our Gazette, it says, we see nothing in this account *que la seule retraite du General Howe, sans qu'on dire s'il a emporté au abandonné son artillerie.*—

The other particulars from private letters are as follow: The account given there amounts to this, which all Europe will necessarily believe from the circumstances related, that the retreat was precipitate—necessitated: and that he was obliged to leave his artillery behind him.

Upon the whole, Sir, it is to be hoped, that the public indignation will be roused at last by a fair state of their deprivation of a privilege which they have enjoyed from time immemorial. In the records of parliament we see, that Edward the Third, when he had made a retreat to Calais before a French army, and the public expectation was baulked, gave the reason of his conduct to the next parliament, by his Chancellor. From that till this time, I defy all the Scotch perverters of English rights to shew a single instance, where the failure of public enterprizes have not been fairly stated and submitted to the public: and

and if the unfortunate battle of Almanza, if the battle of Preston Pans, when public credit might have been endangered by bad news; if the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, when the Hollander dreaded the revival of the campaign in 1674; if the defeat of Braddock, if the surrender of Minorca, if the ill success of the late Duke of Cumberland, if the battle of Colin, the affair of Ticonderago, of the Isle of Aix, of the defeat our troops received at St. Cas:—if in all these the letters of the commanders, and the whole reasons of such failures have been uniformly laid before the public—Why is the account of the capitulation of Boston denied? Do ministers intend to blind the people of this country, that they may enforce the yoke upon their necks with greater ease? Are the people of England so lost to a sense of their own privileges; and must not every body conclude that the ministers' love darkness better than light, because their deeds are evil?

Further Observations on the ministerial management of the London Gazette.

As all men have their virtues a little balanced by some failings, it is surely a good-natured part not to dwell upon the qualities our ministers are deficient in, but rather to fix our attention on those points of their character, in which they evidently excell. I should think it the cruelest thing in the world to dwell upon Lord George Germaine's conduct of the civil war; but I am happy to join with the world in applauding his Lordship's dexterous management of the Gazette.

Whilst under his auspices, and animated by his example, our commanders, by happily shifting of their position, by taking the resolution of evacuating towns, and by effecting retreats without loss, are (though quite a new way) conquering provinces abroad, his Lordship is employed,

according to the soundest principles of the best critics, in recording their great exploits at home.

Livy has been censured as diffuse; Sallust, Thucydides, and Tacitus, have been criticized for an affected brevity, bordering on the obscure.—These general remarks favour of pedantry, and meer literary cant. To judge of the faults or excellence of the diffuse, or the concise; of the perspicuous, or the obscure styles; we must consider well the nature of the subject, and the design of the author.—No universal rule can be laid down. Some things cannot be displayed too amply, and too minutely to the public curiosity. Others had better be just touched upon. Some should shine in a glare of light; others should be cast modestly into the shade. Some ought to be proclaimed by the sound of trumpet; others there are, in which silence is the real eloquence.

If you would know how well Lord George Germaine has employed all these styles (and this no style) you must consider the end and purpose for which (besides fame and immortality) a secretary of state condescends to become an author.

The world at large is not aware of the real object of our war in America.—The sole drift and end of all our operations there, has hitherto been, neither more or less, than to dispose of the sums of money that have been raised here. These have been vast; and the dispersion of them has not been so perfectly easy, as the common run of people might imagine. But by the aid of our kind and disinterested friends the London contractors, and the German princes, the thing may be done. The facility, however, of the expenditure, may not always facilitate the supply. A great statesman, like other ingenious artists, must tickle the ear, while he extracts the purse. The mob out of doors love

love a little good news, though it be at their own cost. A victory is worth a million; and a good bonfire compensates a tax. The wise minister (like the industrious ant) forecasts the winter, and prepares the mind for the ways and means of the session, by the intelligence with which he entertains us during the recess. In the execution of this plan, he strictly follows the great Masters of antiquity.

The polite critic of the court of Augustus, Horace, was intended by that great Emperor (not so happy in obtaining obedience to his commands as our sovereign) for the office of secretary of state. Whilst that business was in agitation, he wrote those excellent rules for Gazettes, which have been unaccountably mistaken for the rules of dramatic poetry. A gross error! for what has a secretary of state to do with writing tragedies? Or how can we imagine that Horace, after commanding a Roman legion, and distinguishing himself in war, should condescend to undertake the direction of the opera? The Gazette is the proper business of his department. Besides the observations on style that I have just made, and which I confess I borrowed from this great judge, he makes several others of moment; He advises his Gazette writer to mix his falsehood with some truth; *ita mentitur (says he) ut veris falsa remisceat.* And he gives his reason, and a very solid one.

Primo ne medium, medio discrepat inum.

He recommends it to him to put off, and to bring on matters, as may best suit political purposes.

Ut nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici;

Pleraque differat, et presens in tempus omittat.

But if facts prove so very untractable, and by no art of mixture or procrastina-

‡ Ab Epistolis.

tion to be made pleasant, why then he thinks they are to be totally omitted.

Que
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquits

To exemplify his Lordship's skill in conducting his Gazette upon these rules, the reader may remember the ample account we had of the exploits of Lord Dunmore. Not one captive piece was omitted of these miserable old cannon, which, until they were to open their mouths, and shew forth his praise, had slept and rusted in neglect on the wharfs in Virginia.— All the pompous display of Livy and Clarendon, were employed to decorate the triumph of this favourite General. After this great and decisive advantage of Lord Dunmore (as far as we could discover from the Gazette) we had nothing to do but to take possession of a disarmed province. The gratitude of the nation was equal to the services of the General. His Lordship was immortalized in the Gazette. He was adopted into the sacred Sixteen; levees, assemblies, coffee-houses, all agreed (and they were certainly right) that if every Governor had acted with the spirit of Lord Dunmore, we must have established our dominion in all the other provinces, as perfectly as we had done in Virginia †.

In the midst of all the joy that arose from such important victories as Lord Dunmore's, so amply displayed; an odd sort of an account arrived.— A very brave officer, as brave and as intelligent an officer as any in the King's service, Major Fordyce, with a detachment of our best grenadiers, were sent by this heroic commander Lord Dunmore, upon a well planned expedition; to which there were but

† His Lordship had the honour of being the first Governor who thought it necessary to quit his government, and take refuge on board his Majesty's fleet.

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two small objections. One, that it was perfectly impracticable; the other, that if it did succeed, it could be of no kind of use. Accordingly Major Fordyce was killed. The party was defeated; all the grenadiers slain or made prisoners—What said the lately communicative Gazette? Not a syllable. The Secretary of State had wasted his stock of eloquence in his panegyric on Lord Dunmore. He had nothing left for the funeral oration of Fordyce. He was as silent as the grave in which that gallant officer and his brave soldiers were laid. And where was the necessity for much discourse? The man was dead; and what did it signify to put ourselves into an ill humour about what we could not possibly help.

This Virginian history is an instance of the diffusive style of the Gazette, contrasted with the opposite extreme of excellence. The expressive and eloquent silence, the instances of a less violent, but equally judicious contrast, are frequent, and happily mixed in. I will endeavour to recall them to the reader's memory. Without such a retrospect it will not be easy to enter into the true spirit of this exquisite politico-literary performance, which is now the sole source of authentic intelligence, and the only vehicle of our summer's delight and information.

† When the forts of St. John and Chamblé were taken by the Provincials, and upwards of 500 regular troops made prisoners, there was a demand for the compact, close, laconic style. The Gazette did not altogether omit these events; but with a wonderful energy and brevity, related it in much fewer lines than the shortest article of the capitulation, by which those unhappy troops had surrendered prisoners of war. Of cannon

and stores, not one word; these were left to the imagination of the reader. All accounts of the taking of cannon, in the explicit style, belonged, exclusively, to Lord Dunmore.

We may remember too, that when Arnold made the astonishing march, which will for ever immortalize his name, the Gazette was not absolutely silent. It gave to merit one honest line; and in the laconic brevity of Lord George Germaine, one Arnold appeared at Point Levi §.

Of the taking of Montréal, which place, against the whole strength of England and America conjoined, had formerly given glory and peerage to Lord Amherst—on the part of the Gazette *silence*—Col. Prescott, his ships, his soldiers, his stores taken afterwards—*silence*.

This uniformity of silence, however prudent, and even chastely eloquent, might seem rather dull, and at length begin to disgust. People might learn an ugly habit of looking elsewhere for intelligence. In this distress an event happened, which justified the drawing up the flood-gate, and letting out all that flow of eloquence which had been so long dammed in. Montgomery, an obscure man, of whom we had heard nothing before from authority, was killed at Quebec, and his troops repulsed.—But unfortunately, even on this fairest of all occasions, we were again sadly at a loss. This happy opportunity was in danger of being wholly thrown away. The question arose, where is the authority for this good news? The conquering General was too closely blocked up, to send a messenger of the decisive victory he had obtained. To take intelligence from the Philadelphia newspapers, and to put at the foot of the account, 'Charles Thompson,' (not our Sir Charles) and by

† Vide Gazette, December 23.

§ Vide Gazette, December 23.

order of the Congress, was too much. In effect, it was to register a rebellious libel among the consecrated records of office. This was hard undoubtedly.

The difficulty staggered the American secretary of state. In an hurry a council is called. The Attorney General, in his firm, sturdy, direct way, objected to the measure. He relied on it, that such a step might teach people to put some trust in rebellious publications; and would, besides, totally take away the best, and sometimes only excuse we had for our prudent reserve on most of our defeats, viz, that we had them only from the narrative of the rebels.— This had some weight. But Mr. Wedderburne, whose *forte* is dexterity and refinement, observed, that the Congress, as they are a raw, new government, and to that time unacquainted with disgraces, had not learned the art of glossing a misfortune, but had delivered a plain, round, unvarnished tale of their defeat.— This advantage is not to be missed.— Here (said Mr. Wedderburne) we may dilate at the expence of an enemy. The narrative, as far as it goes, is their own; and our imagination is at liberty to add full enough on this foundation. We cloath ourselves with the spoils of the enemy. We may dress ourselves *à la Congrès*.

*Danaumq. insignia nobis
Aptemus, dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?*

Lord George carried it for his friend the Solicitor's opinion. The Philadelphia Congress Gazette supplied the materials for our's; and here (but at their expence) we expatiated again. The stunted Gazette once more shot out into a full luxuriance of narrative.

This mode, however of borrowing an enemy's account is too ticklish to be adopted as a regular practice.— Then came in the great delicate point

in all human affairs, 'to know when to leave off.' For, unluckily those exotic Congress newspapers began to shoot out some things that would not bear transplanting, and were not at all adapted to flourish in the soil of the London Gazette. The taking, for instance, of Brigadier-General Macdonald in North-Carolina—the killing Colonel Macleod—the defeat of 1500 of our Highland troops, and the disarming of the whole party; although all undeniably true—this was not proper stuff for a London Gazette. The expedition of General Shuyler into the Indian country, although equally certain—the capitulation of Sir John Johnson—the making him a prisoner on parole—the submission and laying down their arms by 600 of our loyal subjects (Scots and Tories) and the compelling some of our natural allies, the humane savages of the Five Nations, to lay down the hatchet—these accounts, one sees at first sight, could by no art be made fitting for the Gazette. Of these, therefore, nothing was said.

The end of writing is *et prodesse et delectare*. In a paper where the profit of ministers, and the delight of the people, were to be the great objects, it would be a piece of downright absurdity to mention such things as possibly cannot tell to the advantage of the one of the parties, or afford any sort of satisfaction to either.

I find it impossible to do justice to the merits of ministers, as historians of their own exploits, in a single paper. The subject grows upon me, as the matter rises in dignity and importance.—Reserving therefore the inimitable beauties of the Boston narrative to another time, I shall for the present satisfy myself with remarking, that the naval part of the war, though probably it comes from another quarter, is related on the same principle, and with no less perfection.

fection than that which is carried on upon the *terra firma*.

One of our men of war returns home rather in a shabby condition. But what does she come home for? In reality to bring the news of her own escape from the Americans. Since our affairs are in that pleasant situation, that retreats are happy shiftings of position, and that escapes are to take rank as victories, it was necessary to display this eminent advantage at full length; and it is accordingly related at large in the true technical style, and with all the elegant perspicuity of the nautical dialect. The *Gazette*, so lately on the reserve, here becomes prodigal of information. We have, on the escape of the *Glasgow* (for the first time) an account of Commodore Hopkins's squadron; the number of vessels; the number of guns; the number of men; as exact as if we were furnished with it from the navy-office of Philadelphia. The state of the British navy was refused on the motion of a marine officer in parliament last session. Amends are now made by a precise detail (given gratis) of one of the American fleets. We have the satisfaction to find that this navy is in shoal water, (but safe enough) in New England. In the late war, the escape of one of our stout frigates, built and furnished for war; from a little squadron, consisting of a decayed merchantman, with a sloop and schooner or two, hastily and ill-fitted into privateers, would scarce have deserved a long laboured account in the *Gazette*. But things are altered; Mr Pitt *was*, Lord George Germaine *is* secretary of state.

In this last piece we are furnished with a curious example of the ample display, and of the judicious reserve. The *Gazette* which knows so minutely every gun in Hopkins's fleet, and its weight of metal, says nothing at all of this fellow's carrying his con-

voy, and the military stores with which he was heavily laden, safely to the place of their destination: Nor does it know, that he had taken a transport and tender in his Majesty's service. It even omits a piece of good fortune of the *Glasgow*, whose shot in the very first broadside damaged Hopkins's rudder in such a manner, that his ship lay for two hours incapable of pursuit or flight.

To complete this account of the American Regatta, made for our special amusement; by the same use of light and shade in the narrative, we are informed that a great number of ships and vessels have been taken. By this judicious choice of terms, the number is as sufficiently swelled by the seizure of a cock boat, as by the taking of the largest ship that ever failed in the Virginia trade.

As to captures made on the part of the Americans, we might conclude from the prudent silence of the gazette, that there were absolutely none. If it were not for an impertinent tell-tale in the city, called Lloyd's List, (who, in all good policy ought to be silenced) we should never have guessed that above fifty transport ships had been taken by the Americans. The ships themselves, exclusive of the cargoes, of as much value at least as the whole of the prizes taken from the Americans.

In a word, whether by land or sea, we are scarcely intitled from *authority* to believe, that one misfortune has happened in the whole war. All is glory, success, and victory. Yet thirteen Provinces are lost.

The emission of authorized newspapers is an homage paid by the most despotic powers to public opinion. By the sending abroad of *Gazettes*, they tacitly, but fully admit two very material points. First, the right of the people to be informed of the state

of

of national affairs. Secondly, the influence of popular judgment on their own fortune. They know it would be an enterprise too desperate, to think of keeping the people wholly in the dark.

We are apt to entertain rather too mean an opinion of the spirit and understanding of our neighbours. There is not a nation in Europe so servilely passive, as to abandon all concern about its own welfare; and to give a credit absolutely unlimited to its administration. It is true, that the people under despotic governments, have it not in their power to take a legal vengeance on those who abuse their trust, or to remove those who shew themselves unequal to it. This is the grand defect of their scheme of government. But nature sometimes supplies the place of law, and their illegal sensibility frequently takes a severe vengeance on those, who confiding in the weakness and imperfection of the constitution of their country, presume to act in violation of the spirit of all laws. Even when such a people are not able to punish an unskilful state actor, their voice is generally sufficient to explode, and hiss him from the public stage.

We have seen not long ago, that the same king of Spain, who with an high hand protected, promoted, honoured, and rewarded Don Francisco Bucarelli, although he was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, even from the throne of Great-Britain itself, was obliged to dismiss and banish the Marquis of Squillace, his favorite and prime minister, to appease the discontents of the people of Madrid. The same King was but the other day obliged, on account of the displeasure of his subjects, to dismiss and remove from court the Condé O'Reilly, a minister and a general high in his favour, upon his failure in an enterprise against Algiers.

The King of France, on the discontent of a part of his people, and the ill success of some financial projects, dismissed Monsieur Turgot, as he had raised that minister to gratify the opinion of his subjects.

Ministers in other countries finding themselves obliged to humble their pride before their necessities, do not venture to keep all information from the people. On the contrary, they affect to supply them with it very liberally, and very honestly. Possessed of the only source of authentic intelligence, they indeed gloss and varnish, but never attempt grossly to misrepresent, much less wholly to conceal. Even at Constantinople, the minister stands in awe of public opinion. Not having a press there, the government keeps in its pay a set of walking gazettes (somewhat like our court runners) who mount on a stool in coffee-houses, and entertain their grave turband hearers with an account of the designs of the court of Petersburg, or of the progress of the rebellion in Egypt.

As a nation declining from greatness is the most mean, and a people sinking from freedom are the most eminently servile, our ministers think this is a fit season for an experiment, to find out the *maximum* of human patience, submission, and passive-obedience. Their proceedings in the gazette, with regard to the late war in New-England, shew what progress they have made in that experiment.

From the beginning of our present troubles, our hopes and fears were all engaged at Boston. This was the heart and vital spring of all disorder. It was not so much the metropolis of America, as the head-quarters of rebellion. Boston accordingly became the object of all our civil regulations for several sessions, and of all our military operations for two years together. Our eyes were never a moment turned

turned from it. Expectation panted on every western breeze—when the gazette suddenly announced to a longing and anxious people, that General Howe had *taken a resolution* to evacuate Boston, and was actually on his way to Halifax. Habituated as we are to every thing extraordinary, the easy brevity of this account did excite some degree of surprise. There was nothing in it which could give you the least idea of war, or warlike preparations. It was delivered with as easy and careless an air, as if the story was nothing more than a corps had changed their country quarters; just as if General Howe's regiment had shifted their quarters from Boston in Lincolnshire, to Halifax in Yorkshire. And this is all the satisfaction that the nation has ever yet received for six millions expended, and the last town in thirteen Provinces lost.

Lord George Germaine's experiment on the temper of the people of England was made, and it answered. This proud and jealous nation bore that treatment with a patience, that would have shamed the hired credulity of contented cuckoldom. Those who would have imposed Ovid's Metamorphoses for articles of faith, never presumed so much upon the weakness of the human understanding. A more perfect passive-obedience was never preached by interested priests, for the practice of the laity. A Turk blinded with the smoke of tobacco, and dozed with opium, would have pushed his live gazette from his stool, and kicked him out of the coffee-house, if he had dared to give this account of the evacuation of Ockzakow or Bender. Even the foreign gazettes, skilled and practised as they are in the trade and mystery of intelligence, stood in astonishment at the bold push of their dear brother of Whitehall; and publicly avowed their amazement at this new political phenomenon.

• Vide Hague Gazette.

That noble and venerable body, in which a minister of state lately boasted that he had concealed from them, and from his own colleagues, the true state of their affairs, lest they should be slow in entering into a civil war, they of course desired to know nothing. They looked on the proceedings of their minister, as on the feats of Mr. Breslaw, in which a knowledge of the slight would only spoil their pleasure in the deception. Both houses are coolly and deliberately acting their part in this great work. Declaring themselves totally indifferent about every part of public duty, and even destitute of common human feelings, they are preparing to make their country as indifferent about the existence of Parliament itself. Several worthy and diligent members already shew themselves heartily tired of parliamentary attendance. They imagine, that with *their* talents *they* might get as much under any other form of government as under this, with an attendance less fatiguing, and a far lighter expence. They think a minister's levee room, has as wholesome an air as St. Stephen's chapel; and that the domestics of a court favourite, are a cheaper object of bribery, and full as worthy an object of adulation as the scot and lot of a venal borough. Perhaps they may be in the right.

On occasion of this real *gazette extraordinary*, the Earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, discovered some marks of good breeding, though he does not come quite up to all the graces which Lord Chesterfield requires as qualifications to office. He has, I suppose, some remains of complaisance to that minority, in which he made so flaming a protest against his present associates. In condescension to the weakness of the Lords in opposition, he submitted to tell them the reason why he told them nothing. He lamented in the most pathetic strains to his noble

ble audience, the necessity he was under of not producing any part of General Howe's letter; for (he said) the account of the retreat was so mixed with matters that went before, and operations which were to follow after (very improper to be publicly known) that he could not possibly disentangle them; and that thus he was disabled from doing justice to the incomparable merits of the General, who had made so happy a shifting of position.

Every thing has its place, and in the house of Lords this gave satisfaction. We, the rabble below the bar, however, thought it odd, that what had passed before General Howe's retreat should be concealed from us, since it could never have been concealed from the enemy. Perhaps what went before, might be the cause of the retreat that followed after. If indeed this preceding cause should consist in some batteries too fierce to be borne, and too strong to be forced, this I admit was a good reason for concealment. We ought not to know that the rebels have any cannon since Lord Dunmore seized all the artillery; or that they know how to erect batteries, or that they have courage to defend them.

The other part of the reason for concealing the account of General Howe's retreat, I must beg leave to observe, is not quite so honourable to the clearness of head of that General, or demonstrates so fully as one could wish, the calm situation of one who makes an undisturbed retreat. So perplexed and involved (if we believe Lord Suffolk) was General Howe's account, that the secretary of state's office, in full practice of garbling papers for the diversion of parliament, was not able to unravel the complicated texture of the commentaries of our American Cæsar, or give one particular of his proceedings for several months to the hour of his de-

parture, without disclosing all the secrets of the coming campaign.

With all due deference to my Lord Suffolk, I do not believe so ill of the abilities either of General Howe, or of his Lordship. I can never believe the alleged confusion of General Howe's ideas, to be the real reason for concealing from us every single circumstance of his precipitate dereliction of the precious purchase of millions. His Lordship told the peers, that this confusion disabled him from doing justice to General Howe's merits. Under favour there was no question of that General's merits. We are very sure that he did his duty, and that he gave an account of it naturally and clearly. This concealment was never for his sake, or the sake of his operations.—But for whatever purpose this account of Lord Suffolk's was given, it could answer no rational end. If we could believe this account, the friends of the war would be obliged to entertain but gloomy hopes of its future success. Partial as they are to the authors of civil contention, they must condemn the minister for committing the fortune of their pious quarrel into such hands. To admit their plea in the justification of their Gazette, is to find a verdict against the wisdom of their cabinet.

No sooner had that Gazette notified to us that General Howe had taken this resolution, than we were entertained with verbal comments upon it, more curious than the original text. The ministry assumed a face of joy equal to that which would have attended the most decisive victory. As soon as Boston was evacuated, Boston at once changed its nature. It no longer stood under the same parallel of latitude. It then became the worst chosen spot on the whole continent for the operations of war. We were too happy in getting rid of it. The Americans were anew charged

charged with cowardice for letting us escape. The Lords publicly congratulated each other on having shaken off so intolerable a yoke.

‘ In this exultation they forgot one trifling circumstance, which somewhat regards their credit for the present; and may perhaps a little affect their safety on some future day of account. Suppose a spirit of enquiry should arise, and it should be asked, who were they that brought his Majesty’s army into a place from whence it was a triumph to escape? If Boston was not a spot worth holding for its own sake, or for its convenience for other operations, why did the troops continue there for near two years? Why were they reinforced day after day, and regiment after regiment, for the defence of that place, until they amounted to upwards of 12,000 men? Why were four Generals sent to command them? Why was the ordnance office emptied to defend Boston? Why was the sinking fund swallowed up, only by its military extraordinaries, which amounted to upwards of 850,000*l*.? Why were 60,000 ton of transports employed in that service? Why was this nation almost starved to feed that town? Why was a fleet commanded by a succession of British Admirals, and at an incredible expence stationed in its harbour? Why was so much brave blood shed at Bunker’s-Hill to prevent its being insulted? Every shilling spent at Boston is a peculation of public money; every life lost there is a cruel murder, if Boston was not a place worth preserving. To exhaust yourself in defence of an object that is not worth having, or not to take sufficient means of defending an object of real value, are both of them crimes. If there be any difference, the first crime is the worst; as it is worse wholly to mistake the end, than than to miscalculate the means. It is, however,

for this capital blunder, that the ministers claim the applauses of their country. According to this rule, the merit of our Generals is to escape from the place where the providence of our ministers had stationed them; no hopes are entertained by themselves of the war, if all its plans are not wholly reversed in the execution.

‘ Such is the case on their own representation, which is worse than the most malignant adversary could have stated. But as they are poor in counsel, the court must not record the plea. General Howe did not abandon Boston, because it is a place ill fitted, and never went to Halifax, because it was a place well fitted for a center of military operations. The ministers of the Gazette suppose we knew nothing of American geography, when we are told that in order to direct his operations on the middle colonies, General Howe fled to the very extremity of the northern. It is neither more nor less than to tell us, that a General in London, who intended to attack Dover Castle, would find it his best way thither to march his troops from London to Edinburgh.

I was at first at a loss to know how the ministry could give into this apparently insolent and unfeeling discourse. How they could think to glory in their shame, and to defend themselves by the very circumstances which aggravate their offence. But on putting things together, it may be accounted for. It was to prepare the minds of the people for the events which in spite of any favour of fortune, must inevitably follow from the course they have pursued. They have told the public that Boston was worth nothing, because they were not able to keep it, and had no hopes of recovering it. If they find that the nation can be persuaded to make violent efforts, on a supposition of the value

value of the object, and then to take comfort on their failure, from a consideration of its insignificance, all they wish is effected. They have already, by many speeches and publications concerning the Colonies, been preparing the public for the loss of the whole. They are already spreading with infinite diligence, an opinion that extensive empire is mischievous, and that the vast acquisitions in the east and west corrupt our minds, and weaken our industry.

This is the consolation they hoard up for us against the day of our bitter distress, when we shall have undone ourselves in an attempt to ruin our countrymen. Stripped of her dependencies, the nakedness of England is to be covered with the tattered cloak of a compelled, beggarly, cynic philosophy. The loss of glory and dominion are to be compensated by dull, common place observations on the instability of empire, and the emptiness of all human honours. Our Ministers of State are preparing themselves to become ministers of the church, and to preach patience and resignation to a tractable congregation, reduced at length to a real Christian humility, and to a true poverty of purse and of spirit, by the salutary operations of their councils.

Hitherto they have done every thing to bring us to the state for which they are preparing us. But if the events of war should belie their plans; and if the bravery of General Heister and his Hessian troops, should recover what British valour (under the direction of our ministers) could not keep, it is then that in their success the mischief and weakness of their plans will appear in full lustre. The sunshine of fortune will only display, in a glare of light, the inanity of the object for which the ministry and their German troops are contending. The Colonies, in all the submission of disaster

and defeat, will prove full as unfruitful of the revenue for which we are at war, and which alone can pay for that war, as the same colonies in all the height and insolence of successful resistance. Then it will appear that the ministry and their ruinners were not idly employed when they told us the Colonies are of no advantage to this country. This will be the event when Lord George Sackville's Gazette shall have fatiated us with the pompous narrative of the victories obtained by the troops of the Duke of Brunswick (disciplined by Prince Ferdinand) over the miserable English on the other side of the water.

Until that glorious day, announced with such singular propriety, arrives, when the Gazette shall flow as copious streams as the Weser or the Elbe, its scanty current continues to be directed so as to fructify the proper plants, and to starve the rest. I have before remarked on the manner in which the Secretary's Office communicates and withholds intelligence. They profit of my praises; and so encouraged, they persevere religiously in the plan, for which I had commended them.

In the Gazette of the 29th of June, Lord George copies the best of examples, himself. In the last war the captures of merchant ships was never the food of the Gazette. But now a Secretary of State serves up an account of the taking of 26 ships and vessels of the rebels, exactly on the principles I stated in my last letter; but not a word of the transport loaded with arms and ammunition that these rebels have taken.

His Lordship has, on the same principles, carefully avoided all mention of the arrival of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis at Cape Fear; although he has certainly received an account of that event; and although

it might be thought that the public would feel some degree of anxiety concerning the fate of so great a fleet and army, which had been considered as lost. The production of the credit side of account of *captures*, with the total silence on the important expedition of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, shews, that the Minister considers the whole people of this once great country as the mercenary inhabitants of some little sea port, some nest of fishermen, smugglers and pirates, such as Dunkirk, St. Sebastian, the Isle of Providence, or any other dirty hole at home or abroad, where they are in high spirits on hearing of the arrival of some miserable plunder, but are totally indifferent to all the great and important operations of war. It must give the Minister heart-felt pleasure if they should find that the spirit of the late act for animating the exertions of the navy by the holding out the plunder of their fellow citizens, is grown as diffusive as they could wish, that the whole nation feel in the same way. If this should be the case, one act of theirs has not been made in vain.

VALENS.'

[The Gazette-writer at this time is Mr. W. Frazer, who is also one of the Clerks in the Secretary of State's Office. At the beginning of the year 1771, a circumstance happened, which shews him to be high in the esteem of the interior-cabinet. Lord Weymouth having resigned, upon the dispute with Spain respecting Falkland's Island, Lord Halifax was sent for to succeed his Lordship, as Secretary of State: he (Lord H.) desired to make an alteration in the clerks of his department, by removing Mr. Frazer, and taking in his old acquaintance Mr. Lovell Stanhope, for his *commis*. The confidential Persons about the King, said, that request could not be complied with; his lordship must have Mr. Frazer.—Their purpose was to

continue Mr. Frazer in the office; he being the only person in that department upon whom they could thoroughly depend. This rule of stationing spies in every office, has been strictly adhered to ever since the accession of the present King. Macbeth says, 'There's not one of them, but in his house I keep a servant fee'd.' Lord Halifax having insisted upon his request with much warmth, the — himself came forward in the affair. Lord Halifax submitted; but never acted; and died in less than six months afterwards.]

A letter from Dublin, dated May 10, says, 'Government received information that two merchants had contracted with some American agents for supplying the rebels with saltpetre and other necessaries. The merchants and captains of three vessels, who were chartered to convey the goods, were examined before the Privy-council, when there not being sufficient evidence against the merchants, they were discharged, but the Captains were detained, and still remain in confinement. The people here are by no means friends to the ministry.

Another letter from Dublin, says, 'On the 8th of May, Mr. James Lecky, a merchant of this city was at Lord Annaly's, before his Lordship and the Privy-council, on a charge of carrying on an illicit trade with America, by shipping warlike stores for that place on board the Hancock and Adams; the Captain of the said ship is confined in Newgate, and the merchant is ordered to attend again.

List of the present stations of the different regiments in the British service.

In America, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 62, 63, 64, 71, two battalions. A detachment of the foot guards, equal

equal to two regiments; four battalions of Highland regiments, 16 and 17 of light horse, thirty-one regiments of FOREIGNERS. — Africa, O'Hara's corps. Jamaica, 1st bat. and 4th bat. 60. Antigua, 12d bat. 60. Grenades, 3d bat 60. Minorca, 51, 61. Gibraltar, 12, 39, 56, 58. Ireland, 3, 11, 19, 30, 32, 36, 66, 67, 68. Britain, 1st bat. of 1st. 2d bat. of the 1st. 2, 13, 18, 25, 48, 50, 59, 65, 69, 70, 71, or invalids.

Boston, April 3. General Howe, in his retreat from this place, not only left behind him many of his cannon, stores, horses, cloathing and other implements of war, but many papers and letters which he had received from the friends of government in the Western Colonies, advising and inviting him to carry on the war, principally from Virginia and New York; a sight of one of which letters wrote by Mr. William Smith, of New York, I have had, and herewith transmit you a copy of it, in order that the friends of liberty in England may know who are the friends of slavery in America and traitors to their country.

• Sir, *New-York, Feb. 11, 1776.*

• As I have not a doubt of my last letters to administration, convincing them that this city and province is the only spot in America for carrying on the war with effect against the rebels, and that in consequence the forces expected this spring, as well as those now under your command, will be ordered hither: it may be necessary and adviseable to send the army through the Sound, between Connecticut and Long-Island, of the latter it will be proper to give a description; it is 130 miles long, is very fertile, abounding in wheat and every other kind of corn, innumerable black cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. is very populous, and Suffolk-county in particular, as well as the other parts of it,

all good and loyal subjects, of which they have lately given proof, and only wait to be assisted by the King's troops. The island has a plain on it at least 24 miles long, which has a fertile country about it, is 20 miles distant from the city of New-York; Connecticut opposite to it; New-Jersey about 30 miles distant; Philadelphia 110, Maryland 130, Rhode Island 150 miles: so that in this fertile island the army can subsist without any succour from England or Ireland; and from their encampment on the above plain, they can in five or six days invade and reduce any of the above colonies at pleasure. Add to these great advantages, that the possession of the Narrows and Nutton island, would be the destruction of this city; but of this I think there would be no need, for all the principal inhabitants are at heart with the crown; particularly all my brethren, the members of the council, and most of the assembly; but as the mob now commands, prudence forbids them to declare without a military force.— You have many persons with you who are well acquainted with the navigation of the Sound. The spot which I advise you to land at is Cow-Bay.

Signed, W. SMITH.

Articles of association in Pennsylvania.

• We, the officers and soldiers, engaged in the present association for the defence of American liberty, being fully sensible that the strength and security of any body of men, acting together, consists in just regularity, due subordination, and exact obedience to command, without which no individual can have that confidence in the support of those about him, that is so necessary to give firmness and resolution to the whole, do voluntarily and freely, after consideration of the following articles, adopt the same as the rules by which we

X 2

agree

agree and resolve to be governed in all our military concerns and operations, until the same or any of them shall be changed or dissolved by the assembly, or Provincial convention, or in their recess, by the Committee of Safety, or a happy reconciliation shall take place between Great-Britain and the Colonies.

I. If any officer make use of any profane oath or execration, when on duty, he shall forfeit and pay for each and every such offence, the sum of five shillings; and if a non-commissioned officer or soldier be thus guilty of cursing or swearing, he shall forfeit and pay, for each and every such offence, the sum of one shilling.

II. Any officer or soldier, who shall refuse to obey the lawful orders of his superior officer, may be suspended from doing duty on that day, and shall upon being convicted thereof, before a regimental court-martial, make such concessions as said court-martial shall direct.

III. Any officer or soldier, who shall begin, excite, cause, join in or promote, any disturbance in the battalion, troop, or company, to which he belongs, or in any other battalion, troop, or company, shall be censured according to the nature of the offence, by the judgment of a regimental court-martial.

IV. Any officer or soldier who shall strike his superior officer, or draw or offer to draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, shall, upon conviction, before a regimental court-martial, be dismissed, and shall be deemed to be thereby disgraced as unworthy the company of freemen.

V. Any commanding or other officer, who shall strike any person when on duty, shall, upon conviction before a general court-martial, be in like manner dismissed and disgraced.

VI. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who shall make use of insolent, provoking, or indecent language while on duty, shall suffer such censure or fine, as shall be inflicted by a regimental court-martial, according to the nature of the offence.

VII. If any officer or soldier should think himself injured by his colonel or the commanding officer of the battalion, and shall, upon due application made to him, be refused redress, he may complain to the general of the Pennsylvania Associators, or to the colonel of any other battalion, who is to summon a general court-martial, and see that justice be done.

VIII. If an inferior officer or soldier shall think himself injured by his captain or other superior officer in the battalion, troop, or company to which he belongs, he may complain to the commanding officer of the regiment, who is to summon a regimental court-martial, for the doing justice according to the nature of the case.

IX. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall fail of repairing with their arms, ammunition and accoutrements, upon any regular alarm, or at the time fixed, to the place of parade, or other rendezvous appointed by the commanding officer, if not prevented by sickness or some other evident necessity, or shall go from the place of parade, without leave from the commanding officer, before he shall be regularly dismissed, on penalty of being fined or censured, according to the nature of the offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial. But no officer or soldier shall be obliged to attend to learn the military exercise more than once in a week.

X. Any officer or soldier found drunk when under arms, shall be suspended from doing duty in the battalion, company, or troop on that day, and be fined or censured at the discretion

cretion of a regimental court-martial.

XI. Whatever sentinel shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he is regularly relieved, shall suffer such penalty, or disgrace as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

XII. Whatever commissioned officer shall be convicted before a general court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous or infamous manner, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be dismissed from the association with disgrace.

XIII. Every non-commissioned officer or soldier who shall be convicted at a regimental court-martial of having fold, carelessly lost, wilfully spoiled, or wasted, or of having offered for sale, any ammunition, arms, or accoutrements belonging to this province, shall be dismissed such battalion, troop, or company as an unworthy member, and be prosecuted as the law directs.

XIV. All disorders and neglects which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of the good order and military discipline of the association of this colony, are to be taken cognizance of, by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and be censured at their discretion.

XV. That on the first meeting of every battalion after subscribing these articles of association, and from thenceforward on the first meeting of every battalion after the third Monday in September annually, there be chosen two persons, such as are entitled to vote for members of assembly, out of each company in the respective battalions, by the non-commissioned officers and privates, whose duty and office shall be for the year following to sit and join with the officers in courts-martial, which persons so chosen shall be styled court-martial men.

XVI. Every general court-martial shall consist of thirteen members, six

of whom shall be commissioned officers under the rank of a field officer, and six court-martial men, who shall be drawn by lot out of the whole number, and these twelve are to choose a president, who shall be a field officer, and have a casting voice.

XVII. Every regimental court-martial shall be composed of seven members, three officers, three court-martial men, and a president, who is to be a captain, and to be chosen by the six and also to have a casting voice.

XVIII. In all courts-martial not less than two-thirds of the members must agree in every sentence for inflicting penalties, or for disgracing any associator, otherwise he shall be acquitted.

XIX. The president of each and every court-martial whether regimental or general, shall require all witnesses, in order to the trial of offenders, to declare on their honour, that what they give in as evidence is the truth, and the members of all courts-martial shall make a declaration to the president, and the president to the next in rank, upon their honour, that they will give judgment with impartiality.

XX. All non-commissioned officers, drummers, fifers, or others that shall be employed and receive pay in any of the battalions, companies or troops, shall subscribe these rules and regulations, and be subject to such fines, to be deducted from their pay and to such penalties as a regimental court-martial shall think proper, upon being convicted of having transgressed any of these regulations.

XXI. All associators called as witnesses in any case, before a court-martial, who shall refuse to attend and give evidence, shall be censured or fined at the discretion of the court-martial.

XXII. No officer or soldier being charged with transgressing of these rules

rules shall be suffered to do duty in the regiment, company, or troop to which he belongs, until he has had his trial by a court-martial, and every person so charged shall be tried as soon as a court-martial can be conveniently assembled.

XXIII. The officers and soldiers of every company of artillery, or other company, troop, or party, that is or shall be annexed to any battalion, shall be subject to the command of the colonel or commanding officer of said battalion, and the officers shall sit as members of courts-martial, in the same manner as the officers of any other company.

XXIV. No penalty shall be inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial other than degrading, cashiering, or fining. The fines for the officers not to exceed three pounds, and the fine for a non-commissioned officer or soldier, not to exceed twelve shillings for one fault.

XXV. The field officers of each and every battalion shall appoint a person to receive such fines as may arise within the same, for breach of any of these articles, and shall direct those fines to be carefully and properly applied to the relief of the sick, wounded, or necessitous soldiers, belonging to that battalion, and such person shall account with the field officer for all fines received, and the application thereof.

XXVI. The general or commander in chief of this association for the time being, shall have full power of pardoning or mitigating any censures or penalties ordered to be inflicted, for the breach of any of these articles, by any general court-martial, and every offender convicted as aforesaid by any regimental court-martial, may be pardoned or have his penalties mitigated by the colonel or commanding officer of the battalion, excepting only where such censures or penalties are

directed as satisfaction for injuries received by one officer or soldier from another.

XXVII. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or other person, who having subscribed these articles, shall refuse to make such concessions, pay such fines, or in any other matter refuse to comply with the judgment of any court-martial, shall be dismissed the service, and held up to the public as unfriendly to the liberties of America.

XXVIII. Upon the determination of any point by a regimental court-martial, if the officer or soldier concerned on either side thinks himself still aggrieved, he may appeal to a general court-martial; but if upon a second hearing the appeal appears groundless and vexatious, the person so appealing shall be censured at the discretion of the general court martial.

XXIX. Upon the death, resignation, promotion, or other removal of an officer from any battalion, troop, or company, (except field officers) or any court-martial men, such vacancy is to be filled by the person or persons such troop or company shall elect.

XXX. No officer or soldier shall be tried a second time for the same offence, except in case of appeal.

XXXI. All officers and soldiers of every battalion, troop, company, or party of associators, who shall be called by the assembly or committee of safety in recess of assembly, into actual service, and be on pay, shall, when acting by themselves, or in conjunction with the continental forces, be subject to all the rules and articles made by the Hon. Congress for the government of the continental troops.

XXXII. No commissioned, non-commissioned officer, or private, shall withdraw himself from the company to which he belongs, without a discharge from the commanding officer of the battalion, nor shall such person

be received into any other company without such discharge.

In Testimony of our approbation and consent, to be governed by the above regulations, which have been deliberately read to, or carefully perused by us, we have hereunto set our hands.

G. M. &c.

In Committee of Safety, for Pennsylvania.

Whereas the arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings of the British ministry, in attempting to reduce the good people of America into a state of abject slavery and vassalage, has met with a righteous and spirited opposition from the Twelve United Colonies, by their Delegates in Congress, who, by their resolves of the 18th of July, recommended to the Assemblies or Conventions, or in their recess, to the Committees of Safety, to devise and provide such means for defending the lives, liberties and properties of their respective inhabitants, as may to them seem best; in compliance with this recommendation, and in consequence of the powers vested in this Committee by Resolve of the Assembly of this Province, they have caused sundry boats to be built and armed for the defence of the same, and the protection of its commerce, which boats being now ready for service, it remains that they be immediately manned and equipped; therefore, to encourage good and brave men to engage freely in this glorious service, the following Rules and Regulations are offered by the said Committee:

I. All officers and privates, in or belonging to the Provincial armed boats, being guilty of profane oaths, cursing, drunkenness, or other scandalous actions, shall incur such punishment as the nature and degree of the offence shall deserve, at the discretion of a court-martial.

II. Any officer or private who shall strike the commander in chief, or other his superior officer, or draw or offer

to draw, or lift up any weapon, or use any violence against him, or shall behave himself with contempt or disrespect to him, them or either of them, being in the execution of their office, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, at the discretion of a court-martial.

III. If any person in or belonging to the Provincial armed boats, shall raise or endeavour to raise a mutiny on any pretence whatever, or shall disobey any lawful commands of his superior officer, he shall, on conviction thereof, suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a court-martial.

IV. Any officer or private who shall, without leave of his commanding officer, absent himself from the boat or other vessel to which he belongs, or from any detachment of the same, or shall advise or persuade any other officer or private so to do, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

V. Every person in the fleet, who shall mutiny in time of action, or who, through cowardice, disaffection or negligence, shall at such time withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy any ship, boat or other vessel, which it shall be his duty to engage, or shall endeavour to persuade or deter others from doing their duty at such time, shall suffer death.

VI. Every person who shall desert to the enemy, or shall intice others so to do, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as the circumstances of the offence shall deserve, and a court-martial think fit.

VII. Any officer or private who shall be convicted of holding any correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer death, or such punishment as shall be ordered by a court-martial.

VIII.

VIII. Every officer or private who shall be convicted of having designedly or carelessly wasted or imbezelled the ammunition, arms, stores, or provisions belonging to any of the boats, shall suffer such punishment as a court-martial shall think proper for the offence.

IX. Whatever officer shall be found drunk on guard or under arms, shall be cashiered, and any private so offending, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

X. No person in or belonging to the Provincial armed boats, shall sleep upon his watch or forsake his post, on pain of such punishment as a court-martial shall think fit to impose.

XI. Any officer or private who shall, by discharging fire arms, beating of drums, or by any other means occasion false alarms, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted by a court-martial.

XII. All officers of what condition soever, shall have power to part and quell all quarrels, affrays and disorders, though the persons concerned should belong to another boat, and order officers to be arrested, and non-commissioned officers or privates to be confined till their proper superior officers shall be acquainted therewith, and whoever shall refuse to obey such officer, though of an inferior rank, or shall draw his sword, or lift up any weapon against him, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

XIII. If any inferior officer or private shall think himself wronged by the commander of the boat to which he belongs, he may apply to the Commander in Chief, who is to redress his grievance.

XIV. All officers shall take rank from the date of their commissions.

XV. All ships and other vessels, and their cargoes, ammunition, ar-

tillery, cloathing, or other articles taken from the enemy, shall be disposed of or distributed as the Provincial assembly shall hereafter think proper.

XIV. If any officer or private shall commit any crime deserving punishment, he shall, by his commanding officer, be put under arrest, if an officer, or if a non-commissioned officer or private, be put in confinement till he shall be tried by a court-martial, or discharged by proper authority.

XVII. If any officer under arrest shall leave his confinement before he is set at liberty by the officer who confined him, or by proper authority, he shall be cashiered.

XVIII. Any officer who shall presume to discharge any prisoner committed to his charge without proper authority for so doing, or shall suffer any prisoner to escape, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

XIX. If any commissioned officer shall be convicted before a court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous, cruel, oppressive or fraudulent manner, unbecoming the character of an officer, he shall be dismissed from the service.

XX. All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglect, which officers and privates may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in these Articles, shall be taken notice of by a court-martial, and punished according to the nature of the offence.

XXI. No person to be sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, except in the cases expressly mentioned in the foregoing Articles, nor shall any other punishment be inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial other than degrading, cashiering, drumming out of the fleet, whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; fine

fine not exceeding two months pay, and imprisonment not exceeding one month.

XXII. The commanding officer of each boat shall appoint some suitable person, to receive all such fines as may arise within the same, for breach of any of these articles, which fines shall be accounted for to the Assembly or Committee of Safety, and by them be appropriated for the relief of the maimed and disabled in the service, and the support of the widows and families of such as may be killed.

XXIII. No court-martial, for the trial of offences, under the degree of capital, shall consist of less than five officers, except in cases where that number cannot be conveniently assembled, when three may be sufficient, who are to determine on the sentence by a majority of voices; and in all trials for capital offences, the court-martial shall be composed of thirteen officers, and the sentence to be determined by at least two-thirds.

XXIV. All persons belonging to the boats, called as witnesses in any case before a court-martial, who shall refuse to attend and give evidence, shall be punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

XXV. All members of a court-martial are to behave with calmness, decency and impartiality, and in giving their votes, are to begin with the youngest or lowest in commission, and all officers of different boats are to rank in court-martial according to their commissions.

XXVI. All members sitting in a court-martial shall be sworn or affirmed by the president of said court, which president shall himself be sworn or affirmed, by the officer next in rank in said court. The oath or affirmation to be administered previous to their proceeding to the trial of an offender, in form following, viz. " You A. B. swear or affirm, that you

" will well and truly try, and impartially determine the cause of the prisoner now to be tried, according to the Rules framed for the Regulation of the Pennsylvania Fleet, (if an oath, add) so help you God."

XXVII. The President of the court-martial shall administer the following Oath or Affirmation to all persons called to give evidence.

" You swear, or affirm, that the evidence you shall give in the cause now trying, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, (if an oath, add) so help you God."

XXVIII. No person shall suffer death agreeable to the sentence of a court-martial (except in the cases mentioned in the 5th Article) till the sentence is confirmed by the Assembly, or in their recess, by the Committee of Safety.

XXIX. The commander of each boat shall, in the beginning of every month, make a faithful return to the Committee of Safety of the men employed in his boat, to be signed by himself; and upon being convicted of having made a false return, shall be discharged from the service; and if he neglect to make a return within the month, shall be fined at the discretion of said Committee.

XXX. No officer or private shall be tried a second time for the same offence.

We, the underwritten, having seen and distinctly heard the foregoing Articles read, and fully understanding the contents thereof, do freely and voluntarily subject ourselves to, all and every the Rules, Regulations and Restrictions therein contained. *In Witnesses* whereof we hercunto subscribe our names.

The officers and privates, to enter into the service for two months, and
Y
until

untill they shall be discharged by the Assembly or Committee of Safety.

Illustration of the Barbadoes Petition.

‘ In the Remembrancer, p. 16. (*this vol.*) is a Petition from the Assembly of Barbadoes to the King. The nations of the East approach their superiors with a present; our Colonies in the West offer incense. The good people of that island, not to derogate from the established custom, introduce their Address to his Majesty with a long preface of compliments; their complaint, the subject matter, they respectfully couch in a few words. To the compliments there is nothing to be objected; they are probably sincere. Not less sincere is the complaint; but being in short, it is to be considered as a text, which it may be necessary to enlarge and expound for the edification of the public. What if the complaint be local! the grievance is general; it is the business, and comes home to the bosom of the Sugar Colonist over all the West-Indies. Nor let the country gentleman in England think to escape. Insensible as he is at present, the blow is struck, which, at all events, irrevocably deprives his manufactures of a large portion of the American market.

‘ The Assembly, confining themselves to provisions alone, say in their Address, “ Their internal resources failed; their stock on hand will not last many weeks; and they are without hope of future foreign resources.”

‘ Before I proceed, allow me to give you a little history, which I have just learned. The people at Barbadoes were so alarmed by the licence granted to General Howe’s agent, to carry off all the provisions he could get, that upon the motion for a petition to the King, three different drafts were offered to the committee appointed to prepare it. One of them is published; another has been put into my

hands, as having come from a gentleman whose public spirit and abilities give him an honourable and distinguished ascendancy in the political determinations of the Colony. Notwithstanding, the House preferred the Address, which has appeared in the Remembrancer. The fear of a famine was tempered with the fear of offending. Conscious of their own weakness, and well aware of the soreness and irritability of others, they shrunk back from their favourite leader. They shrunk back because he went forward directly to the main point, and with a manly and decent firmness held out to open view the perilous situation at which they meant only to cast one melancholy glance. He had even ventured to name America, and to hint at peace upon a broad basis. This was the language of their constituents; it was the language of their hearts; but they were too cautious to give it utterance in a public capacity.

‘ Under certain circumstances, to be cautious is to be too wise. Be that the praise of the Barbadoes Assembly; be it mine to be clear and explicit. In this intention, I send you the proposed Address, which startled the Assembly; not that it contradicts, but because it explains; and fortunately anticipating my purpose, is a commentary upon the actual petition. I give it you as such, and shall only subjoin a few remarks.’

To the KING’S Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

Most gracious Sovereign,

‘ WE your Majesty’s most faithful subjects, the Representatives of this your antient and loyal Colony of Barbadoes, humbly beg leave, at length, to throw ourselves at your royal feet. Unwilling as we hitherto have been to add any thing to the weight of your Majesty’s cares on the unhappy subject of America, we have maintained a respectful silence; we have kept back
from

from all expression of our fears, until the apprehensions entertained by us are on the point of being realized by the approaching evils. Confiding in the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, directed by the goodness of your royal heart, we have still flattered ourselves with some happy determination of that dispute betwixt our Mother Country and our brethren upon the Northern continent of America; in which, not only the peculiar interest, but the very support of our own settlement in this Southern latitude, was immediately involved. But what a sad reverse appears! and how afflicting is the condition of our lot! We are suffering without blame, and experiencing all the effects of a resentment, without the slightest imputation on our obedience. We find ourselves on the brink of being ruined in our fortunes; but heavy as that calamity may lie upon our minds, it is yet supportable, in comparison with a dreadful evil that strikes at our very existence; for at a time when we find ourselves cut off from our long accustomed supplies of food, by the determined measures of your Majesty's Ministers at home, following the example, and supporting the resolves of the North-American Congress; when at this time we are anxiously looking for resources from some other quarter for support, your Majesty will judge of our alarm at the arrival and application of two transport ships from Boston, for a part of those very stores, for the relief of your Majesty's forces there, which we had relied upon for our own scanty provision. How considerably this must hasten the period of our dreaded wants, conspiring as at present with the failure of our few internal aids, from the severity of the season, we are but too painfully sensible! Nor can we forbear, by the most dismal anticipation, to bring the horror of that day into our minds,

when we shall behold our miserable slaves, to the number of near eighty thousand, looking up to us for that food, which we shall be unable to hold out to them; and when, from the destruction of their lives, deeply as we must be affected with the irretrievable loss of our properties, we shall yet feel the deeper wound that will be given to our humanity by the shocking scene; and yet happy will it be for us, if our sufferings are ended here! Happy if our present orderly and submissive slaves, then driven by hunger, and its wonted rage, to rapine and rebellion, do not turn upon ourselves and families, and make us the first dreadful victims in the general sacrifice!

' We beseech your Majesty therefore to take this our most deplorable state of danger and suspense into your most gracious consideration, permitting us at the same time to assure your Majesty of our inviolable attachment from principles of gratitude, no less than duty, to your sacred person and government, professing our undisssembled reverence for the constitution of Great Britain, and our highest esteem for that part of it, which brought your Majesty's illustrious ancestor, as a blessing, to the British throne; and concluding with our devout prayers to God, who rules the hearts of Kings, that he would guide the councils of your Majesty to those glorious means, which in the same moment they secure to us the preservation of our country, may establish its prosperity likewise on the broad basis of national peace and happiness throughout the realm.'

' This is the condition of Barbadoes. It is soon to be the condition, if it is not already, of all the Sugar Colonies. I appeal to our evidence at the bar of the House of Commons,

(See *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. I.

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p. 327.)

p. 327) prophetic of the latest advices. And while all these her submissive children are thus crying out to the Mother Country, for help under the distress into which she has plunged them with her eyes open, while in return for duteous acquiescence, they are looking up to her for adequate protection, what is the relief she has prepared for them in the plenitude of her power, and tenderness of her parental cares? She tells them, speaking by the voice of her Ministers, "The Sugar Colonies are in no danger of a famine. Corn is cheap in England, and Ireland abounds with provisions. They may depend upon the activity of the merchant, and dismiss their fears." A doctrine like this is exposed, as it deserves, in the West-India memorial to administration; (*See Remembrancer, Vol. II. p. 313.*) for in vain may there be corn in Egypt, unless there is money in the sack's mouth. But the doctrine is advanced, merely to evade the difficulty; and in whatever light you view it, it is equally weak. I will grant then the plenty to exist, and I will suppose it to continue. I must go further, and imagine, in the discovery of some hidden resource, a capacity to pay for it. What then? This corn, these provisions, are not to be used upon the spot where they are cheap and in plenty. They are to feed people at the distance of three and four thousand miles, and in a climate for which they must be particularly prepared. Before they reach the consumer, they must pass through a multitude of hands, each of them entitled to a just profit. When Ministers therefore talk of the cheapness and plenty in Europe of the food which is to be carried across the Atlantic, they deserve to be insulted by a reference to their own experience. Let them look into their Boston accounts for the cheapness, and enquire

of the garrison about the plenty! But my design is honest information, and I will not impose a delusive estimate. Two objects are combined to swell the price in those accounts. A government contract is a kind of a political sacrament; there is the outward and visible service to the public, and the inward and secret grace to the individual. From jobs I shall draw no conclusions; my calculations are made upon the common practice of business. Without troubling the reader with a tedious detail of articles, or the differences of exchange, I will venture to assert, that fifty per cent. will be added to the price, from the prime cost, to the consumer in the West-Indies. Nor is this all. The West-Indies, while the harmony of the empire subsisted, were supplied from America. The prime cost of provisions in America was infinitely lower than in the British islands, either formerly, or at present, and the navigation unexpensive in proportion. Another fifty per cent. would hardly be equal to the loss to the Sugar Colonies, in the difference of the two markets. Behold then the boasted plenty and cheapness in its effects! The planter must pay double the usual price for his daily food. Let every man here go to market, God forbid in the same predicament, but with the same idea; and I may trust the most sanguine addresser for blood of them all to judge between administration and the Sugar Colonies. Will he dare to pronounce this state to be in no degree a state of famine? But the food of the negroes, and of most of the common people, is *maize*. The foreign supply is now no more; the internal resource too frequently fails, and wheat remains for a substitute. The price of wheat to maize is as three to one. Shall then the labouring poor, and those who stand in their place, have no bread

bread to eat, except they buy such as is always three times as dear as their common bread, and is itself at that juncture necessarily doubled in price? Shall the maintenance of the man in these ranks in life be raised to sixfold? and will ministers gravely tell us, 'There is no danger of a famine in the sugar colonies; that corn is cheap in England, and Ireland has plenty of provisions?' It is a solemn mockery of our misfortunes.

Philadelphia, May 5. A few days ago arrived two men of war off the mouth of Christiana Creek, the Roebuck, Capt. Hammond, of 44 guns, and the Liverpool, Capt. Bellew, of 20 guns. On receipt of the news of their being so far up the river, the thirteen Provincial armed boats were ordered from their stations at Fort Island, to attack them. On the 9th about two o'clock in the afternoon, the galleys hove in sight of the men of war, and about three began the attack, which brought on a heavy cannonading on both sides, which lasted three or four hours, when the Roebuck ran a-ground, and the Liverpool came to anchor to cover her.— It being dark the firing ceased; in the course of the night the Roebuck got off. During the engagement, the Wasp schooner, commanded by Capt. Alexander, came out of the creek into which she had been chased the day before. On the 10th in the afternoon, at five o'clock, the armed boats renewed the attack on them with so much spirit and skill, that they obliged the ships to make the best of their way down the river, when the boats pursued them, keeping a constant fire till they got below Newcastle, six miles from the place of action, where the boats moored for that night. The ships are since gone further down the river. We are well assured, by a gentleman who has since been along side the ships that our cannon did

great execution to their hulls, and that they were obliged to keep their carpenters at work patching and mending for two days after. Several of our armed boats were slightly damaged; one man was killed in the first, and two wounded in the second engagement. The greatest praises were given to our officers and men by the many thousand spectators who lined the shore on both sides the river.

London, July 26. Captain Williamson, of the Francis, arrived in London from Antigua, and brings an account, viz. that a few days after he was on this side the Bermuda Islands, the following ships were taken by the Revenge and Montgomery, two small American privateers, viz. The brig Henry, Blyth, from Barbadoes to Halifax, taken the 28th of May, laden with rum; the Rover, Hunter, from Antigua to Dublin, taken the 13th of June, laden with ditto; the Isabella, Kirk, from ditto to ditto, taken the 13th of June, loaded with rum; the Harlequin, Goodwin, from Nevis to ditto, taken the 2d of July, loaded with sugar and rum; the Devonshire, Fisher, from Antigua to ditto, taken the 1st of July, loaded with sugar and rum, in lat. 34. 55. lon. 53. 36. Fifty per cent. insurance was offered on some of the above ships: and insurance, with convoy, rose near 30 per cent.

Capt. Stephenion, of the Lady Juliana, arrived in town this day, and gives the following account of the capture of his ship the Lady Juliana, from Jamaica to London, in company with the Reynolds, Capt. Rusden, from ditto, for ditto, and the Juno, Capt. Marsden, from ditto, for Bristol. On the 9th and 12th of May last they were attacked by two American privateers off the Matanzas, bearing S. S. E. and that the Reynolds, Rusden, was taken by the American privateer, —, Capt. Henry, mounting six

fix three pounders, and ten swivels, on the 9th of May; and Lady Juliana, Stephenson, and Juno, Mariden, were taken by the Chance, Capt. Adams, who mounted 4 six pounders, and ten swivels, the 12th; that the Provincials put the Captains and passengers on board a Spanish vessel that was leaky, who carried them into Providence, where the Captains purchased a vessel, called the Baltimore, which is since arrived at Plymouth.

The nine ships above-mentioned were all taken with the greatest ease, after they had been convoyed 150 leagues from the ports they respectively sailed from, and left by the men of war, under a supposition that they were totally out of danger. The privateers which took them were but thinly manned, and weakly armed.— One carried ten, and the other twelve guns. Several of the ships had a greater number, but (which is very extraordinary) no powder on board, the Governors of the places they sailed from not allowing any to be shipped, for fear enough should not remain with them to defend their situations in case of an attack, which was something more than probable. The Lady Juliana, Capt. Stephenson, had 600 hogheads of sugar, and 30,000 hard dollars on board, besides other negotiable, and marketable articles; her cargo therefore, exclusive of the dollars, at a moderate computation, was worth 25,000l. She was boarded by Captain White, an old acquaintance of Captain Stephenson, who cordially shook hands with his captor when he set foot on deck, little thinking he was an enemy. White, out of civility and respect for old acquaintance, promised to send Stephenson safe to England, at the same time told him he was ordered by the Congress to carry every prize he took to Rhode-Island, and that the other privateer was to carry her's to Salem in New-England. The ship Francis, on

board which Stephenson came to England, was suffered to sail home, as the Captains of the Provincial privateers did not think her valuable enough to be seized.

The amount of the cargoes of the above prizes we are informed, upon the best authority, is upwards of 140,000l. sterl.

Newbury Port, May 27. A few days since a ship, burthen 280 tons, laden with provisions for the use of the ministerial army, was taken and brought into this place; the particulars of her cargo are as follow:— 39 tierces, 22 barrels, and 41 half barrels of best beef, 180 firkins and 90 casks of butter, 70 firkins, 2 barrels, and two half barrels of tongues, 17 puncheons of claret wine, 2 tierces, 12 barrels, and 11 half-barrels of best pork, 19 puncheons of oats, 3 firkins of lard, 23 kegs of tripe, 5 casks of peas, and 171 hampers of potatoes. The above vessel was taken by the Sea Nymph, Mathew Dunn, a sloop of six guns, eight swivels, and 29 men.

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A Remark.

The American Congress in their proclamation for a fast published on the 12th of June 1775, beseech the Almighty 'to bless our rightful Sovereign King George the Third, 'and inspire him with wisdom, &c.' See *Journal of the Congress for 1775*, page 75.

In the proclamation for a fast this year published by the Congress, on the 16th of March 1776, they beseech the Almighty 'to bless our civil rulers 'and the representatives of the people 'in their several assemblies and conventions, &c.' See *Remembrancer*, (this volume) page 35.

This alteration, made by the Congress, in a solemn supplication to heaven, is worthy of being noted!

Vindication of the present Ministry.

Jacobitical principles having been charged upon administration, I have been

been tempted to enquire upon what principles the ministers in the reign of King William acted with respect to the colonies. They opposed the claim of the province of New York to supreme legislative power and authority, and a freedom from taxes, unless imposed by the General Assembly of the province, in order to preserve to the crown and parliament the right of binding the colonies by acts of the English legislature in all cases whatsoever: the ministers of George the Third have exerted the rights thus preserved by an actual imposition of taxes; the difference in the ability of the colonies in the space of fourscore years rendering this difference in the application, as they think, of the same principle justifiable and constitutional.

In the year 1691 the act alluded to passed the General Assembly of the province of New York with the title of an Act declaring what are the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects within their province of New York.

This law enacts, 'That the supreme legislative power and authority under their Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c. should for ever be and reside in a governor in chief and council appointed by their Majesties, their heirs and successors, and the people by their representatives met and convened in General Assembly.'

It farther enacts, 'That no aid, tax, talliage, &c. whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, levied or required of or on any of their Majesties subjects, within this province, &c. or their estates, upon any manner of colour or pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the Governor and council and representatives of the people in General Assembly met and convened.'

This act, which would have served as a foundation whereon to build the exemptions of the Americans, had it been permitted to pass into a law, was rejected by King William and his ministers; and this is the only attempt that I find in any of the colonies to establish their independence in a legal manner by an American Magna Charta.

In the succeeding reigns of Queen Anne and the two Georges, the colonies increasing daily in numbers and affluence, and having by the expulsion of the French and conquest of Canada, obtained considerable advantages in point of safety and commerce, the ministers of George the Third thought it just to tax the subjects of the crown there. Accordingly a stamp duty was imposed by an act of the British parliament, which tax a subsequent administration repealed, substituting the declaratory act in its room. A third administration imposed fresh taxes—the Americans resist—a fourth administration enforces taxation—the Americans resist—Fleets and armies are sent to reduce them; and then we are told, the administration are under Scotch influence; and the ministers are Jacobites, though they support a principle established in the reign of King William.

Whilst this or any other administration act upon these principles; I care not what influence they are under, or what sect of politicians they belong to: be they Whigs, be they Tories, they shall have my good wishes. I would recommend to those turbulent and restless advocates for treason and rebellion to peruse an act of the same General Assembly of New-York in the year 1691, wherein the sentiments of America with regard to this country are contained immediately after the Revolution. As it is short, and not in every body's hands, I shall transcribe what relates to my purpose.

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‘ It is entitled ‘ An Act for quieting and settling the disorders that have lately happened in this Province, &c.’ It runs thus:

‘ Forasmuch as the good and quiet, ease, profit, benefit and advantage of the inhabitants within this Province, doth chiefly consist in and altogether rely and depend upon their bearing true faith and allegiance unto their Majesties crown of England, which is and can only be the support and defence of this Province: and whereas the late hasty and inconsiderate violation of the same, by the setting up a power over their Majesties subjects without authority from the crown of England, hath vitiated the minds of many people, and hath also brought great waste, trouble and destruction upon the good people of this Province.’

‘ Were the ablest lawyer in England to draw the present to an act of reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies, he could not do it in stronger, more applicable terms, or on juster principles. Had the inhabitants of New York acted suitably to the sentiments of their grateful ancestors, the minds of the people had not been vitiated, nor great waste and destruction brought on the Province and all America.

‘ Under the influence of the true faith and allegiance expressed in this Provincial act, the maturity of America advanced with hasty strides: To the desertion of them her present convulsions, the destruction of her trade, the neglect of agriculture, and a total *bouleversement* of justice, government, and civil society, are solely to be attributed. In this state of anarchy and rebellion those once flourishing Provinces must continue until their faith and allegiance to the crown of England is restored, and the deluded inhabitants, abandoning their aerial

privileges, are brought, by a repetition of their sufferings, to a sense of their duty, and subjection to the legislature of Great Britain. This event the gallant defence of Quebec, by General Carleton, has greatly accelerated. The Americans, with all their boasted numbers, courage, and discipline, will find themselves in a worse state than at the beginning of the last war, when a handful of French and Canadians threatened the British Settlements with destruction. They will find Canadians and Britons on their backs, and the armies and navy of England on their coasts, exerting their national spirit against American perfidy and rebellion.

‘ As the reduction of America will follow this seasonable check in Canada with amazing rapidity, if no rash, unsuccessful attempt is made on New-York before the junction of Lord Howe with his brother, the General, let us hope that past experience will teach administration and parliament not to leave to the wild direction of chance a matter of such moment to Great Britain as the preservation of her Colonies; but that by wise parliamentary regulations of all the American charters; by a resumption of exorbitant proprietary grants; by a proper division of the Provinces; by the appointment of independent judges and governors, with instructions not one hundred years old; by a visitatorial deputy every fifth year, and by a powerful army and squadron, the quiet possession and commerce of that vast empire may be secured to this nation in *secula seculorum*.

July 13, 1776.

MAXIMS of the *Present Times*.

‘ Unfortunately surely is that nation of which the Sovereign is greatly above advice, with a favorite that is infinitely beneath it!

‘ There are, it seems, actually in force, acts of parliament against deer-stealing,

stealing, acts against sheep-stealing: what great pity it is there are none against king-stealing!

Have you a mind to liquidate the political problem, whether the favorite still preserves or not his original, sinister influence? Nothing more easy, nor less significant than the solution. Observe but whether the conduct of affairs is not at this moment invariably proceeding in the same stile of nebulous nonsense that has ever, from the first, characterised his disastrous ascendant. Are there now fewer blunders, less futility, less inconsistency, less want of plan, less meanness, less insolence, less perfidy, less ingratitude, than what fouled the dawn of this reign, and clouded that rising sunshine of popularity which had promised so much in vain, a meridian lustre? If consistently with truth, you cannot say that the premises are in any degree amended, what does it signify to the sum of things whether it is individually the same evil genius, who first took possession of the royal mind, that continues to mislead it; or any of that wretched band of low, obscure creatures, with whom he began his tuition by besetting him!

‘It is a long lane that has no turning;’ a long night that has no day; a long folly that has no end; a long minority that has never come of age.

Where a King has demonstrably the greatest reason to be ashamed of his friends, what can be more natural than that his friends should be most heartily ashamed of one another?

That in a free country, a mean-spirited, dishonourable administration, should stand the pelting of the political storm of pamphlets, news-paper pasquinades, with other marks of public contempt (a storm raised by their own glaring unworthiness) is not at all the wonder. It is but the natural consequence of so much mischief as they do or cause. This then is mere-

ly matter of course; and what they do not care two-pence about, so they but keep those places of profit which can never be to them places of honor. But what is the most astonishing is, that, take any of them separately, they are so ashamed of the actual disgraceful, ruinous conduct of things, that each denies, like murder, his having any share of management or efficiency. A denial general to them all from the ill-concealed favorite down to the lowest of his proxies:

‘What a faculty of combining must that genius have had who first blew up the spark of American fire into a general conflagration!—What a glorious dispensation of the national forces and treasures have we hitherto seen, under his most serene auspices! How admirably has he calculated every thing! But it is not given to every one to have such a numerical head as a First Lord of the Treasury, or the Keeper of a Lottery-Office.

‘Mark but the foul feeding of power on the grossest flattery! The whole series of a mock-minister’s administration has been one unbroken chain of blunders and miscarriages, something like the famous farce of the *Six-and-twenty Misfortunes of Harlequin*; and yet there are those who respect the public so little, respect *him* so little, respect themselves so little, as to join in a chorus of doxology to him, and sing hallelujahs to his political talents and abilities of a statesman. A statesman too! Alas! is not that character in this country exploded, the thing annulled, the word obsolete, and the very idea lost? For conductors of the national affairs, what have we now but pedlars in politics; what for a great Minister of state, but a bustling paper bundler?

‘What hopes of so wretched a game as is now left to play? As things are, suppose another offensive Minister assumed into office, and
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nished in a responsible place, what then? If, on his coming in, he should have the *inclination*, without the *power* to redress the many wrongs which he will find in abundance, he will be much to be pitied; and yet infinitely more so, if he should have the *power* without the *inclination*. But what if he should have neither the *power* nor the *inclination* (for that may happen) why then there only remains to be said of him, that he is just such a character, as such a set of creatures of favor would choose for their purpose, as those who have so long governed and directed every thing, and who, at this moment, govern and direct every thing as wisely as ever, and what is still worse, are likely so to do to the end of the chapter.

What can be the catastrophe of this monstrously stupid *Tragedy of Errors*? The answer must be oracularly true. *Nothing good*. Under such an administration, hope would be impudence.

This is not the language of party, or of faction. There is nothing in it of political hypochondriasm. It is the result of the most cool, impartial judgment, and even of the most tender concern.

Where the people consider a parliament as predetermined to sacrifice their public trust to their private views, while voting, with a scandalous and even treasonable complaisance, conformably to the dictates of a weak, misguided court, it may irrefragably be averred, that 'till some great, some noble, some just measures are taken to restore the confidence of the people, and re-establish political order, every other endeavour will be vain and fruitless.

The life, the informing spirit of parliament is a deserved popularity. Without it, you have nothing but a corrupt, offensive body, of which *not* to be a member must be the pride and joy of a man of sense and honor.

What living creature would wish to be the little finger, or even the great toe of a corpse, though it were lying in state?

Whitehall, July 27, 1776. The following letter from General Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, was this day received by Captain Le Maître, who arrived express from Montreal.

Montreal, June 20, 1776.

My Lord,

In a former letter I informed your Lordship that the troops were ordered to assemble at Three Rivers; they all pushed forward with great expedition, as fast as they arrived off Quebec, by land or water, as best answered that end. The 8th instant the rebels attempted a very bold enterprize indeed; they crossed over from Sorel in 50 boats, better than 2,000 men, landed at the Pointe du Lai before day-light, and marched to attack the troops at Three Rivers, disregarding the sloop Martin, some armed vessels, and transports full of troops, that were at anchor three miles above the town, otherwise than to keep out of reach of their cannon. They made some attempt to force the 62d regiment; but whether they found Brigadier-General Frazer, who commanded at Three Rivers, too strong and too well posted, or that they were alarmed by Brigadier-General Nesbit, who landed the troops from the transports behind them, 'tis certain they soon gave up offensive measures, and retreated with all speed up the river, keeping in the woods. The Brigadiers Nesbit and Frazer pushed up likewise, but kept by the water-side, in hopes of getting their boats and cutting off their retreat; the first as far as Machiché, and the latter to the Point du Lai. The sloop Martin and armed vessels sailed as high as the River du Loup, and took two boats, but the rest were gone too far, as were their troops.

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‘ I know not the number of killed and wounded of the rebels ; about 200 surrendered or were taken prisoners, amongst those was their chief, Mr. Thompson, whom I think they call a Major-General, and a Mr. Irwin, who was the second on this expedition, and some others. The killed and wounded of the King’s troops amounted to 12 or 13 soldiers only.

‘ The next day the troops were ordered to their former stations ; all who had transports up reimbarcked ; Brigadier-General Frazer was ordered to march along the north shore with the troops whose transports had not been able to get up, and measures were taken to march a body of troops also by the south shore, had the wind continued unfavourable : for it seemed of great importance in this unhappy war, that the rebels should be driven from the upper part of the province as soon as possible. The wind springing up fair, the fleet sailed, and arrived off Sorel the evening of the 14th inst. the last of the rebels had retreated from thence some hours before : the grenadiers and light infantry of the troops in this division immediately landed, supported by Brigadier Nesbit, and part of his brigade. The next morning more troops were sent on shore, and the command of this column given to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, with instructions to pursue the rebels up the river Sorel to St. John’s, but without hazarding any thing till the column on his right should be able to co-operate with him. As soon as the regulations for the different transports could be made out, the remainder of the fleet sailed for Longueil, four leagues from Chamblé (Chamblé is 15 leagues from Sorel, by the river of that name) and had not the wind failed, this column might have arrived at Longueil the same night, and about the same time with Mr. Arnold, and the remainder of the rebels, ret ring from

Montreal. The next day the troops landed and marched by La Prairie towards St. John’s. The advance guard was supported by all the English remaining after the dispositions already mentioned, under the command of Major-General Philips, and this division followed by two regiments of the Brunswick troops, and that of Hanau, commanded by Major-General Reidesfel. The advance guard arrived the morning of the 19th instant near St. John’s, when they learned, that the head of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne’s column had taken possession of the redoubts the night before : they found all the buildings in flames, all the craft and large boats the rebels could not drag up the rapids of Chamblé, with some provisions, were also burned. I hear 22 pieces of cannon are left behind, hid in the woods ; several other marks appear of great precipitation and fright ; on this occasion I think they had no small cause. All his Majesty’s national and foreign troops shewed a great zeal and eagerness to overtake the rebels : and I doubt not but they would have given every proof of fidelity and valour, had the enemy delayed their retreat a little longer. The corps of artillery shewed great diligence likewise on the occasion ; there were brigades which marched with both columns. Brigadier Frazer’s Corps crossed from the north, and fell into the rear of the two columns on the south-side ; they were also joined by numbers of Canadians, and that on the right by many Indians.

Captain Le Maître will have the honour to present to your Lordship these dispatches ; he is an intelligent officer, and well qualified to give any further information of the transaction in this province ; I shall take the liberty to recommend him to your Lordship as an officer of merit.

I am &c.

[Gazette.]

GUY CARLETON.

Translation

Translation of an Edit, published at Lisbon by Order of His Most Faithful Majesty, dated at the Palace of Ajuda, the 4th of July, 1776.

E D I T A L.

Being lately informed, that the colonies of English America, by an act published by the Congress held on the 15th of May last, do not only declare themselves entirely separated from the subjection of the crown of Great Britain, but are already making laws, by their own particular authority, to resist the lawful authority of His Britannick Majesty, my good brother, friend, and ally;

And as such a pernicious example must be interesting to princes the most indifferent, so as to deny all favour and assistance, directly or indirectly, to subjects who in so public and formal a manner have risen against their natural sovereign; I am pleased to order, that in none of the ports of these kingdoms and dominions there be given prattick or entry to any ship which shall arrive there with or without a cargo, coming from the ports of the abovementioned English North America; but that on the contrary they be driven from the said ports in the same state in which they shall arrive, without any succour of any nature whatever being given to them. The masters of ships, to whom an entry may till now have been permitted, in consideration that there was no motive for hindering them, shall have notice to go out of the said ports with their ships, within the term of eight days, without further prolongation; an examination being made before they go out, whether they have on board any gunpowder, or such ammunition as I have already prohibited by my royal orders, given on the 21st of October of the last year, at the arsenal and the consulado; and confiscating for the benefit of the public works all such ships

in which there may be found such prohibited ammunition clandestinely and privately put on board, as effects deemed by such a discovery to belong to rebels. The Conselho da Fazenda is to understand it so, and is to order this Edital to be printed and fixed up in all the public places of the city of Lisbon, and the ports of this kingdom and of Algarve, that it may come to the knowledge of all, and no one may alledge ignorance of it.

Palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda,
4th July, 1776.

[Gazette.], With the Royal Signature.

There were nine Americans vessels in the different ports of Portugal, when the above order was published.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Richards, of the Lisbon Packet, arrived at Falmouth from Lisbon, to the Post-Masters-General, dated Falmouth, July 20.

My Lords,

“ On Saturday, June 15, I received two mails from Mr. Bell for the Duke of York Packet, and sailed for Lisbon, in company with the Anna-Theresa, and Eagle Packets; Tuesday, June 25, arrived at Lisbon, with the Eagle Packet in company, and off the bar saw a fleet of French men of war, consisting of six sail of the line, two frigates, two sloops, a brig, and two cutters; the 29th arrived six sail of Spanish men of war in the Tagus. On Monday, the 8th of July afterwards, we sailed in company with the Spanish fleet, which consisted of three sail of the line, one frigate, and two sloops; in the evening saw four sail more of Spanish ships of war going in, three sail of the line, and one frigate; the French fleet sailed to the northward. I am your, Lordships obedient humble servant.

JOHN RICHARDS.”

Madrid, June 30. The court received last week two couriers at Aranjuez, one from Lisbon and the other from Corunna.

Córunna. Although nothing has been published of the contents of their dispatches, yet we are assured, that they bring a relation of the hostilities committed by the Portuguese in the river Plata, where they have besieged and taken three different forts, and made the garrisons prisoners of war. It is very certain, that the court sent, immediately after the arrival of the said couriers, two expresses, one to France, the other to England; and that several regiments have received orders to desile without delay towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Portugal.

[The English ministry were disappointed, that the court of Spain did not publish an edict against the Americans, similar to that of Portugal.]

London, July 27. All the advices from the continent of Europe, seem to confirm the accounts before received relative to the disputes between the Spaniards and Portuguese. According to these advices, the latter have taken three forts from the former, on the river Plata, and killed 2000 of their men in Paraguay. In consequence of these hostilities, expresses, it is said, were immediately sent to the court of Versailles and London, and orders to all the ports in France and Spain, to hasten their preparations for a war, and to march troops towards the frontiers of Portugal. These orders, at first, we are told, had some effect over the French funds, but they soon after recovered themselves, and rose to the same height they were at before.

Admiralty-Office, July 30. By letters from Capt. Douglas of his Majesty's ship Isis, dated at Quebec the 26th and 27th of last month, it appears, that immediately after raising the siege of Quebec, of which he gave an account in his letters of the 8th and 15th of May, every proper measure was taken to facilitate the far-

ther operations against the rebels, by sending down the river all the pilots who could be procured to bring up the transports that were daily expected with Gen. Burgoyne from England and Ireland; and that no time might be lost on their arrival, he had provided pilots for the upper river, and placed frigates and armed vessels in proper stations to assist and escort them; and also, lest the transports should be prevented by contrary winds from sailing up the river, he had stationed vessels with provisions at proper places for the use of the troops, if they should be obliged to disembark and march by land. By these dispositions, all the transports with troops, which had pilots on board, proceeded up the river without stopping at Quebec, and arrived at Three Rivers time enough to defeat the rebels, and afterwards drive them from St. John's, and all their posts below Lake Champlain. Captain Douglas in the same letter says, that the prudent and spirited behaviour of Capt. Harvey, of the Martin sloop, cannot be too much commended; and that the zeal, vigour, and unanimity of his Majesty's servants on both elements was scarcely equalled on any other occasion within his remembrance. He also writes that he was, in concert with General Carleton, considering upon a proper establishment for armed vessels to be employed on the lakes Champlain and Ontario, and in contriving the most expeditious means of getting them, with other craft, on the said lakes, in order to the better accelerating the passage of the army; and that Captain Harvey of the Martin, was returning to Sorel, in order to examine into the means of floating between canals (as is practised in Russia and Holland) through the rapids of Chamblé into lake Champlain, the six armed vessels, one of which was al-

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ready arrived from England; and the others hourly expected. [Gaz.]

Admiralty-Office, July 30. Captain Le Cras, senior Captain of his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, in his letter, dated the 26th instant, has the following paragraph, viz. 'The Mercury brig, a prize to the Cerberus and Merlin, arrived the night before; and the person who had the command of the said brig says, they parted from the Cerberus the 26th of June, Block Island on the coast of America, bearing N. N. E. distance 17 leagues; and that they then saw Vice-Admiral Lord Shuldham with his Squadron, and the transports under his convoy, steering W. by S. for New-York; and that on the evening before they had seen the Greyhound frigate, with General Howe on board.' [ibid.]

Admiralty-Office, July 30. By a letter received from Vice-Admiral Young, dated at Antigua the 31st of May last, it appears, that Captain Bryne, of his Majesty's ship the Hind, which had been sent on service to St. Augustine in the province of Georgia, having intelligence that the rebels were fitting armed vessels in the adjacent rivers; and being at anchor off Sunbury river, he ordered Lieutenant Ellis, of the Hinchinbrooke armed schooner, with the ship's tender and boats, manned and armed, to proceed over the bar, where they set on fire a brig that was loading, and a ship on the stocks, intended by the rebels for a privateer to carry 20 guns. It further appears from the Admiral's aforementioned letter, that since the account transmitted in his letter of the 3d of March, and published in the Gazette the 8th of last month, the cruisers under his command had seized seventeen more ships and vessels, either belonging to or employed in carrying on a trade with his Majesty's rebellious subjects in North America. *ibid.*

Extract of a letter from an officer who was present at the late action under General Carleton in Canada, dated Fort Chamblee, June 21.

'In a few days after the affair of the 6th of May last, a fleet of twelve ships, with the 47th regiment, came to General Carleton from Boston, with which, his own army, and the 29th, he advanced up the country as far as Trois Rivierre, about thirty leagues distant from Quebec, at the same time leaving orders for such other troops as should arrive to follow him.

'On the 8th instant, at five o'clock in the morning, about 2500 Provincials, under the command of Major-General Thompson, began to fire on our advanced guard from behind some trees, about half a mile distant from this town; the noise of which soon alarmed our whole corps, who immediately formed, and returned the salute, which they did not return again, but took to their heels and flew into the woods. Our grenadiers and light infantry pursued them, took above 200 prisoners, and destroyed as many more. Neither General Carleton nor General Burgoyne were present at this action, but they came up next day.

'From the Three Rivers, the troops who had their ships there embarked, the others marched under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. The three Generals, Carleton, Burgoyne, and Philips, went on board the Rosseau to Sorrell, where we expected the enemy would take breath, as it commanded the river of that name which leads to Chamblee and St. John's. They had erected two batteries at its entrance, one of five pieces of cannon, the other ten, which must have greatly annoyed our shipping, but notwithstanding these
advan-

advantages they fled on our approach, and ran off for Chamble and St. John's; the fort of the former of which they set fire to, and destroyed some batteaux and barges which they had not time to take away.

As they advanced towards St. John's they destroyed two bridges, to prevent our getting up to them till they could get on the lake; and when they arrived at St. John's, they destroyed the fort, burned a house belonging to Colonel Christie, and some provisions of their own which they could not take away, and then embarked for Crown Point, where ere now they are landed.

On our part we had but 13 men wounded (two of which are since dead) and two men killed; and not one officer wounded, though the latter were much exposed to the few shots that were given.

By this brushing, Canada is pretty well cleared of the Provincials, and crowds of volunteers hourly flock to the British Standard.

We are likely to remain here for a month, till a sufficient number of batteaux are built to cross the lake. The troops are going to encamp, some at this place, and others at St. John's, La Prarerie, Longueulle, and Montreal; the last, it is thought, will be our head quarters. Two Brunswick regiments are left in Quebec to garrison it.

A letter from an officer in the army, dated Trois Rivieres, June 20, 1776, after giving an account of the transactions in Canada, to the same purport as the preceding concludes thus:—

'You will be desirous to know the temper and disposition of the Canadians at this time: the clergy and better class of people are strongly attached to government; as to the body of the inhabitants, they seemed to wish to remain neuter, or at any rate to join with the strongest side, The

planters residing remote from Quebec and Montreal were totally uninformed of every political matter last year; seeing the rebels pouring in and carrying them all triumphantly before them, they came to their standard; but now things are strangely reversed, and they appear ready to afford us every assistance.'

Postscript of a letter from Lieutenant George Turnball, of his Majesty's ship Triton, to a gentleman of Bristol, dated Trois Rivieres, June 14, 1776.

'I lost the first opportunity of sending this down the river, and am glad it so happened, as it gives me an opportunity of informing you, that we have just heard that General Carleton has this day a meeting with 500 Indian chiefs, friends to Government, they have brought in four rebel scalps with them, so you find that work is begun, which is horrid, but must have a vast effect on the Provincials. You may with safety inform your friends, that the rebels are drove quite out of Canada. I wish we may be as successful to the southward.'

Extract of a letter from a merchant at Quebec, to his brother in London, dated June 25, 1776.

'Our troublesome visitors were disappointed in their attempt of taking the city by storm. We thought danger of every kind would then be over, but news got to the Congress, and a reinforcement is come. Since I began to write this, more of our troops are also arrived. I believe we have now 7 or 8000, including the foreign, the 29th and 47th regiments, with some persons from Montreal and Quebec. While they lay at Three Rivers, they had their advanced party attacked at Point au Lae; we had two men killed and seventeen wounded; the Colonists came from the opposite side of the river in batteaux; we had intelligence of their intentions, and posted a party in ambush to receive

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them, which was done as soon as they advanced out of sight of their batteaux. On the batteaux men hearing the sudden firing, they pulled off with the batteaux, and their people soon retreated to the water-side in order to get over, when they found their batteaux gone, and themselves surrounded, which induced them to lay down their arms, and sue for mercy; some of them indeed got into the woods, which they continued retreating to as we advanced, and came no more to engagement; they abandoned their intrenchments at Sorell, and also the city of Montreal; they burnt Chamblé, and now have fled from St. John's: our troops can't pursue them till batteaux and vessels are built; we are told they are coming from England. However, the enemy are out of the province, and I believe the troops will not be ready to follow them before the end of the summer.'

The last advices from Canada brought an account that Sir John Johnson having joined the King's forces at Montreal in June last with 150 Indians of the six nations. They travelled thro' the woods, and were eight days almost destitute of provisions.

By his Excellency Guy Carleton, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the province of Quebec, &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I am informed that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects of the neighbouring provinces labouring under wounds and diverse disorders are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance: all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief; and convey them to the General Hospital, where proper care

shall be taken of them: all reasonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the Receiver General.

And lest a consciousness of past offences should deter those miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

Given under my hand and seal of arms at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, the 10th day of May 1776, in the sixteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth,

GUY CARLETON,

By his Excellency's command,

H. T. CRAMAHE.

God save the King.

Halifax, June 16. This morning a French ship of war, of 22 guns, arrived in this port, and brings advice, that near Rhode-Island an American privateer engaged an English ship of war, in a gale of wind, when after exchanging a few broad-sides, the latter was sunk, and all on board perished. [*Nova Scotia Gazette*]

Yesterday a Dutch fly-boat and a schooner, both laden with arms and ammunition, cast anchor here. They came into this port in bad weather, and are bound to Philadelphia. *ibid.*

Halifax, June 26. Commodore Bankes in the *Renown*, with the other ships from Boston, are arrived here. The Provincials erected batteries upon the several promontories which command Nantasket road, from which, being fired upon, it was resolved to come here. When Lord Howe was here he did not stay above three hours. As soon as he came in-

to the offing, he sent a boat ashore; upon which General Maffie and Commissioner Arbuthnot, went aboard, with a letter which General Howe left with them for his lordship. Lord Howe never cast anchor; but failed away upon receiving the letter, seemingly a good deal surpris'd.

Newbury Port, May 30. Yesterday arrived in this port the frigate Belleisle, from St. Maloes. She has on board 90 barrels of gunpowder, some artillery, and a great number of bombs and shells, for the use of the Provincial army. The day before yesterday the Ranger, a snow, of 14 guns, commanded by Patrick Dennis, in the service of the Congress, brought into this place a ship, burthen 280 tons, and another vessel of 260 tons; they were both from England, and are laden with cloathing and military stores for the British troops. The above vessels have upwards of eleven thousand pair of shoes on board. [*New-London Chronicle.*]

The following Test passed the late Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, viz.

‘ We the subscribers do each of us severally for ourselves profess, testify and declare, before God and the world, that we verily believe that the war, resistance and opposition in which the United American Colonies are now engaged against the fleets and armies of Great-Britain, is on the part of the said colonies, just and necessary; and we do hereby severally promise, covenant and engage to and with every person of this colony, who has or shall subscribe this declaration, or another of the same tenor and words, that we will not, during the said war, directly or indirectly, in any ways aid, abet, or assist any of the naval or land forces of the King of Great Britain, or any employed by

him, or supply them with any kind of provisions, military or naval stores, or hold any correspondence with, or communicate any intelligence to any of the officers, soldiers or mariners belonging to the said army or navy, or enlist or procure any others to enlist into the land or sea service of Great-Britain, or take up or bear arms against this or either of the United Colonies, or undertaking to pilot any of the vessels belonging to the said navy, or any other way aid or assist them; but on the contrary, according to our best power and abilities, will defend by arms the United American Colonies, and every part thereof, against every hostile attempt of the fleets and armies in the service of Great-Britain, or any of them, according to the requirements and directions of the laws of this colony, that now or may hereafter be provided for the regulation of the militia thereof.’

Watertown, June 3, 1776. Wednesday last the General Assembly of this colony convened at the meeting-house in this town, when they unanimously make choice of the Hon. James Warren, Esq. for their speaker, and Samuel Freeman, Esq. for their clerk.

In the General Assembly held in the colony of Rhode-Island in May session 1776, the following act was passed:

‘ Whereas in all states, existing by compact, protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former: and whereas

forgetting his dignity,

instead of protecting, is by sending fleets and armies to America to

compel

compel us to submit to

where-
by we are obliged by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, to oppose the power which is exerted for our destruction.

‘ Be it enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that an act, entitled, ‘ an act for the more effectual securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this colony and dominions of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations;’ be, and the same is hereby repealed.

‘ And be it further enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That in all commissions for offices, civil and military, and in all writs and processes in law, whether original, judicial, or executory, civil and criminal, wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof, the name and authority of the Governor and company of this colony shall be substituted in the following words, to wit, ‘ The Governor and Company of the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations;’ That all such commissions, writs and processes, shall be otherwise of the same form and tenor as they heretofore were, that the courts of law be no longer intitled nor considered as the King’s courts; and that no instrument in writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall in the date thereof mention the year of the said King’s reign: Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this act contained shall render void, or vitiate any commission, writ, process, or instrument heretofore made or executed, on account of the name

and authority of the said King being thereing inserted.’

The following is the form of a Commission from the Congress, to the privateers in their service.

In Congress. The delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia:

To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting; know ye,

That we have granted, and by these presents do grant, licence and authority to John Adams, mariner, commander of the sloop called Chance, of the burthen of 45 tons, or thereabouts, belonging to Joseph Dean, Philip Moore, and Co. of Philadelphia, in the county of Pennsylvania, mounting four guns, and navigated with 45 men, to fit out and set forth the said sloop, in a warlike manner, and by and with the said sloop, and the crew thereof, by force of arms, to attack, seize and take the ships and other vessels belonging to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, or any of them, with their tackle, apparel, furniture, and loading, on the high seas, or between high water and low water mark, and to bring the same into some convenient ports in the colonies, in order that the courts which are or shall be appointed to hear and determine causes civil and maritime, may proceed in due form to condemn the said captures, if they be judged lawful prizes; the said Joseph Dean and Co. having given bond, with sufficient security, that nothing be done by said commander, or any of the officers, mariners, or company thereof, contrary to, or inconsistent with, the usage and customs of civilized nations, and the instructions (a copy of which

is herewith delivered to him). And we will and require all our officers whatsoever, to give succour and assistance to the said commander in the premises. This commission shall continue in force until the Congress shall issue orders to the contrary.

Dated at Philadelphia, April 11, 1776. By order of the Congress,
Signed, JOHN HANCOCK, Pres.

JOHN ADAMS.

Williamsburgh, (Virginia,) April 12.

Last Saturday Capt. James Barron arrived in town with dispatches from the Secretary of State for Gov. Eden of Maryland, which he took from on board a small vessel that had been sent by Lord Dunmore to carry them to Annapolis. They were in custody of a certain Mr. Ross, from Fort Pitt, an old offender, and an associate of the infamous Conolly.

The packet contained three letters. The first, dated Nov. 10, only serves to announce his Lordship's succeeding the Earl of Dartmouth as Secretary for the American department. The second, of Dec. 23. inclosed the act of parliament for seizing American property, and assures him of his Majesty's being determined, in concurrence with his parliament, to pursue the most vigorous measures for reducing his rebellious subjects in North America; and then closes with the King's exhortation to the people of his government, couched in terms of the same import which we have already seen in sundry proclamations from his governors. The third letter, being more interesting, is as follow:

Sir, *Whitehall, Dec. 25, 1775.*

It was not till the 27th of November that your dispatch to Lord Dartmouth of the 27th of August was received here, when I had the honour of laying it before the King; and I have it in command from his Majesty, to express to you his Majesty's appro-

bation of your zeal for the public service, and of the unalterable attachment you have shewn to his person and government, from the first commencement of the present unhappy disputes, which have involved his Majesty's servants in the colonies in difficulties and distresses, that are only equalled by the fortitude with which they are borne.

Your letter contains a great deal of very useful information, and your confidential communication of the characters of individuals, more especially of such as come over into England, is of great advantage; and you may rest assured, that every possible precaution will be used that no part of your letter shall transpire.

An armament, consisting of seven regiments, with a fleet of frigates and small ships, is now in readiness to proceed to the southern colonies, in order to attempt the restoration of legal government in that part of America. It will proceed in the first place to North Carolina, and from thence either to South Carolina or Virginia, as circumstances of greater or less advantage shall point out. If to the latter, it may have very important consequences to the colony under your government; and therefore you will do well to consider of every means by which you may, in conjunction with Lord Dunmore, give facility and assistance to its operations. I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE GERMAINE.

*In Committee of Safety at Williamsburgh,
April 18, 1776.*

Ordered, That the circular letter from the Secretary of State, lately intercepted, together with the act of parliament therein referred to, be published.

JOHN BECKLEY, Assist. Clerk.

(C I R)

(CIRCULAR.)

* Sir, *Whitehall, Dec. 23, 1775.*

The King being determined, in concurrence with his parliament, to pursue the most vigorous measures for reducing his rebellious subjects in North America to obedience, and restoring legal government, has given the royal assent to the inclosed act, which I am commanded by his Majesty to transmit to you, and at the same time to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do exhort all persons, upon whom the execution of this law shall depend, to pay a due attention thereto, and to use their best endeavours for carrying the provisions of it into effect; and I trust that when his Majesty's deluded subjects in the associated colonies are better apprised of the fatal consequences of the conduct they have adopted, and see the determined spirit of the nation to maintain its constitutional rights, they will avail themselves of the means which the justice and benevolence of the supreme legislature have held out to them of being restored to the King's grace and peace, and that a happy and lasting reconciliation and union will be effected. And I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, in order to accelerate this desirable object, the proper steps have been taken for passing a commission under the great seal, in conformity to the last section but one of that act; and the commissioner or commissioners, to be appointed for that purpose, will have full power to enquire into the state and condition of the colonies, and to confer with proper persons upon such points as may be necessary for effecting a restoration of the public tranquillity. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEO. GERMAINE.

In consequence of Lord George Germaine's letters to Governor Eden being intercepted, General Lee wrote

the following letter, to Samuel Pourvoyance, Esq; chairman of the committee of Baltimore, who on the receipt of it, sent Captain Smith, with 40 minute-men, to seize the person of Governor Eden, and did seize his sailing-boat. The committee of safety at Annapolis, and the military assembled there, were highly offended at the liberty Mr. Pourvoyance had taken in giving such an order, and would not allow it to be executed. However, they desired Governor Eden to give them his word he would not leave the province until the meeting of the general Convention, which was to be on May 29. They also made Mr. Pourvoyance give large bail for his appearance there at that time, when it was supposed he would be reprimanded, and fined.

* Dear Sir, *Williamsburgh, April 6.*

I know not to whom I can address this most important note, with so much propriety and assurance of success, as to yourself. The crisis will not admit of ceremony and procrastination; I shall therefore irregularly address you in the language of one bold, determined citizen to another, and conjure you, as you value the liberty and right of the community, of which you are a member, not to lose a moment; and in my name, if my name is of consequence enough, to direct the commanding officer of your troops at Annapolis, immediately to seize the person of Governor Eden. The sin and blame be on my head, I will answer for all to the Congress; the justice and necessity of the measure will be best explained by the packet transmitted you by the Committee of Safety from this place. God Almighty give us wisdom and vigour this day of trial. Adieu! dear Sir, yours, most sincerely,

* CHARLES LEE.

* To Samuel Pourvoyance, Esq; Chairman of the Committee, Baltimore.

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Williamsburgh, May 14.

At the beginning of this month General Lee was intrenched near this city, with between four and five thousand men. No account at that time was received in Virginia, of Sir Peter Parker's fleet. But on the 10th of May advices were brought that the fleet was off Cape Fear in North Carolina; upon which a detachment of twelve hundred Virginians was ordered to go to assist the Carolinians, in case General Clinton (who commanded the troops Sir Peter Parker brought) should attempt to land.

Charlestown, South-Carolina, May 12.

Seventeen sail of transports from Ireland, with 7 regiments consisting of about 5000 men, arrived at Bay Island in Cape Fear river the 1st inst. they are in great want of water. General Armstrong is arrived here from Philadelphia.

Extract of a letter from an officer of the 15th regiment to his friend here, dated at the camp near Cape Fear, North Carolina, May 17th.

On the 7th inst. the 15th and 28th regiments landed on a peninsula, at the mouth of the river, but the enemy not chusing to shew themselves, the General after reconnoitring the country, re-embarked them. A few days after, the 27th and 33d regiment went 15 miles up the river, and dispossessed the rebels of a post they had at that place called Brunswick. They took a few prisoners, and had one man killed; after executing this business, they returned to the ships with a seasonable supply of 20 bullocks. On the 15th inst. the 15th, 28th, 33d, 37th, and 54th regiments landed, and encamped near a demolished post opposite to our shipping. The 57th is encamped on the opposite shore, and the 46th is still on board. Part of the rebels are within two or three miles of us, but their strongest post, or chief depen-

dence, is at Wilmington, about 25 miles from hence.

Subsequent accounts said, a few days after the above date the troops re-embarked. At this time the season is against the troops acting in the southern provinces: One regiment (the 46th) was very sickly, owing to the climate. And here it is necessary to observe, that General Howe, before he left Halifax, sent a vessel to General Clinton with orders to come to the northward and join him. It is singular, that General Clinton had no intelligence of the evacuation of Boston; except what he had obtained by chance from an American newspaper.

The next account from this fleet was important. Not receiving General Howe's orders to come to the northward, before they left Cape Fear, they went to the southward, for Charlestown, to make an impression there, agreeable to their original orders before they left England.

Whitehall, Aug. 24, 1776.

Captain Hope arrived on Wednesday evening last from South Carolina with dispatches from Commodore Sir Peter Parker and Lieutenant-general Clinton.

Extract of a letter from Sir Peter Parker to Mr. Stephen, secretary of the Admiralty, dated within Charles Town Bar, July 9, 1776.

It having been judged adviseable to make an attempt upon Charles Town in South Carolina, the fleet sailed from Cape Fear on the 1st of June, and on the 4th anchored off Charles Town Bar. The 5th founded the Bar, and laid down buoys preparatory to the intended entrance of the harbour. The 7th all the frigates and most of the transports got over the Bar into five fathom hole. The 9th General Clinton landed on Long-Island with about four or five hundred men. The 10th the Bristol

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got over the bar with some difficulty. The 15th, gave the Captains of the Squadron my arrangement for the attack of the batteries on Sullivan's Island, and the next day acquainted General Clinton that the ships were ready. The General fixed on the 23d for our joint attack, but the wind proving unfavourable, prevented its taking effect. The 25th, the Experiment arrived, and next day came over the bar, when a new arrangement was made for the attack. The 28th, at half an hour after nine in the morning, informed General Clinton by signal that I should go on the attack. At half an hour after ten I made the signal to weigh; and about a quarter after eleven the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Sable-bay, brought up against the fort.—Thunder Bomb, covered by the Friendship armed vessel, brought the Salient Angle of the East Bastion to bear N. W. by N. and Colonel James (who has ever since our arrival been very anxious to give the best assistance) threw several shells a little before and during the engagement in a very good direction. The Sphynx, Actæon, and Syren were to have been to the westward, to prevent fireships and other vessels from annoying the ships engaged, to enfilade the works, and if the rebels should be driven from them, to cut off their retreat, if possible. This last service was not performed, owing to the ignorance of the pilot, who run the three frigates aground. The Sphynx and Syren got off in a few hours, but the Actæon remained fast till the next morning, when the captain and officers thought proper to scuttle and set her on fire. I ordered a court-martial on the captain, officers, and company, and they have been honorably acquitted, Captain Hope made his armed ship as useful as he could upon this occasion, and he merits

every thing that can be said in his favour. During the time of our being a-breast of the fort, which was near ten hours, a brisk fire was kept up by the ships, with intervals, and we had the satisfaction, after being engaged two hours, to oblige the rebels to slacken their fire very much. We drove large parties several times out of the fort, which were replaced by others from the main. About half an hour after three, a considerable reinforcement from Mount Pleasant hung a man on a tree at the back of the fort, and we imagine that the same party ran away about an hour after, for the fort was then totally silenced, and evacuated for near an hour and a half; but the rebels finding that our army could not take possession, about six o'clock a considerable body of people re-entered the fort, and renewed the firing from two or three guns, the rest being, I suppose, dismounted. About nine o'clock, it being very dark, great part of our ammunition expended, the people fatigued, the tide of ebb almost done, no prospect from the eastward, and no possibility of our being of any farther service, I ordered the ships to withdraw to their former moorings. Their Lordships will see plainly by this account, that if the troops could have co-operated on this attack, his Majesty would have been in possession of Sullivan's Island. But I must beg leave here to be fully understood, lest it should be imagined that I mean to throw the most distant reflection on our army; I should not discharge my conscience, were I not to acknowledge, that such was my opinion of his Majesty's troops, from the general down to the private soldier, that after I had been engaged some hours, and perceiving that the troops had not got a footing on the north end of Sullivan's Island, I was perfectly satisfied

ished that the landing was impracticable, and that the attempt would have been the destruction of many brave men without the least probability of success; and this, I am certain, will appear to be the case, when General Clinton represents his situation. The Bristol had 40 men killed, and 71 wounded; the Experiment 23 killed, and 56 wounded, and both of them suffered very much in their hulls, masts and rigging; the Active had Lieutenant Pike killed, and 6 men wounded; and the Solebay 8 men wounded. Not one man who was quartered in the beginning of the action on the Bristol's quarter-deck escaped being killed or wounded. Captain Morris lost his right arm, and received other wounds, and is since dead; the master is wounded in his right arm, but will recover the use of it: I received several contusions at different times, but as none of them are on any part where the least danger can be apprehended, they are not worth mentioning.— Lieutenants Caulfield, Molloy, and Nugent, were the Lieutenants of the Bristol in the action; they behaved so remarkably well, that it is impossible to say to whom the preference is due; and so indeed of all the petty officers, ship's company, and volunteers. At the head of the latter I must place Lord William Campbell, who was so condescending as to accept of the direction of some guns on the lower gun-deck. His Lordship received a contusion on his left side, but I have the happiness to inform their Lordships that it has not proved of much consequence. Captain Scott, of the Experiment, lost his arm, and is otherwise so much wounded, that I fear he will not recover. I cannot conclude this letter without remarking, that when it was known that we had many men too weak to come to quarters, almost all the seamen be-

longing to the transports, offered their service with a truly British spirit, and a just sense of the cause we are engaged in. I accepted of upwards of fifty to supply the place of our sick. The masters of many of the transports attended with their boats; but particular thanks are due to Mr. Chambers, the master of the Mercury.

All the regiments will be embarked in a few days. The first brigade, consisting of four regiments, will sail in a day or two, under convoy for New-York; and the Bristol and Experiment will, I hope, soon follow with the remainder.

Sir Peter Parker's squadron consisted of the following ships and vessels:

| Ships, &c. | Guns | Commodore |
|-----------------------------|----------|---|
| Bristol | - - - 50 | } Sir Peter Parker. Cap. John Morris |
| Experiment | 50 | |
| Active | - - 28 | Will. Williams. |
| Solebay | - - 28 | Tho. Symonds. |
| Actæon | - - 28 | Christ. Atkins. |
| Syren | - - 28 | Tob. Furneaux. |
| Spynx | - - 20 | Anthony Hunt. |
| Friendship armed vessel. | } 22 | Charles Hope. |
| Ranger Sloop | 8 | Roger Wills. |
| Thunder Bomb | 8 | James Reid. |
| St. Lawrence | } | Lieutenant John Graves. |
| Schooner. | | |

[Continued.]

Whitehall, August 23.

It appears, by Lieutenant-General Clinton's letter to Lord George Germain, dated July 8, 1776, from the camp of Long-Island, Province of South Carolina, that Sir Peter Parker and the General having received intelligence that the fortress erected by the rebels on Sullivan's Island (the key to Charles-Town harbour) was in an imperfect and unfinished state, resolved to attempt the reduction thereof by a coup de main; and in order that the army might co-operate

rate with the fleet, the General landed his troops on Long-Island, which had been represented to him as communicating with Sullivan's Island by a ford passable at low water; but that he, to his very great mortification, found that the channel, which was reported to have been eighteen inches deep at low water, to be seven feet deep; which circumstance rendered it impossible for the army to give that assistance to the fleet in the attack made upon the fortress that the General intended, and which he, and the troops under his command, ardently wished to do. [*Gazette.*]

[Other accounts gave the following further particulars. The Bristol was so exceedingly shattered, it was doubtful whether she could go to New-York. About six hundred of the troops were landed upon Long-Island; a very unhealthy spot; a sandy desert; they were exposed to a very hot sun, and tormented with the musquettoss. It is extraordinary they were so many days upon the island, and did not know whether the water was fordable to Sullivan's Island! Upon that part of Sullivan's Island next to Long-Island, the Provincials had lines, which, upon the troops landing, they abandoned, and retired to an eminence, where they threw up fresh lines. The space from these new lines to the water's edge became a sort of glacis, which they could command at pleasure. The troops having but few boats, only a few men at once could be conveyed to Long-Island, who must have been cut to pieces before they could be supported. The Provincials were commanded by General Lee. This officer permitted the ships to work up, and to take their stations against the batteries, before he fired a single shot. And when they had taken their stations, he directed his principal fire against the Bristol and Experiment, be-

ing the largest ships; the frigates were not much regarded. During the short time that the batteries were silenced, a body of the troops were put into flat-bottomed boats, to be landed upon Sullivan's Island; but the General not making a signal for their landing, they were not landed. It has been supposed that the batteries ceasing to fire, was a feint to seduce the General to land. Whatever was the cause, it is obvious from the account given by the ministry, that there was not a good understanding between Sir P. P. and General C. And it has been further supposed, that the Experiment brought General Howe's orders to come to the northward; but probably not bringing similar orders from Lord Shuldham for Sir Peter Parker, the latter might apprehend he should not follow the local General's orders, if they clashed with those he received from England. When the affair was over, General Lee politely sent to General Clinton, a present of fresh meat and vegetables, which was accepted. July 16 the fleet were almost ready to sail for New York.]

A genuine letter from —, dated St. Charles (near St. John's, in Canada) the 23d of June, 1776.

Our passage from England was rather long but very good weather. When the English and Irish transports joined, they were upwards of 80 sail; I lost company with them in a fog before we made Newfoundland; in consequence of this I made the master carry all the sail he could, and make the best of his way for Quebec, by which means we were the first ship that passed Quebec. I say passed it, because we did not stop there, as I was informed that General Carleton was in pursuit of the rebels, about 50 miles above Quebec we met General Carleton going down

the

the river. He sent on board of me, and directed me to go on to Trois Rivieres, where we anchored the 3d inst. The troops that were on board many of the ships, that could not get up the river, were ordered to disembark, and march up by land; and as the ships with regiments had separated, some of them were 60 leagues astern of the others, therefore they got to Trois Rivieres, by one, two, or three companies of a corps. We continued to encrease by the 8th inst. I believe to the amount of two thousand men.

Colonel Frazer being the senior officer, some of the transports from which the troops had disembarked, being arrived at the Trois Rivieres, the 6th he ordered them to embark, to make room for others, which they did on the 7th. At half past three the next morning, I was much surpris'd to hear colonel Frazer hail me, and beg, for God's sake, I would send what artillery on shore I possibly could, assuring me the rebels were within a mile of the town, to the amount of two or three thousand. I could scarce believe it. However, as I had two six pounders mounted on the deck, with 80 rounds of case and round shot, I had them on shore in less than twenty minutes; I sent lieutenant Cox with one to take post in Great Road leading into the town to the northward, and went myself with the other, and took post on the great road to the westward. As Capt. Walker had only arrived the day before, he could not be ready soon, I sent to him, and he had three six pounders on shore much sooner than I could expect. By five in the morning, most of the infantry had disembarked and formed; lieutenant Dunbar, who arrived the night before, was ordered to take post on the right of the 62d regiment, and some other troops that were formed near a wood, and a mill in front, with two grass-

hoppers (which I hope never to see any more with rifle or three pounders but in the hands of the rebels or at Woolwich). The rebels endeavour'd to form at the hill, not three quarters of a mile from the town; col. Anstruther of the the 62d regiment, sent me word to beg, that I would bring up a six pounder or two, which I did. By that time col. St. Leger was the senior officer. I requested of him to incline with a part of his line, to the right, and a part to the left, in order that I might fire on the mill, and into woods where the rebels were, and bring off the grass-hoppers; this he readily granted. After the business was done there, I begged that he would permit me to go on the main road, and to let the 62d regiment with Col. Anstruther to cover me, this he granted. Soon after Col. Frazer with some troops joined us. He at first ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to lead, but at my request he permitted me to take the lead with two six pounders, by which means we kept the rebels marching through a marsh thirteen miles long, in a parallel line with us and the woods. They wanted to get into the main road, but our guns always kept them in cover. We took General Thompson, Col. Irwin, their aid de camps, and I know not what number of them prisoners. We lay on our arms all night. The next day Generals Carleton, Burgoyne and Philips joined us from Quebec. We returned to Trois Rivieres, for what reason I know not. I am tired, and what follows is a copy of my journal from the 10th inst.

June the 10th, employed in re-shipping the guns and stores. 11th, 12th, employed in all the ordnance transports, in over-hauling the ships holds to get at some six pounders, to have ready hoisted, to send at the shortest notice.

13th,

13th, Sailed at 7 in the morning, with the fleet from Trois Rivieres, and in the evening were obliged to anchor about a mile to the east of Nicholet.

14th, Early in the morning got under sail, to the amount of 60 sail, got over the Lake St. Peter's by six in the evening, and between nine and ten got within a mile of Sorell. The man of war was the first ship, and the transport I was in the second. The fleet anchored, and the grenadiers and light infantry landed.

15th, I landed by four in the morning at Sorell, with five light six pounders, and eighty rounds for each gun, and about twelve o'clock sent for another six pounder. Sent Capt. Lieutenant Mitchelson, with the light infantry and grenadiers, two six pounders, two lieutenants, and 28 men.—About two o'clock, completed Captain Curtis's brigade, of four light six pounders, two lieutenants, and 48 men, and sent him under the command of Col. Mackenzie, with part of the 31st, 9th, and part of some other regiments, to the amount of 4 or 500; the rebels left this place yesterday at about one o'clock. All their guns and stores were sent up the Sorell in batteaus, some 24 pounders, and 18 pounders. One battery to the east of Sorell, completed for ten guns, and one to the west, finished for eight guns; three they had thrown up, with many works stockaded and lines. They certainly intended at first to make a stand here; but on our approach, they did not out-hold.

16th and 17th, Lay wind bound at Sorell.

18th, Disembarked at four in the morning, with two six pounders, and 24 men, 90 rounds per gun, landed about a mile above Sorell, and marched by land to St. Tower; got in by five in the evening, distance ten miles.

19th, Left St. Tower by four in the morning, marched through Coat de Care, halted at Verssear; to Veroone in the afternoon, distance 24 miles.

20th, Left Veroone—went thro' Bathelviel and arrived at Longuell, 12 miles.

21st, Marched to Chamblay with 6 pieces of cannon, 18 miles.

22d, Marched to St. Charles, 18 miles.

The King of Prussia, when he has been on the brink of ruin, never planned better than what the rebels did, by endeavouring to surprize the troops and bar the shipping at the Three Rivers. Nothing but the six pounders prevented their succeeding, nay had they not lost their road, they would have been an hour sooner, and must have carried their point.

They have burnt St. John's, Chamblee, four schooners and a number of batteaus, &c. We have found about 20 of their guns, and I was surprized to find a 32 pounder in the river near Chamblee Fort. Our troops are mostly between this and St. John's, and the Generals say, we shall not be able to move for three weeks, I say six at least.

Another private account from the same place, of good authority, mentions the following particulars.

We are well informed, that during the siege of Quebec, the Provincials never had above 2700 men in Canada at one time. When the affair at Boston was over, General Thompson, about the latter end of April, was sent to Canada with 3000 of those men, who had been employed before Boston all the winter, and were reckoned good soldiers. Had these, or the same number of other good soldiers been sent at first, Quebec and all Canada must have been taken.

The Congress have sent General Sullivan to Crown Point, with six regiments.

giments; so that there is not a doubt of their intention to make their stand against the Generals Carleton and Burgoyne. The Provincials have got three armed vessels on the lake, which they took last year; and it is reported, that they have built two more. Governor Browne, taken by Commodore Hopkins at Providence, keeps company with his brother-Governor, Skene, at Hertford, in Connecticut. With Dr. Franklin, who was here a little while ago, came Charles Carroll, Esq; a Roman Catholic gentleman of large property in the province of Maryland, whom the Congress intended to have made Governor of Canada, if their forces had taken Quebec.

Philadelphia, May 20.

Extract of a letter to the Congress, dated Montreal, May 10, 1776.

Sir,

By Colonel Campbell, who arrived here early this morning from Quebec, we are informed, that two men of war, two frigates and one tender, arrived there early on Monday the sixth instant. About eleven o'clock the enemy sallied out, to the number as is supposed of one thousand men. Our forces were so dispersed at different parts, that not more than two hundred could be collected together at head-quarters. This small force could not resist the enemy. All our cannon, five hundred musquets, and about two hundred sick, unable to come off, have fallen into their hands. The retreat was made with the utmost precipitation and confusion. However, Col. Campbell informs us, that he imagines we have lost very few men, except the sick above mentioned.

General Thomas was last Tuesday evening at Dechambeau. At a Council of war, it was determined to retreat to the mouth of the Sorell. This day General Arnold goes down

there, and if he can get information of the enemy's real strength, and it should be found inconsiderable, perhaps a council of war, on reconsideration, may think proper to march the army back to Dechambeau, which is now strengthened by Colonels Greaton's, Burrell's and Sinclair's regiments. Besides the above losses, one batteau loaded with powder, supposed to contain thirty barrels, and an armed vessel, which the crew were obliged to abandon, were intercepted by one of the enemies frigates.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

New-York, May 23. By an express from our army in Canada, who left it the 9th inst. at Point Dechambeau, about 60 miles above Quebec, we are informed of the following further particulars relating to the situation of our affairs in Canada, viz. That the small-pox being in our army at Quebec, occasioned so many of them to be sick, and the rest dispersed at different posts for the conveniency of quarters, so that there were but about 200 effective men at head-quarters, where there was no intrenchment; nor breast-work, nor proper tools to erect any, and but about six days provisions: That at a council of war it was determined to leave the place in two or three days; and that General Wooster, with his own baggage, Captain Mott, and many others, had set out on the return a day or two before the enemy's ships and vessels (said to be seven in all) appeared in sight. That it was supposed General Carleton had notice by spies or deserters of the resolution to abandon the siege, and the situation of our camp; and on that information, concluded on the sally, which was made on the 6th (the same morning the ships came up) with about 1200 men and 6 field-pieces. That by the dress of the men, they were supposed not to be

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regulars, but the people from the town; that on the unexpected appearance of the ships and this force, our people quitted the place with precipitation and confusion, leaving their provision, baggage, cannon, about 200 sick, and every thing else behind them. That the cannon consisted of two 24 pounders, two 12 pounders, several 6 and 4 pounders, some mortars, cohorns, howitzers, all of brass, with some iron pieces, of various sizes; that it was thought that 100 of the sick went off with the small-pox on them, and that they were generally the better for going out; also that most of our people from the out-posts escaped and got together; that there was no firing on either side, but that as our people proceeded up the river on shore, the men of war followed, till near the Point de Chambeau, where our people made a stand, and the ships went down the river. That on account of the scarcity of provisions, and to avoid sickness, General Thomas kept with him but about 500 men, intending to proceed up or down, according to his strength and accommodations; and that the Canadians in general were well disposed in our favour. Great numbers of our troops, with provisions, ammunition, &c. were on the way, having been retarded by the badness of the roads, which had been for some time impassable, and prevented the arrival of recruits and necessaries; but that a powerful army well appointed and provided, will this campaign probably retrieve our affairs, and crown our important enterprize in that country with success.

Halifax, July 11. A letter of the 18th of June, from a gentleman in Quebec, to his friend in Halifax, says, "The enemy by the last accounts, were at Sorell; Generals Carleton, Burgoyne and Philips, sailed from Three Rivers on Thursday or Friday last, with 6000 troops after them,

and it is probable were with them in five or six hours after; prior to which, a body of them came down to a point about 9 miles above Three Rivers, with a design to cut off our advanced post at Point au Lac, but knowledge of their intention getting to Three Rivers before them, the 29th and 47th regiments with volunteers, received them, and totally defeated that party, by taking their leader, General Thompson, his aid de camps, colonels and other officers, and about 400 of their men (some say only 300) the others were killed or forced into the woods; we had only two men killed and 15 wounded; prior to that another discomfiture befel them at the Cedars, a place above Montreal. Captain Foster of the 18th regiment, with a company of the light infantry, some savages and volunteers, took and killed about 480 of them; I cannot say about our loss there, but if any, it was very inconsiderable. Since they retreated from these walls, adversity has been their constant companion, and indeed here, they have lost many by gun and sickness.

Price and Haywood, your old correspondents, have been very active with them through the winter, but when the news got to Montreal (where they were) of the retreat of the 6th ultimo, they with some more of the same stamp, went away over the lakes leaving unpaid in this province 30,000l. of debts, mostly for provisions, &c. for which they had contracted in supplying our visitors.

An express arrived this morning from General Carleton, says, the rebels evacuated Sorell on Friday, and on Saturday evening, they in as much haste returned from the city of Montreal; perhaps they may stand a little at the Fort of St. John's, but that will prove bad to them. It is now said they have left their ordnance and some batteaux at Sorell, laden with provisions.

Charlestown,

*Charlestown, South Carolina, May 1.
In General Assembly, April 11, 1776.*

Ordered, That the speech this day delivered to both houses, by his Excellency the president and commander in chief of this colony, be forthwith printed and made public, as well in the news-papers as otherwise.

By order of the house,

PETER TIMOTHY, Cl. G. A.
*Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative
Council.*

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the General Assembly.

It has afforded me much satisfaction to observe, that though the season of the year rendered your sitting very inconvenient; your private concerns, which must have suffered greatly by your long and close application in the late Congress to the affairs of this colony, requiring your presence in the country; yet continuing to prefer the public weal to ease and retirement, you have been busily engaged in framing such laws, as our peculiar circumstances rendered absolutely necessary to be passed before your adjournment. Having given my assent to them, I presume you are now desirous of a redress.

On my part, a most solemn oath has been taken for the faithful discharge of my duty; on yours, a solemn assurance has been given to support me therein. Thus, a public compact between us stands recorded. You may rest assured, that I shall keep this oath ever in mind—the Constitution shall be the invariable rule of my conduct—my ears shall be always open to the complaints of the injured, justice in mercy, shall neither be denied, or delayed—Our laws and religion, and the liberties of America, shall be maintained and defended, to the utmost of my power. I repose the most perfect confidence in your engagement.

And now, Gentlemen, let me intreat, that you will, in your several parishes and districts, use your influence and authority to keep peace and good order, and procure strict observance of, and ready obedience to the law. If any persons therein are still strangers to the nature and merits of the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, you will explain it to them fully, and teach them, if they are so unfortunate as not to know their inherent rights. Prove to them, that the privileges of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, acquainted with the parties and witnesses; of being taxed only with their own consent, given by their representatives, freely chosen by, and sharing the burthen equally with themselves, not for the aggrandizing a rapacious minister, and his dependant favorites, and for corrupting the people, and subverting their liberties, but for such wise and salutary purposes, as they themselves approve: and of having their internal polity regulated, only by laws consented to by competent judges of what is best adapted to their situation and circumstances, equally bound too by those laws, are inestimable, and derived from that constitution, which is the birthright of the poorest man, and the best inheritance of the most wealthy. Relate to them the various, unjust and cruel statutes, which the British parliament claiming a right to make laws, for binding the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, have enacted, and the many sanguinary measures, which have been, and are daily pursued and threatened, to wrest from them those invaluable benefits, and to enforce such an unlimited and destructive claim. To the most illiterate it must appear, that no power on earth can, of right, deprive them of the hardy earned fruits of their honest industry, toil and labour—even to them, the

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impious attempt, to prevent many thousands from using the means of subsistence provided for man by the bounty of his Creator, and to compel them by famine, to surrender their rights, will seem to call for Divine Vengeance. The endeavours by deceit and bribery, to engage barbarous nations to embroe their hands in the innocent blood of helpless women and children, and the attempts by fair but false promises, to make ignorant domestics subservient to the most wicked purposes, are acts, at which humanity must revolt.

Shew your constituents; then, the indispensable necessity which there was for establishing some mode of government in this colony; the benefits of that, which a full and free representation has established; and that the consent of the people is the origin, and their happiness the end of government. Remove the apprehensions with which honest and well-meaning, but weak and credulous minds, may be alarmed; and prevent ill impressions by artful and designing enemies. Let it be known, that this constitution is but temporary, till an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and America can be obtained; and that such an event is still desired, by men who yet remember former friendships and intimate connections, though, for defending their persons and properties they are stigmatized and treated as rebels.

Truth, being known, will prevail over artifice and misrepresentation—conviction must follow its discovery. In such case, no man, who is worthy of life, liberty, or property, will, or can, refuse to join with you, in defending them to the last extremity, disdaining every fordid view, and the mean paltry considerations of private interest and present emolument, when placed in competition with the liber-

ties of millions; and seeing that there is no alternative but absolute unconditional submission, and the most abject slavery, or a defence becoming men born to freedom, he will not hesitate about the choice. Although superior force may, by the permission of heaven, lay waste our towns, and ravage our country, it can never eradicate, from the breasts of freemen, those principles which are ingrafted in their very nature. Such men will do their duty, neither knowing, nor regarding consequences; but submitting them, with humble confidence, to the omniscient and omnipotent arbiter and director of the fate of empires, and trusting that his Almighty arm, which has been so signally stretched out for our defence, will deliver them in a righteous cause.

The eyes of Europe, nay of the whole world, are on America. The eyes of every other colony are on this, a colony, whose reputation for generosity and magnanimity, is universally acknowledged. I trust, therefore, it will not be diminished by our future conduct; that there will be no civil discord here; and that the only strife amongst brethren will be, who shall do most to serve and to save an oppressed and injured country.

April 11. 1776. JOHN RUTLEDGE.

To his Excellency John Rutledge, Esq;
president and commander in chief in
and over the colony of South-Carolina.

The address of the Legislative Council and General Assembly.

May it please your Excellency,

WE the Legislative Council and General Assembly of South-Carolina, convened under the authority of the equitable constitution of government established by a free people in Congress, on the 26th ult. beg leave most respectfully to address your Excellency.

Nothing is better known to your Excellency than the unavoidable necessity

cessity which induced us, as members of Congress, on the part of the people, to resume the powers of government, and to establish some mode for regulating the internal polity of this colony; and, as members of the Legislative Council and General Assembly, to vest you, for a time limited, with the executive authority. Such constitutional proceedings, on our part, we make no doubt will be misconstrued into acts of the greatest criminality, by that despotism, which, lost to all sense of justice and humanity, has already pretended that we are in actual rebellion. But, Sir, when we reflect upon the unprovoked, cruel, and accumulated oppressions, under which America in general, and this colony in particular, has long continued; oppressions which, gradually increasing in injustice and violence, are now, by the inexorable tyranny perpetrated against the United Colonies, under the various forms of robbery, conflagrations, massacre, breach of public faith, and open war; conscious of our natural and unalienable rights, and determined to make every effort in our power to retain them, we see your Excellency's elevation from the midst of us, to govern this country, as the natural consequence of such outrages.

By the suffrages of a free people you, Sir, have been chosen to hold the reins of government, an event as honourable to yourself as beneficial to the public. We firmly trust that you will make the constitution the great rule of your conduct: and, in the most solemn manner, we do assure your excellency, that in the discharge of your duties, under that constitution which looks forward to an accommodation with Great-Britain (an event which, though traduced and treated as rebels, we still earnestly desire) we will support you with our lives and fortunes.

In the Legislative Council, the 3d day of April, 1776.

GEO. GABRIEL POWELL, speaker.
In the General Assembly, the 3d day of April, 1776.

By order of the house,

JAMES PARSONS, speaker:

His EXCELLENCY'S Answer.

Honourable gentlemen of the Legislative Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the General Assembly.

My most cordial thanks are due, and I request that you will accept them, for this solemn engagement of support, in discharging the duty of the honourable station, to which, by your favour, I have been elected.

Be persuaded, that no man would embrace a just and equitable accommodation with Great-Britain more gladly than myself; but, until so desirable an object can be obtained, the defence of my country, and preservation of that constitution, which, from a perfect knowledge of the rights, and a laudable regard to the happiness of the people you have so wisely framed, shall engross my whole attention.

To this country I owe all that is dear and valuable, and would, with the greatest pleasure, sacrifice every temporal felicity to establish and perpetuate her freedom.

J. RUTLEDGE.

In General Assembly, April 6, 1776.

Ordered, That the following resolutions be forthwith printed and made public.

By order of the house,

PETER TIMOTHY, Cl. G. A.

Whereas the honourable the Continental Congress hath resolved, 'that in the present situation of affairs it will be very dangerous to the liberties and welfare of America, if any colony should separately petition the King or either house of parliament.' And whereas no step should be left untried to promote the general welfare: and whereas the sending commissioners

missioners from Great-Britain to treat with the different colonies, is dangerous to the stability of the liberties of America: therefore

Resolved; That it is the opinion of this house, that no measures should be left untried to establish the liberties of America, and to place them as far as may be, out of the reach of fraudulent schemes to subvert them by negociation; and that this colony should not enter into any treaty or correspondence with the court of Great-Britain, or with any person or persons under that authority, but through the medium of the Continental Congress.

Resolved also, That it is the opinion of this house, that if any person or persons sent from Great-Britain to treat with the several colonies, shall arrive in this colony by water, such person or persons, and their retinue or company, should not, upon any pretence be allowed to land, or to remain in the colony longer than forty-eight hours; wind and weather permitting; or, while so remaining, to hold any communication with any person in this colony, but through his excellency the president; and if any such persons shall arrive by land, they should be forthwith escorted out of the colony, and not permitted to hold conference with any person not for that purpose authorized by the president, and that for the mere purpose of accommodation.

Charlestown, South Carolina, April 3.

On Thursday last the new constitution, agreed on by our Congress, by the appointment of the Continental Congress, to serve for regulating the internal polity of this colony, until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and America can be obtained, an event which is earnestly desired, was published here in due form. A detachment of the Provincial regiment of artillery, and the Charlestown militia, were drawn up in Broad-street from

the State-house to the Exchange, where the constitution was read, and the commissions of John Rutledge, Esq; president, and commander in chief, and Henry Laurens, Esq; vice-president of the colony, were proclaimed, amidst the shouts of the numerous spectators, firing of field-pieces, and the cannon on board the Provincial armed vessels.

On Friday the 22d ult. Captain Turpin, in the Provincial armed brigantine Comet, of 18 guns, retook the sloop Hetty, of this port, which Capt. Tollemache seized off this bar in December last. Her name was changed to the General Clinton; she had some cohorns and swivels, with twelve men on board, and served as a tender to the Falcon man of war. A hard gale separated Captain Turpin from his prize; the former arrived here on Sunday se'nnight, and the latter with Captain Turts, on Saturday last.

A letter from Wilmington, dated the 24th of last month, mentions, that General Clinton had sailed from Cape Fear.

We hear that the brigantine Georgia packet, Capt. Bonner, from Philadelphia for Savannah, with a cargo of flour, &c. has been taken by the men of war at Cockspur; and a sloop from this port for New-York, and another from George town for Salem, have been taken by those on the North-Carolina station.

We hear from Savannah, that a party, in which were some Indians, lately went to Tybee island, where they took thirteen negroes and some other prisoners, and killed three or four marines.

In General Assembly, April 3, 1776.

Ordered, That the joint address of this house and the speeches of his Excellency the president and commander in chief, together with his Excellency's answer, be forthwith printed and made public.

By order of the house,
PETER TIMOTHY, Clerk.
Wil-

Williamshurgh, June 8.

The following copy of a proclamation was taken from a manuscript enclosed in a letter from North-Carolina, and is inserted to shew our readers what sort of Commissioners we are to expect. Our troops however, in that province being in good spirits, as well as sufficient in point of number, we may venture to predict that Clinton and his Commissioners will be treated very roughly.

By Major General Clinton, commander of his Majesty's forces in the southern Provinces of North America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the most unprovoked and wicked rebellion has for some time past prevailed, and doth now exist, within his Majesty's province of North Carolina, and the inhabitants (forgetting their allegiance to their sovereign, and denying the authority of the laws and statutes of the realm) have, in a succession of crimes, proceeded to the total subversion of all lawful authority, usurping the powers of government, and erecting a tyranny in the hands of Congresses and Committees of various denominations, utterly unknown and repugnant to the spirit of the British constitution; and divers people, in avowed defiance to all legal authority, are now actually in arms, waging unnatural war against their King; and whereas all attempts to reclaim the insatuated and misguided multitude to a sense of their error have unhappily proved ineffectual: I have it in command to proceed forthwith against all such men, or bodies of men in arms, and against all Congresses and Committees thus unlawfully established, as against open enemies to the state. But, considering it a duty inseparable from the principle of humanity, first of all to forewarn the deluded people of the miseries ever attendant upon civil war, I do most earnestly intreat, and exhort

them, as they tender their own happiness, and that of their posterity, to appease the vengeance of an injured and justly incensed nation, by a return to their duty to our common sovereign, and to the blessings of a free government, as established by law; hereby offering in his majesty's name, free pardon to all such as shall lay down their arms; and submit to the laws, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howe. And I do hereby require, that the Provincial Congress and all Committees of Safety, and other unlawful associations, be dissolved, and the judges allowed to hold their courts according to the laws and constitution of this province; of which all persons are required to take notice, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril.

Given on board the Pallas transport, in Cape Fear river, in the province of North-Carolina, the 5th day of May, 1776, and in the 16th year of his Majesty's reign.

H. CLINTON.

By command of General Clinton,

Richard Reave, secretary.

To the Magistrates of the province of North-Carolina, to be by them made public.

Watertown, June 17. Last Thursday the inhabitants of the town of Boston were made acquainted, by beat of drum, that an expedition was to be undertaken against our enemy's ships in Nantasket Road, and for erecting proper fortifications in the lower harbour. Accordingly detachments from the Colonial regiments commanded by the colonels Marshal and Witney, and battalion of train commanded by lieutenant col. Crafts, were embarked on board boats at the Long Wharf, together with cannon, ammunition, provisions, entrenching tools, and every necessary implement, and proceeded for Pettick's Island and Hull,

Hull, where they were joined by some continental troops and sea coast companies, so as to make near 600 men at each place; a like number of the militia from the towns in the vicinity of Boston harbour, with a detachment from the train, and some field pieces, took post at Moon-Island, Hoff's-Neck, and Point Alderton. At the same time a detachment from the continental army under the command of colonel Whitcomb, with two 18 pounders, one 13 inch mortar, with the necessary apparatus, intrenching tools, &c. were embarked for Long-Island, to take post there—the troops did not arrive at their several places of destination till near morning, occasioned by a flat calm; notwithstanding, such was the activity and alertness of our men, that they had the cannon planted, and a line of defence hove up on Long-Island and Nantasket Hill in a few hours, when a common shot from Long-Island announced to the enemy our design: upon which a signal was immediately made for the whole fleet, consisting of 8 ships, 2 snows, 2 brigs, and one schooner, to remove and get under way. The Commodore (Bankes) bore our fire, and returned it with spirit, till a shot from Long-Island pierced the upper works of his ship; when he immediately unmoored or cut his cables and got under sail, and happy for him that he did so, for in a small space of time afterwards, a shell from our works fell into the very spot he had just before quitted. Unhappily our cannon did not arrive at Pettick's-Island and Nantasket, as soon as might have been wished, but the fire from the latter place being properly pointed against the commodore's ship, who came too in the light-house channel, is apprehended to have done considerable execution. In short, the enemy were compelled once more to make a disgraceful precipitate

flight; and we have it now in our power to congratulate our readers on our being in full possession of the lower harbour of Boston; and had the wind have been to the eastward, we are confident we should have had the much greater pleasure of giving them joy on our being in the possession of many of their ships. Through divine providence, not one of our men were hurt. [Boston Gazette.]

In Congress, June 14.

Whereas it has been represented to this Congress, that great quantities of salted beef and pork has been purchased for exportation, which, if not restrained, may render the supplies of the army difficult and uncertain.

Resolved therefore, that no salted beef or pork, except as much as may be necessary for the use of the crew, be exported from any of the United Colonies, in any vessel, under any pretence whatever, until the further orders of this Congress.

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

In Congress, June 18, 1776.

Resolved, that no man in these Colonies, charged with being a tory, or unfriendly to the cause of American liberty, be injured in his person or property, or in any manner whatever disturbed, unless the proceeding against him be founded on an order of this Congress or the Assembly, Convention, Council, or Committee of Safety of the Colony, or Committee of Inspection of the district, wherein he resides. Provided, that this resolution shall not prevent the apprehending any person found in the commission of some act destructive of American liberty, or justly suspected of a design to commit such act; and intending to escape, and bring such person before proper authority, for examination and trial.

Extract from the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secy.

Nov

New-Jersey. In Provincial Congress.

Burlington, June 14, 1776.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Congress, the proclamation of William Franklin, Esq; late Governor of New-Jersey, bearing date the thirtieth day of May last, in the name of the King of Great-Britain, appointing a meeting of the General Assembly, to be held on the twentieth of this instant June, ought not to be obeyed.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Congress, the said William Franklin, Esq; by such his declaration, has acted in direct contempt and violation of the resolve of the Continental Congress of the 15th day of May last.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Congress, all payments of money on account of salary or otherwise, to the said William Franklin, Esq; as Governor, ought from henceforth to cease; and that the treasurer or treasurers of this province, shall account for the monies in their hands to this Congress, or to the future Legislature of this colony.

By order of the Congress,

SAMUEL TUCKER, President.

A true Copy,

WILLIAM PATTERSON, Secretary.

An Address to the Inhabitants of New Jersey.

Countrymen and Friends.

This province has been requested by the Continental Congress to send without delay, from their militia, three thousand three hundred men to New-York, in consequence of authentic information, that the grand attack of our common enemy this summer, which will probably prove the decisive campaign, is to be upon that city; and that their force may be expected there in a few days.—Your representatives in this Congress have, with all the dispatch in their power, and with the utmost unanimity, prepared an ordinance for rais-

ing the number called for, as equally from the different parts of the province as possible. They have determined to raise the men by voluntary enlistment in the several counties, in full confidence, that in this war, they will be raised most speedily, as well as consist of persons of the greatest spirit and alacrity for the important service. Filled with the same zeal for the defence of their country, they apply to you by this short address, and in the most earnest and affectionate manner entreat you not to fully the reputation acquired on all former occasions; but to give a new proof to the public of your courage and intrepidity as men, of your unalterable attachment to the liberties of America, and the sincerity of your unanimous resolutions from the beginning of this contest. Were there time to draw up a long discourse in this hour of danger, the arguments that might be used are innumerable; and as some of them are of the most urgent, so (blessed be God) others are of the most encouraging and animating kind.

The danger is not only certain, but immediate and imminent. It does not admit of a moment's delay, for our unjust and implacable enemy is at hand. The place where the attack is expected, is of the last importance; not only a city of great extent, the interest of whose numerous inhabitants must be exceedingly dear to us, but situated in the middle of the Colonies, and where the success of the enemy would separate the provinces, and disunite their efforts by land, which are of necessity liable to interruption from the enemy's fleet by sea. It is scarce worth while to add, that this province, by its vicinity, would then be exposed to the cruel depredations of the enemy, who, happily hitherto, have been able to do us little or no mischief but by theft and rapine. It would seem to carry an unjust suspicion

picion of you to say any more on our own private interest, as we hope every honest man is chiefly concerned for, and will strain every nerve in support of the common cause of the United Colonies.

We cannot help putting you in mind how signally Almighty God has prospered us hitherto, and crowned our virtuous efforts with success. The expulsion of the enemy from Boston, where they first took possession, and began their oppressive measures, was an event as disgraceful to them, as it was advantageous to the public cause, and honourable to that brave and resolute army by which it was accomplished. It will certainly be no small encouragement to those who shall now proceed to the place of danger, that they shall join with many of the same soldiers, who have gained immortal honour by their past conduct, as well as serve under that wise and able leader, whose prudence, firmness and attention to his great charge, have procured him the most unlimited confidence both of those who direct the public councils, and of those who are in arms under his command.

We must not forget the activity and success of the inhabitants of the southern Colonies. They run to arms in thousands the moment they heard of an attack, both in Virginia and North-Carolina. God was pleased in both cases to reward their alacrity, for they obtained a complete victory over their enemies with so little loss of blood, as was not barely wonderful, but scarcely credible. At the battle of Moor-Creek Bridge, there were but few men killed, and at Norfolk Great Bridge we did not lose a single life.

Time does not permit us to enlarge on the past events of this war, in which the kindness of Providence is so clearly to be seen. We therefore only

further observe, that by ~~the~~ preparations in Britain for this campaign, and by all the intelligence received from Europe, it is plain, that not honour and advantage only, but absolute necessity requires us to exert our utmost efforts, for our all is at stake. Every one now is obliged to confess what many saw long ago, that intire and unconditional submission is the point to which our enemies are determined to bring us, if in their power; so that nothing remains for us but either the abject slavery of tributary states, or to maintain our rights and liberties by force of arms; and hand down the fair inheritance to our posterity by a brave and determined defence.

We desire and expect that, in such a situation of things, all particular difference of small moment arising from whatever cause, whether religious denominations, rivalry of different classes of men, scarcity of some articles of commerce, or any other, may be entirely laid aside. The present danger requires the most perfect union. Let every enemy perceive, that the representatives of the colonies, as soon as they determine upon any measure, are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry it into execution.

That you may be under no apprehension either of inequality in the burden, or that our own coasts will be left unguarded by the destination of this brigade, we have thought it best to inform you, that the Continental Congress have amply provided for the defence of this province, and have made such arrangement of the Continental army for the ensuing campaign, as lays an equal burden on the inhabitants of the different colonies; in particular, that a flying camp of ten thousand men is now forming for the protection of the middle colonies, which we are credibly

formed, isto have its chief station in this province. We add no more, but that we trust and hope, that while every province is making the most spirited efforts, New-Jersey in its place and duty will be second to none.

Signed in name, and by appointment of Congress, at Burlington, June 15, 1776.

SAMUEL TUCKER, President.

A true Copy,

WM. PATERSON, Sec.

New York, June 24.

The following authentic account is communicated by an officer of the detachment it principally concerns.

On advice that a reinforcement was necessary at the Cedars, a small fort 45 miles S. W. from Montreal, where a party of 400 men, under the command of major Butterfield, were posted; on the 10th of May, 140 men under the command of major Henry Sherburne, were detached from Montreal. He met with great difficulties at the lake, which after crossing he was obliged to repass, and cross again, so that it was the 20th before he could proceed from thence with 100 men, including himself (the rest being left for guards and other necessary services). About 11 or 12 o'clock they set out for the Cedars, distant 9 miles, and having marched about 5, they were attacked by a large body of savages and Canadians, who under cover of a wood, fired upon them; our people though entirely exposed, without shelter, maintained an obstinate engagement for one hour and forty minutes; when the savages having surrounded, rushed upon and disarmed them; then a scene of savage barbarity ensued, and many of our people were sacrificed to their fury, butchered with tomahawks and other instruments of murder. The enemy consisted of about 100 Canadians and 400 savages, who immediately strip-

ped the prisoners almost naked, and drove them to the fort, where they were delivered to capt. Foster, of the 8th regiment, who had with him about 40 regulars, and commanded the fort; which had been the day before surrendered to him with little if any resistance by major Butterfield, an event which was neither known nor in the least suspected by major Sherburne.

Captain Foster and the regulars, kept within the lines, and were not of the party who surrounded and so barbarously used our people; but after they were brought to the fort, they were repeated, again and again stripped of the small remainder of their clothes, till many of them had not sufficient to hide their nakedness. Our loss in the whole action was about 28, viz. killed and wounded in the action, and killed afterwards in cold blood about 20, carried off by savages 7 or 8. Of the enemy were killed 22, whose death were ascertained, and among them a chief warrior of the Seneca tribe; on whose account our prisoners were probably used with the more gross insult and abuse. Major Sherburne, and the other officers, were sent to two Indian towns, at the lake of the two mountains, the private men to a desolate island in the middle of the lake, where they were very scantily supplied with provision, barely sufficient to keep them from starving, and though the weather was cold, without any clothes; and without any covering but the canopy of heaven, for eight days; when they were released on a cartel agreed to between General Arnold and Captain Foster, viz. That there should be an equal exchange of prisoners, within two months, allowing for casualties, and for the performance, on our part were pledged the bodies of four Captains, who were left as hostages, viz. Captain Sulli-

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van (brother to the General) Captain Blifs, of Major Sherburne's party, Captains Stephens and Green, of Major Butterfield's party.

General Arnold with a party of about 8 or 900 men, arrived the 26th, and though with about 500, he appeared upon the lake, happily for the prisoners he did not cross it. If he had, it appeared from every circumstance, that they would have been all murdered, dispositions having been made for that purpose; nor was it certain, considering the difficulty of access to the enemy, that he could have obtained any considerable advantage over them, or if he had, that he could possibly have cut off their retreat.

Agreeable to a resolve of the Provincial Congress of the 31st of May last were elected for this city and county, the following Gentlemen, to serve in Congress the ensuing year, with the additional power of forming a new government for this colony. They, with the deputies of the other counties, are to meet in Congress here, on the second Monday of July next.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| John Jay | Anthony Rutgers |
| James Duane | Evert Banker |
| Philip Livingston | Thomas Randle |
| Francis Lewis | Isaac Roosevelt |
| Isaac Stoutenberg | John Broome |
| William Denning | Pet. P. Van Zandt |
| Abraham Brasher | Garret Abeel |
| Henry Remsen | Robert Harpur |
| Jo. Van Cortlandt | Abraham P. Lott |
| John M. Scott | Dan. Dunscombe |
| James Beckman. | |

Baltimore, May 28. Whereas his Britannic Majesty, King George, has prosecuted, and still prosecutes a war against the British colonies in America, and has acceded to acts of parliament declaring the people in the said colonies in actual rebellion; and whereas, the good people of this province have taken up

arms to defend their rights and liberties, and to repel the hostilities carrying on against them, and whilst engaged in such a contest, cannot with any sincerity of heart, pray for the success of his arms. Therefore, Resolved, that every prayer and petition for the King's Majesty in the book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rights and ceremonies of the church of England, except the second collect for the King in the common service be henceforth omitted in all churches and chapels in this province, until our unhappy differences are ended.

Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Convention.

G. DUVALL, Clerk.

Philadelphia, May 29.

To the honourable the Congress of the United Colonies of North America.

The Memorial of the committee of the city and liberties of Philadelphia,

Respectfully sheweth,

That they have beheld with great affliction the assembly of the province of Pennsylvania withdraw from its union with the Congress (in consequence of their instructions to their Delegates) upon the resolve of the Congress of the 15th inst. for suppressing all authority derived from the crown of Great-Britain in the United Colonies.

That they consider the safety, liberty, and future welfare of this colony as inseparably connected with its union with the other colonies.

That they have always esteemed their chief happiness to consist in the faithful execution of such of the resolves of the congress as tended to maintain said union.

That in consequence of the defection of the Delegates appointed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, from a union with the other colonies, they apprehended an appeal was made to the people.

That

That in compliance with the request of a large majority of the inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, on the 20th inst. they have issued letters (by virtue of a power given to them in a Provincial Convention held in Philadelphia in January, 1775) for calling a conference of the committees of the counties, in order to collect the sense of the inhabitant upon the aforesaid resolve of Congress, and if possible to bring about a re-union of the province with the other colonies, by calling a Provincial Convention, with a view to form a government for that purpose.

That they have heard with great surprise, that the assembly of this province are about to present a memorial to your honourable body, in consequence of a remonstrance delivered to them from a number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, in which it is said they have requested an explanation of your resolve of the 15th inst.

That the remonstrance on which this memorial is founded strikes directly at the union of the colonies, by praying for the continuance of a government in this province which is supported in its executive parts entirely by a Governor and officers, who hold all their power under the authority of the King of Britain.

That the said remonstrance has been obtained by indefatigable industry and unfair representations, and is signed chiefly by men who hold offices under the crown, or by people connected with them, or by those who have uniformly opposed every measure adopted by the Congress (petitions to the King only excepted) or by those who have published testimonies manifestly injurious to many of those steps that have been taken in this province in support of the union of the colonies.

That the committee are determined to comply with the resolve of the

Congress of the 15th instant, in the manner before-mentioned, and they declare that the present assembly of the province was not chosen, and is not invested with powers to carry the said resolve into execution.

That the unwillingness of the house to appeal to the voice of the people, and the pains they have taken to prevail upon the Congress to interfere in our 'domestic police,' betrays a fear that in refusing to comply with the resolve of the Congress, they will be opposed by their constituents.

That a majority of the present assembly do not possess the confidence of the people. That it does not contain a full and equal representation of the province; that it is composed of men who hold offices under the crown of Britain; that they have deputed the power which was deputed solely to them, to persons who had not the sanction of the voice of the people for legislative purposes; and that we have reason to believe that they have been dragged into a compliance with most of the resolutions of the Congress from the fear of a Provincial Convention.

From a government formed by men marked with such inconsistencies, prejudices and arbitrary views, we have as much to fear as from the unlimited exertions of that power which has declared itself possessed of a right to tax us without our consent, and to bind us in all cases whatsoever.

The committee have too much confidence in the wisdom of your body, to believe (when informed of the true situation of the province) that you meant to include the assembly thereof in your recommendations to assemblies to form new governments. The origin and present tenure of your power can never suffer you to forget that it was by making names yield to things, and forms to substantial

cial justice, that you acquired the confidence of America, and the admiration of the world.

They beg that the Congress would not be deceived by misrepresentations. They declare solemnly that they have no design or wish to alter those parts of the charter or laws of the province which secure to every man the enjoyment of his property, liberty, and the sacred rights of conscience. They wish only to see alterations made in such of them as relate to representation in the province, and such as render the consent of the king and his governor necessary to give efficacy and execution to our laws, and these they conceive to be no less necessary to the safety and happiness of our colony in particular, than 'to America in general.'

The situation of our province, it is true, requires vigour and harmony in the direction of both civil and military affairs, but these can never be obtained when a people no longer confide in their rulers. The committee fear no calamities from a disunion throughout the province, but thus publicly charge the feebleness of all our councils to our union with men of narrow and interested views. The strength of a country, in the time of war, consists in the number of its fighting men. The constituents of this committee, who are composed chiefly of men of this class, have declared that they will support the union of this province with the other colonies at "every hazard;" and they have the pleasure of informing you that similar determinations prevail in most of the battalions of the province.

By order of the committee,

THOMAS M'KEAN, Chairman.

To the honourable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met,

The address of the Committee of Inspection for the county of Philadelphia.

We esteem ourselves, in no small degree, happy, that we have the satisfaction, in this very critical conjuncture, of expressing our sentiments to the constitutional representative body of this province.

With the deepest concern we have lately observed, that the ground, on which our opposition to the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the British ministry was first made, is so totally changed—Instead of our joining hand and heart in forwarding a reconciliation with our parent state, on constitutional principles, which is the object we ought ever to have kept in view, as the only termination of our disputes which can possibly give us happiness and security, a system has been adopted by some persons in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, which tends immediately to the subversion of our constitution.

When we recollect the declaration of Congress, that they mean not to destroy the union which has so long happily subsisted, and which they sincerely wish to be restored: when we think of the known instructions given to the Delegates of several provinces, as well as to those of our own, we are alarmed at the prospect of a disunion, which must attend the prosecution of a scheme, that will, in the end, not only set province against province, but (more dreadful to think) foment civil discords in each.

Should our inveterate enemies be so lost to all sense of justice and humanity, as to persist in their infernal plan of despotism; should they drive us by their violence to that last shift; a declaration of independence, every one will then be convinced of the necessity of such a measure, and we shall be as one man, so united and strengthened by the conviction, as to bid defiance to all their attempts.

The inhabitants of this country, in their own native land, in defence of the freedom which is their birth-right,

right, and which they have ever enjoyed, until the late violation of it, for the protection of their property, acquired solely by the industry of their forefathers and themselves, against violence actually offered, first took up arms, and mean not to lay them down, until hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed.

They have with the greatest alacrity, given a considerable part of their time to qualify themselves in military matters, and are well assured they will be behind none in their endeavours to put an end to the oppression of their country; but it was at the same time with a determined resolution to support and defend their constitution against all oppressions and innovations whatsoever.

These we know to be the sentiments of the people under whose authority we act, as well as our own; and as such we should be highly wanting in duty to ourselves and our constituents, were we to neglect laying them before you.

We are not insensible of the difficulties which attend your situation, but trust you will proceed in the weighty affairs now under your consideration, with unanimity and firmness, still looking forward to a happy permanent termination of our calamities, in constitutional reconciliation with our antient friends. To forget injuries, and to forgive those who have offended, is as conducive to happiness as conformable to the rules of virtue; and we make no doubt, the most salutary events must result from measures formed and conducted on such principles.

What we have to offer and advise is, that you will most religiously adhere to the instructions given to our Delegates in Congress. We con-

der them our greatest security. And we farther most seriously intreat that you will, to the utmost of your power, oppose the changing or altering, in any the least part our valuable constitution, under which we have experienced every happiness, and in support of which there is nothing just or reasonable which we would not willingly undertake. Signed by order of the Committee.

W. HAMILTON, Chairman.

In Congress, May 30, 1776.

Whereas it has been represented to Congress, that avaritious ill designing men have taken advantage of the resolve of Congress passed the 30th of April (for withdrawing from the committees of inspection the power of regulating the price of goods) to extort from the people a most exorbitant price for salt.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the committees of observation and inspection in the United Colonies, to regulate the price of salt as to prevent unreasonable exactions on the part of the feller, having due regard to the difficulty and risk of importation. Subject however to such regulations as have been or shall hereafter be made by the legislatures of the respective colonies.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary
To the Honourable the Representatives of the Province of New-York in Provincial Congress convened.

The humble address of the general committee of mechanics in union, of the city and county of New-York, in behalf of themselves and their constituents.

Gentlemen,

We, as a part of your constituents, and devoted friends of our bleeding country, beg leave in a dutiful manner at this time to approach unto you our representatives, and request your

your kind attention to this our humble address.

When we cast a glance upon our beloved continent, where fair freedom, civil and religious, we have long enjoyed, whose fruitful fields have made the world glad, and whose trade has filled with plenty of all things; sorrow fills our hearts to behold her now, struggling under the heavy load of oppression, tyranny, and death; but when we extend our fight a little farther, and view the iron hand that is lifted up against us, behold it is our king, he who by his oath and station is bound to support and defend us in the quiet enjoyment of all our glorious rights as freemen, and whose dominions have been supported and made rich by our commerce, shall we any longer sit silent, and contentedly continue the subjects of such a prince who is deaf to our petitions for interposing his royal authority in our behalf, and for redressing our grievances; but on the contrary, seems to take a pleasure in our destruction. When we see that one whole year is not enough to satisfy the rage of a cruel ministry in burning our towns, seizing our vessels, and murdering our precious sons of liberty; making weeping widows for the loss of those who were dearer to them than life, and helpless orphans to bemoan the death of an affectionate father; but who are still carrying on the same bloody pursuit, and for no other reason than this; that we will not become their slaves, and be taxed by them without our consent.

Therefore, as we would rather choose to separate from, than to continue any longer in connection with such oppressors; we the committee of mechanics in union, do, for ourselves and our constituents, hereby publicly declare, that should you, Gentlemen of our honourable Provincial Congress, think proper to instruct our most honourable Dele-

gates in Continental Congress, to use their utmost endeavours in that august assembly to cause these United Colonies to become independent of Great-Britain, it would give us the highest satisfaction, and we hereby sincerely promise to endeavour to support the same with our lives and fortunes.

Signed by order of the committee,
LEWIS THIBOU, Chairman.
Mechanic-Hall, New-York,
May 29, 1776.

The Answer of the Provincial Congress.
In Provincial Congress, New-York,
June 4, 1776.

Sir,

We consider the mechanics in union as a voluntary association of a number of the inhabitants of this city, who are warmly attached to the cause of liberty. We flatter ourselves, however, that neither that association, nor their committee, claim any authority whatsoever in the public transactions of the present times; but, that on the contrary, they will ever be ready to submit to that constitutional authority, which, by a free election has been vested in Congress, and Committees. This Congress is at all times ready and willing to attend to every request of the assembly, or of any one of them. We are of opinion, that the Continental Congress alone, have that enlarged view of our political circumstances, which will enable them to decide upon those measures which are necessary for the general welfare. We therefore cannot presume to instruct the delegates of this colony on the momentous question to which your address refers, until we are informed that it is brought before the Continental Congress, and the sense of this colony be required through this Congress.

By order,
NATHANIEL WOODHULL, *Pres.*
To Mr. LEWIS THIBOU,
Com-

Committee Chamber, New-York, June, 7th, 1776.

Whereas doubts have arisen in Provincial Congress, 'Whether the present members are invested with sufficient power and authority to deliberate and determine on so important a subject, as the necessity of erecting and constituting a new form of government, and internal police, to the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction, dominion and controul whatever, agreeable to a late resolve of the honourable the Continental Congress.'

And whereas it was by them in their resolve of the 31st of May last, recommended to the electors in the several counties in this colony, by election in the manner and form prescribed for the election of the present Congress, either to authorise in addition to the powers vested in them their present deputies, or others in the stead of the present deputies, or either of them, with full and sufficient power to take into consideration the necessity and propriety of instituting such new government, as in and by the resolution of the Continental Congress is described and recommended, and that if the majority of the counties by their deputies in Provincial Congress, shall be of opinion that such new government ought to be instituted and established, then to institute and establish such a government as they shall deem best calculated to secure the rights, liberties and happiness of the good people of this colony; and to continue in force until a future peace with Great Britain shall render the same unnecessary.

The general committee of the city and county of New-York, agreeable to the above recommendation, earnestly request and intreat all the freeholders and freemen, and also all the other inhabitants of the said city and county, possessed of goods and chat-

tels in their own right to the amount of forty pounds, to attend at the city-hall of said city, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, on Monday the 17th day of this instant June, then and there to invest their present members of Provincial Congress with the power aforesaid, or to elect by ballot others in their stead, or in the stead of any of them, with such power, to continue to represent the said city and county in Congress until the second Tuesday in May next, or until a reconciliation with Great Britain, or the establishment of a new form of government shall render the same unnecessary. The chairman, or deputy chairman, and six members with the secretary, will attend said election. It is not doubted but every true friend to this colony, entitled to vote here, will cheerfully come up to declare by their voting that they join in opinion with their Congress and Committee, viz. That the measure recommended as aforesaid, is of the highest importance to the good people of this colony, and to the liberties of America in general.

Extract from the Minutes, published by order of the Committee

JOSEPH WINTER, Sec.

Philadelphia, April 17.

Extract of a letter from Esbeck Hopkins, Esq; commander in chief of the American fleet, to the President of the Congress, dated on board the ship Alfred, New-London harbour, April 9, 1776.

'When I put to sea, on the 17th of February, from Cape Henlopen, not thinking we were in a condition to keep on a cold coast, I appointed our rendezvous at Abacco, one of the Bahama islands.

'I arrived at the rendezvous, in order to wait for them, in fifteen days, agreeable to orders. I then formed an expedition against New-Providence, which I put in execution the third of March by landing two hundred

dred marines under the command of Captain Nicholas, and fifty sailors under the command of Lieutenant Weaver, of the Cabot, who was well acquainted there. The same day they took possession of a small fort, of seventeen pieces of cannon, without any opposition, save five guns which were fired at them without doing any damage. I received that evening, an account that they had two hundred and odd men in the main fort, all inhabitants. I then caused a manifesto to be published, the purport of which was, that the inhabitants and their property should be safe, if they did not oppose me in taking possession of the fort and King's stores.— This had the desired effect, for the inhabitants left the fort almost alone.

Captain Nicholas, by my order, sent to the Governor for the keys of the fort, which were delivered, and the troops marched directly in, where we found the several warlike stores agreeable to the inventory inclosed; but the Governor sent one hundred and fifty barrels of powder off in a small sloop the night before. I have taken the Governor, Montford Brown; the Lieutenant Governor, who is a half-pay officer, and Mr. Thomas Arwin, who is a counsellor and collector of his Majesty's quit-rents in South-Carolina; and it appears, by the court calendar, that he is also inspector-general of his Majesty's customs in North-America. Since we came out, we have lost company with the Wasp.

The 4th instant we fell in with, on the east end of Long-Island, and took the schooner ———, commanded by young Wallace, of six carriage guns and 8 swivels; and the fifth we took the bomb brig of eight guns and two howitzers, ten swivels and forty-eight hands, well found with all sorts of stores, arms, powder, &c. The 6th in the morning we fell in with the Glasgow and her tender, and engaged

her near three hours. We lost six men killed, and as many wounded. The Cabot had four men killed and seven wounded; the captain is among the latter. The Columbus had one man who lost his arm. We received a considerable damage in our ship, but the greatest was in having our wheel rope and blocks shot away, which gave the Glasgow time to make sail, and I did not think proper to follow, as it would have brought on an action with the whole of their fleet, and I had upwards of thirty of our best seamen on board the prizes; I therefore thought it most prudent to give over the chase, and secure our prizes, and having taken the Glasgow's tender, arrived the 7th with all the fleet.

Among the dead are Mr. Sinclair Seymour, master of the Cabot, a good officer; lieutenant Willson of the Cabot; and lieutenant Fitzpatrick, of the Alfred.

The officers all behaved well on board the Alfred; but too much praise cannot be given to the officers of the Cabot, who gave and sustained the whole fire for some considerable time, within pistol shot.

Extract of a letter from a captain of Marines on board the ship Alfred, dated New-London, April 10.

Before this comes to hand I make no doubt you will have heard of our arrival in this port, and our engagement with the Glasgow man of war; but as I intend giving you an account of our cruise, must beg your patience for a while respecting that matter. The 17th of Feb. left Cape Henlopen, and after a very pleasant passage of 15 days, came to an anchor off the island Abacco, about 17 leagues distance from New Providence, where we brought too several small vessels belonging to Providence, which gave the commodore an opportunity of enquiring into the state of the island, as

to its defence; and found it very well supplied with warlike stores, and an object worthy of our attention, as it was not sufficiently manned to give us opposition: the vessels we then had in our possession were detained as transports to carry the marines over to Providence. We embarked and made sail Saturday evening, March 2d, and on Sunday two o'clock, landed all our men, 270 in number, under my command, at the east end of the Island, at a place called New-Guinea. The inhabitants were very much alarmed at our appearance and supposed us to be Spaniards, but were soon undeceived after our landing. Just as I had formed the men, I received a message from the governor, desiring to know what our intentions were: I sent him for answer, to take possession of all the warlike stores on the island belonging to the crown, but had no design of touching the property or hurting the persons of any of the inhabitants, unless in our defence.

As soon as the messenger was gone, I marched forward to take possession of Fort Montague, a fortification built of stone, about half way between our landing place and the town; as we approached the fort (within about a mile, having a deep cove to round, with a prodigious thicket on one side, and the water on the other, entirely open to their view) they fired three twelve pound shot, which made us halt, and consult what was best to be done; we then thought it most prudent to send a flag, to let them know what our designs were in coming there; we soon received an answer, letting us know that it was by the Governor's orders that they fired. They spiked up the cannon and abandoned the fort, and retired to the fort within the town. I then marched and took possession of it; in which were found 17 pieces of cannon, (32, 18, and 12 pounders) and not much damaged; they

were spiked with nails and spikes, which were easily taken out. I thought it necessary to stay all night and refresh my men, who were fatigued, being on board the small vessels, not having a convenience either to sleep or cook in. The next morning by day-light we marched forward to the town, to take possession of the Governor's house (which stands on an eminence, with two four pounders, which commands the garrison and town) on our march I met an express from the Governor to the same purport as the first; I sent him the same answer as before; the messenger then told me I might march into the town, and if I thought proper into the fort, without interruption; on which I marched into town; I then drafted a guard and went up to the governor's, and demanded the keys of the fort, which were given to me immediately, and then took possession of fort Nassau, in it there were forty cannon mounted and well loaded for our reception with round, langridge and cannister shot; all this was accomplished without firing a single shot from our side. We found in this fort a great quantity of shot and shells, with 15 brass mortars, but the grand article, powder, the Governor sent off the night before, viz. 150 casks. Immediately after we were in the fort, I sent for the Governor and made him prisoner until the Commodore arrived, which was soon after. We remained at Providence until we got all the stores on board the fleet, and then took our departure the 17th of March. We have brought with us from Providence the Governor, his Secretary, and one Mr. Irvin, Receiver-general of his Majesty's customs, who belongs to South-Carolina.

On the 4th inst. we made the east end of Long Island, and discovered the Columbus with a schooner, one of

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captain

captain Wallace's tenders of six guns, which he had taken that morning. We made Block Island in the afternoon, the commodore then gave orders to the brigs to stand in for Rhode Island to see if any more of the fleet were out, and to join us next morning, which was accordingly done, but without seeing any vessels. At daylight we discovered a brigantine to leeward, we made a sail and soon came up with her, and after a few shot took her. She proves to be a bomb brigantine belonging to Wallace's fleet, mounting eight guns and two howitzers, commanded by one Shead, a lieutenant in the navy. We continued to cruise all day within sight of Block-Island, and in the evening took a brigantine and sloop from New-York, and brought into port with us, not being satisfied as to their clearance. We had at sun set 12 sail, a very pleasant evening—At 12 o'clock went to bed, and half past one was awaked by the noise of all hands to quarters; we were soon ready for action, the best part of my company, with my first lieutenant, was placed in the barge on the main deck, the remaining part with my second lieutenant and myself on the quarter deck; we had discovered a large ship standing directly for us, the Cabot was the foremost of the fleet, our ship close after, not more than 100 yards behind, but to windward with all, when the brigantine came close up, the ship hailed and was soon answered by the Cabot, who soon found her to be the Glasgow; the brigantine immediately fired her broadside, and instantly received a return of two fold, which, owing to the weight of metal damaged her so much in her hull and rigging, as obliged her to retire for a while to refit; we then came up, (not having it in our power to fire a shot before, without hurting the brigantine) and engaged her side by side for three glasses, as hot as pos-

sibly could be on both sides; the first broadside she fired, my second Lieutenant fell dead close by my side; he was shot by a musket ball through the head. In him, I have lost a worthy officer, sincere friend and companion, that was beloved by all the ships company. Unfortunately for us, our tiller rope and main brace were shot away soon after the firing began, which caused the ship to broach too, and gave the enemy an opportunity of raking us fore and aft. The battle continued till day-light, at which time the Glasgow made all the sail she could crowd, and stood in for Newport; and our rigging was so much hurt that we could not make sail in time to come up with her again, so that at sunrise the Commodore made the signal to give over the chase, he not thinking it prudent to risque our prizes near the land. The Glasgow continued firing signal guns the whole day after.

In the action I lost three of my people out of twelve that were on the quarter-deck, and two slightly wounded, who were in the barge. Capt. Hopkins, in the Cabot is wounded, his master killed, and the second lieutenant of marines wounded and since dead. Upon the whole it was a very hot engagement, in which our ship and brig were much damaged, but have this consolation, that the enemy is full as badly off, for by several expresses from Rhode-Island, we are assured that it was with much difficulty she got into port with both pumps going. We are now, thank God, in harbour, and shall stay some time to refit.

The following is a copy of a letter just received by express from the Council of Safety of Georgia.

In the Council of Safety, Savannah,
March 4th, 1776.

The intimate connections between this and your province, in a particular

lar manner renders it necessary to acquaint you with the occurrences in the former, since the date of our last; to which, and the dispatches preceding, we refer you.

Our dispositions in the evening of the 2d, were such as appeared to our officers the most likely to prevent the landing of our enemy; and so as, if they should make their landing good, either above or below the town, to prevent their getting in; however, notwithstanding our vigilance, they, by collusion with the masters and others on board the merchant shipping, which hawled near the shore of Hutchinson's Island in the night-time, got on board these ships, about four o'clock yesterday morning; to the number as far as we are competent to judge, from the observations we made, and the intelligence we received, of between two and three hundred, where they affected to conceal themselves.

We had our fears respecting these shipping, and therefore kept a good watch upon them; but it was impossible for sentinels, on this shore, to descry them in boarding from the other, the vessels being betwixt.

Capt. Rice, who commanded a boat of observation, was sent on board the shipping about nine o'clock, to order the rigging on shore, and was without any noise or the smallest knowledge of us kidnapped. This we did not know till about half an hour afterwards; two sailors, under pretence of coming on shore for cloaths, gave information of the troops being on board the shipping, and of Rice's being taken; about 300 men were then immediately marched to Yamacraw, opposite the shipping, with three four pounders, and threw up a breast work. The armed schooner Hinchinbrook, of—guns, with a number of men on board, which with

others went up the back river in the afternoon of the day preceding, about this time set sail down the south river, with intent no doubt of covering the landing of the troops from on board the merchant shipping: but being continually fired at by two companies of rifle-men who were placed in ambuscade, she was obliged to come very slowly, and often came to, and returned a very smart fire at every place where the rifle-men fired from, until the tide was spent and she could not get down. During the course of their firing only one of our men got wounded, and that slightly in the thigh; but on board several were seen to fall.

In town we had exhibited a still more interesting scene, we found the officers and men clamorous about the capture and detention of Rice; and two gentlemen, lieutenant Daniel Roberts, of the St. John Rangers, and Mr. Raymond Demere, of St. Andrew's parish, solicited and were permitted to go on board, to demand a surrender of Rice and his people. They accordingly divested themselves of arms, and were rowed by a negro on board a vessel, in which were capt. Barclay the commodore, and major Grant; and these officers, contrary to all the principles which cement society and govern mankind, immediately arrested our deputies, and yet detain them as prisoners.

We waited with anxious expectation for near half an hour, when we demanded our deputies, by the help of a trumpet, without getting any other but insulting answers; whereupon we fired two four pounders directly into them; and then they informed us, that they would send an answer in writing; which they presently after did, signed by Lieutenant Roberts, and Mr. Demere, purporting, that if we would send

two of the persons in whom the people most confided, they would treat with them.

Captain Screven, of the St. John's rangers, and Captain Baker of the St. John's riflemen, chagrined, no doubt, (the former particularly, on account of his Lieutenant) by the detention of our deputies, took about a dozen of riflemen in a boat, and rowed directly under the stern of Capt. Inglis, in whose vessel were a great part of the soldiery, and in peremptory terms, demanded the deputies, and were answered, after one shot from Captain Baker, by a discharge directly down upon them, of near two hundred shot, both from swivels and small arms, which was kept up while they were in reach; the captains and men in the boat, not one in the smallest degree confused, or even perhaps disappointed by the attack, fired their rifles, most of them three times, and as they say, not without execution; and wonderful to tell, not a man of them killed; one man only received a slug in the fleshy part of his shoulder; which was immediately cut out, without the smallest inconvenience or danger. The spectators all declare, as we now do, that such a providential deliverance has not yet been known.

This unmanly attack, upon a few men in an open boat, produced a general fire from our field pieces and intrenchments; and as smart a return from two four pounders and several swivels from the shipping; which lasted from about twelve o'clock, to four; and although they often fired langridge, which continually whistled about our men, not a single man was even touched; but we have no doubt, a number of the enemy met with a worse fate, as they were seen frequently to fall.

About four o'clock we called a council, and determined to have the

vessels immediately burnt; and issued orders to colonel M'Intosh accordingly, whereupon the Inverness, late captain M'Gillivray, loaded with rice and deer skins, was set on fire and cut loose, to the amount of 15,000l. sterling.—Upon this the soldiers in the most laughable confusion got ashore in the marsh, while our rifle-men and field pieces, with grape shot, were incessantly galling them. The shipping were now also in confusion, some got up the river, under cover of the armed schooner, while others caught the flame, and as night approached, exhibited a scene, as they passed and repassed with the tide, which in any other but the present times, would be truly horrible, but is now a subject only of gratulation and applause.

The ships of captains Inglis and Wardel, neither got up the river, or on fire, they were ordered on shore, and now are prisoners of captain Screven, in the country, and their vessels brought close in to a wharf—They were permitted to write to captain Barclay in the evening, to inform him of their situation, and to request an exchange of prisoners, which the latter peremptorily refused.

We have thus given you a particular detail of things, as they really happened, to prevent the belief of any erroneous intelligence, and from which you will be competent to judge of our situation.

Colonel M'Intosh laid before the board a resolution of your Congress, to aid us, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lowndes, and we are very glad that you have determined to afford us further assistance, and I wish it may arrive in time.

By order of the Council of Safety,

WILLIAM EWEN, President,
To the Honourable the Congress,
or Council of Safety, for
South-Carolina.

To the honorable the Delegates elected by the several counties and districts within the government of New-York, in colonial Congress convened.

The respectful address of the mechanicks in union, for the city and county of New-York, represented by their General Committee.

Elected Delegates,

With due confidence in the declaration which you lately made to the chairman of our general committee, that you are at all times ready and willing to attend to every request of your constituents, or any part of them; we the mechanicks in union, though a very inconsiderable part of your constituents, beg leave to represent, that one of the clauses in your resolve respecting the establishment of a new form of government, is erroneously construed, and for that reason may serve the most dangerous purposes; for it is well known how indefatigable the emissaries of the British parliament are in the pursuit of every scheme which is likely to bring disgrace upon our rulers, and ruin upon us all. At the same time we cheerfully acknowledge that the genuine spirit of liberty which animates the other part of that resolve, did not permit us to interpret it in any other sense than that which is the most obvious, and likewise the most favorable to the natural rights of man. We could not, we never can believe you intended that the future delegates, or yourselves, should be vested with the power of framing a new constitution for this colony; and that its inhabitants at large should not exercise the right which God has given them, in common with all men, to judge whether it be consistent with their interest to accept or reject a constitution framed for that state of which they are members. This is the birthright of every man to whatever state he may belong. There he is, or ought to be

by inadmissible right, a legislator with all the other members of that community.

Conscious of our own want of abilities, we are, alas! but too sensible that every individual is not qualified for assisting in the framing of a constitution: but, that share of common sense which the Almighty has bountifully distributed amongst mankind in general, is sufficient to quicken every one's feeling, and enable him to judge rightly what degree of safety, and what advantages he is likely to enjoy, or be deprived of, under any constitution proposed to him. For this reason, should a preposterous confidence in the abilities and integrity of our future delegates, delude us into measures which might imply a renunciation of our inalienable right to ratify our laws, we believe that your wisdom, your patriotism, your own interest, nay, your ambition itself, would urge you to exert all the powers of persuasion you possess, and try every method which, in your opinion, could deter us from perpetrating that impious and frantic act of self-destruction; for, as it would precipitate us into a state of absolute slavery, the lawful power which, till now, you have received from your constituents, to be exercised over a free people, would be annihilated by that unnatural act. It might probably accelerate our political death; but it must immediately cause your own.

The continued silence of the bodies which are, by election, vested with an authority subordinate to that of your house, would strike us with amazement, should we suppose that, in their presence, your resolve ever was interpreted in a sense that was not favourable to the free exercise of our inalienable rights. But we, who daily converse with numbers who have been deceived by such misconstruction, conceive that we ought

ought to inform you in due time, that it has alarmed many zealous friends to the general cause which the united colonies are defending with their lives and fortunes.

As the general opinion of your uprightness depends, in a great measure, on your explanation of that matter; and it being self-evident that the political happiness or misery of the people under your government, must be deeply affected by the measures which they may adopt in consequence of such explanation, we trust that you will receive this respectful address with indulgence, and that all our brethren in this, and the other colonies in the union, will do us the justice to believe, that it was dictated by the purest sentiments of unconfined patriotism.

The resolve which contains the obnoxious clause already mentioned, is, together with the introduction to it, in the following words, to wit.

‘ And whereas doubts have arisen, whether this Congress are invested with sufficient power and authority to deliberate and determine on so important a subject as the necessity of erecting and constituting a new form of government and internal police, to the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction, dominion and control whatever. And whereas it appertains of right, solely to the people of this colony to determine the said doubts. Therefore

‘ Resolved, That it be recommended to the electors in the several counties in this colony, by election in the manner and form prescribed for the election of the present Congress, either to authorize, (in addition to the powers vested in this Congress) their present deputies; or others in the stead of their present deputies, or either of them, to take into consideration the necessity and propriety of instituting such new government as in and by the said

‘ resolution of the Continental Congress is described and recommended: And if the majority of the counties, by their deputies in Provincial Congress, shall be of opinion that such new government ought to be instituted and established; then to institute and establish such a government as they shall deem best calculated to secure the rights, liberties, and happiness of the good people of this colony, and to continue in force until a future peace with Great-Britain shall render the same unnecessary.’

We cannot forbear expressing our astonishment at the existence of the doubts alluded to in the introduction just quoted. But when in compassion to those weak minds which gave them birth, you condescended to declare, that ‘ It appertains solely to the people of this colony to determine the said doubts;’ you have in the spirit of the recommendations of the General Congress, demonstrated to your constituents, that you will on all occasions warn them to destroy in its embryo, every scheme that you may discover to have the least tendency towards promoting the selfish views of any foreign or domestic oligarchy. Your enemies never can persuade people of reflection, that you fully instructed the most ignorant among us by such a positive declaration of our rights, for the purpose of surreptitiously obtaining our renunciation of them. Human nature, depraved as it is, has not yet, and we hope never will be guilty of so much hypocrisy and treachery.

We observe on the contrary, that your resolve is perfectly consistent with the liberal principle on which it is introduced; for after having set forth what relates to the election of deputies, you recommend to the electors, ‘ If the majority of the counties shall be of opinion that such new government ought to be instituted, then

then to institute and establish such a government.'

Posterity will behold that resolve as the test of their rectitude. It will prove that you have fully restored to us the exercise of our right finally to determine on the laws by which this colony is to be governed; a right of which, by the injustice of the British government, we have till now been deprived. But a forced and most unnatural misconstruction, which is artfully put upon your resolve, has deceived many, who really believe that we will not be allowed to approve or reject the new constitution; they are terrified at the consequences, although a sincere zeal for the general cause inspire them to suppress their remonstrances, lest the common enemy should avail himself of that circumstance, to undermine your authority.

Impressed with a just fear of the consequences which result from that error, we conceive it would be criminal in us to continue silent any longer; and therefore we beseech you to remove by a full and timely explanation, the groundless jealousies which arise from a misconception of your patriotic resolve.

As to us, who do not entertain the least doubt of the purity of your intentions; who well know, that your wisdom could not suffer you to aim at obtaining powers, of which we cannot lawfully divest ourselves; which, if repeatedly declared by us, to have been freely granted, would only proclaim our insanity, and for that reason, be void of themselves; we beg leave, as a part of your constituents, to tender you that tribute of esteem and respect, to which you are justly entitled, for your zeal in so nobly asserting the rights which the people at large have to legislation; and in promoting their free exercise of those rights.

You have most religiously followed the lines drawn by the General Con-

gress of the United Colonies. Their laws, issued in the style of recommendations, leave inviolate, in the conventions, the committees, and finally the people at large, the right of rejection or ratification. But, though it be decreed by that august body, that the punishments of death shall, in some cases be inflicted, the people have not rejected any of their laws, nor even remonstrated against them. The reason of such general submission is, that the whole of their proceedings is calculated to promote the greatest good to be expected from the circumstances which occasion their resolves, and scarcely admit the delays attending more solemn forms. The conduct of their constituents in this instance, clearly shews, what an unbounded confidence virtuous rulers may place in the sound judgment, integrity, and moderation of a free people.

Whatever the interested supporters of oligarchy may assert to the contrary, there is not, perhaps, one man, nor any set of men upon earth, who, without the special inspiration of the Almighty, could frame a constitution, which in all its parts, would be truly unexceptionable, by the majority of the people for whom it might be intended. And should God bless any man, or any set of men, with such eminent gifts, that man, or those men, having no separate interest to support, in opposition to the general good, would fairly submit the work to the collective judgement of all the individuals who might be interested in its operation. These it is probable, would after due examination, unanimously concur in establishing that constitution. It would become their own joint work, as soon as the majority of them should have freely accepted it; and by its having received their free assent, the only characteristic of the true lawfulness and legality that can be given to human institu-

institutions, it would be truly binding on the people. Any other concurrence in the acts of legislation is illusory and tyrannical; it proceeds from the selfish principles of corrupt oligarchy: and should a system of laws appear, or even be good in every other respect, which is scarcely admissible, yet it would be imperfect. It could be lawfully binding on none but the legislators themselves, and must continue in that state of imperfection which disgrace the best laws, now and then made in governments established on oligarchic principles, and deprives them of true legality. As such is the case with Great Britain herself, it is evident that her parliament are so far from having a lawful claim to our obedience, that they have it not to that of their own constituents; that all our former laws have but a relative legality, and that not one of them is lawfully binding upon us, though even now for the sake of common conveniency, the operation of most of them be and ought to be tolerated, until a new system of government shall have been freely ratified by the legislative power of the people, the sole lawful legislature of this colony. It would be an act of despotism to put it in force by any other means, which God avert!—The people it is true might be awed, or openly forced to obey, but they would abhor the tyranny and execrate its authors. They would justly think that they were no longer bound to submit than despotism could be maintained by the same violent or artful means which would have produced its existence.

But the free ratification of the people will not be sufficient to render the establishment lawful, unless they exercise in its sueness an uncontrolled power to alter the constitution in the same manner that it shall have been received. This power necessarily involves that of every district, occasionally to renew their deputies to Com-

mittees and Congresses when the majority of such district shall think fit; and therefore, without the intervention of the executive, or any other power, foreign to the body of the respective electors, that right is so essential to our safety, that we firmly believe you will recommend to all your constituents immediately to exercise it, and never suffer its being wrested from them; otherwise the sensibility of our delegates could not allow them to say that they hold their offices from the voluntary choice of a free people.

We likewise conceive that this measure will more effectually and more speedily than any other, remove disaffected persons from all our councils, and give our public proceedings a much greater weight than they have hitherto obtained amongst our neighbours.

We never did as a body, nor never will, assume any authority whatsoever in the public transactions of the present times. Common sense teaches us, that the absurdity of the claim would not only destroy our usefulness as a body of voluntary associators, who are warmly attached to the cause of liberty; but that it would likewise expose every one of us to deserved derision. At the same time, we assure your honourable house, that on all occasions we will continue to testify our zeal in supporting the measures adopted by Congresses and Committees, in the prosecution of their grand object, the restoration of human rights in the united colonies. And if at any future time, the silence of the bodies in power give us reason to conceive that our representations may be useful, we then will endeavour to discharge our duty with propriety, and rely on public indulgence for any imperfection which cannot affect our uprightness.

Mechanics-Hall, June 14, 1776.

Signed by order of the Committee,
MALCOLM M'EURN, Chairman.
Williamf

Williamsbürgb, in Virginia, June 1.

The following declaration was reported to the convention, by the committee appointed to prepare the same, and referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole convention; and in the mean time, it was ordered to be printed for the perusal of the members.

A declaration of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia assembled in full and free convention; which rights do pertain to us and our posterity, as the basis and foundation of government.

1. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community. Of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of mal-administration; and that, whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, the majority of the community hath an undubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

4. That no man or sett of men, are intitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the

community; but in consideration of public services; which, not being descendible or hereditary, the idea of a man born a magistrate, a legislator or a judge, is unnatural and absurd.

5. That the legislative and the executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicative; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression by feeling and participating the burthen of the people, they should at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain and regular election.

6. That the elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in Assembly, ought to be free; and that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community have the right of suffrage.

7. That no part of a mans property can be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of his legal representatives; nor are the people bound by any laws but such as they have in like manner assented to for their common good.

8. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

9. That laws having retrospect to crimes, and punishing offences committed before the existence of such laws, are generally oppressive, and ought to be avoided.

10. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusations, to be confronted with the accusers or witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy trial by an impartial judge of his vicinage,

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without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

11. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

12. That warrants unsupported by evidence, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

13. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

14. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments,

15. That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; that standing armies in time of peace should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

16. That the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore that no government separate from or independent of the government of Virginia, ought of right to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

17. That no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

18. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrate, unless, under colour of religion, any man disturb the peace, the happiness or safety of society. And that it is the mutual duty of all to practice christian forbearance, love and charity, towards each other.

Williamsburgh, May 11.

In convention, present one hundred and twelve members, May 15, 1776.

Forasmuch as all the endeavours of the United Colonies, by the most decent representations and petitions to the King and parliament of Great-Britain, to restore peace and security to America under the British government, and a re-union with that people upon just and liberal terms, instead of a redress of grievances, have produced, from an imperious and vindictive administration, increased insult, oppression, and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By a late act all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of a British crown, our properties subject to confiscation, our people, when captivated, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just.—Fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes. The King's representative in this colony hath not only withheld all the powers of government from operating for our safety, but having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us, tempting our

our slaves by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters. In this state of extreme danger, we have no alternative left but an abject submission to the will of those over-bearing tyrants, or a total separation from the crown and government of Great-Britain, uniting and exerting the strength of all America for defence, and forming alliances with foreign powers for commerce and aid in war: Wherefore appealing to the searcher of hearts for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked counsels, and the eternal laws of self-preservation,

Resolved unanimously, That the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the united colonies free and independent states, absolutely from all allegiance to, or dependance upon, the crown or parliament of Great-Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration; and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such a time, and in the manner, as to them shall seem best: Provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulation of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures,

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

EDMUND PENDLETON, President.
JOHN PENDLETON, Clk. of Con.

The following oath is published by the Convention in Virginia:

I, A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend the government of Virginia, in the present just and necessary war, against all powers whatever, who do, or may levy or carry on any hostility of war against the same; and that I will not in any manner aid, or assist, comfort, countenance, correspond with, or abet any person whatever, whom I know, or have cause to suspect, have designs to further, aid, or assist the tyrannical and cruel war, which the British parliament have levied against America, and that I will, from time to time, declare and make known all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against the peace and safety of Virginia, which shall come to my knowledge: So help me God.

Guin's Island, (Virginia) June 26, 1776.

Lord Dunmore having thought proper to change his station, is come to this place, with his followers, and vessels. On the 23d, two of our tenders arrived with two prizes, and brought 75 head of black cattle with them, and 14 men to join us, from whom we learned that the Provincials in Maryland are terribly afraid of Lord Dunmore's coming over there, while the friends of government are daily praying for his arrival.

On the 30th of May, the Liverpool man of war took a Spanish snow, with 12,800 dollars, and some rum and molasses on board. She was taken off Delaware. The master said he had sprung his mast by stress of weather, was going to Philadelphia for a new one, and then to proceed on his voyage to Dominique to buy slaves. Seven French vessels sailed out of Delaware river on the 7th of May.

The Virginia Gazette of June 20, says, that the Oxford, Captain Stewart, a transport from Clyde, with Captain Smith's company of the 42d regiment on board, was taken on her passage to America by a Provincial privateer, the commander of which took all the officers on board his own ship, and put a sufficient number of his hands with a prize master, on board the Oxford, to carry her to Philadelphia, but having parted from the privateer, the carpenter of the Oxford, with the assistance of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers on board, rose upon the Provincials, retook the vessel, and carried her to Hampden-road in Virginia, where they expected to find shelter with Lord Dunmore and his Majesty's ships; but they having previously abandoned that harbour, the vessel was again seized and boarded by the Provincials, who carried her up James river to Barrel's office, near Williamsburgh, to which place the sailors were sent and confined, and the soldiers were ordered to Richmond at the falls of James river, where they were also imprisoned.

Norfolk Harbour, (Virginia) May 30.

The original plan of Mess. Lee, Henry, and others, has taken place: The Convention of this colony have declared themselves 'independent of Great-Britain,' and have passed some resolutions for confiscating the estates of 'the deserters of their country's liberties,' (as they call those who have left the colony.) Mr Corbyn is the only one from this colony of considerable property, his estate is to be sold by order of the Convention. —

Mt. Wormeley, one of his Majesty's council, has been seized on account of a letter he wrote to Lord Dunmore, is confined at Williamsburgh; he is to be tried for treason against the liberties of America, and his estate is to be confiscated by order of the Convention.

In Provincial Congress, New-York, May 10, 1776.

Resolved and ordered, That every male inhabitant of the city and county of New-York, above the age of 16 years, and under the age of fifty years, who has withdrawn himself from the same since the first day of June last, be required, and is hereby required to return without delay, with his arms, and accoutrements; and that every male inhabitant between the said several ages, be henceforth prohibited, and is hereby prohibited from departing this city and county, and absenting himself from the same for more than 24 hours, without leave of the colonel or commanding officer of the battalion or regiment to which he belongs; and that the committees in the neighbouring counties and colonies, into whose districts such inhabitants of this city and county have so withdrawn themselves, be and are hereby requested to take effectual means to compel the said inhabitants, who have so withdrawn themselves, to return to their usual place of abode in the said city and county: And ordered, that this resolution be published in all the public news-papers in this colony.

Extract from the Minutes,

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.

For the REMEMBRANCE,

Soon after the death of the late Lord Bolingbroke, a gentleman published a small tract of his own writing, and past it on the world as a posthumous work of that noble Lord. This he did to shew, that a man of genius may, whenever he pleases, disguise his own style, or assume that of another, without being discovered. He has not only that power himself, but like the loadstone, he can communicate it. In gratitude for the assistance

assistance

stance he received from his colleague at his election, he has touched himself and as steel becomes impregnated by such an operation, he now finds himself in full possession of all the powers of oratory and composition. If he has employed those powers to the most mischievous purposes, and made a total surrender of all pretensions to the esteem and good opinion of his countrymen, his colleague is not answerable for it, and can only in common with the rest of his former friends, lament it. When Dædalus was preparing wings for his son, he cautioned him against soaring too high, but the advice of the father was disregarded, and the vanity and folly of the young man plunged him into destruction. Let the modern Icarus beware of a similar fate. The change of style and political sentiments, will be evident to any person who will take the trouble of perusing the two following extracts, said to be written by the same person.

From the Pennsylvania Packet.

Philadelphia, 3d October 1774.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Bristol, to Andrew Allen, dated 20th July, 1774.

Surrounded as I am by a thousand various businesses, still I cannot resist the strong inclination I feel to tell you that I am alive, and well, once more in Old England. Formerly I loved the country, and people, but now both appear odious to me; their conduct towards the Americans is horrid, cruel, and detestable; they call ye all thieves, pirates and rebels, for which in return I make no scruple to call them knaves, scoundrels, and spiritless slaves. Every day I am in the most furious quarrels in vindication of America, that ever you saw. I wish to God that you had a few more friends in this city. I shall, through my zealous attachment, lose or endanger my election; but no matter. They already cry, 'no American, no bill of rights man.' My acquaintance tell me I am too warm; but do you tell me, my friend, who that is made up of American flesh and blood, can sit calm and composed to hear his native country, with his dearest connections, calumniated, belied, and reprobated. No, by heaven and earth, I swear, I will never silently put up with such ill usage, while I have breath to speak, or hands to

From the Parliamentary Register, No. 19.

House of Commons, 20th February, 1776.

When gentlemen of this house (influenced by motives of humanity) recommended an exception of the friends of government in the colonies from the rigours of the late prohibitory bill, administration suddenly changed its voice; and they who just before had boasted, that a majority of the Americans were friendly to their cause, and only waited an opportunity to declare it with safety, now pronounced, that no distinction could be made, for that they had preserved at best 'a shameful neutrality,' and deserved to be subject to the common calamity of their country. This was the liberal reward bestowed on men who espoused their cause from principle, and maintained it undaunted and unsupported, thro' obloquy, and the most imminent danger to their fortunes, families, and lives.

I will not at present trespass on the patience of the house, by entering into particulars; but I cannot forbear saying, the friends of peace and good order in the province of New York, did not deserve to be reproached with a shameful neutrality; they stood forth, and opposed, as long as they were able, the increasing current of tumult and disorder, and exposed themselves by their endeavours to preserve

fight. I am just returned from London. It is with a degree of pleasure I can assure you, many of the great men are ashamed of what they have done, seriously dreading the associations, and resentment of the Virginians in particular. The revenue arising from the duties on tobacco is mortgaged, and a stop to their exportations would make a glorious confusion among their high mightinesses. When I left America I recommended moderation; but with concern I find that conduct will not do. Resentment must shew itself, for our ministers with themselves well out of it. Firmness on the part of the Americans will insure them the victory. Now is the crisis, the important crisis of your whole lives. You can lose nothing by a pathetic stand; you may gain every thing. The people of this country are sunk in luxury, and wish only to get their hands into the purse of the Americans, to support them in it.— They are totally indifferent about liberty, and lost to every sense of honour or virtue; open corruption is connived at and approved; oppression, as black as hell, darkens the annals of the present times, and Britons seem happy in their supine folly and base vassalage. If once the Americans submit, I foresee a train of evils ready to light upon them: Taxes, impositions, and oppressions, without moderation or end. Now is the appointed time to struggle like men for your dear inheritance; and there can be no doubt but Providence and a new parliament, will do you ample justice. I will weary heaven with my prayers for your success. My sincere good wishes attend you, and all the rest of my worthy countrymen in Philadelphia.

serve their colonial constitution to the resentment and vengeance of their incensed neighbours. In a dutiful manner they submitted their grievances to the clemency of this House, and the justice of their sovereign. I need not insist on the consequence. I shall not dwell on the contempt with which their zealous advances to a reconciliation were rejected. But this I must desire, all those who declaim on their ignominious neutrality, to remember, that administration not only neglected to aid them with a force sufficient to maintain their opposition against the zealots in their own province, and the united powers of the adjacent colonies; but withdrew to Boston the few troops under the command of General Haldimand, which might have assisted in preserving order, and the freedom and impartiality of public proceedings. By such means the colony was laid open to incursions; many were obliged to secure their persons from danger, by forsaking their friends and country, and leaving their property at the discretion of their enemies, whilst a great number waited, with silent patience, under every affliction, for the vigorous protection of Great-Britain.

Their zealous and firm adherence to their principles, crown them with honour; that they have not been successful, that they were borne down by the superior force of their opponents; that they are left to share in the common distress, and common punishments of their unfortunate countrymen, beams no lustre, however on the characters of those by whom they were neglected, betrayed, and sacrificed.

* I have sought in vain for this adjective, in Johnson's folio dictionary. It is a very proper word, although omitted by the pedantic lexicographer, and may with propriety be substituted sometimes for the word Provincial. It is a little remarkable, however, that this word (an uncommon one it must be allowed) should be found in all Coriolanus's letters, and in every speech that Mr. Cruger has favoured the public with,

By

By this impolicy (to call it by no harsher name) the command and management of the key, and main spring of America, has been lost, to this country, a speedy and effectual security of which, might have saved us from the present gloomy prospect of intestine carnage, and accumulating misery. Surely the representative body of the nation are bound in duty to their constituents, to examine the reasons of such neglect and misconduct; and they in particular, who are the assertors of parliamentary supremacy, are concerned to enquire why so effectual a method of weakening the opposition in America, and supporting their own adherents, has been totally omitted.

Copy of a letter from the Hon. John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, to a Convention of this city, dated Philadelphia, June 11, 1776.

Gentlemen,

The Congress have this day received advice, and are fully convinced, that it is the design of general Howe to make an attack upon the city of New-York as soon as possible; the attack they have reason to believe will be made within ten days; I am therefore most earnestly to request you by order of the Congress, to call forth your militia, as requested in my letter of the 4th instant, and to forward them with all dispatch to the city of New-York; and that you direct that they march in companies, or any other way that will hasten their arrival there. The important day is at hand that will decide not only the fate of the city of New-York, but in all probability of the whole province. On such an occasion there is no necessity to use arguments with Americans; their feelings I well know will prompt them to their duty, and the sacredness of the cause will urge them to the field. The greatest exertions of vigour and expedition are requisite to prevent our enemies from getting possession of that town; I must therefore again most earnestly request you, in the

name and by the authority of Congress, to send forward the militia, agreeable to the requisition of Congress, and that you will do it with all the dispatch which the infinite importance of the cause demands.

I have the honour to be gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

The Continental Congress have ordered three thousand men to be raised in Jersey, and eight more battalions to be raised in Connecticut and sent to New-York. Joseph Read, Esq. of Philadelphia, is appointed adjutant-general in the room of Horatio Gates, Esq. made a major general; and Stephen Moyland, Esq. is appointed quarter-master general, in the room of Thomas Millin, Esq. made a brigadier general.

*In Provincial Congress, New-York,
June 8, 1776.*

Resolved, that the thanks of this Congress be presented to his Excellency General Washington for the important services he has rendered to the United Colonies, and for the attention he has paid to the interest and civil authority of this colony; and that he be assured of the readiness of this Congress, to afford them all the aid in their power, to enable them to execute the important trust reposed in him.

Ors

Ordered, that the President wait upon General Washington, and communicate the said resolution to him.

June 9th. The President informed the Congress, that pursuant to the order of yesterday, he waited upon his Excellency General Washington, and communicated to him the resolve therein mentioned; that his Excellency was pleased to return the following answer, and requested the President to communicate the same to Congress.

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ I am extremely obliged for the high sense you entertain of my services, and for your promises of every possible assistance in the discharge of my important duty.

‘ You may rest assured, that my attention to the happiness of this colony shall not be wanting, nor my regard to its civil authority remitted, whilst I am honoured with the command I now hold.’

Ordered, that the said resolve of yesterday, and his Excellency General Washington’s answer, be published in the public news-papers.

Extract from the Minutes.

ROBERT BENSON, Sec.

Lord Howe in his letter to government upon his arriving off Halifax, said he had met with much hard weather in his voyage; saw not one of the transports of Commodore Hotham’s fleet; commended very highly his own ship the Eagle, as being a very fast sailer: he went to Halifax, because when he left England, the last accounts from General Howe were dated from Nantasket Road, and it was not then certainly known, whether General Howe would go to Halifax or return to Boston. An opinion prevailed among the officers of the fleet, that the provision ships which had been blown to the West-Indies would come in, and if so, they might stay in Nantasket Road, or re-

turn to Boston. But the first division of the embarkation, consisting of the inhabitants only (of Boston) went immediately to Halifax. Of this circumstance Lord Howe had positive information before he left England, therefore he sailed directly to Halifax, to get intelligence of his brother.

General Howe, in his letter to government before he sailed from Halifax, said he was going to the neighbourhood of New-York, being the most convenient and central situation to act from; that he had sent for General Clinton to come and join him; the rendezvous was Sandy Hook. But though he had the greatest confidence in his troops, who were in the highest spirits, under the most exact discipline, that no commander could wish to have finer men, &c. yet he would put nothing to the hazard till re-inforced. But notwithstanding this resolution, he said, if the Americans would give him battle fairly, he would fight them.

[These letters of Lord and General Howe, were not published.]

Whitehall, August 10, 1776.

Extracts of two Letters from the Honourable General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated at Staten Island the 7th and 8th of July last; which were this day received by Lieutenant-Colonel Blunt, who arrived in the Mercury Packet.

‘ The Mercury Packet is dispatched to inform your lordship of the arrival of the Halifax fleet, on the 29th of June, at Sandy Hook, where I arrived four days sooner in the Greyhound frigate. I met with Governor Tryon on board of ship at the Hook, and many gentlemen, fast friends to government, attending him, from whom I have had the fullest information of the state of the rebels, who are numerous and very advantageously posted with strong intrenchments both upon

spot, Long Island, and that of New York, with more than one hundred pieces of cannon for the defence of the town towards the sea, and to obstruct the passage of the fleet up the north river, besides a considerable field train of artillery.

We passed the narrows with three ships of war and the first division of transports; landed the grenadiers and light infantry, as the ships came up on this island, to the great joy of a most loyal people, long suffering on that account under the oppression of the rebels stationed among them, who precipitately fled on the approach of the shipping. The remainder of the troops landed during the next day and night, and are now distributed in cantonments where they have the best refreshment. In justice to captain Reynar, of his majesty's ship Chatham, who was directed by the admiral to make the disposition of boats for landing the troops, and to Captain Curtis, commanding the Senegal sloop of war, who was to superintend the execution, I must express my intire satisfaction in the conduct of those gentlemen, and the dependance to be placed upon their future services in this line.

I propose waiting here for the English fleet, or for the arrival of Lieutenant-general Clinton, in readiness to proceed, unless by some unexpected change of circumstances, in the mean time it should be found expedient to act with the present force.

Vice Admiral Shuldham was joined on his voyage by six transports belonging to Highland corps, having three companies of the 42d and three of the 71st on board. There is no other intelligence of this embarkation, excepting an account published in the New York papers, that two transports of the fleet were taken by the enemy's privateers, and carried into

Boston; that major Menzies was killed in the engagement; and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 71st made prisoner, with fifteen other officers, and about four hundred and fifty men.

Governor Franklyn, who for a long time maintained his ground in Jersey, has been lately taken into custody at Amboy, and is at this time detained a prisoner in Connecticut: and the mayor of New York was confined a few days ago upon a frivolous complaint of sending intelligence to governor Tryon, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer death; but, by the last intelligence, the sentence was not carried into execution.

Notwithstanding these violent proceedings, I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that there is great reason to expect a numerous body of the inhabitants to join the army from the provinces of York, the Jerseys, and Connecticut, who, in this time of universal oppression, only wait for opportunities to give proofs of their loyalty and zeal for government. Sixty men came over two days ago, with a few arms from the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, in Jersey, who are all desirous to serve; and I understand there are 300 more in that quarter ready to follow their example. This disposition among the people makes me impatient for the arrival of Lord Howe, concluding the powers with which he is furnished will have the best effect at this critical time.

A naval force is preparing to be sent up the north river, and orders are given for two of his Majesty's ships, the one of 40 guns and the other 20, to proceed upon that service. Several men have within these two days come over to this island, and to the ships, and I am informed that the Continental Congress have

declared the united colonies free and independent states.

‘ Lieutenant-colonel Blunt, of the 4th regiment, who has my leave to return to Britain from the particular situation of his affairs, will deliver these dispatches.’ [Gazette.]

The following is an extract of a letter from Governor Tryon to Lord George Germain, dated on board the ship Dutchess of Gordon, off Staten Island, the 8th of July last.

‘ I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship of the arrival of the fleet under the command of Admiral Shuldham in this port on the 29th ult. and that General Howe disembarked the troops under his command on Staten Island without opposition; on which occasion the inhabitants of the island came down to welcome the arrival of their deliverers, and have since afforded the army every supply and accommodation in their power.

‘ On Saturday last I reviewed the militia of the island at Richmond town, where near 400 appeared, who cheerfully, on my recommendation, took the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty. To-morrow I am to have another muster for the enlistment of volunteers, to form a provincial corps for the defence of the island, as the General finds it an important quarter to hold against the rebels. [Ibid.]

Admiralty-Office, August 10. By a letter received this day from Vice-Admiral Lord Shuldham, dated Staten Island near New-York, the 8th of July last, it appears that his Lordship arrived there on the 3d of that month with his Majesty’s ships under his command, and the whole fleet of transports, victuallers, and storeships under his convoy, without any loss or separation; that his Majesty’s troops under the command of General Howe were landed, on that day

and the next, upon Staten Island, without any opposition or interruption, the inhabitants having immediately on the troops landing surrendered, and put themselves under the protection of his Majesty’s arms; that two hundred of the inhabitants were embodied; that the whole island had taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the King; and that a party of sixty men with their arms had made their escape from the province of New-Jersey, and joined the King’s troops.

The arrival of Lord Howe, and the reinforcement under Commodore Hotham, were daily expected at Staten Island, Lord Shuldham having stationed his cruisers in the properest manner to fall in with and direct them thither. [ibid.]

For the same reason that Lord Howe went to Halifax, Commodore Hotham with the Hessian guards, &c. went thither. Part arrived there on 30th of June, and the remainder on 2d and 7th of July. They departed from thence for New-York in three divisions; the first sailed on the 2d of July, the second on the 8th of July, and the third, in which were the light horse, on the 19th of July.

Colonel Blunt left General Howe on the 10th of July, nothing further had then happened. The Americans it was supposed were ready to receive General Howe at New-York, and it was supposed that General Washington intended to make his stand there.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Toward, of the Mermaid transport, to his owners, dated Halifax, June 24, 1776.

‘ We left Greenock the 29th of April, and having bad weather, parted with the fleet off Scilly the 4th of May; as my orders from the captain of the Flora frigate were, in case of a separation, to sail for Boston, I made the greatest dispatch in my power for that

that port. On my passage I picked up several transports, but by some accident or other parted with them all, so that we were a single ship for 24 days before we made land, which was on the 10th of June, when we discovered Cape Anne (12 leagues from Boston) soon after which we fell in with an American privateer, of 10 six pounders and fourteen swivels; we having only four swivels, we thought it best to bear off from her, but it falling calm she rowed up to us; by this time we were a little prepared for her, having got the bedding, &c. placed in the netting all round the ship, in order to secure the soldiers we had on board, in number 120, from their grape shot. At a little before four in the afternoon the engagement began, and continued for nine glasses, when the privateer rowed from us again. It is impossible to know what execution we did, but as we were within pistol shot of each other during two hours of the engagement, we concluded our musquetry must have been severely felt amongst them. We could plainly see them heave two killed men overboard, and I saw one man fall from the shrouds. Three of our soldiers were wounded, one seaman, and myself. On the 13th inst. we fell in with his Majesty's ship Milford, from whence we learned that Boston was in the hands of the Provincials, and that General Howe had sailed for Halifax; but as a few of our transports were then lying at Boston bay, under protection of his Majesty's ship the Renown, Captain Banks, the Milford escorted us thither, where we arrived, or rather came within sight of it on the 14th of June, for the Provincials the night before had erected a battery on Long Island, and in the morning began playing on men the of war and transports, whom they forced out to sea; we joined them, and arrived safe here yesterday evening,

The officers and soldiers (part of General Frazer's new raised regiment) behaved with the greatest courage and activity, and two of the soldiers, who were dangerously wounded, we put on board the Renown to be taken proper care of. The vessel suffered much in her rigging. On the 22d of June we fell in with the Lord Howe (a single ship) who saw us safe into Halifax, as we parted with the Renown, and then, without entering the port of Halifax, stood out to sea, as we supposed to the southward.'

The Edinburgh Courant says, that the Venus, Captain Wilson, and the Crawford, Captain M'Lean, were taken and carried into Boston: on board the first was Captain Frazer's company, and Captain M'Leod with his company on board the other.— Upon their arrival off Cape Ann, they were attacked by four privateers, whom they fought a considerable time, and obliged them to sheer off. They then went into Nantasket road, in expectation of finding the men of war there, but, in place thereof, were surrounded by a great number of armed schooners, who, with the assistance of the privateers formerly beat off, carried them into Boston.

Extract of a letter from a field officer in General Howe's army, dated Staten Island, July 10, 1776.

'I know it will be painful to you to learn that our worthy friend Col. Archibald Campbell is certainly taken prisoner off the coast of New England by two privateers lately fitted out by the Provincials, and superior to any they have heretofore launched.

'It gives unexpressible concern to his friends, who you know are numerous. We comfort ourselves with his being safe and unhurt, after a most gallant defence, wherein between twenty and thirty were killed on board his transport, among whom was Major Menzies.'

In-

Instructions to the Representatives of the town of Boston †.

Gentlemen,

Touching the internal police of this colony, it is essentially necessary, in order to preserve harmony among ourselves, that the constituent body be satisfied that they are fairly and fully represented.—The right to legislate is originally due to every member of the community; which right is always exercised in the infancy of a state: but, when the inhabitants are become numerous, it is not only inconvenient, but impracticable for all to meet in one assembly; and hence arose the necessity and practice of legislating by a few, freely chosen by the many. When this choice is free, and the representation equal, it is the people's fault if they are not happy: we therefore instruct you to devise some means to obtain an equal representation of the people of this colony in the legislature:—but care should be taken, that the assembly be not unweildy; for this would be an approach to the evil meant to be cured by representation. The largest bodies of men do not always dispatch business with the greatest expedition, nor conduct it in the wisest manner.

It is essential to liberty, that the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, be, as nearly as possible, independent of, and separate from each other; for where they are united in the same persons, or number of persons, there would be wanting that mutual check which is the principal security against the making of arbitrary laws, and a wanton exercise of power in the execution of them. It is also of the highest importance, that every person in a judicatory department employ the greatest part of his time and attention in the

duties of his office; we therefore further instruct you, to procure the enacting such law or laws, as shall make it incompatible for the same person to hold a seat in the legislative and executive departments of government at one and the same time: that shall render the judges, in every judicatory through the colony, dependent not on the uncertain temper of caprice or pleasure, but on an unimpeachable department in the important duties of their station, for their continuance in office: and to prevent the multiplicity of offices in the same person, that such salaries be settled upon them as will place them above the necessity of stooping to any indirect or collateral means for subsistence. We wish to avoid a profusion of the public monies on the one hand, and the danger of sacrificing our liberties to a spirit of parsimony on the other. Not doubting of your zeal and abilities in the common cause of our country, we leave your discretion to prompt such exertions, in promoting any military operations, as the exigences of our public affairs may require: and in the same confidence of your fervor and attachment to the public weal, we readily submit all other matters of public moment, that may require your consideration, to your own wisdom and discretion.

At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Malden, May 27, 1776, it was voted unanimously, that the following instructions be given to their representative, viz.

To Mr. Ezra Sargeant.

Sir,

A resolution of the Hon. House of Representatives, calling upon the several towns in this colony to express their minds with respect to the important question of American independence, is the occasion of our now in-

† The former part of these instructions is in page 136, copied from the English Prints, which omitted this latter part.

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straining you: The time was, Sir, when we loved the King and the people of Great Britain with an affection truly filial; we felt ourselves interested in their glory; we shared in their joys and sorrows; we cheerfully poured the fruit of all our labours into the lap of our mother-country, and without reluctance expended our blood and our treasure in their cause.

These were our sentiments towards Great Britain while she continued to act the part of a parent state; we felt ourselves happy in our connection with her, nor wished it to be dissolved; but our sentiments are altered, it is now the ardent wish of our souls that America may become a free and independent state.

A sense of unprovoked injuries will arouse the resentment of the most peaceable. Such injuries these colonies have received from Britain. Unjustifiable claims have been made by the King and his minions to tax us without our consent; these claims have been prosecuted in a manner cruel and unjust to the highest degree. The frantic policy of administration hath induced them to send fleets and armies to America; that by depriving us of our trade and cutting the throats of our brethren, they might awe us into submission, and erect a system of despotism in America, which should so far enlarge the influence of the crown as to enable it to rivet their shackles upon the people of Great-Britain.

This plan was brought to a crisis, upon the ever memorable nineteenth of April. We remember the fatal day! the expiring groans of our countrymen yet vibrate on our ears! and we now behold the flames of their peaceful dwellings ascending to heaven! we hear their blood crying to us from the ground for vengeance! charging us, as we value the peace of their names, to have no further connection with ~~them~~ who can unfeelingly

hear of the slaughter of ^{his subjects}, and supposedly sleep with their blood upon his soul. The manner in which the war has been prosecuted hath confirmed us in these sentiments; piracy and murder, robbery and breach of faith have been conspicuous in the conduct of the King's troops: defenceless towns have been attacked and destroyed: the ruins of Charlestown which are daily in our view, daily reminds us of this: the cries of the widow and the orphan demand our attention; they demand that the hand of pity should wipe the tear from their eye, and that the sword of their country should avenge their wrongs. We long entertained hopes that the spirit of the British nation would once more induce them to assert their own and our rights, and bring to condign punishment the elevated villains who have trampled upon the sacred rights of men, and affronted the majesty of the people. We hoped in vain; they have lost their love to freedom; they have lost their spirit of just resentment; we therefore renounce with disdain our connexion with a kingdom of slaves; we bid a final adieu to Britain.

Could an accommodation be now effected, we have reason to think that it would be fatal to the liberties of America; we should soon catch the contagion of venality and dissipation which hath subjected Britons to lawless domination. Were we placed in the situation we were in in 1763: were the powers of appointing to offices, and commanding the militia, in the hands of Governors, our arts, trade and manufactures, would be cramped; nay, more than this, the life of every man who has been active in the cause of his country would be endangered.

For these reasons, as well as many others which might be produced, we are confirmed in the opinion, that the present age will be deficient in their duty

duty to God; their posterity and themselves, if they do not establish an American republic. This is the only form of government which we wish to see established; for we can never be willingly subject to any other King than he, who being possessed of infinite wisdom, goodness and rectitude, is alone fit to possess unlimited power.

We have freely spoken our sentiments upon this important subject; but we mean not to dictate; we have unbounded confidence in the wisdom and uprightnes of the Continental Congress: with pleasure we recollect that this affair is under their direction: and we now instruct you Sir, to give them the strongest assurance, that, if they should declare America to be a free and independent republic, your constituents will support and defend the measure, to the last drop of their blood, and the last farthing of their treasure.

Attest.

SAM. MERRIT, Town-Clerk.

Hartford, (Connecticut), May 20. A number of Tories have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Fairfield, taken up and imprisoned. These and others correspond with the enemies of America; and a line of intelligence from hence to Quebec has been taken up, whereby every movement of ours has been made known to our enemies.

Boston, May 13. Early last Friday morning the Franklin schooner, one of the continental cruizers, commanded by Captain James Mugford, of Marblehead, fell in with one of the enemy's transport ships from Cork, bound directly into this harbour, the Captain not knowing that the place had been evacuated by the British fleet and army. Notwithstanding she appeared to be an armed ship, and was in sight of the enemy's men of war lying in Nantasket, Captain Mugford resolutely bore down upon her, and took her without opposition.

She mounted six carriage guns, a number of swivels, and had on board 18 men. The Franklin, at that time, had only 21 men. Captain Mugford, determining to bring her into this harbour, the inhabitants, on leaving their respective places of worship, at-ternoon's service (it being the day of the continental fast) had the pleasure of seeing the most valuable prize taken since the commencement of the war, entering the harbour; but it being ebb-tide, she lay till the ensuing night. As her cargo was of almost inestimable value to these colonies, it was thought prudent to bring up to town the greatest part of it in boats; and a large number being immediately dispatched, the same was soon safely landed and properly deposited.

The ship is about 300 tons burthen, Alexander Lumsdale, master. She had five weeks passage, and sailed from Cork in company with 12 or 13 other transports, all bound to this place, from which she parted a few days before she was taken. The others, it is concluded hearing of the evacuation of the town from one of the cruizers, steered for Halifax.—The captain brings no material advices.

We hear from Providence, that as a company of American regulars were getting up the cable and anchor which the Glasgow a little while ago had left in her great fright, a large prize sloop came in (Captain Wall, from Maryland, loaded with flour, &c.) which Wallace had carried out with him the day before, it being very thick weather, and she expecting to find the Glasgow lying where she left her, got close in with our boat before she discovered who it belonged to, when the boat immediately boarded her, and brought her into Newport.

We hear that the continental currency is received in payment, and passes very freely among the inhabitants.

ants of the French West-India islands. [Boston Gazette.]

The American Continental Congress have contracted for the building of 13 frigates, from 20 to 40 guns, which are to be ready for sea by the 10th of Sept. 1776, viz. 4 at Philadelphia, 2 in the North River, 2 in Connecticut, 2 in Maryland, and 3 in New Hampshire.

The American Congress have fitted out twenty privateers, of sixteen guns, and one hundred and twenty men each. A certain share of the prizes they take, is deposited in the Congress bank, to carry on the war; and the remainder is distributed among the crews. One of these privateers, named the Reprisal, took the Friendship, Capt. Macky, from Granada with upwards of five hundred hogshheads of sugar. The captain of the privateer offered Capt. Macky his liberty, and permission to take his private property, which were accepted. But the crew of the Friendship voluntarily entered into the service of the American Congress. This privateer two or three days afterwards took two more merchant vessels, viz. one from Antigua to Cork, and one from St. Vincent's to Liverpool. Advices from the West Indies in general say that the sea is covered with the American privateers.

Extract of a letter to the Congress, dated from Rhode Island, June 12, 1776.

Captain Broad, of the Hazard, of 12 guns, and Captain Brookes of the Sun-Flower, of 22 guns, have brought into this port two armed vessels, belonging to the enemy, and four transports, part of General Howe's Squadron. They had on board provisions, cloathing, and warlike implements, for the ministerial army.

Philadelphia, June 12. Yesterday two ships from England, laden with provisions and military accoutrements

for the ministerial army, were brought into this port by the Provincial armed vessel reward, David Allen, commander. The above vessels had many letters on board, addressed to the officers in the army, which were immediately dispatched to the Congress.

The brig Hope, Captain Miller, with 38 passengers, factors, and storekeepers, bound for Clyde, was stopped as she was going down James River, by an American armed vessel, the passengers made prisoners for five days, and one-third part of the ship and cargo confiscated, she being British property.

Halifax, June 25, 1776. By some transports arrived from Nantasket road, we are informed, That some days before they left Nantasket, the rebels began some works, and erected a battery opposite to where the Renown, Commodore Banks, lay. The day before they sailed the enemy opened the said battery, and began to fire upon the Renown, and threw several shells. The day they sailed they observed the enemy carrying a number of cannon toward Point Alderton, it was supposed to erect a battery there, to stop the shipping going out; upon which Commodore Banks thought it adviseable to leave Nantasket road immediately, with the transports there, which he did, after having destroyed the light house.

Also arrived the armed brig Hope, Capt. Dawson, from Nantasket Road, who informs us, that Messrs. Brush, Jackson, Whitworth, Perry, and several others who had distinguished themselves by signing the address to Governor Hutchinson, the association, &c. had been taken up, tried, and condemned to be imprisoned, their estates confiscated to the aforesaid use, and that they were in gaol (the two former handcuffed, and in irons). That before he came away they

they saw about 150 men of Frazer's highlanders (who had been taken in a transport some time before) march through Boston. That Castle William and Fort-Hill are strongly fortified. That a chain of forts, batteries, and other fortifications, had been erected along the New-England coast, strongly garrisoned. That General Washington, with a large army under his command, was encamped near New-York, which is now the rebel head quarters. That General Ward had the command of a large number of men stationed in and near Boston. That General Lee had the command of some thousands in arms in the southern colonies, and that a large reinforcement had marched for Canada.

Same place, July 8. On the 6th instant arrived at this port the following men of war, viz. the Renown, the Milford, the Tamar, Capt. Mason, and the Carcass Bomb, with 12 transports, all under their convoy, who have met with very heavy gales on their passage, and thick foggy weather; but they mostly being stout ships, met with little or no damage. They all sailed to the southward this day.

Halifax, June 10, 1776. On Sunday evening arrived from off Boston Harbour, a privateer brig, in the rebel service, called the Yankee Hero, Capt. Tracey; she was taken by the Milford frigate of 28 guns, Captain Burr, after an obstinate engagement, in which the Captain of the privateer received a ball through his thigh, soon after which they struck. She is a fine vessel, and mounts 12 carriage guns and six swivels, her colours were a pine tree on a white field. The following is a copy of the Yankee Hero privateer's commission by Alex. Brymer, Esq. agent for her condemnation, taken by his Ma-

jeffy's frigate Milford, Capt. John Burr, commander.

Colony of the } The major part of the
Massachusetts } council of the Massa-
Bay. } chusetts B. in N. Eng.
(Seal.) To Ja. Tracey, Gentleman,
Greeting.

Whereas James Tracey, Jonathan Jackson, Nathaniel Tracey, John Tracey, and Joseph Lee, merchants, have at their own expence fixed out and equipped for the defence of America, a vessel called the Yankee-Hero, burthen about 120 tons, and have recommended you as a suitable person to be commander thereof. We have thought fit to commission you for the purpose aforesaid, and do accordingly by these presents give you, the said James Tracey, full power, with such other persons as you shall engage to your assistance, to sail in the said vessel on the seas, attack, take, and bring into any port in this colony all armed and other vessels which shall be found making unlawful invasions, attacks or depredations, on the sea-coasts or navigation of any part of America; or improved in supplying the fleet and army, which have been or shall at any time be, employed against the united colonies, or employed by the enemies of America in any respect whatsoever; and also all vessels whose masters or supercargoes shall have had designs of carrying supplies of any kind to the enemy, or that shall be returning from the enemy after having carried such supplies, that such proceedings may be had thereon as are required by a law of this colony, entitled, 'An Act for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to defend the sea-coast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the same;' and you are hereby directed in all your proceedings to govern yourself by the said act.

Given

Given under our hands, and the seal of the said colony, at Wattertown, the 20th day of February, in the sixteenth year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third.

By their honours command,

PEREZ MORTON, D. Sec. (Copy)

Signed, B. Lincoln,
Michael Farley

B. Greenleaf

W. Spooner J. Palmer

Caleb Cushing Moses Gill

T. Cushing Jabez Fisher

John Whitecomb B. White

Jed. Forster S. Holton

Eldad Taylor John Taylor

Extract of a letter from Dover, July 31.

'Yesterday evening arrived off here the Yankee privateer, which was in the Provincial service, commanded by Richard Rouse, midshipman of his Majesty's frigate Experiment. Mr. Rouse, was put on board the Creighton transport, Rofs, commander, on the coast of America, bound to Barbadoes for rum, for his Majesty's troops; on his return he was taken by the above privateer. Their people were divided, Mr. Rouse, Capt. Rofs, a passenger, and 11 foremastmen, were put on board for some parts of America. They had not been on board above four days, but an opportunity offered of taking her, by rising on the people; they met with success, and have on board, under guard, the master, surgeon, and 22 common men. She sailed for the Downs last night, there to lie for orders. She has been only 24 days on her passage.'

Extract of another letter from Dover.

The Zachary Bayley, from Jamaica for London; and the Creighton, from Antigua, with rum for the army, were taken by the Yankee privateer, Captain Johnson, carrying nine four pounders, 16 swivels, and 43 men. The prizes were sent to New England, and the masters, together with a midshipman of the Experiment man of war, who was a passenger, and

eleven seamen, were taken on board the privateer. On the third of July they seized the privateer without bloodshed, and have brought her to Dover. They were chased by two sloops, whom they imagined to be American privateers, but durst not engage them because of the number of prisoners they had on board.'

Captain Johnson (the American commander of the privateer) complained of the illiberal treatment he received, by being insulted frequently while at sea, calling him by the most opprobrious names, and threatening him with the cruellest and most savage punishments, and also for suffering many people to come on board after the privateer arrived in the river, to insult him in the grossest terms, though he was then a prisoner; and when his brother came to see him, after a three years absence, they were not permitted to talk together one minute in private.

The prisoners on board the Yankee privateer, having petitioned not to be close confined, but that they might be put to some employment, upon which it was agreed that they should be placed on board the guardships. The vessel was afterwards ordered to be sold, and the money to be given to the captors.

Kingston, Jamaica, June 8, 1776.
Yesterday, his Excellency Basil Keith, Governor of Jamaica, issued a proclamation for prohibiting the exportation of flour and other provisions from this island for two months from the said 7th of June, except the necessary provisions for the voyage of any ship, vessel, or boat.

Kingston, June 22. In order to prevent the dangerous consequences which might arise from selling at public vendue the cargo of the prize schooner Mary, consisting of 390 barrels of powder, 1008 stand of small arms, and a great quantity of other military implements, the same has been offered for

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for sale to his Excellency, for the public service, at the market price, which is at the moderate rate of 15l. per barrel for powder, but in fact not to be got for that or any other price; every barrel of powder having long since been swept away from hence, and chiefly expended in the slaughter of many a brave Englishman at Bunker's hill in June last.

There was no public fund unappropriated for the purchase of such a quantity of military stores, and our magazines sufficiently supplied; nevertheless, his Excellency and several Gentlemen of the Hon. the Council and Assembly, animated by a laudable zeal for the public good, immediately by letter, in which they become personally bound to W. Duntlop, Esq; for the amount, directed him to offer a price for the powder, equal to the cost of the public powder, when landed here, being 6l. 15s. per cwt. which is more than it will sell for, if those who supply their country's foes are prevented purchasing.

The proposal was rejected, as being inadequate to the present value of that commodity.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Hodgson, at Black River, Musquito-shore, to Mr. Brookman at Cape Gracias a Dios.

Two Spanish armed sloops have taken Messrs. Irving and Blair's sloop off this bar, and I believe they are beating up to windward; so take care that neither you nor your neighbours are trepanned on board. It has much disconcerted us.

The Musquito Indians, we hear, are so terrified at this, that not one of them will venture in a canoe or any small craft out to sea. Several small sloops and schooners to windward, with valuable cargoes, are supposed to be taken.

Kingston, June 29. The following letter is just received here from the Havanna, dated May 19.

Yesterday arrived in this port 22 English sailors, being part of the crews belonging to the Lady Juliana, Capt. Stephenson, the Reynolds, Capt. Ruffen, and the Juno, Capt. Marsam, which were taken near the port of Matanza, at the mouth of the Bahama channel, by two Boston sloops, so well manned and armed that they are able to fight any vessel, as we have been told by the people taken. These three ships sailed from your island, bound to London, laden with produce to a considerable amount; the greatest part of their crews and passengers were kept prisoners, and the 22 men were sent on shore by the privateers in a large boat, as they chose rather to come here than go to America: among these is the mate of the Reynolds, and Capt. Marsam; but Capt. Stephenson, of the Lady Juliana, staid with the privateers, in order, as we imagine, not to abandon his ship, and to have justice done him if possible, for the injury he has sustained. We wish he may not be deceived in this our opinion.

The privateers still continue cruising at the same place, that is, at the very mouth of the Bahama Channel, insomuch that any vessel that comes this way must fall into their hands, as they cannot be acquainted with the danger, of which we have taken the earliest opportunity of acquainting you.

Extract of a letter to a principal planter in London, from his agent in Barbadoes, dated May 8, 1776.

If the affair with America is not made up by the return of the Gibbons (which ship brought this letter) send down bread and flour for the sick negroes. Barbadoes is now in a very bad way. Some plantations have nothing to give their negroes, and serve them with rum for allowance, which is exchanged for provisions. I assure

assure you I am fearful what will be the consequence with respect to the negroes in general. When people have nothing of their own to eat, they will take it from those who have.'

A letter from Kingston, Jamaica, dated June 1, says—"At Montserrat and Nevis they are in great want of provisions, and the legislative powers in those islands have offered premiums for the importation of flour, bread, beef, pork, herrings, butter, rice, corn, peas, and beans."

Extract of a letter from Barbadoes, June 23.

'I have made no crop these two years, and found my estate in a miserable condition, the country in general burnt up from many months severe dry weather; no corn to be purchased for money, and salt provisions, the principal support of the inhabitants, at an immoderate price. The lower sort of white people are near starving, and many of the blacks quite so. Several estates that have two or three hundred people have nothing to give them; labour may be had in plenty for victuals only. Our prospect is melancholy, and a few weeks will make it more terrible than can be described, having great reason to dread a famine. I dare not quit here, as my presence keeps my people in temper. I wrote to Bristol and London four weeks past, and ordered 1000 bushels of beans, and shall be able, by reducing my people to short allowance, to feed them eight weeks longer, near which time I am in hopes of receiving my beans.'

An account of what has lately happened between Spain and Portugal.

In the beginning of May, the court of Madrid received dispatches that open hostilities were commenced by the Portuguese; that on the 2d of April 30 Portuguese transports, having on board nine regiments and 300 cannons, commanded by German and English officers, sailed up the river

Rio Grande, attacked the Fort St. Thecle, which was soon delivered up to them; they further advanced and attacked the Fort St. Theresa (which by this time they are in possession of, as also of that of Monte Video). General Vertis, in a hurry, went with the garrison of Monte Video, and some artillery, to oppose them, but was defeated; about 400 of his men were killed, and about 100 wounded; and when the dispatches came away, they were marching towards Buenos Ayres.

Upon this alarming intelligence a general armament was ordered throughout Spain, and some of their squadrons waited with the French, and the matter rests thus. The court of Lisbon still insists that all this was done without their order or knowledge; but as the latter two forts, viz. St. Theresa and Monte Video, were not taken before the 7th of April, a time when the orders of the court of Lisbon (which according to the above-mentioned declaration was sent in the beginning of December last) must have been received, and consequently the officers have acted contrary to the royal order: the court of Madrid insists that these offenders shall be punished with death, which they richly deserved at any rate, whether they acted against their orders, or whether they acted without the knowledge of the court of Lisbon; and if this be done, the court of Madrid will consider themselves amply satisfied; but if this request is not complied with, the latter will judge (and which is most probable) that it was done with positive orders from the former court, and consequently they will proceed to an open war, in which they will be assisted by the court of France.

This is the nature of Don Gaston's (commander in chief of the united fleet) embassy to the court of Lisbon. All Europe is anxious to know how this matter will end; and we hear that the courts of Great-Britain and France

France have both declared, that the request of the court of Madrid is founded in justice and equity, and should be complied with, as a satisfaction to the grossly offended court of Spain. Mean while both France and Spain are ready to crush the treacherous Portuguese in case of non-compliance.

A letter from Buenos Ayres, dated April 10, gives an account both of a naval and land fight between the Spaniards and Portuguese. The latter, who are generally represented as the aggressors, with twelve ships, attacked five of the former on the Lake Le Los Patos. The Spaniards, though inferior in number, obliged their enemies to retire with the loss of three ships, and a number of men killed, drowned, and wounded. It is added, that the commander of the Portuguese fleet was so exasperated at the ill success of his enterprize, which he attributed to two officers, both Englishmen as well as himself, that he killed them one after the other, and then shot himself. Towards the end of the same month, about nine European regiments of Portuguese were embarked on board 30 vessels, and 300 canoes went up the Rio Grande; as soon as they came near the Spanish settlements, the few troops of that nation who were there, assembled themselves, with some militia, at a little detached camp. The 2d of April the Portuguese attacked them in form; the Spaniards defended themselves with great valour, but after the loss of 400 men, they were forced to retire, leaving their artillery and ammunition upon the field. This rout inevitably brought on the taking of Fort St. Thelca, after which it is said, the remainder of the Spanish forces retired to Fort St. Theresa, on the coast of the North Sea. The General who commands in the province came from Monte-Video, and reinforced that post with artillery from on board the ships, but the great superiority of the Portuguese makes it feared that they may succeed

in any attempts against those parts.

These letters complain terribly of the weak state of the Spanish settlements, where there are but three regiments of European troops; whilst the Portuguese have been insensibly strengthening themselves, so that they have now more forces in those parts than they ever had before.

Extract of a Letter from Brussels, Aug. 5.

‘ We are curious to know how the court of France will proceed with regard to the differences between Spain and Portugal. It seems as if his Christian Majesty was inclined for peace, if it is true, that upon the Count D’Aranda making a demand of 30,000 men in the name of his Catholic Majesty, that he should receive for answer from the King of France, “ that would disconcert the measures taken to render his people happy.” Whatever may be the result, it is certain that the accounts of the hostilities between the Spaniards and Portuguese at Paraguay were not exaggerated.

Madrid, July 29. Though secrecy is observed respecting the contents of the dispatches of the last courier which the Portuguese ambassador received from his court, persons who are informed of the state of affairs, say, that his Most Faithful Majesty persists in the answer he gave in December last concerning the differences arisen between this court and Portugal, viz. that he accepts the proposition made by our court, through the mediation of France and England, to cause those differences to be examined and adjusted by the respective Commissaries of the two courts; and that in consequence, he had then sent an express to his Governors in the Indies, with orders to cease all hostilities immediately. It is certain, that when the last hostilities were committed, the express could not have been arrived there; but our court will learn by fresh advices, whether hostilities have actually ceased.

Extracts from the Journal of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina.

In Congress, Feb. 8. 1776.

Resolved, That Mr. President do signify the approbation of this Congress, and present their thanks to the Hon. Henry Middleton, and John Rutledge, Esqrs. now present in Congress, and to the other delegates of this colony at Philadelphia, for their important services in the American Congress.

Mr. President accordingly addressed himself to the Hon. Mr. Middleton, and Mr. Rutledge, as follows.

Gentlemen,

When the hand of tyranny, armed in hostile manner, was extended from Great-Britain to spoil America of whatever she held most valuable; it was, for the most important purposes, that the good people of this colony delegated you to represent them in the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia. It became your business to ascertain the rights of America, to point out her violated franchises, to make humble representation to the King for redress, and, he being deaf to the cries of his American subjects, to appeal to the King of Kings, for the recovery of the rights of an infant people, by the Majesty of heaven formed for future empire.

In this most important business, you engaged, as became good citizens; and step by step, you deliberately advanced through it, with a regret and sorrow, and with a resolution and conduct, that bear all the characters of ancient magnanimity. Your constituents, with a steady eye, beheld your progress. They saw the American claim of rights, the association for the recovery of American franchises, and the humble petition to the King for redress of grievances. They saw the American appeal to the King of Kings; and a second humble petition to the British monarch; alas!

as unavailing as the first. They have also seen the establishment of an American naval force, a treasury, a general post-office, and the laying on a continental embargo: in short, they have seen permission granted to colonies, to erect forms of government, independent of, and in opposition to the regal authority.

Your country saw all these proceedings, the work of a body of which you were and are members; proceedings arising from dire necessity, and not from choice; proceedings that are the natural consequences of the present inauspicious reign; proceedings just in themselves, and which, notwithstanding the late declarations of the corrupt houses of parliament, the proclamation at the court of St. James's, the 23d of August, and the subsequent royal speech in parliament, are exactly as far distant from treason and rebellion, as stands the glorious revolution, which deprived a tyrant of his kingdoms, and elevated the house of Brunswick to royalty.

Worthy delegates! It is the judgment of your country, that your conduct, of which I have marked the grand lines, in the American Congress, is justifiable before God and man, and that, whatever may be the issue of this defensive civil war, in which, unfortunately, though gloriously, we are engaged, whether independence or slavery, all the blood, and all the guilt, must be imputed to British not to American counsels—Hence your constituents, sensible of the propriety of your conduct, and of the benefits, which, with the blessing of the Almighty, it is calculated to shed upon America, have constituted me, their instrument, as well to signify to you their approbation, as to present to you their thanks: and it is in the discharge of these duties, that I now have the honour to address you.

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In an important crisis, like the present, to receive the public thanks of a free people, is to receive the most honourable recompence for past services, and to deserve such thanks is to be truly great. I know that it is with pain such men hear their commendations. Gentlemen, with the public recompence I mean to pay in to you, my mite also; and lest I wound your delicacy, when I mean only to do justice to your merit, I forbear to particularize what is already well known. I therefore confine myself; and I do most respectfully, in the name of the Congress, present to you, and to each of you, the thanks of your country, for your important services in the American Congress at Philadelphia.

Feb. 9. Col. Gasden presented to the Congress, an elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander in chief of the American navy; being a yellow field, with a lively representation of a rattle snake in the middle, in the attitude of going to strike, and these words underneath, *Don't tread on me.*

Feb. 15. Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider and report the best means, and an estimate of the expence of building, with the utmost dispatch, two frigates, for the service of this colony, each to mount thirty-two guns on one deck: and also to consider and report the expediency of stationing armed vessels to protect the navigation of Beaufort and George-town harbours.

Resolved, That the Hon. Rawlins Lowndes, Esq; Col. James Parsons, and Capt. Thomas Savage, be delegated to proceed forthwith to Savannah, to make proper representations to induce that colony to co-operate with this, in paying the strictest obedience to all the resolves of the Continental Congress, particularly that relative to non-exportation, and to urge the necessity of extending the

non-importation to the first day of May next.

Feb. 16. A motion was made, That the majority of the delegates, present in Philadelphia, shall be a quorum; and that when by sickness or accident, only one delegate shall be present in Congress, in such case, such delegate shall give his voice on the part of the colony.

March 1. Resolved, That no vessels whatsoever, shall pass any armed posts in the rivers and inlets, or on the coast of this colony, until a satisfactory account shall be given of them at such posts: and that public notice be given of this resolution.

March 2. Mr. Rutledge, from the committee to prepare a form of orders proper to be delivered to Col. Bull, made a report, which being amended, was unanimously agreed to, as follows:

South-Carolina. By authority of the Congress.

To Stephen Bull, Esq; colonel, or, to the commanding officer for the time being, of the South-Carolina forces, ordered to act in aid of Georgia.

Whereas there is reason to apprehend that attempts will be made to cause the merchant vessels in Savannah river to sail with their cargoes: and as such a proceeding would be detrimental to the interest of America, it becomes this colony to aid the friends of America in Georgia, by endeavouring with them, effectually to prevent the said vessels sailing with their cargoes; therefore you are hereby ordered, under the direction of the colonel of the continental forces in Georgia, and with the concurrence of the friends of America, in that colony, to take post on either side of Savannah river, with the troops under your command, and use every effort in your power to incapacitate those vessels from proceeding with their cargoes on their several voyages; and

and to that end, cause them to be forthwith unrigged, their ruddets taken off, and their sails and rudders deposited in some secure place, or kept under a proper guard.

You are also ordered, under the direction and with the concurrence aforesaid, to give every aid in your power, for repelling insurrections and invasions there, and securing and imprisoning every person in Georgia, whose going at large may be dangerous to the liberties of America, or the security of that colony.

Having executed these orders, you are, either with all or a part of the forces under your command, to return to this colony, or remain in Georgia, at your discretion, and so act under the direction, and with the concurrence aforesaid, as you shall think most advantageous to the American cause, until you shall receive further instructions from the Congress or Council of Safety of this colony; to whom you are, from time to time, to transmit full information of your proceedings.

March 5. Mr. President of the Council of Safety, laid before the Congress several papers, received this morning, by express from Georgia, and addressed to their board.

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of this Congress be returned, by Mr. President, to the Council of Safety of Georgia, in terms of the highest approbation of their noble and spirited conduct.

Resolved, That this Congress will, on Thursday morning next, in a committee of the whole, take into consideration the report of the committee who were appointed by ballot, to prepare such a plan or form of government, as will best produce the happiness of the people, and effectually secure peace and good order in the colony.

March 6. Mr. President laid be-

fore the Congress the following copy of the letter, written by their order, to Georgia:

South-Carolina, Charlestown, March 5, 1776.

By authority of the Congress.

To the honourable the Council of Safety for Georgia.

Gentlemen,

Your letters of the 1st and 2d inst. and your resolutions, order, and proclamation of those dates were to be laid before the Congress, transfusing a general and perfect joy. And the Congress, sensible of the vast importance which your exemplary conduct must be of to the American cause, unanimously voted their thanks; and I have the honour thus to transmit them to you, for your having decisively taken the noble, politic, and vigorous resolution—That the vessels in the ports of Savannah, ready to sail, contrary to the interest of America, shall be forthwith unrigged and unruddered; and that rather than the enemy shall possess those vessels and your capital, all shall perish in a noble conflagration, lighted by yourselves. An instance of heroic principle, not exceeded by any and unequalled but by few in history.

Your conduct, in citing such of the inhabitants of Savannah, as had abandoned their possessions in that town, to return to its defence, under penalty of being deemed to have deserted such property, and of being excluded from any support towards obtaining an indemnification for any loss they may sustain by a general conflagration, received the highest applause, as being worthy of imitation. The policy and justice of the measure are equally conspicuous.

In short, the Congress feel the greatest satisfaction from their having anticipated your call for assistance; it is sufficient that we know our friends stand in need of our aid. We hope
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that our forces under Col. Bull, will fully accommodate your necessities : and you may rest assured, that we shall continue to afford the friends of America, in Georgia, every support in our power. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most humble servant,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON, Pres.

Thomas Walker of Montreal, in the province of Quebec, merchant; upon oath, testifies and saith,

That being at his own house, in the parish of Assumption, on the 5th of October last past, it was surrounded about two or three o'clock in the morning, by a party of armed men, viz. a detachment of about 20 soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant John M'Donnell of the Royal Emigrants, together with seven captains of militia and several other Canadians; who began the attack by firing a musket shot, and then, without calling to this deponent, immediately proceeded to break open his doors with axes, &c. which they effected so suddenly, that he had but just time to slip on his coat and waistcoat, and put his pistols in his pockets, in order to retreat with a short rifle gun in his hand into the garret, where his wife had fled in her shift, but a moment before, this deponent being determined to defend the stair-head to the last extremity. As soon as the soldiers entered the house, they lighted a candle and instantly searched the bed-chamber; which this deponent and his wife had just quitted, and then in order to have light in the other apartments, they set fire at the foot of the stairs to some oakum, mixed with pitch or rosin, and immediately a number of them, armed with muskets and fixed bayonets, rushed into the room, which was overlooked by this deponent from the top of the stairs, setting up the Indian yell; the deponent hearing this, and observing their actions, made not the

least doubt that it was Col. Johnston's party of Mohawk Indians sent down to murder him and his family, as had been oftentimes threatened; whereupon he fired his rifle gun among the thickest of them, and in a moment afterwards made another shot from a double pistol, but before he could discharge the other, they had all quitted the room with great precipitation and dismay; an officer and grenadier having been dangerously wounded by those different shots, the rest retired for some time to bind up their wounds, and to plunder the other part of the house; they then returned and began a general fire of muskets all round the house, which they kept up briskly for a long time, calling out to this deponent to come out and surrender himself; but finding that they could make no impression, and not daring to enter the same room again, whence they had been driven, they proposed to uncover the roof of the house in order to get at the deponent, but dropt the design, it is presumed for the same reason: therefore the commanding officer called out to his party to set fire to the four corners of the house, which orders were repeated several times by Serjeant David M'Fall, and which they executed soon after. This, the deponent perceiving at the window, and being terrified therewith, and imagining that a torch lifted up at the end of a pole had been a man upon a ladder, setting fire to the roof, discharged a pistol from the window which it is said shot a Captain of militia through the chin, with a buck shot: thereupon they began a second attack, firing all round the house for a considerable time, till they had expended three or four hundred musket shots.

When the flames had increased to a great head, they left off firing, and fell to plundering the house; which being from the ground floor built of wood,

wood, burnt now with great violence ; and this deponent finding no succour come from the neighbours, who by this time were all on foot at the village, and for many miles round the country, remaining at a distance quiet spectators of the dismal scene, as he has since learned, and Mrs. Walker crying aloud several times, ' we shall both be burnt to death ! ' the terror of which made her in despair beg this deponent would shoot her ; and she having been almost suffocated in an attempt to go down the stairs, he laid down his arms and carried her to the garret window, furthest from the fire, where she called out for quarters, and begged for mercy to the soldiers below : at the same time getting out of the window with her face to the wall, she hung by her hands, supported by the deponent, under both her arms, till a soldier named Cox brought a ladder, by which she got down, being much scratched and bruised. The soldiers at the same time seeing this deponent, called out to him, and promised him good usage if he would surrender ; he seeing the floor burning under his feet, and no further defence to be made or possibility of escape, after a resistance of more than three hours, surrendered himself ; and was instantly seized by six men, some of whom handled him very roughly. Lieut. M'Donnell came up to him with his arm in a sling, and at first offered to strike him with his fist ; and then attempted to draw a pistol out of his belt to shoot him, but was prevented from doing him any hurt by Serjeant M'Fall ; to whom he had at first surrendered himself ; then the pockets of the deponent were searched and rifled, and a loaded pistol, among other things taken out of them.

In the mean while the deponent's cellars (being an out building) were broke open and pillaged ; and the

heads of several hogheads were staved in, and others had forced open the pot-ash works, and brought out three negroes, with divers kinds of plunder ; during all which the deponent and his wife were kept standing in the mud with naked feet, to behold their house and goods burned and plundered ; trunks opened, and pieces of goods from the store divided among them, whilst neither himself, nor his wife were allowed any cloaths to cover or defend them from the cold. At length Serjeant David M'Fall took off his blanket coat and put it upon Mrs. Walker, whilst the deponent wrapt himself round with a coverlid which he had hastily snatched up ; thus equipt they were marched to the end of the road leading to St. Sulpice, where a cart was pressed, and they were carried therein to a battoe lying in the river St. Laurence, a league from his house, being guarded all along the road by this party of 20 soldiers, and flanked in the woods by the Canadians, with his three negroes on foot, part of the plunder, and the wounded grenadier in one of the deponent's carriages. Several armed batteaus were sent down from Montreal to give us the meeting, commanded by Lieutenant Leslie ; and when we arrived at the landing opposite the barracks, General Prescott in great warmth came down upon the beach, and commanded the prisoners to be brought forth ; all the troops were marched out of the gate and formed in two divisions, and the deponent enclosed in the center, where he ordered him to be pinnioned, and then marching into the barrack square, he spoke these words. ' You are a traitor and a villain, you scoundrel ! to betray your country ; but the laws of your country have overtaken you at last ; you shall have the justice of this country ; for, to you, you villain ! is owing the loss of all

the

the blood of those brave men, that has been, or shall be spilled at St. John's, or in other parts of Canada.

To which this deponent replied. I perceive that you know very little of my real character, but pray who are you, Sir, that treat me thus unworthily; for I have not the honour to know you: not having seen him before. What do you think of last night's work, continued he, and of that brave man in the boat, which you have so desperately wounded. I think, Sir, that it was a very poor exploit to send fifty men on purpose to murder one, and burn his house, whilst he and his family were asleep in their beds. He replied by calling to the provost-martial, and the smith to put the deponent in irons, which were much heavier than ordinary; being made by the particular orders of Major Hughes; who also gave the dimensions, as the smith has since informed this deponent; and whilst he was putting them on, Gen. Prescott called out to rivet them well (in doing which he jarred the bones of the deponent's legs, so as to give him inexpressible pain) and then with a loud voice cried out your crime is high treason and rebellion: and added he, give that poor unhappy man, a straw bed and a blanket, in No. 4. in the barracks, and keep centries over him, that no body speaks to him, but the town major (Mr. Hughes) unless before the serjeant of the guard.

There this deponent lay confined and alone, in irons for thirty-three days and nights; without fire or candle for a long while, or the consolation of a friend, at any time; Mrs. Walker being absolutely forbid to see him; and for many days made a prisoner in her own house, with six centries round about it, and the persons who came and went to and from the

barracks with victuals were searched for letters, &c.

At length St. John's being taken, this deponent was carried by soldiers, in a weak and low condition, and in presence of Capt. Anstruther, and Mr. Hughes, under pretence of going to General Prescott's room, in a very rainy day, to a boat, which conveyed him on board an armed schooner, in the service of government, commanded by Capt. Lifote, who had the humanity to order his irons to be knocked off, placing a centry at the cabin door with a drawn sword, and orders not to let the prisoner receive or send any letters, papers, or messages, without examination and leave of the lieutenant. It seems, notwithstanding these precautions that the generals were offended at Captain Lifote, for having freed from fetters this deponent, without positive orders from them; and told him that he must answer for his prisoner *corps pour corps*.

Two days afterwards the deponent was hurried from on board Captain Lifote to another armed schooner, commanded by Captain Bouchett; where he remained under the same kind of confinement for twelve days; nine of which were spent in the attempt the vessels made to escape to Quebec, which began with precipitation immediately upon the appearance of General Montgomery's vanguard, at St. Paul's island. However, they durst not venture to pass the point of Sorel river, there being continental troops, cannon and an armed gondola, which drove the ships back again to La Velerie, having killed one man on board the Gaspee, where the capitulation was signed by General Prescott on Sunday evening, to surrender eleven sail of vessels, in which were, viz. * three

* Brigadier General Prescott, Major John Campbell, Major Dunbar, Major Hughes. Capt. Anstruther, Capt. Crawford, Capt. Swan, Capt. Brice; in the 7th regiment; Capt. Gamble, Lieut.

major, five captains, and several subalterns, conductors and inferior officers, together with one hundred and seventeen regular soldiers, rank and file, with their arms and accoutrements, besides St. Luc La Corne, one of the legislative council of Quebec, Capt. Jonathan Frazer, judge of the Common Pleas and counsellor, and several Canadian volunteers.—Governor Carleton having quitted the Gaspee, with Messrs Niverville and Lanaudiere at midnight on Thursday, was conducted in a whale boat, with muffled paddles, by Capt. Bouchet, a secret way to Three Rivers, and arrived at Quebec on Sunday following.

The deponent was set free on Monday morning by his friend Major Brown, who delivered him from the cruel hand of tyranny and oppression and from the tools of military and arbitrary power.

Over and above the indignity and sufferings imposed on this deponent and his wife, who was denied the liberty of seeing him, by Gen. Prescott, and taking his last adieu, at the instant of his departure, when it was exultingly given out, that he was to be sent home in irons, there to be * * * * *. He had his apprentice imprisoned for about sixty-seven days, and his other servants and slaves put under confinement, to his very great damage, in his interest, and ruin of his health; besides the loss sustained by burning, destroying, and plundering his house, manufac-

tory, store, household goods, cash, plate, books, notes, furniture, cloaths, utensils of manufacture and husbandry; likewise a considerable quantity of fine pearl-ash in casks, &c.

THOMAS WALKER.
Philadelphia. Sworn the 24th of April 1776, before

SAMUEL MIFFLIN.
Guy Carleton, Governor of the province of Quebec, &c.

The Sieur Belair, Captain of militia in the parish of Assumption, is hereby commanded to go from this city with the military that shall be ordered with him in my name, under the command of Lieutenant Macdonnell, of the royal regiment of emigrants, to take at Assumption and seize upon the person of Thomas Walker, accused of high treason, and him safely to convey into this city, under a good and safe guard.

I order and command all the King's good subjects to aid and assist the said Sieur Belair in the execution of the present order, upon pain of disobedience.

Given at Montreal the 4th day of September, 1775.
Translation. Signed.

GUY CARLETON.
Province of Quebec, ff.

Declaration upon oath, made before David Woolster, Esq; Brigadier-General and Commander in Chief of the Continental army in Canada, &c. &c. by Baptist Belair, Captain of militia in the parish of Assumption, viz.

Lieut.-Cleveland, Lieutenant Leslie, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, Lieut. alias Ensign John Macdonnell, Royal Emigrants, Dr. Beaumont. Mr. Cooper conductor of artillery stores. Mr. William Jones, Provost-martial; Canadian volunteers, Messrs. Launier, Magnan, Cagnet, jun. prisoners.

N. B. We are well assured, that the whole force of Continental troops, then at Sorel, did not exceed 135 men: the vessels given up were, viz. his Majesty's brigantine Gaspee, commanded by Lieutenant Royal; also, —, Capt. Lisle; a large schooner, two nine pounders in the waist, besides quarter-deck guns and swivels, 24 seamen, each armed with a musket, bayonet, and broad sword; Capt. Bouchet, another large schooner, armed like the other before-mentioned, compliment 20 sailors, besides several other large schooners fitted with swivels, &c. All the vessels towed after them, a batteau with one or more canoes or small boats, in order to make a descent or escape by flight as occasion should offer.

K k

That

That being at Montreal with the Assumption militia, Mons. Lanau-diere, jun. propos'd to me to go with the militia to Assumption, to take Mr. Walker prisoner at his country house, by order of General Carleton. This was at Mons. St. Ours's house, where he sent for me; and in consequence I required a written order, and he sent me immediately away to the barracks, it being then about half past eight in the evening. Brigadier-general Prescott came to the barracks, and there delivered me an order in writing from General Carleton, and at the same time delivered me a sack in which was pitch and oakum, saying, in case there is any resistance, and he should be obstinate, you set fire to the house, it is Mr. Carleton's orders. We set off immediately, by water, to St. Sulpice, and leaving our batteau there, we took the road to Assumption, where we arriv'd about two o'clock in the morning, with about twenty of the King's soldiers and twelve Canadians. And that the deponent stay'd on the other side the river, having never pass'd the bridge. Signed

BRUYERE DE BELAIR.

Head quarters at Montreal, sworn before me this seventeenth day of February, 1776.

Translation,

[Mr. Walker hearing that General Prescott was in Philadelphia, undertook a journey in the depth of winter to that city, to complain of the treatment he had suffer'd from him, and obtain some satisfaction; but, to his surprize, found Mr. Prescott lodg'd in the best tavern of the place. Mr. Prescott was afterwards committed to jail; but it was for his treatment, of Mr. Allen, not of Mr. Walker.]

New-York, May 6.

Extract of a letter from an officer in the continental army, dated Trois Rivieres, March 24, 1776.

I have it in my orders to call in the old commissions given to the officers of

militia in the seventeen parishes in the district of Three Rivers, by Governor Carleton, and to have new officers elect'd. In general, the Canadians seem fond of holding commissions under the Congress; in some parishes, there have been three or four candidates for the captaincy, and I have received information, that bribery is beginning to creep into their elections; at some places the disputes run so high, that I am oblig'd to interfere; at one I was under the necessity of going about twenty seven miles to superintend the poll, and was oblig'd to give them a new election, with which they were satisfi'd. I have sent up about thirty names to the general, in order to get commissions under the Continental Congress, which have been new elect'd, and expect soon to send more. I have been extremely sorry that our forces do not come forward faster, of late some have come up; but upon the whole, I must say, I think this department has been neglect'd. I have enclosed an account of all the fresh forces which have pass'd this post, exclusive of those who were in Montreal, who have been nearer the scene of action; officers are included in the account.

A true state of the Provincial forces in Canada.

Jan. 31. Capt. Seaban, from the Bay government, the first that came to our assistance with 25. 31. Capt. Smith, with 19. Feb. 9. Lieutenant Munson and Pettibone with part of two companies, 25. 21. Lieutenant Walker, 17. Capt. Wetherby 33. 22. Lieutenant Meacham, 12. 24. Captain Hinman, 23. Capt. Pierce, 25. Uzziah Wright, a gentleman volunteer, 8. 26. Lieutenant Sunderiand, 32. Serjeant Clark, 20. March 1. Lieutenant Loomis, 58. Lieutenant Talbot, with the first Pennsylvania company, 60. Lieutenant Deane, from the Bay government,

ment, 40. 4. Serjeant St. John, 15. Serjeant Gideon Brenson, 7. 5. Captain Goodrige, 35. Lieutenant Frisby, 3. Lieutenant Waltbridge, 49. 6. Captain Gideon Doud, 48. Captain Wright 63. 10. Lieutenant Hughes from Philadelphia, 60. Lieut. Grant, from New England, 30. Major Safford, of Col. Warner's regiment, 60. Captain Grosvenor, 42. 12. Captain Jenkins, from Philadelphia; his company chiefly passed by before, 8. Capt. Cooley, from New England, 40. 16. Lieutenant Yard, the first of the Jersey forces, with an escort with provisions, 34. 17. Major Ray, of the Jersey battalion, 179. 20. Captain Carlisle, 29. Lieutenant Grant, 14. 22. Lieutenant Stone. 34. Captain Wait, 47. Lieutenant Stainer, 81. Gone from Montreal garrison, 300. Remained after the defeat, 600. By recruiting among the Canadians, 500. Total 2762.

General Wooster's baggage passed through here yesterday, and I expect to receive his Excellency at this garrison to-morrow. Passed by this post also, Colonels Warner, Williams, Ervin, Maxwell, Wait, and Major Morris.

From the Pennsylvania Journal.

Enclosed I send you the speech of an honest, sensible, and spirited farmer of this county, addressed to an assembly of his neighbours, on his engaging in the Continental service.

My friends and countrymen,

I have observed that some of you are a little surpris'd that I, with so many inducements as I have to remain at home, should have resolv'd to quit my family, and my farm for the fatigues and dangers of war. I mean you should be perfectly satisfis'd as to my motives. I am an American: and am determin'd to be free. I was born free: and have never forfeit'd my birthright; nor will I ever,

like the infatuated son of Isaac, sell it for a mess of pottage. I will part with my life sooner than my liberty; for I prefer an honourable death to the miserable and despicable existence of a slave.

The **king** who would rob me of my property, because he thinks he has use for it, and is able to take it from me, would as soon, for the same reason, rob me of my life, if it stood in his way; but it is God Almighty who gave me my life, and my property, as a necessary means among others of preserving and enjoying it; and it is he only that hath an absolute and unlimited right and power to take either or both away. Being the creator, the supporter, the perfect ruler and judge of all the earth, he only can do no wrong: should therefore any creature whatsoever, or number of them, dare to usurp this sole prerogative of heaven over me, I could neither answer it to my maker, nor my conscience, nor my honour, if I did not resist, though it were to the last drop of my blood. It is in the free enjoyment of those blessings uncontroll'd by any human powers (except so far as the voice of the society in general, of which we are members, may have resign'd a part for the preservation of the whole) that that civil liberty substantially consisteth. Let no one therefore wonder, if of all earthly benefits my Creator hath bestow'd on me, I do most esteem my liberty. Anarchy, indeed, I deprecate, but tyranny infinitely more.— The reason is obvious; the former, like a common surfeit, occasion'd by an irregular and intemperate indulgence of the bodily appetites, if but a little help'd by simple medicine, will almost always, as I may say, cure itself: whereas the latter, like a devouring cancer, the longer it is let alone, without the application of violent caustics, the faster and deeper it

will root itself into the frame, until it gnaws out the very life of the body. Government is neither of these: it is an ordinance of heaven to restrain the usurpations of wicked men, to secure us in the enjoyments of our natural rights, and to promote the highest political interests and happiness of society. The claims therefore of the British parliament of a power to bind us in all cases whatsoever; to give away our property in what measure and for what purposes they please, and to dispose of our lives as they think proper, when we have no voice in the legislation nor constitutional power allowed us to check their most violent proceedings, are not of the nature of government, but in the true and strict sense of the word *tyranny*.

Of the tendency and operation of this diabolical system, our country hath already had too deep and affecting experience not to be sensible of them; and it requires not the spirit of supernatural prophecy to foretel the end of them, should they not be seasonably controuled; controuled, did I say? blest be the spirit of American liberty, wisdom and valour! they have been controuled; but, my friends, it is evident we can never have safety, liberty, and peace, until by an unremitting and vigorous application of the axe, now laid to the root of the tree, we have totally overturned in these colonies, the power that would demolish us. Not to speak of the unwearied art and assiduity of the *British Parliament*

these twelve years past, to fasten on us the shackles of slavery, let me only remind you of the base and cruel measures to subjugate us, since we have been obliged to take up arms in our defence: what stone have they left unturned? what device to ruin us, though never so mean, barbarous, and bloody, such as no heart, but that of a devil and a tyrant can refrain shuddering at, have they not pur-

sued? have not several of the powers of Europe been meanly courted and bribed not to supply us with means of resistance? hath not the most barbarous nation in it been applied to, to assist them with at least 20,000 savages to complete their intended massacre? have they not attempted to spirit up the Indian savages to ravage our frontiers, and murder, after their inhuman manner, our defenceless wives and children? have not our negro slaves been enticed to rebel against their masters, and arms put into their hands to murder them? have not the King of England's own slaves, the Hanoverians, been employed? and were not the poor Canadians made slaves, that they might be made fit instruments, with other slaves and savages, to make slaves and more wretched beings than savages of us?

Now, what kind of reconciliation can be reasonably expected with a *King* so basely, so cruelly, so industriously, and obstinately bent on our destruction? in short, we have no alternative left us, but to fight or die; if there be any medium, it is slavery, and ever cursed be the man who will submit to it! I will not. But who would ever have imagined, that a people who a few years ago assisted their brethren of Great-Britain, with their blood and treasure, to humble the power of France and Spain, and who from their first existence as a people, have, by their trade and industry, been enriching and exalting them above all the nations of the world; who, I say, would have imagined that this very people should by these their very brethren, be now reduced to so dreadful an alternative: yet, hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, and bear witness, this is the return we have received for all our love, loyalty, industry, treasure and blood!

Had

Had we begun this quarrel, had we demanded some new privileges, unknown to the constitution, or some commercial licences, incompatible with the general interest of the empire, had we presumed to legislate for Great-Britain, or plotted with the Bourbon family, to reinstate the execrable race of the Stuarts, and fled to arms unprovoked to accomplish these designs, there would then be some plausible apology for the severest hostile treatment we have received.— But what have we done? when alarmed, ere we had yet rested from the toils of the last war, by new unconstitutional demands of revenue, we asserted our rights and petitioned for justice: Was this a crime? as unconstitutional statutes of different forms were repeatedly enacted, we repeated our petitions for redress; was this a crime? we suffered ourselves to be insulted by the introduction of an armed force to dragoon us into obedience; we suffered them to take possession of our towns and fortifications, still waiting with decent and anxious expectation from the wanted justice, humanity, and generosity of Britons: was this a crime? disposed to try every pacific measure which might probably procure our relief, we agreed to withhold our commerce from them, in hopes that, feeling the effects of their injustice, they might see how ruinous their proceedings were to their own interests, and return in time to wisdom and peace: was this a crime? nor did we once lift the sword even in our defence, until provoked to it by a wanton commencement of hostilities on their part: what then have we done to merit such cruel proceedings? my friends, I am firmly persuaded, that no truth will appear in future history with more glaring evidence, than that the whole mass of guilt contracted by this unnatural war lieth at the door of the *Br*

ish Parliament; and so that not only all future generations of men, but the great judge of all the earth will finally condemn their measures as a scene of tyranny and murder. I therefore conceive myself as having taken up arms in defence of innocence, justice, truth, honesty, honour, liberty, property and life; and in opposition, to guilt, injustice, falsehood, dishonesty, ignominy, slavery, poverty, and death; not that I have any fondness for the bloody profession; not that I delight in the carnage of my species; or sigh for an occasion of proving my courage: heaven and you are my witnesses, that my voice was for some time, perhaps too long, and with too much earnestness, against any military preparations; but the times are altered; 'tis a dreadful necessity that calls me, and calls every man who can be spared from his other occupations.

I will not however fight as one who beateth the air. I speak plainly; I consider this year as the grand and final period of British administration in this American world; I see no probability of their proffering such terms as we can accept of consistently with our safety, honour, and peace; nay, should they grant all that our public councils have heretofore claimed, we should still be in a most dangerous situation, liable to renewed encroachments and renewed hostilities. What else can be supposed from such a situation, and from the views, temper, and prejudices that must, and will prevail in the British court and parliament: besides, who in that case will reimburse our losses; or how shall our public debts be paid? I do solemnly declare, and that with respect to the best reconciliation that can reasonably be expected, with so corrupt, treacherous, and tyrannical an administration; that if I thought we should

should again revert to a dependence on Britain, I should from this day lay down my sword, and weep that I was born in America. But far other prospects are before us: glory, empire, liberty and peace, are I am persuaded, unless we are lost to ourselves, very near at hand. And on every consideration of the present state and progress of our public affairs, compared with the spirit of Britain, and the spirit, the interest, and the internal advantages of America; methinks, I hear a voice as if an angel from heaven should proclaim, 'Come out from among them, and be ye separate from them. Come out of her my people, that ye be not partaker of her sins, and ye receive not of her plagues.'

Observations on the principles of the American War.

Our claim over the Americans was unjust from the beginning. Our force is too weak to compel them to obey those ordinances, which not being founded in justice, they have spurned with disdain. Sensible of this, we repealed the stamp act; but made an act, *eo instanti*, declaring, "we had a right to tax them in all cases whatsoever." Accordingly, further duties were soon after imposed; some of which were as weakly taken off, as unjustly laid. But the duty on tea, was insidiously reserved.

It is the mark of injustice to be ever wavering and unsteady. Weak minds have no certain standard by which they regulate their actions; fluctuating according to the last idea, or predominant passion of their corrupted natures, they alter their systems, and vary their arguments, as suits their immediate plan of operation. Insensible of shame, as they are void of reflection; and destitute of justice. Ministry now openly avow their intention of subjugating Ame-

rica, and of listening to nothing but *unconditional submission*.

Charles the first, in endeavouring less than is at present assumed, lost his crown and life in the contest. James II. forgetful of his father's fate, made still greater attempts upon the liberties of the people, and was driven from the kingdom, and his posterity cut off from the succession. These precedents, one should think, ought to deter other monarchs from assuming more than is their due. A King whose only claim is on the demerits of others, should be very cautious. If the house of Stuart, who were undoubtedly in the line of succession, behaved ill, and attempted to subvert the government, our ancestors acted nobly in expelling them. Their spirited behaviour is commended by all.—But if any of the house of Brunswick, who were only called in upon the demerit and deceit of the Stuarts, behave ill, and forgetting the magistrate, assume the tyrant; ~~we~~ would be seditious and rebellious in us of the present age to dispossess them also.—My constitutional interest in this kingdom, my innate love of liberty, and the principles of freedom which I have imbibed by education, will not suffer me to subscribe to such a doctrine.—But people of England, I mean the unthinking people, are led to imagine, that because the envenomed shaft, tintured with the poison of slavery, and winged by despotism, is pointed against the Americans, they shall remain free. Our reason, if we reflect, will tell us, that if the oppressors succeed in America, we are not secure from their attacks. They will return with redoubled vigour to complete our destruction.—We are only doomed to be the last sacrifice.

Men who are themselves void of sentiment, give little credit to the generous motives of others; and as the

the new tax on tea was only three-pence in the pound, and the shilling which had been paid on this side the water was taken off, our ministers vainly imagined the cheapness of the commodity would be a means of introducing this eastern luxury. Measuring by their own minds the feelings of others, little imagining that the spirit of freedom was superior to all sordid views and mercenary advantage; and as they themselves would not be debarred of the slightest gratification, though the salvation of their country was at stake, so they conceived the Americans, sooner than forego the use of so paltry an article in luxury, would wink at the imposition, which thus once introduced, might serve as a precedent for further exactions, until that country should be eat up by the same locusts who are devouring this. These locusts are placemen and pensioners, collectors and tax-gathers, of every denomination, from the highest to the lowest, from the sordid peer or venal commoner, who sells his country for a bribe, down to the lowest tide-waiter or custom-house collector; for as these all depend upon their masters in iniquity who employ them, and being flung out of an honest course of industry, have no other means of existence, they must endeavour to give stability and support to that power, which in return enriches them by the impoverishment of the laborious and industrious community.

Taxes should at all times be simple and uninvolved; those which are easiest collected, yield most to the government, and are the least oppressive to the people. The land alone being the common stock from which we are all supplied, and taxes falling ultimately upon the consumer, is the properest object of taxation. But that is not the object of government; the primary view with them,

is not how much money can be brought into the Exchequer with the least detriment to the public, but what tax will employ the greatest number of their friends and adherents in the collection, by which they may acquire a power and influence, which shall extend to the remotest parts of the dominion.

Thus the contest with America is not for a revenue, for that would be more than swallowed up in the collection. It is a contest for posts and offices.

[It has been called **THE CONTRACTORS WAR**: the contractors being the only gainers by it.]

Short Address to the People of England.

The friends of administration have repeatedly asserted,—“That America having been principally benefited by the last treaty of peace with France, Mr. Grenville thought it but reasonable she should contribute to the annual expence of government. That therefore he framed and proposed the stamp act: but first acquainted the American agents of his design; and added, if his plan was not approved, he hoped they would point out a better; if the sum wanted was raised, that was all he wished.—That the agents sent advice of it to America; and, in consequence, were intrusted not to accept the favour, as it implied, if they would not tax themselves, parliament would do it for them.” Their reasoning upon all this, is, that the American war is just, because America refused to contribute to the assistance of government.

The whole of this charge is false.

The fact is this. The colonies never refused contributing to the assistance of government, according to their abilities. They objected to the being rated by the minister. The dispute therefore was; Who should

should be the judge of their abilities? They insisted, that *they* ought. And agreeable to this idea, very particular resolutions were passed in the Assemblies of Massachusetts and New-York. These resolutions were laid before the board of trade (the Earl of Hillsborough then First Lord.) The board thought them so material, that, on the eleventh day of December 1764, they reported them to his Majesty in council. The privy council advised the King, in these exact words, "To give directions that the same be laid before parliament." They were not laid before parliament. They were suppressed.

The grand fallhood was raised and propagated, that America had refused to contribute to the necessities of government. The stamp act was passed. Another administration judged it right to repeal that act. When this repeal was under the consideration of the House of Commons, Dr. Franklin, in his examination before that house, was asked, If the act was repealed, and the crown should require a sum of money of the colonies, would they grant it?

Answer. I believe they would.

Question. Why do you think so?

Answer. I can speak for the colony I live in. I had it in instruction from the assembly, to assure the ministry, that as they always had done, so they always should think it their duty to grant such aids to the crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for the purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this instruction to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Grenville) who was then minister. *Parliamentary Debates for 1766, page 135.*

The case of America, to this hour, has never been fairly stated.

The Massachusetts Assembly, in 1768, in their petition to the King, say, "The representatives of your people, in General Assembly, have never failed to afford the necessary aid to the extent of their ability, and sometimes beyond it; and it would be grievous to your Majesty's subjects to be called upon in a way that appears to them to imply a distrust," &c.

See the same, in the letter from the same, to the Earl of Shelburne.

Again, from the same, to General Conway.

from the same, to the Marquis of Rockingham.

from the same, to Lord Camden.

from the same, to the Earl of Chatham.

from the same, to the Lords of the Treasury.

In all these supplications, they complain of having been greatly misrepresented. And say, "All they desire is to be restored to the standing upon which they were originally put; to have the honour and privilege of voluntarily contributing to the aid of their Sovereign, when required. They are free subjects; and it is hoped, the nation will never consider them as in a tributary state." All these papers were published in the year 1768.

The last Petition from New-York, says, "It is with pleasure and truth we declare, that we ever have been, and ever will be ready, to bear our full proportion of aids to the crown, for the public service."—*Parliamentary Register, vol. I. page 474.*

I could cite fifty more papers of authority, in the possession of administration, from the several colonies, all containing the same words. But now these colonies are lost for ever! And the true cause of this misfortune

is, not owing to a scheme of gaining a revenue, for that was repeatedly offered, in the asking leave to make voluntary grants, but to a scheme of creating a great number of places in America, by an unnecessary, as well as impotent system of taxation. This is the true cause that the interior cabinet are so bitter against America. And as to his Majesty (if that were material) it is pretty notorious, he is managed by that cabinet.

[This place and revenue scheme having failed, Messrs. Paxton, Hulton, and Hollowell, who had been appointed commissioners of the American revenue, but who went with General Howe from Boston to Halifax, afterwards left Halifax when General Howe went to New-York, and came to England, where they arrived about the middle of August, 1776.]

A P O R T R A I T . *

* Earl of Bute

To draw a character so much beneath the honours of portraiture, would need apology, if the caprice of fortune, in a fit of ill-humour, had not by giving to the original a situation for which nature had never designed him, raised him into notice, and made him an object of the public concern. It is only then for the most candid motive of a public utility, to atone for the ignobleness of the personage whose portrait is here exhibited; faithfully taken feature by feature, without any the least caricature, and too fatally fulfilling the idea of a favorite without merit.

Constitutionally false, without system, and in the most capital points, greatly, to his own disadvantage, so; being, in fact, neither true to others, nor to himself: involved by the necessity of his nature in that virtuous circle of being false because weak, and weak because false.

Reserved, inward, and darksome; sequestered in some measure from so-

ciety, taking covert in the shades of embowered life, as the refuge of vanity from the wounds of contempt; clandestine without concealment; sad without sorrow; domestic without familiarity; haughty without elevation; nothing great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct, public or private; reducing every thing to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity; stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit; a frigid friend, a mean enemy; nauseously bloated with a stupid, rank quality-pride, without the air, the ease, the manners, the dignity of a gentleman. When in a high post, and in no sort of danger, without common courage; to those whose resentment he had not to fear, without common honor: while from the very same meanness of spirit that he did the injury, he could remain callously insensible to the reproaches of others, and to his own. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so, through that poverty of head and heart, from which so many people of fortune hug themselves on what they imagine saved by the omission of some little circumstance that honour, justice, or taste required of them; though by that little so saved that they not only lose the much they will have sacrificed to their various objects of vanity, but where they bespoke admiration, find no returns for their expence but just censure and derision. And surely in this point of vulgar error, among the low understandings in high life, this poor man was not born to break he:d.

Bookish without learning; in his library of parade, as insensible and unconvertible on the great objects of literature, as one deaf and dumb questioned on a concert of music; as little of a judge as a blind man in a gallery of pictures; or, at the best,

like a snack-smooth eunuch in a ferraglio of beauties, fumbling and not enjoying; a dabbler in the fine arts, without grace, without taste; a traveller thro' countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own.

In a dull, ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he may have from false politics, and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his port-folios with penny prints, and pretty pictures of coloured simples, those gazing-traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chymistry; while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage, ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most unroyal taste for trifles where it could not exist but at the expence of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to it: a circumstance this that must draw down a ridicule upon his master, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government than even fear or hatred.

Too unhappily, alas! for this nation, chance had thrown this egregious trifter into a family whom his domestic streights had favorably disposed towards him. How he maintained and improved his footing into a pernicious ascendant is surely beneath curiosity. So much, however, it would be unfair to suppress, that the inhuman, base assassination of the fame of his political maker, was

not only treated by him with such an apathy as had nothing in it of a just and noble contempt; but to consummate the ingratitude, one of notoriously the first instigators of the scandal was enrolled among his intimate confidants and supporters, without even this being the only appearance afforded by him of his not being infinitely displeas'd at the currency of the calumny.

As to the royal pupil, who, by a misplaced confidence, fell under his management at the age of susceptibility of all impressions, it was not well possible for him to prevent a deep-rooted partiality for a choice manifestly not made by him, but for him. In raw, unexperienced youth, practis'd upon by an insidious study of his inclinations, not to rectify, but to govern him by them; captivated by an unremitting attention to humour and perpetuate the natural bent of that age to the lighter objects of amusement; instituted to an implicit faith in the man, who littered his head with trifles, and hardened his heart, like his own against the remonstrances of true greatness, while warping his understanding with the falsest notions of men and things, and especially of maxims of state, of which himself never had so much as an elementary idea; thus delivered up to such a tutor how could the disciple possibly escape such a combination? what of essentially wise or magnanimous could he learn from such a pedlar in politics and manners? no one can impart what himself never had. Honour, gratitude, dignity of sentiment, energy of sincerity, comprehensiveness of views, were not in him to inculcate. Obstinacy under the stale disguise of firmness; the royalty of repairing a wrong by persisting in it, the plausible decencies of private life, the petty moralities, the
 minuteness

minuteness of public arrangements, the preference of dark juggle, mystery, and low artifice to the frank, open spirit of government; the abundant sufficiency of the absence of great vices, to atone for the want of great virtues, a contempt of reputation, and especially that execrable absurdity in the sovereign of a free people, the neglect of popularity, were all that the pupil could possibly learn from such a preceptor. Moulded then by such a tutorage, imperceptibly formed not to govern, but to be governed; and from being the possessor of a great empire, converted into the being himself the property of a little silly subject; stolen thus away from himself, what remains for us but ardently to pray that, before it is too late, he may be restored to himself; that he may at length, enter into the spirit of royalty, and have a character of his own? May he never exhibit, in the least degree, the copy of an original, whom not to resemble would surely be the honor. Let him give us the sovereign himself; not the favorite, at second hand; or still worse, the favorite's footman, at second hand; and in this deprecation of detriment and dishonor, there can questionless be nothing disloyal, or disrespectful. It is impossible to wish him greater than I sincerely do, *salva libertate*, in course. A wish that will not readily be forgiven by those special friends of his, who have been incessantly labouring so hard to make them so little, as little, in short, as themselves.

Here it would be perfectly insignificant to search out the distinction without a difference to the public, whether or not the favourite, after that scandalous desertion, when he as abjectly sneaked out of an ostensible office in the state, as he had arro-

gantly strutted into it, retains individually himself, or by his appointment of others, the power of continuing that infernal chaos, into which he from the first plunged affairs, at the time that through his cloudy imbecility it so soon thickened in the clear of the fairest horizon that ever tantalized a country with the promise of meridian splendor. It is enough to observe, that since his having delivered up to his own parasites that master whom he thus made the center of their paltry cabals, and the prey of their sordid rapaciousness, it appears, at least, from the identity of spiritlessness, of insensibility to honour, of want of plan, and of the total disorder in which we see things for ever languishing, that the same destructive impulsion still subsists, while none could collaterally be admitted into any participation of trust, but such as would wink hard, and at least pretend not to see through that gross illusion, with which a natural desire of not appearing to be governed, might blind a prince, without imposing on any but himself. The joke of holding committees with respective ministers of departments, and being his own minister, passes on no one. The wires of motion to the will have been too clumsily worked, not to be seen. Add that the primary cause may, by the fairest investigation, be brought home to that unhappy man whom chance had thrown into a channel of power to do much good, or much mischief. The last he has mechanically done, without perhaps much meaning in it, coming upon the scene, with absolutely every thing in his favour, except himself. All prejudice then a-part, mark in him, to his prince, a tutor without knowledge, a minister without ability, a favourite without gratitude, the very anti-genius of

politics, the curse of Scotland, the disgrace of his master, the despair of the nation, and the disdain of history.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

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 amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and 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. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them

under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferings of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the *King of Great Brit.* 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.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his *Governors* to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refused to pass other laws for accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to *Tyrants* only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be erected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise: the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their subsistence.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, *viz. the Brit. Parl. in their pretended acts of legislation* :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for in-

roducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever :

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us :

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people :

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to compleat the works of *Tyranny & Despotism* already begun with circumstances of cruelty scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages,

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands :

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions :

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 King* whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a *Tyrant* is unfit to be the *head* 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 legisla-
ture,

ture, 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 representatives 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,' and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state 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 of 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 honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Boston, April 25,

The Corporation of Harvard College in Cambridge, in New-England, to all faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come greeting:

Whereas academical degrees were originally instituted for this purpose, that men, eminent for knowledge, wisdom and virtue, who have highly merited of the republic of letters, should be rewarded with the honour of these laurels; there is the greatest propriety in conferring such honour on that very illustrious gentleman, George Washington, Esq; the accomplished general of the confederated colonies in America; whose knowledge and patriotic ardour are manifest to all; who, for his distinguished virtue, both civil and military, in the first place being elected by the suffrages of the Virginians one of their delegates, exerted himself with fidelity and singular wisdom in the celebrated Congress in America, for the defence of liberty, when in the utmost danger of being for ever lost, and for the salvation of his country; and then, at the earnest request of that grand council of patriots, without hesitation, left all the pleasures of his delightful seat in Virginia, and the affairs of his own estate, that through all the fatigues and dangers of camp, without accepting any reward, he might deliver New-England from the unjust and cruel arms of G. Britain, and defend the other colonies; and who, by the most signal similes of divine providence on his military operations, *drove the fleet and troops of the enemy with disgraceful precipitation from the town of Boston*, which for eleven months had been shut, fortified and defended by a garrison of above 7000 regulars; so that the inhabitants, who suffered a great variety of hardships and cruelties while under the power of

their oppressors, now rejoice in their deliverance, the neighbouring towns are also freed from the tumults of arms, and our university has the agreeable prospect of being restored to its ancient seat.

Know ye therefore, that we, the President and fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge, (with the consent of the honoured and reverend overseers of our academy) have constituted and created the aforesaid gentleman, George Washington, who merits the highest honour, doctor of laws, the law of nature and nations, and the civil law; and have given and granted him at the same time all rights, privileges and honours to the said degree pertaining.

In testimony whereof, we have affixed the common seal of our university to these letters, and subscribed them with our hand-writing, this third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

Samuel Langdon, S. T. D. Preses.

Nathaniel Appleton, S. T. D.

Johannes Winthrop, Mat. et. Phi. P.

Andreas Elliot, S. T. D. (Hol.

L. L. D.

Samuel Cooper, S. T. D.

Johans Wadsworth, Log. et. Eth. Pre.

London, September 2. Governor Eden arrived in London from Maryland, but last from Virginia, which he left on the 6th of August. He came in a transport.

Baltimore is fortified with 60 pieces of cannon, 9 pounders. Almost every town is fortified.

The Virginia convention desired the Maryland convention to seize the person of Governor Eden. The Continental Congress requested they would send him to them. Instead of

complying with either, they desired the Governor would go on board one of the King's ships; and the president of the convention, and others, attended him to the water side. He went on board the Fowey. While the ship was lying off the coast, some persons of the province went on board her also. The Convention desired the Captain to send those persons ashore. He said they had taken refuge on board his ship, and therefore he could not: upon which the convention declared the truce was broken, and detained a part of Governor Eden's baggage, which had not been put on board with him. Their delegates in the Continental Congress, who had been instructed to vote against independency*, and having so voted, had withdrawn from the Congress, were desired to return to the Congress, and act as they thought best for the interest of their country. They accordingly returned to Philadelphia, and acceded, in form, to the vote of independency.

The Convention of Virginia have changed the government of that province, and have chosen Patrick Henry, Esq; president and commander in chief; after the model of Carolina. (page 197.)

The Assembly of Pennsylvania having declared that the question of independency or separation from Great Britain, was of too much importance for them to decide upon, and therefore sent the several representations made by those for and against the question, to the respective towns and counties in the province. In consequence of this reference, the sense of the province was taken, when there appeared a large majority for it, every where. A convention was here-

* The question of independency had been agitated in the Maryland Convention, before it was decided in the Continental Congress; and by a majority of seven counties against four, instructions were given to their Delegates in Congress, to vote against it.

upon elected, who not only instructed their delegates in Congress, to agree to the question when proposed; but also to form alliances with foreign powers. They agreed to the question of independency, and the Congress appointed Silas Deane, Esq; late one of the delegates for the colony of Connecticut, charge des affaires, or minister to the court of France.

It is worth notice, that when the Congress were informed by General Washington, that he could command Boston from the heights of Dorchester, and certainly take it, but apprehended the town would be burnt; it was unanimously resolved to risk the event; and if the town should be burnt, to make good the loss of the sufferers out of the joint stock of America. This accounts for the quiet retreat of General Howe. (page 105.)

The same thing happened at Charles-Town in Carolina. When the inhabitants saw Sir Peter Parker's fleet approach, they resolved, in case the army landed, to burn the town; and had taken, at a meeting held for that purpose, an exact account of the value of each house, building, &c. in order to lay before the Congress, to shew what they had made a sacrifice of to the public cause; and to be reimbursed out of the joint stock of America.

Five ships had just arrived at Philadelphia, with arms and ammunition; and one French ship was expected to sail from Philadelphia for Old France, the beginning of August.

At the beginning of June, a deputy from the Six Nations was in treaty with the Congress of America, at Philadelphia.

The American Congress have issued sixteen millions of dollars (in their own paper) which is equal to about three millions and half sterling. They have ordered thirteen frigates to be built, carrying from 32 to 36

guns each, which would be ready for sea in the month of September, viz. 4 in New-England (one of them in Rhode-Island) 2 in the North River, 5 at Philadelphia, and 2 at Baltimore. They have appointed George Ross, Esq; one of the Pennsylvania delegates in Congress, superior judge of the admiralty; and Daniel Robert Deau, Esq; heretofore colonel, commander of the Provincial troops of Pennsylvania, with the rank of Brigadier-general.

The flying camp (mentioned in page 204) consists of 6800 men from Pennsylvania, 600 from the Lower Counties, and 3400 from Maryland; commanded by Brigadier General Thomas Johnson of Maryland.

On the fourth of May, Lord Dunmore was entrenched at Tucker's Mills, near Norfolk in Virginia. He had here a quantity of cannon mounted, and was defended by 500 men. But the Provincials being resolved to attack him, he went to Guin's Island in the month of June. (See page 223.) The Provincials collected a force here to disturb him. On the 9th of July they opened two batteries, under the direction of Brigadier-general Andrew Lewis of Virginia, which played upon the shipping so severely, that his Lordship was obliged to go off with the fleet, on the 11th. He sent the people and families of Norfolk, whom he had taken under his protection, in thirty vessels, under convoy of the Otter floop, to St. Augustine, in Florida.

Lord Dunmore went with the men of war (three in number, and five transports) to George's Island, in Potomack river for water; where he came to anchor on the 14th of July. Some of the vessels had not a quart of fresh water on board. Two of the men of war he sent up the river to the freshes, for water, where they were fired upon by the Maryland troops.

These

These troops paraded about in sight of the men of war. Lord Dunmore and Captain Hammond looked upon this as an insult, and therefore they landed at Mr. Brent's house, with 120 men, and attacked them. The Provincials retreated a little way. The others did not follow. A lieutenant, a boatswain, two seamen, and a drummer, were wounded. It was not known whether any of the Americans were killed. The sailors burnt Mr. Brent's house, and went on board again. The ships returned to George's Island; and the whole fleet went away. The Liverpool was ordered to cruise off the Delaware; the others, with his Lordship, went to Lynhaven Bay, in Norfolk county, Virginia, Aug. 6, 1776.

Other particulars of Lord Dunmore and his fleet.

The fleet being drove off Guin's Island, proceeded to Potomack river, at the mouth of which they met with a severe gale of wind, which drove on shore several small vessels with the friends of government on board, who were taken prisoners. The Roebuck man of war, with transports, went as high up the river as Dumfries to get fresh water. They were fired upon on their way from Colonel Brent's house in Virginia, upon which a party landed and burnt it.

The fleet suffered greatly for want of fresh water. A contagious distemper having broke out among both the whites and blacks, out of the regiment of 1000 blacks, or slaves, which Lord Dunmore had armed, only 50 were alive. His Lordship abandoned George's Island, and being encumbered with many vessels, he burnt several to prevent them falling into the hands of the Americans, and ordered that part of the fleet, consisting of 40 to 50 sail, occupied by the friends of government, to proceed under convoy of the Otter sloop to St. Augustine, to which place they

failed the fifth of August, his Lordship remaining in Lynhaven bay, on board the ship Dunmore, accompanied by the Fowey and Roebuck men of war, three transports, two victualers, and two hospital ships.

Part of a letter from a gentleman on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, to his friend at Edinburgh.

From Guin's Island we went up the bay, and there met with a storm, in which we had like to have perished on board the brig. Mr. Parker and Mr. Ingram, with several other friends of government were blown on the eastern shore, and made prisoners. The fleet went on to Potomack; and after getting watered, by the Roebuck and two transports going up into the fresh part of the river, all the vessels that could go to sea, were ordered to some place of peace. Many were burnt, among the rest the brig we staid in. Some went to Augustine with the Otter, some to Bermudas, some to the West Indies, and some to Europe. In general the families were in the most miserable distress; and several of them in the small pox.

London, September 2. This day arrived Colonel Maclean from Quebec. This officer raised a body of men, chiefly Scotch emigrants in Canada, who were of infinite service in the defence of Quebec, last winter. He had been promised establishment and rank for this corps; but the promise was not kept. He left Quebec July 27.

General Carleton did not go forward with the army; he was at Quebec. General Burgoyne was at Chamble, with 6000 British and 2000 Brunswick troops. Some of the Brunswickers had deserted, and eight of those retaken had been hanged. His advanced guard, consisting of light infantry and grenadiers, were at Isle au Noix. The design of sending a party to Oswego, and down the Mohawk river, was laid aside. Colonel Patrick

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trick Gordon was killed in a scouting party, that had been attacked. The Provincials were said to have four armed vessels on Lake Champlain, each carrying 16 guns, nine pounders. Gen. Sullivan commanded the American army, consisting of seventeen regiments, (about 6000 men) at Crown Point, which he was repairing; and it was imagined he would there make his stand; many of his men were ill of the small-pox. He has with him Brigadier-general Arnold, and Brigadier-general Woedkie. The Indians, it was supposed, would be neuter. The shipwrights at Montreal, and other places, were hard at work building eight schooners, and a proper number of batteaus, for crossing the lakes; but it was not expected that they could be ready to go upon Lake Champlain, till the 15th of September.—Some untoward circumstances are said to have happened, viz. not a good understanding among the officers;—an apprehension of a want of provisions;—the French inhabitants not having sown any corn on account of the war; therefore unless great quantities of provisions are sent from England, with allowance for casualties, it is impossible to subsist so large an army there. The last year's crop was very indifferently got in; and was nearly all consumed by the Provincial forces while in Canada.

Some further particulars respecting the attack on Sullivan's Island.

The day after General Clinton was landed upon Long Island, he acquainted Sir Peter Parker, he had sounded the depth of the ford*, it was intended the troops should pass to Sullivan's Island, and that he had found it was seven feet deep and upwards; at the same time he offered Sir Peter two regiments, to be landed on Sullivan's Island, in case the bat-

teries should be silenced. Sir Peter declined this offer, saying he had marines. Afterwards General Clinton wanted to be conveyed by another way round, to Sullivan's Island; but the two frigates which were to have enfiladed the enemy's works, and prevent their communication with the main were ashore, before they could get to their stations. There seems a mystery, why Sir Peter Parker did not land his marines, when he had silenced the batteries? It is a great omission in the Gazette (page 191) not giving a more intelligible extract from General Clinton's account of this affair.

The following is the substance of an authentic letter from an officer in the expedition.

The scheme of attacking Charlestown was projected in consequence of the General's not receiving any counter-orders, either from home, or from General Howe. That previous to the fleets departure from Cape Fear, a frigate and a small vessel were sent to sound the bar, that on their arrival, they saw a large deep loaded West-India ship waiting for the tide, to go over; she was attended by a privateer schooner; by whom it is supposed she was taken. That the frigate would have re-taken her, but the privateer's people to prevent it set her on fire, and she with her whole cargo were destroyed. No circumstance is mentioned to give any reason to conjecture what vessel it was.

That they were obliged to take the Brittol's guns out, and otherwise lighten her before the pilot would take charge of her to carry her over the bar, that it was with great difficulty he then accomplished it, she struck five times, and it was once doubtful, if she would not have been lost.

* He sounded it himself in the presence of Lord Cornwallis, the Aids de Camp, &c.

That

That the information which the Commodore and General had received, that the fort upon Sullivan's Island was imperfect and unfinished, was false, it being a strong well constructed compleat work; as they soon experienced. That the Bristol had upwards of fifty men sick before the action, who were replaced by volunteers from the transports; that she expended against the fort, one hundred and fifty barrels of powder; that the springs of her cable being cut, the battery raked her for some time, and beat her almost to pieces; that only two persons were alive, of the whole number that were stationed upon the quarter-deck. That the Provincials had fortified every accessible part of the island; that a battery was erected, and an armed hulk placed, to obstruct the passage from Long Island, and which effectually prevented any communication. That some small vessels which were intended to cover General Clinton's crossing, and landing, were drove from their stations, and the largest of them had her bows beat in by 18 pounders. That the ford which had been represented to be only 18 inches deep at low water, between Long Island, and Sullivan's, they found to be a mistake; and that it was from the main to Sullivan's Island, over which passage the Provincials had a bridge, defended by a redoubt, and contiguous thereto they had several thousand men well intrenched; which rendered it impossible for General Clinton to assist the ships; the attempt would have been an ineffectual sacrifice of brave men. That the fleet and army were very much distressed for the want of fresh provisions, and good water*; that a large party was sent to the light-house, to procure a supply of the latter, which

they were afraid was cut off. That the ships were obliged to bring up at too great a distance from the fort to do it much injury, especially as it was low, and the merlons of an extraordinary thickness. That a deserter had informed them, that General Lee commanded the Provincial troops. And that very few of the shells from the ketch took place.

Extract of a genuine Letter from Mr. P——, Surgeon, on board the ——, dated July 9, 1776, to Doctor S——, in London.

We left Cape Fear on the 27th of May, and anchored the same evening off the bar. The camp was struck at the same time, and the troops embarked the same evening on board the several transports. All our motions were so languid, and so innervate, that it was the 9th of June before the Bristol and Pigot passed the bar of Charlestown; the Bristol in passing struck, which alarmed us all exceedingly, but as it wanted two hours of high water, she soon floated again. The Prince of Piedmont, a victualling ship, was totally lost on the north-breakers of the bar: General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis were both on board when she struck; but as the weather was very fine, they were not in the least danger. By our delays, we gave the people every opportunity they could have wished for, to extend their lines, &c. they were not idle, every hour gave us astonishing proofs of their industry. As we anchored at one league distance from Sullivan's Island, we could see all that was going on with the help of our glasses. The fort on this island is exceedingly strong (or rather the battery) it is built of palm trees and earth, and on it are mounted 18 of the lower deck guns of the Foudroyant; I never

* All the water upon the coast of Carolina is brackish

could distinguish more than seventeen, others imagined they could see nineteen, however, that is immaterial.

The signal for attacking was made by Sir Peter on the 27th of June, but the wind coming suddenly to the northward, the ships were obliged again to anchor. The troops have been encamped on Long Island since the 15th, and it was intended that General Clinton should pass the Neck that divides Long Island from Sullivan's Island, and attack by land while Sir Peter attacked by sea. General Lee had made such a disposition of masked batteries, troops, &c. that it is the opinion of all the officers of the army whom I have heard mention this circumstance, that if our troops had attacked, they must have been cut off; but this assertion does not satisfy the navy, for they certainly expected great assistance from the army. Excuse this necessary digression. On the morning of the 28th the wind proved favourable; it was a clear fine day, but very sultry; the Thunder bomb began the attack at half past eleven, by throwing shells while the ships were advancing; the ships that advanced to attack the battery were the Bristol and Experiment, two 50 gun ships, the Solebay, Active, Actæon and Syren of 28 guns, the Sphynx of 20, and the Friendship, an armed ship, of 28 guns. With this force what might not have been expected? Unfortunately the bomb was placed at such a distance, that she was not of the least service. This, Col. James, the principal engineer, immediately perceived; to remedy which inconvenience, an additional quantity of powder was added to each mortar: the consequence was the breaking down the beds, and totally disabling her for the rest of the day. The Bristol and Experiment have suffered most incredibly: the former very early had the spring of

her cable shot away, of course she lay end on to the battery, and was raked fore and aft; she lost upwards of one hundred men killed and wounded. Capt. Morris, who commanded her, lost his arm; the worthy man, however, died a week after on board the Pigot. Perhaps an instance of such slaughter cannot be produced; twice the quarter-deck was cleared of every person except Sir Peter, and he was slightly wounded; she had nine thirty-two pounders in her main mast, which is so much damaged, as to be obliged to be shortened; the mizen had seven thirty-two pounders, and was obliged, being much shattered, to be entirely cut away. It is impossible to pretend to describe what our shipping have suffered. Capt. Scott of the Experiment lost his right arm, and the ship suffered exceedingly; she had much the same number killed and wounded as the Bristol. Our situation was rendered very disagreeable by the Actæon, Syren and Sphynx running foul of each other, and getting on shore on the middle ground. The Sphynx disengaged herself by cutting away her bowsprit; and as it was not yet flood tide, the Sphynx and Syren fortunately warped off. The Actæon was burnt next morning by Captain Atkins, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Provincials, as fine a new frigate as I ever saw. Our ships, after lying nine hours before the battery, were obliged to retire with great loss. The Provincials reserved their fire until the shipping were advanced within point blank shot; their artillery was surprizingly well served, it is said, under the command of a Mr. Masson and De Brahem; it was slow but decisive indeed; they were very cool, and took great care not to fire except their guns were exceedingly well directed: but there was a time when the

the battery appeared to be silenced for more than an hour; the navy say had the troops been ready to land at this time, they could have taken possession; how that is, I will not pretend to say; I will rather suppose it, but the fire became exceedingly severe when it was renewed again, and did amazing execution, after the battery had been supposed to have been silenced. This will not be believed when it is first reported in England. I can scarcely believe what I myself saw on that day, a day to me one of the most distressing of my life. The navy, on this occasion, have behaved with their usual coolness and intrepidity; one would have imagined that no battery could have resisted their incessant fire."

London, Sept. 4. The Earl of Errol, Bartlet, a rich homeward bound West-Indian, is taken by an American privateer. By the several advices received, the Americans had at this time taken in all, twenty-six British West-India vessels, mostly richly laden: twenty-one of which belonged to London. Notwithstanding these, and other great losses, all ranks of people were as gay as ever. Beaumont and Fletcher say,

What need we fiddle for the songs and sherry,
When our very mis'ries can make us merry.

A list of part of the West-India and Leeward Island ships belonging to Great Britain, taken by the American privateers.

Fanny, Blyth, from Barbadoes to Halifax; Rover, Hunter, from Antigua to Ireland; Isabella, Kirk, from ditto to ditto; Devonshire, Fisher, from ditto to ditto; Harlequin, Goodwin, from Nevis to London; Polly, Lear, from Antigua to ditto; Lady Juliana, Stephenson, from Jamaica to ditto; Reynolds, Rusden, from ditto to ditto; Juno, Marsom, from ditto to Bristol; Francis, Wil-

liamson, from Antigua to London; Zach. Bailey, Hodge, from Jamaica to ditto; Creighton, Ross, from Antigua to Boston; Friendship, Mackey, from Grenada to London; St. Peter, ———, from St. Vincents to Liverpool; Neptune, Patterson, from Antigua to Ireland; Star and Garter, Hemson, from St. Kitt's, to London; Mary, Morville, from Tortola to Liverpool; Reward, Bayley, from ditto to London; Jane, Roome, from Dominica to Bristol; Portland, Bromell, from Grenada to Lancaster; Error, Bartlett, from ditto to London; Tuite, ———, from St. Croix, to Milford; Nevis, Coffin, from Nevis to London.

The Francis and Portland were released.

Besides the above vessels, two more West India vessels have been taken by the American privateers. A gentleman who has attended to these captures, says, That 28 West India men have been taken, which valued at only 5000l. each, amounts to 140,000l. That 50 transports have been taken, which, valued at only 2000l. each, amounts to 100,000l. And that six outward-bound vessels to the Mediterranean have been taken, which, valued at only 10,000l. each, is 60,000l.—The whole loss, at the lowest average, is 300,000l.

The war with North America has already proved exceedingly injurious to the West India Islands, for besides the great want of provisions, &c. the planters suffer greatly in their property. At least 75,000 puncheons of their rum used to be annually sent to North America. This market is lost. Suppose two thirds of that quantity should be brought to England; the price is here reduced; the rum that was formerly sold for 2s. 10d. per gallon, is now 1s. 6d. and some so low as 1s. 3d. If then

50,000

50,000 puncheons are brought to England more than formerly, the planters sustain a loss upon this *addition only* of 3333l. 6s. 8d. But government gain by the duty of 5s. 1d. per gallon, upon this *additional importation*, 12,708l. 6s. 8d. It is not probable that the consumption in England will encrease beyond this 50,000,—in which case the planters must do the best they can with the remaining 25,000; such as giving it to the negroes, who must barter it for a little biscuit, or what they can get.

The Dutchess of Leinster, belonging to Dublin, arrived there from Antigua, Sept. 3, with rum, in six weeks and four days. The Captain says, that in latitude 20, and longitude 60, he was chased and boarded by the Surprizal privateer, belonging to Philadelphia, Capt. Weeks, of 16 guns; that being carried on board the privateer, on examining his papers, the vessel and cargo being found Irish property, the Captain of the privateer said, that he would not distress him, because he was sure the Irish would not distress them. After keeping him on board for about half an hour, he gave him up the vessel and cargo, and wished him a safe passage. There were on board the privateer, Captain Robinson, of the Neptune, of Irvine, from Antigua, with rum; a Captain belonging to London from Grenada; and a Captain belonging to Bristol, from St. Kitt's, all prisoners, and their vessels sent to North America, because they were British property.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Braithwaite, of the Hampden Packet, dated Falmouth, Sept. 20.

Sept. 5. I received the mail, and sailed from Lisbon, with the wind to the northward. I received as passengers, Mr. Scott, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Smith, and as distressed subjects,

Captain Thomas Moore, his mate, and five of his people, being the master and part of the crew of the Mary and James, of Falmouth, bound from London to Salerno, Naples, and Messina, but last from Falmouth, having sailed from thence the 20th of August, with a cargo worth between 20 and 30,000l. and was taken the first inst. on the coast of Portugal, 14 leagues N. W. from Cape St. Vincent, (in sight of Mount Chigo) by an American privateer of eight carriage guns, and a number of swivels, commanded by Simon Forester†, an Irishman, well known at Lisbon and Falmouth. The privateer was sloop rigged, and called the Rover; it being little wind, and rowing with twelve oars, she soon came up with Captain Moore. She had taken before six sail on the coast, whose people she landed at Faro. The 22d of August, a Guineaman, from Bristol, John Baker, master, engaged her, but blew up in the action, and only three men saved out of twenty-eight. They stripped Captain Moor and his people of every thing, and even threatened their lives, and sent the prize directly for America; the next day, being about eight leagues from Cape Spichell, they gave Capt. Moore his boat, in which he reached Setuval that night. The Captain of the privateer would not tell what place he belonged to, but said there were 150 sail of them fitted out of different ports of America. The people told Capt. Moore they belonged to Salem, and that several more had sailed from thence for the coast of Spain and Portugal. Signed

T. P. BRAITHWAITE,
Hampden Packet Boat.

There has been, and still subsists, a difference between Lord George Germaine and Lord North. It broke out about filling up a vacant place in the West-Indies. Lord North said it was

† Another-account calls him Thompson.

was a revenue place, and therefore in his department. Lord George Germaine said, being an American place, it was in his department as secretary of state for the colonies. After near six months contention, Lord North submitted to Lord George Germaine. They have differed upon other American points. Lord George's idea is to compel America to submit—to accept of nothing short of unconditional submission. Lord North's opinion has been to make peace with America upon the best terms possible. Lord George is supported in the cabinet by Lord Suffolk, Mr. Wedderburne, &c. and by the Bedford party. As soon as it is known what is the real wish of the closet, these devote themselves to it, and make it their creed. Lord North has but few adherents in the cabinet; but his meanness in submitting, makes it convenient to keep him.

About the middle of August the box of treasury directed seventeen thousand pounds to be issued, and distributed among those, or some of those, government friends, who fled from America, and have taken refuge in England.

BARBADOES. *At a meeting of the General Assembly, at the Town-Hall, on Tuesday the 14th day of May 1776, pursuant to adjournment, present,*
The Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne,
Bart. speaker.

The house being informed, Mr. Secretary attended at the door from his Excellency and the council, he was admitted into the house, and delivered to Mr. Speaker, a letter from Admiral Young to his Excellency, and a message in writing from the council to the house, and Mr. Secretary then withdrew.

Ordered, That the admiral's letter to the governor be read, which was done in these words, viz.

English Harbour, Antigua, May 7, 1776.
Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, have directed me to appoint convoys to the homeward bound ships from these islands; I am therefore to desire you will cause it to be properly notified within your government, and signify that I shall appoint the said convoys to depart from the island of St. Christopher's, at the following periods, viz. first week in June, first week in July, first week in August, and the last, immediately after the first full moon in October next, and require the masters of all such vessels who are desirous to have the benefit of the said convoys, to assemble at the island of Christopher's, at the above stated periods. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES YOUNG.
To his Excellency, the Hon. Ed. Hay, Governor, &c.

Adjourned to the 9th of July 1776.

July 9. Mr. Speaker informed the house, that since their last meeting he had received a letter addressed to him, as Speaker of the Assembly, from the hon. George Walker, Esq. the agent of this island in Great-Britain, and Mr. Speaker delivered the letter in at the table, where the same by order was read by the clerk as follows: viz.

Cavendish-Square, May 15, 1776.
Sir,

I have received the letter you did me the honour to write, inclosing a petition from the Honourable House of Assembly to the King, and importing their commands to lay it before his Majesty.

On the morning after it came to hand I delivered the petition to Lord George Sackville Germaine, the Secretary of State for America. It is
the

the official mode; and his lordship promised to lay it before the King.

After waiting a reasonable time, I again attended his lordship; he said, he had laid the petition before the King, who had been pleased to say, 'He would be glad to do any thing in his power for the advantage of his good subjects of Barbadoes.' The Secretary of State added, that this kind of answer was all that was ever expected to be given by the crown; and went on, that the Governor had written, 'The measure was a measure of the Assembly's, and the distress was not so great as it appeared to the Assembly.'

It was in vain to urge the contrary, his lordship was in no disposition to listen, and left me as soon as good manners would allow.

The honourable house and yourself have been informed by my letters to the Committee of Correspondence, of the proposition made by the West India body to this noble Lord, and to Lord North. These propositions went minutely to the general object of the Assembly's petition, and the answer of those ministers then made me, as one of the committee, is the answer that would now have been repeated to me as your agent, if the governor had not furnished them with another, or if they had been formally driven to a farther explanation. There is a settled plan of operations, to which they seem determined to adhere, let Barbadoes, let all the West Indies suffer as they may. To this perseverance I trust the house will solely impute the want of success. I have the honour to remain, Sir, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

GEORGE WALKER.

Directed to the Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne, Bart. Speaker of the Assembly of Barbadoes.

While the letter was reading, George Sanders, Esq; came in and took his seat.

The agent's letter being by order read a second time, Mr. Solicitor General rose and addressed himself to Mr. Speaker as follows, viz.

Mr. Speaker,

If I rightly remember the petition of this house to the King, it sets forth our fears of an approaching famine, grounded on three circumstances, 1st, a short quantity of provisions in the island. 2dly, a failure of seasons and our internal resources. 3dly, that the supplies from North America were at an end. The agent, in a letter addressed to you, Sir, in that relation you bear to this house, acquaints us, that the Governor has counteracted our efforts for the service of the community, by taking upon him to contradict the account of our situation exhibited in the petition, and has made war upon it (if the phrase might be allowed me) in two respects; 1st, on account of it being a measure of the assembly's, 2dly, because the address was not such as appeared to the house. I cannot for my own part, Sir, well comprehend the force of the Governor's first objection. Surely a measure for the good of this island is not the less worthy or admissible, because it proceeds from the people of it.

Now in what shape or manner can the people make known their desires and requests to government but through their representatives? By choice they delegate to us the concerns of their welfare and prosperity; they speak, they act through us, and if the measures we take for common benefit are to be reprobated on the consideration of their being ours, then indeed are things come to a strange and deplorable pass; and if to this Governor we owe it, to our country we owe every nerve and sinew in the course of a vigorous and steady opposition. If the Governor's meaning is, that the people of
this

this island are of no importance, unless the proceedings of their representatives have this fiat to them; and this house is restrained from applying to his Majesty upon any occasion, without his licence, expressed by a concurrence in the measure; I then say a greater indignity cannot be offered to you. For under this idea the means of redress must always be withheld, notwithstanding we at any time are (as we have been and are still liable to be) abused, insulted and oppressed. For can it be thought that the crown's deputy would join us in complaints against his administration? And have we forgotten already a Lowther, a Sir Thomas Robinson, and other men, who have equally with them debased their high stations? The yoke of tyranny and the abject marks and badges of servitude are fixed on this country, if such doctrine can be swallowed by this house. Passive measures to language thus communicated by the Secretary of State to the Agent, as a tenet of our Commander in Chief, I conceive, Sir, would be suffering the axe to be laid to the root of our power, privileges, and importance. When we view some recent transactions, and see a judge dismissed without cause from a seat of justice that he had filled with as much honour to himself, and service to his country, as could possibly be the case; when you see one of your own body stigmatized in like manner for the discharge of his public duty; when you have heard yourselves threatened for a similar reason, and found your addresses on interesting subjects treated with silent contempt, instead of receiving answers; when you see inferior officers charged with crimes, supported for a time against public enquiry, and the commands of men of higher rank, and the first military commissions brought into

such discredit and sunk so low, that men of character will neither hold nor take them; when you see the safety of the island sacrificed to a creeping principle of securing command by most ill judged compliances; and when (to crown all) you see the representative body of the island arraigned before government of feigning or forging falsehoods, and their consequence made to depend upon the will and pleasure of one man; when, I say, you see these things plainly before eyes, you surely cannot think this a time to fall down and worship.

These are the considerations that occurred to me upon the first objection made by the Governor to our petition, they must, I think, occur to every man who reads our agent's letter; and it is a most serious call upon our deliberation, whether we shall without struggle, give up all that is dear to us, or precious to the people of this country, or shew a spirit on the occasion that may prevent the chain from being fastened upon our necks.

I come now, Sir, to the Governor's second objection 'because the distress was not so great as it appeared to this house;' that the prospect, at the time of our petition, warranted what we said, I believe every man but the Governor will admit; nor indeed was he a stranger to it; for I can appeal to an honourable member of our body, whether at the time Capt. Payne, was asking supplies, he, by the desire of the Governor, did not visit our merchants to enquire what stores were on hand; and whether the report made by him did not agree with our stating. Nor can it be controverted that our ground provisions had failed us; the distresses of our inhabitants since that period, are melancholy testimonies of this fact; I speak to the know-

Judge of every member of the house: that our accustomed supplies of salt provisions and corn were wanting, the act of parliament that put a stop to our trade with North America, affords abundant evidence; and so sensible, Sir, was the Governor himself of our hard and melancholy case, under the respective heads or causes of scarcity, that he at a late sitting transmitted to us copies of letters that had passed between the admiral and himself; on his part requesting the admiral to grant passes to vessels that would bring us provisions from the colonies of foreign powers; and containing other overtures that necessity only could give birth to. Little, Mr. Speaker, at the time I moved for the thanks of this house to be given him, did I think I moved to thank one who had plotted the loss of our credit, and to fix upon us at home the charge, the odious charge of impostors; for impostors all are who feign what they do not feel, who speak of grievances when there are none.

Shall we take to ourselves, Mr. Speaker, such an appellation or not? If it is the sense of the house that we ought, I enter most solemnly my dissent in our minutes. I know truth was the companion of our petition; I am convinced we ought not to be easy under charges that affect not our credit only, but were calculated for our destruction; and in so capital an article as existence, both natural and political, a blind respect to title and office shall never pervert my judgment; or the duty, the sacred duty I owe to my honour, and to my country.

Something therefore is necessary to be immediately done, and that our consultations may be the less restricted to forms, shall content myself at present with moving, and I do accordingly move, Mr. Speaker, that we

go into a committee of the whole house, on the subject of the agent's letter to you.

Mr. Solicitor's motion being seconded by Mr. Jones, the house resolved themselves into a committee accordingly, Judge Rowe in the chair.

Mr. Solicitor got up, and after a short address to the chair, moved the committee to come to the four following resolutions, viz.

First, Resolved, That it is, in the opinion of this committee, the undoubted right of the General Assembly at all times and on all occasions, either concurrently with the other branches of the legislature of this island, or independently of them, to address the throne; and that whoever gain-says or goes about to impeach such their undoubted right and privilege, is the enemy of this country.

Second, Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, there was good and sufficient ground for the late humble petition to his Majesty.

Third, Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, from the information of the Hon. George Walker, Esq; the agent of this island, in a letter of his, addressed to the Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne, Bart. and speaker of this house, it manifestly appears that his Excellency, the Hon. Edward Hay, has by application to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, done what lay in his power to intercept his Majesty's relief towards his loyal and distressed subjects of this colony.

Fourth, Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee a dutiful petition or memorial should be transmitted to his Majesty, in support of the Assembly's late petition.

Mr. Solicitor's motion being seconded by Mr. Jones, the question

tion after a debate, was put separately on each of the resolutions.

The first and second resolutions were agreed to *nem. con.*

The third and fourth resolutions were each of them carried on a division, by a majority of four voices, the members voting on each question as follows, viz.

Yea 9.—Mr. Eyre Walcott, Col. Haynes, Mr. Jones, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Thomas Alleyne, Mr. William Gibbes Alleyne, Mr. Sanders, and Sir John Gay Alleyne.

Nay 5.—Mr. Burke, Judge Walcott, Mr. Gitters, Col. Maycock, and Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Maycock, in giving his negative to the question upon the third resolution, expressed himself to the following effect.

That as he conceived the lines in Mr. Walker's letter of what the Governor wrote the Secretary of State, 'That the measure was the measure of the Assembly's, and the distresses were not so great as appeared to the Assembly,' did not justify the assertion of the resolution, 'that the Governor had done what lay in his power to intercept his Majesty's relief towards his loyal and distressed subjects of this colony.' He must therefore give his voice against that resolution for that reason.

Mr. Speaker then resumed the chair, and Judge Rowe reported the aforesaid resolutions of the committee, and the same being read were agreed to, and the house accordingly resolved, viz.

First, That it is the undoubted right of the General Assembly at all times, and on on all occasions, either concurrently with the other branches of the legislature of this island, or independently of them, to address the throne; and that whoever gainsays or goes about to impeach such their undoubted right and privilege, is the enemy of this country,

Second, That there was good and sufficient ground for the late humble petition to his Majesty.

Third, That from the information of the Hon. George Walker, Esq; the agent of this island, in a letter of his; addressed to the Hon. Sir John Gay Alleyne, Bart. and speaks of this house, it manifestly appears that his Excellency, the Hon. Edward Hay, has by application to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, done what lay in his power to intercept his Majesty's relief towards his loyal and distressed subjects of this colony.

Fourth, That a dutiful petition or memorial should be transmitted to his Majesty in support of the Assembly's late petition.

Mr. Solicitor then agreeable to the last resolution, on a motion seconded by Mr. Thomas Alleyne, had leave given him and he accordingly delivered in at the table, an humble petition and address to his Majesty, in support of the late petition and address where the same by order was read.

After a debate the question was put, Whether the house do agree to the said petition and address? and carried in the affirmative, the members voting as follows, viz.

Yea 9.—Mr. Eyre Walcott, Col. Haynes, Mr. Jones, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Thomas Alleyne, Mr. William Gibbes Alleyne, Mr. Sanders, and Mr. Speaker.

Nay 5.—Mr. Burke, Judge Walcott, Mr. Gitters, Col. Maycock, and Judge Rowe.

Ordered, That the said petition and address be signed by Mr. Speaker and transmitted to the agent, to be by him laid before his Majesty.

[Thus far the Barbadoes Mercury.]
London, Sept. 16. The Assembly of Barbadoes, having transmitted to George Walker, Esq; Agent for the island,

Island, a second address* to the King, the same has been laid by Lord George Germaine, Secretary of State for America, before his Majesty, who has been graciously pleas'd to refer it to the Board of Treasury. The address is as follows:

Barbadoes.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the representatives of this your Majesty's ancient and ever loyal colony, humbly beg leave again to throw ourselves at your royal feet, deeply impressed with the sense of your Majesty's most gracious answer to our late address, that your Majesty would be glad to do any thing in your power for the advantage of your good subjects of Barbadoes; yet in an equal degree mortified with the unjust and cruel attempt of your governor, to frustrate such favourable intentions towards us in your Majesty, by representing, that 'the measure was a measure of the Assembly; and the distress was not so great as it appeared to the Assembly.' But, God forbid! that your Majesty should be influenced by any representation of the condition of your people, contrary to that which has been humbly offered by the chosen guardians of their most valuable interests, who must feel immediately with them, no less than for them, in every critical conjuncture, and who are on every account the best qualified to transmit the real state of their grievances to the royal ear; and as a further title to your Majesty's attention in the present instance, in preference to any other claim to it from an opposite report, we can appeal, as to the clearest evidence, to the melancholy event of things, which justifies our timely application to your Majesty;

for who will deny the alarming scarcity that has since been felt; the extreme difficulty with which our numerous poor white inhabitants at this time support themselves and families; and withal the great distress of many of the proprietors of plantations, more especially in those parts of the island that have always depended upon the grain of North-America for their subsistence, to keep their slaves from perishing for want of the accustomed food! Nay, as a further justification still of the Assembly's early apprehensions on so interesting a point, we can appeal even to our governor himself, whether his Excellency himself was not made sensible of the scarcity of all kinds of provisions amongst us, that followed in no long time after our address? And was not then pleas'd in one auspicious moment of his humanity and sympathetic tenderness, to apply by letter to the commander of your Majesty's ships on this station for our relief? Which was in granting passports to vessels coming up to this island with any North-American produce, that should be found amongst the foreign Leeward Islands, for our support, in order to secure those vessels and their cargoes from the confiscation to which they were liable by the late prohibitory act. Most unhappily, however, this design has proved abortive, even with the admiral's concurrent good dispositions to assist us. He indeed consented to the request, but fearing an abuse of the indulgence in the hands of private adventurers, he recommended an association of the inhabitants to be formed, for the purpose of carrying on this trade, and commissioning vessels, which, under the sanction of such commissions, should receive the licences that were required. But the establishment of such

* See the first address in page 16, of this volume.

such an associated company, to engage in that traffic with success, demanded a capital, an immediate deposit of some thousand pounds; and such was the reduced state of our finances, after a series of unprosperous years from the calamities of our soil, and now burthened with an unusual load of expences for the support of our white and black families, as well as for other articles necessary to the works of our plantations, and the packages of our principal manufacture; on the other hand suffering a reduction in the price of one valuable part of that manufacture, our rum, large quantities of it remaining unsold, by our being cut off from our former chief market for this commodity; under such accumulated disadvantages, and many of us too loaded with debts, besides the calls for our government and parochial taxes, we could not spare a fund sufficient even for such a salutary scheme. From hence then, your Majesty's unfortunate subjects are still left to the uncertain scanty supplies that have been for some time past imported into the island; and as the prices of these, especially in the essential article of food for our slaves, still keep rising upon us, we are also left with little or no hope of any more plentiful resource, but on the contrary have every cause to fear a most intolerable scarcity.

Under these afflicting circumstances then, too awful in their nature for us to dissemble with; for us, indeed, on whom your Majesty, has conferred the honour of that endearing appellation of good subjects; an honour, which as we have had the happiness to attain, so shall it be our highest ambition to preserve: we look up, even upon the ground of this most gracious condescension, with a renewed confidence to your Majesty, for some speedy and effectual interpo-

sition in our favour, humbly beseeching your Majesty, the father of your people, to avert these evils which hang over us; and which, in their least formidable appearance, threaten us with the ruin of our private fortunes; but when reflected upon, through all their horrible and not unnatural consequences, denounce no less than the destruction of our colony:

By order of the house,

JOHN GAY ALLEYNE, Speaker.
House of Assembly, July 9th, 1776.

The address was inclosed in a letter, of which the following is a copy.

To George Walker, Esquire, agent for the Island of Barbadoes.

Barbadoes, July 15th, 1776.

Sir,

Your letter of the 15th of May, directed to me as speaker of the assembly, came very fortunately into my hands some little time before the last meeting of the house, which was on the 9th instant, and which was supposed to be the last and only meeting of the assembly before the expiration of that body. I laid the letter accordingly before the house, for their immediate consideration: and under this cover, I have the honour of transmitting to you the result, in another address to the King, which I am commanded by the assembly to desire you will lay before his Majesty, in the same official mode as the former; but which we flatter ourselves will be more successful in its impression upon the royal mind; since the distress of our country from the dreadful scarcity and dearness in the price of provisions at the present juncture is such, that we imagine even our governor will not be hardy enough to dispute the justness of our complaints at this time, how insensible soever his Excellency has discovered himself to have been of our wants and apprehensions a few months ago. I have the honour to be, Sir, with the great-

of

in regard, your most obedient faithful
humble servant,

JOHN GAY ALLEYNE, speaker.

The address to his Majesty was accompanied with the following memorial, to the Secretary of State.

To the Right Hon. Lord George Sackville Germaine, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

The memorial of Geo. Walker, Esq; agent of the Island of Barbadoes.

Sheweth,

That your memorialist, having received from Sir John Gay Alleyne, speaker of the assembly of Barbadoes, an address from that house to the King, with orders to lay the same before his Majesty, hath the honour to deliver it into your Lordship's hands for that purpose.

That your memorialist beseeches your Lordship's good offices towards obtaining the royal favour to the distressed inhabitants of the said island; and begs leave to make the following observations, in support of the contents of the address.

That the words *dear* and *cheap* being relative terms, and the degree of price for a commodity being only to be measured by comparison, your memorialist hath subjoined a list of sundry articles of subsistence and of products, with their current prices in the colony, in the years 1774, 1775, and 1776; by which it appears that the price of food for the white people this year is risen to fifty and an hundred per cent. more than in the two preceding years; that the food for the negroes in herrings and salt-fish, hath increased in the same proportion; and that corn, their chief support, the staff of life, hath been uniformly dearer by four hundred per cent. At the same time, sugar is fallen at a rate from twenty-five to forty per cent, and run above thirty-seven.

That this fall in the value of the produce, and the rise in the price of

subsistence, will account for the following facts, which the speaker mentions to your memorialist, viz. He says, 'the poor white people now are on the point of perishing in most parts of the island; that those in the neighbourhood of the coast came down to it in small flocks, to gather the most wretched of all the fruits of the earth to eat for their subsistence; and when the ripe ones were all gathered, they then took the grown ones to boil, and thereby soften them as food to keep their lives and souls together; and with regard to the negroes, many gangs had no allowance, and so now left to plunder for their support, or starve. In consequence of which, the cattle had been stolen off the pens and killed; the plantain walks and corn fields, the few that had been happy enough to produce an early crop from partial showers, were robbed likewise; and the bloodshed that had followed the rapine in some late instances, opened a dismal prelude to the tragedy that was preparing:'—he adds, 'For God's sake, my friend, consider our condition, solely with a view to our preservation; for unless the government will fall upon some regular mode for our supply, we shall be starved in good earnest.'

That in consequence of these distresses, many of the poor people from absolute want; and other persons from the incumbrance of debts, in a situation unhappily, too frequently will in despair, run away with their negroes, perhaps with the negroes of others, to the French Island of St. Lucia, to which they may go in open boats; and where they will be made welcome.

That in the last war, Barbadoes raised in four weeks a battalions of five hundred men, standing in their ranks, all volunteers, to assist in the reduction of Martinico: a degree of useful

useful population, which the present calamities, if not removed, will certainly destroy, and transfer to a rival nation.

That a farther evil hath befallen us, of which the assembly at this time, were not aware; two of our ships laden principally with sugar, and partly with rum, one of them having left the island the 15th of June, and the other the 24th, are neither of them arrived, and therefore supposed to be lost. The loss to us planters, amongst whom, your memorialist bears a considerable part, is about twenty thousand pounds; and that to the Commodore and revenue of the kingdom, is at least, seven thousand pounds more.

That from the foregoing circumstances, and those mentioned in the

address, your memorialist humbly conceives, that a relief in any degree proportionate to the distress, must, by force, be partly gratuitous, as in the case of Lisbon after the earthquake; and partly upon the credit of a future exchange of rum and sugar in payment of a present supply of corn and provisions, the articles to be estimated reciprocally at the old prices.

That the plan of obtaining supplies from the foreign sugar colonies, as taken notice of in the address, would probably have succeeded in some degree, if it had been extended to individuals, instead of being confined to a company; and humbly submits it, whether some such enlarged system may not become absolutely necessary to be established.

A state of the provisions, and the value of sugar and rum in the years 1774, 1775, and 1776.

| In 1774 and 1775. | | In 1776. | |
|--|---|--|---|
| Good Flour, from 15s to 25s per cent. | Bad Flour, from 30s to 37s 6d per cent. | Good Flour, from 15s to 25s per cent. | Bad Flour, from 30s to 37s 6d per cent. |
| Ship-Corn [Maize] 2s 6d to 3s 9d per bushel. | — 10s to 13s per bushel. | Ship-Corn [Maize] 2s 6d to 3s 9d per bushel. | — 10s to 13s per bushel. |
| Salt-fish — 12s 6d. to 25s per quintal. | — 30s to 40s per quintal. | Salt-fish — 12s 6d. to 25s per quintal. | — 30s to 40s per quintal. |
| Beef — 60s to 70s per barrel. | — 90s to 130s per barrel. | Beef — 60s to 70s per barrel. | — 90s to 130s per barrel. |
| Pork — 70s to 100s per barrel. | — 100s to 150s per ditto. | Pork — 70s to 100s per barrel. | — 100s to 150s per ditto. |
| Herrings — 2s to 3s 6d per ditto. | — 45s to 55s per ditto. | Herrings — 2s to 3s 6d per ditto. | — 45s to 55s per ditto. |
| Butter — 8d. to 10d per pound. | — 1s 3d to 1s 10d $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. | Butter — 8d. to 10d per pound. | — 1s 3d to 1s 10d $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. |
| Muscovado Sugars 30s to 35s per cent. | — 18s 9d to 25s per cent. | Muscovado Sugars 30s to 35s per cent. | — 18s 9d to 25s per cent. |
| Coarse clayed 35s to 47s 6d per cent. | — 27s 6d to 35s per cent. | Coarse clayed 35s to 47s 6d per cent. | — 27s 6d to 35s per cent. |
| Proof Rum 2s per gallon. | — 1s 3d per gallon. | Proof Rum 2s per gallon. | — 1s 3d per gallon. |

Signed GEORGE WALKER, Agent.

Carvendish-Square, Monday, 8th September, 1776.

St. Vincent's, Aug. 1. The Shark man of war, Capt. Bennett, on her way from Antigua to this island, opposite the island of Martinico, fell in with a North American privateer, mounting 18 ten pounders. The action lasted near two hours, when the latter was obliged to sheer off; and the former pursued till she received two twenty-four pound shot from the fort at Martinico; which obliged her to desist; and the captain went on shore to make his complaint to the French governor, who declared

he would not suffer any English man of war to come within reach of his cannon after the Americans; that if they were pirates he would not countenance them, but by no means looking on them in that light; they claimed his protection while they remained at Martinico; when they put to sea it was their own affair.

Captain Benner learned at Martinico, that this same American vessel had taken two English ships homeward bound, and that they had 39 prisoners on board; but the captains

nor names of the vessels he could not hear; the colours which the American shewed were a field white and yellow, with 13 stripes.

A letter from Spa, dated Aug. 22.

The French islands in the West-Indies have sent to their court a memorial, complaining of the distresses they labour under on account of the interruption of the North-American trade. I know not what answer has been given, but they are certainly very busy in all their ports; and I have seen a list of thirty ships of the line, which will be ready for the sea by Christmas. — The North-Americans have a very advantageous commerce with France.

A letter from the Hague, Sept. 17.

Sir Joseph Yorke has made application to the States of Holland to forbid the Americans entering any of their ports in the West-Indies, and also the carrying on any trade whatsoever with them. The answer given to Sir Joseph is said to be this, that Holland only considered itself as a commercial country, and that any check to its trade must be severely felt by its inhabitants; that the West-Indies received great part of their support from the Continent of America, which it would be very ill policy in them to put a stop to, and indeed would be almost impossible, as hardly any commands would tie a people down when they were in want of provisions; and that Sir Joseph might assure his court, that they had hitherto, and would still continue to prevent any military stores being furnished to the Americans from any part of the dominions belonging to the states. — Their present trade with the Americans is exceedingly beneficial to them.

Account of a former insult at Boston.

Whoever reflects upon the extreme ill-treatment the Americans received at the beginning of the present

troubles, will not be surprised at the hatred and detestation in which we are now held by that whole people.

Among other things, which one would think could not have failed gaining some attention from ministry, as it shews what pains and industry have been used to light up the civil war in America, I find the following complaint decently made by the select men of the town of Boston, first to the magistracy, afterwards to General Gage, and finally to the ministry, which procured them no other satisfaction, than that of seeing the officer complained of, promoted by the then minister of the American department, Lord Hillsborough.

To the worshipful Richard Dana and John Ruddock, Esqrs. two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Suffolk, and of the quorum, Massachusetts-Bay.

The subscribers, selectmen of the town of Boston, complain of John Wilson, Esq. a captain of his Majesty's 59th regiment of foot, a detachment whereof is now quartered in the said town of Boston under his command, that the said John, with others unknown, on the evening of the 28th day of October instant, did, in the sight and hearing of divers persons, utter many abusive and threatening expressions of, and against the inhabitants of the said town; and in a dangerous and conspirative manner did entice, and endeavour to spirit up, by a promise of the reward of freedom, certain negroe slaves in Boston aforesaid, the property of several of the town inhabitants, to cut their masters throats, and to beat, insult, and otherwise ill-treat their said masters, asserting, that now the soldiers were come, the negroes ~~shall~~ be free, and the liberty boys slaves, to the great terror and danger of the peaceable inhabitants of the said town.

town, ~~is~~ subject of his majesty, our lord the king, and the general disturbance of the peace and safety of the said town: wherefore your complainants, solicitous for the peace and welfare of the said town, as well their own as individuals, humbly request your worship's consideration of the premises, and that process may issue against the said John, that he may be dealt with herein according to law.

JOSHUA HENSHAW, JOSEPH JACKSON, JOHN HANCOCK, JOHN ROWE, SAMUEL PEMBERTON, HENDERSON INCHES."

The much injured Americans finding no redress was to be obtained, made only the following observation: "what must the people of England think of our conservators of the peace, or rather what would the present ministry have thought and done, had the inhabitants of this town stood chargeable, upon the oaths of credible witnesses, with the crime of having solicited the soldiers, now quartered upon us, and, as is apprehended, contrary to an act of parliament, and the Bill of Rights, to cut their officers throats, and desert the service, with promises of rewards for so doing?"

A Table of the weight and value of sundry coins as they now pass in Great-Britain, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, New-York, Massachusetts old tenor and lawful money, South-Carolina, and Georgia.

| Species. | Stand. Wght. | Sterl. Mon of G. Brit. | | | | Pennf. N. Jerf. Maryl. | | | | New York. | | | | Massach. Old Ten. | | | | Lawful Money. | | | | Weight and Rate which recd in Georgia Carolina and | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----|----|----|------------------------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|-------------------|-------|-------|----|---------------|-----|-----|----|--|----|----|----|
| | | dw. | gr. | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. | dw. | gr. | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. |
| English Guineas | 5 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 37 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | | | | 7 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| French ditto | 5 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 16 | 0 | | | | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | | | | | | | | | |
| English Crown | 17 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 9 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| English Shilling | 0 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| Spanish Dollar | 0 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 1 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| Sixpence | 0 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 9 | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Johannes | 18 0 | 3 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 16 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Half Johannes | 9 0 | 1 | 16 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| French milled pistoles | 4 4 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | | |
| Spanish ditto | 4 6 | 0 | 16 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 | | | | Ditto | Ditto | 4 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | | |
| Doublon | 17 8 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 16 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 12 | 0 | |
| French Crown | 17 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 17 | 6 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| Pistole-Piece | 4 8 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | | |

Note, Most sorts of Spanish silver are sold in London by the ounce, and often varies, but seldom or ever exceeds 5s. 5d.—In Pennsylvania, it sells for 8s. 6d. per ounce.—In Boston and Connecticut pieces of eight pass for 6s. and gold by weight.

Roads from Philadelphia by Princeton, New York, New London, Boston, Portsmouth, &c. to Norridgwock.

| From Philadelphia | To. | New-London | 18/245 |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| to Frankfort | 5 | tal. Stonington | 15/260 |
| Shamney Ferry | 12 | Pemberton | 10/270 |
| Bristol | 3 | 20 Darby | 3/273 |
| Trenton | 10 | 30 Frenchtown | 24/297 |
| Maidenhead | 6 | 36 Providence | 20/317 |
| Princeton | 6 | 42 Woodcock's | 15/332 |
| Kingston | 3 | 45 Billend's | 10/342 |
| Brunswick | 12 | 57 White's | 7/349 |
| Woodbridge | 12 | 69 Dedham | 6/355 |
| Elizabeth Town | 10 | 79 Boston | 10/375 |
| Eliz. Town Point | 2 | 81 Lyn | 9/384 |
| Staten-Island Ferry | 7 | 88 Salem | 8/382 |
| New-York | 9 | 97 Ipswich | 14/396 |
| Kingsbridge | 16 | 113 Newberry | 11/407 |
| East Chester | 6 | 119 Hampton | 9/416 |
| Newrochelle | 4 | 123 Portsmouth | 13/429 |
| Rye | 4 | 127 York | 9/438 |
| Horseneck | 7 | 134 Wells | 14/452 |
| Stanford | 7 | 141 Kennebunk | 6/458 |
| Norwalk | 10 | 151 Biddeford | 14/472 |
| Fairfield | 12 | 163 Scarborough | 7/479 |
| Stratford | 8 | 171 Falmouth | 13/492 |
| Milford | 4 | 175 Yarmouth | 10/502 |
| New-Haven | 10 | 185 Brunswick | 15/517 |
| Branford | 10 | 195 Richmond | 16/533 |
| Guilford | 12 | 207 Taconic Falls | 33/566 |
| Killingworth | 10 | 217 Norridgwock | 31/597 |
| Saybrook | 10/227 | | |

Roads from Reading to Easton.

| | | | |
|-------------|----|-------------------|-------|
| To Parvin's | 6 | 6 Cedar-creek | 6/32 |
| D. Levan's | 12 | 18 W. of Delaware | 3/35 |
| County Line | 4 | 22 Bethlehem | 5/40 |
| Traxler's | 4 | 26 Easton | 10/50 |

A letter from Canada, says, that the agreement made between General Arnold and captain Foster, (see page 205) for an exchange of prisoners, the Congress have refused to confirm: and that they (the Congress) have drawn up some resolutions, which the King's officers in Canada, say, are not founded in truth. That they have sent copies of these resolutions to the Generals Burgoyne, Carleton, and Howe. That General Carleton has issued orders, that the army are not to receive any flag of truce, nor any person acting under it; nor to hold any communication whatever with the Provincials; as they had refused to fulfil the agreement made between Captain Foster and Mr. Arnold, for the exchange of prisoners.

New-Haven, June 12.

Extract of a letter from General Arnold, dated Montreal, May 28.

' I have only a minute to acquaint you I am well, though much fatigued, having this morning returned from an expedition fifteen leagues above this, at a place called St. Ann's, where we have lately had near five hundred of our men made prisoners, by a number of regulars and savages; you will see a particular account soon of the agreement I have made with them for exchange of prisoners. I never was more mortified in not having it in my power to revenge the cruel and perfidious treatment of our enemies: humanity forbids the step; and though I had a sufficient force, my hands were tied.'

[The account of the affair at the Cedars, to which this letter relates, is given at length in page 205.]

Plymouth, July 23. This day Commodore Fielding, with the last of the Hessians, Waldeckers, &c. Burgoyne's light horse, Horses for the artillery, &c. &c. sailed for Ame-

rica.—The Repulse with the remainder (1500) of the former division of the Hessians sailed for America on the 25th of May.

In the last volume of this work page 346, mention is made of a vessel being sent after Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis, when they sailed for America, changing their destination from the Southern to the Northern Provinces. This vessel not meeting with the fleet at sea, went to General Howe at Boston. The orders were put on board the Glasgow; but this ship meeting with Commodore Hopkins, the dispatches were thrown overboard during the engagement.

The following is a state of General Howe's Force when joined at New-York, viz.

Six Thousand effective, he took from Halifax. 5600 fighting men of the Hessians, 1000 guards. Suppose Old Murray's to be 900 effective, and Fraser's two battalions (commanded by Erskine and Campbell) to be 1900 effective, there were 750 taken; therefore there are 2000 Highlanders. 3000 General Clinton will bring.

Though some of General Clinton's troops are unhealthy, and not fit for service; there are besides, light horse, artillery, and about 1200 marines. To these are to be added, the troops, which from different parts of America, have been ordered to join General Howe, viz. the 14th regiment from St. Augustine, the 16th from Pensacola, the 6th from St. Vincent's (the 48th was at St. Vincent's; but the privates were ordered to be placed in the 6th, and the officers to come home). There were two regiments at Jamaica intended for him; but he got only one, the 50th. The council of the island interposed, and would suffer no more

to go †. These troops are to be replaced by the four battalions of Royal Americans, consisting of 677 men.

Lord Dunmore is also gone to New York, with his force, whatever it is. On the whole, General Howe's army cannot be less than 24,000 men.

When this force is all joined, there will also be, two ships of 64 guns, four of 50, two of 44, three of 32, twenty of 28 and 20, besides sloops, bombs, armed vessels, tenders, &c.

The following was thought to be a pretty accurate state of the Provincial forces in May last.

In Canada, 9000 continental troops; commanded by Major General Sullivan, and Brigadiers Arnold and Wædckle. The Generals Schuyler and Wooster are at Albany, with a body of militia, number not exactly known.

At New-York, 12000 Continental, troops 11000 militia, and the Jersey brigade consisting of 3300, command-

ed by General Washington, Major Generals Putnam, and Gates, and Brigadiers Heath, Green, Lord Sterling, Waterbury, and Mercer.

In Jersey and Pennsylvania, a flying camp of 10,000 men, commanded by Brigadiers Mifflin, Deau, and Johnson.

In Virginia, 8000 continental troops. In North Carolina 4000, ditto. South Carolina 1000 ditto. Commanded by Major General Lee, Brigadiers Armstrong, Howe, Moore, and Lewis.

At Boston, 2000 Continental troops, commanded by Major Gen. Ward, and Brigadier Gen. Spencer.

By this account there were 36,000 Continental troops, and 24,300 militia, ready for, and in the field; but there are 20,000 more of the militia, the stations of which are not exactly known. In all above 80,000 men.

Expence of the AMERICAN CONTINENTAL ARMY.

STAFF.

| | per Diem. | | |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| | l. | s. | d. |
| Com. in Chief, General Washington, (for table) | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 Aids de Camp, 4s. 6d. each. | | 18 | 0 |
| 1 Adjutant-General. | | 18 | |
| 1 Quarter-Master-General. | | 12 | |
| 1 Assistant Quarter-Master-General. | | 4 | 6 |
| 1 Pay-Master-General. | | 13 | 6 |
| 6 Majors Brigade, 4s. 6d. | 1 | 7 | |
| Secretary to Commander in Chief | | 9 | 6 |
| Directors of Hospitals. | | 18 | |
| Carried over | 8 | 0 | 6 |

† Upon this regiment being sent, which was about 200 men, the Governor, Sir Basil Keith, ordered the companies of the other regiment to come from the distant parts of the island to the capital. They were not wanted at the capital; but the Governor's design was to give dignity to his place of residence. This has been done in former times, when there were troops sufficient in the other parts of the island. As soon as the negroes saw the troops were marched to the capital, they immediately formed a scheme of revolting; which was to have been put into execution on the 25th of June in Hanover county; but the scheme being fortunately discovered, a council was called. It was debated whether the regiment should go? It was at length resolved, that they should, according to order; and that the island must be put under martial law.

| | <i>per Diem.</i> | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|----|------|----|---|
| Brought over. | | | 2400 | 11 | 6 |
| 128 Ensigns, 2s. | 12 | 16 | | | |
| 512 Serjeants, 1s. 3d. | 32 | | | | |
| 512 Corporals, 1s. 1d. | 27 | 14 | 8 | | |
| 256 Drums and Fifes, 1s. 1d. | 13 | 7 | 4 | | |
| 8692 Privates, 1s. | 434 | 12 | | | |
| | <hr/> | | 520 | 10 | 0 |

JERSEY BRIGADE,

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|----|-----|---|---|
| 5 Colonels, 13s. 6d. | 3 | 7 | 6 | | |
| 5 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9s. | 2 | 5 | | | |
| 5 Majors, 6s. | 1 | 10 | | | |
| 42 Captains, 4s. 6d. | 9 | 9 | | | |
| 84 Lieutenants, 3s. | 12 | 12 | | | |
| 42 Ensigns, 2s. | 4 | 4 | | | |
| 168 Serjeants, 1s. 3d. | 10 | 10 | | | |
| 168 Corporals, 1s. 1d. | 9 | 2 | | | |
| 84 Drums and Fifes, 1s. 1d. | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 2856 Privates, 1s. | 142 | 16 | | | |
| | <hr/> | | 200 | 6 | 6 |

MILITIA. (in pay)

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|----|-------|------|----|
| 44 Colonels, 13s. 6d. | 29 | 14 | | | |
| 44 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9s. | 19 | 16 | | | |
| 44 Majors, 6s. | 13 | 4 | | | |
| 400 Captains, 4s. 6d. | 90 | | | | |
| 800 Lieutenants, 3s. | 120 | | | | |
| 400 Ensigns, 2s. | 40 | | | | |
| 1600 Serjeants, 1s. 3d. | 100 | | | | |
| 1600 Corporals, 1s. 1d. | 86 | 13 | 4 | | |
| 800 Drums and Fifes, 1s. 1d. | 43 | 6 | 8 | | |
| 27000 Privates, 1s. | 1350 | | | | |
| | <hr/> | | 1892 | 14 | |
| | | | <hr/> | 5014 | 12 |

Daily Allowance of PROVISIONS.

1 lb. fresh-beef, or 1 lb. salt-fish; $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. pork, or 20 oz. salt-beef; 1 lb. bread flour, 1 pint milk, 1 quart cyder or spruce beer, *per diem each*.—3 lb. candles, 8 lb. hard soap, *per week for 100 men*.—3 pints pease, 1 pint Indian meal, 6 oz. butter, *per man a week*. This is about 10d. sterling ration per day.

Rations, on an average 3 per day, for general and other officers, 4898 at 2s. 6d.

Non-commissioned officers, and privates, 80248, at 10d.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----|---|-------|------|-----------|
| 612 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| 3343 | 13 | 4 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | 3955 | 18 | 4 |
| | | | <hr/> | 8970 | 10 |
| | | | | | 4 |
| | | | | | Cloathing |

Carried over,

| | | |
|--|---------------|-----------|
| | Brought over. | 8970 10 4 |
| Cloathing for Continental army, Flying camp, and Jersey Brigade, 49248, 2d. per day. | — — — | 410 8 |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| Daily expences: | 9380 18 4 |
|-----------------|-----------|

Nothing of the NAVY contingencies, or army extraordinaries, are included.

These accounts of the American armies were taken about the latter end of May 1776. But when the Congress were informed, that foreigners had been hired, and that General Howe intended coming to New-York (from Halifax) they ordered the number of the Continental troops to be encreased, to SEVENTY-THOUSAND. At the same time, RETURNS of the Minute-Men were made, and they were 140,000.

Williamsburgh, July 5, 1776.

The following are the appointments under the new plan of government.

Patrick Henry, jun. Esq; Governor.
John Page, Dudley Digges, John Tayloe, John Blair, Benjamin Harrison of Berkley, Bartholomew Dandridge, Charles Carter of Shirley, and Benjamin Harrison of Brandon, counsellors of state.—Thomas Whiting, John Hutchings, Champion Travis, Thomas Newton, jun. and George Webb, Esqrs. commissioners of admiralty.—James Husband, Joseph Prentis, and John Tyler, Esqrs. Judges of admiralty.—Edmund Randolph, Esq; Attorney-general.—Thomas Everard, and James Cocke, Esqrs. commissioners for settling accounts.

God save the COMMONWEALTH.

Upon Col. Henry's being chosen our governor by the Hon. Convention, a committee of the house was directed to wait on his Excellency, to notify to him his appointment, to whom he delivered the following letter:

To the Honourable the President and House of Convention.

Gentlemen,

The vote of this day, appointing me Governor of this commonwealth has been notified to me, in the most polite and obliging manner, by Geo.

Mason, Henry Lee, Dudley Digges, John Blair, and Bartholomew Dandridge, Esqrs.

A sense of the high and unmerited honour conferred upon me by the convention, fills my heart with gratitude, which I trust my whole life will manifest. I take this earliest opportunity to express my thanks, which I wish to convey to you, Gentlemen, in the strongest terms of acknowledgment.

When I reflect that the tyranny of the K— and parliament hath kindled a formidable war, now raging throughout this wide extended continent, and in the operations of which this commonwealth must bear so great a part, and that, from the events of this war, the lasting happiness or misery of a great proportion of the human species will finally result; that in order to preserve this commonwealth from anarchy, and its attendant ruins, and to give vigour to our councils, and effect to all our measures, government hath been naturally assumed, and new-modelled; that it is exposed to numberless hazards, and perils, in its infant state; that it can never attain to maturity, or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed by affectionate assiduity, and guarded by great abilities; I lament my want of talents, I feel my mind
filled

filled with anxiety and uneasiness, to find myself so unequal to the duties of that important station to which I am called by the favour of my fellow-citizens, at this truly critical conjuncture. The errors of my conduct shall be atoned for, so far as I am able, by unwearied endeavours to secure the freedom and happiness of our common country.

I shall enter upon the duties of my office, whenever you, Gentlemen, shall be pleased to direct; rely upon the known wisdom and virtue of your hon. house to supply my defects, and to give permanency and success to that system of government which you have formed, and which is so wisely calculated to secure equal liberty, and advance human happiness. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and

very humble servant,

P. HENRY, jun.

Williamsburgh, July 5. Yesterday the general convention of this colony, after passing the following ordinances, adjourned themselves to the first Monday in October next.

Declaration of rights. [See page 221.]

Plan of government for this country.

An ordinance for making farther provision for the defence and protection of this colony.

An ordinance for erecting salt-works in this colony, and for encouraging the making of salt.

An ordinance for establishing a board of commissioners, to superintend and direct the naval affairs of this colony.

An ordinance for augmenting the ninth regiment of regular forces, providing for the better defence of this colony, and for raising six troops of horse.

An ordinance to supply certain defects in a former ordinance of this convention for raising six troops of horse.

An ordinance to amend an ordinance entitled, An ordinance for establishing a mode of punishment for the enemies of America in this colony.

An ordinance to amend an ordinance entitled, An ordinance for establishing a mode of making tobacco payments during the discontinuance of the inspection law, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An ordinance to enable the present magistrates and officers to continue the administration of justice, and for settling the general mode of proceedings in criminal and other cases, till the same can be more amply provided for.

An ordinance to amend an ordinance, entitled, An ordinance to provide for paying the expences of the delegates from this colony to the General Congress.

An ordinance to arrange the counties in districts for electing senators, and to ascertain their wages.

An ordinance prescribing the oaths of office to be taken by the Governor and Privy-council, and other officers of the commonwealth of Virginia, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An ordinance for amending an ordinance, intitled, An ordinance for raising and embodying a sufficient force for the defence and protection of this colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An ordinance making it felony to counterfeit the continental paper currency, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

Williamsburgh, July 6. The whole of this province is in arms. The militia are drawn out twice a week and exercised, and make a respectable figure. Great quantities of saltpetre are made here, which when manufactured into gunpowder, have proved exceedingly good and strong, and

and equal to any that is imported. General Lee is at the head of the military, which he has taken all imaginable pains to put on the most respectable footing.

Williamsburgh, Aug. 3. Wednesday an express arrived here, with the following account of a battle fought by a party of the Fincastle militia, with a number of Cherokee and Greek Indians, near the great island of Holstein, the 20th of July ult.

Our scouts returned and informed that they had discovered a large number of Indians making into the settlement, upon which information the few men stationed at Eaton's fort, within the boundary line, completed a breast-work sufficiently strong with what men were there, to have defended themselves against a considerable number. Expresses were sent to the different stations, and such a number of men were collected, that next morning we turned out with 170 in search of the enemy. We marched in two divisions, with flankers on each wing, and scouts before, who soon discovered upwards of 20 Indians and fired upon them. They immediately returned the fire, but our men rushing on them with such violence obliged them to make a precipitate retreat. They left ten bundles and a good deal of plunder, which our men secured. We have great reason to believe several of them were wounded in this skirmish. Though it happened on ground very disadvantageous to pursue, yet it was with the greatest difficulty they could be restrained. A council was held, and it was judged advisable to return, as we had reason to believe a party greatly superior to ours were not far off. We had not marched more than a mile in good order when our rear was attacked by upwards of 100 of the enemy. Our men sustained the attack with great firmness, until

a line was formed. The enemy endeavoured to surround us, but were prevented by the vigilance of Capt. James Shelby, who, with his division took possession of an eminence, and bravely defended it, which prevented their design.

Philadelphia, June 18th.

Extract of a letter from Ezek. Hopkins, Esq. admiral of the Continental fleet, dated Newport, June 10, 1776.

The Andrew Doria, has sent in a sloop from Tortola, bound to Halifax, with 22 hogheads of rum, 20 barrels of sugar, 26 tierces of molasses, and 950 bushels of salt. The Cabot sent in a ship two days ago, from Jamaica, bound and belonging to Liverpool, in England, with 115 puncheons and 22 hogheads of rum, 48 hogheads, 20 tierces, and 18 barrels of sugar, 20 tierces of coffee, 50 bags and two casks of pimento, 200 bags and 10 casks of ginger, 182 bags of cotton, and 48 raw hides.

New-York, July 8. A sloop of 12 six pounders, belonging to the fleet from Halifax, lying in the Kills, near Mr. Decker's Ferry, was almost torn to pieces last Wednesday Morning, by a party under the command of General Herd, from the opposite shore, with two 18 pounders. The crew soon abandoned the sloop, and we suppose she is rendered entirely unfit for further service.

Trenton, (New-Jersey), July 8. The declaration of independence was proclaimed here, together with the constitution of the colony, of late established, and the resolve of the Provincial Congress, for continuing the administration of justice during the interim.

Princeton, New-Jersey, July 10. Last night Nassau Hall was grandly illuminated, and independency proclaimed under a triple volley of musketry, and universal

universal acclamations for the prosperity of the United Colonies. The ceremony was conducted with the greatest decorum.

New-York, July 11. On Wednesday last, the declaration of independence was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army, posted at and near New-York, and every where received with loud huzzas, and the utmost demonstrations of joy.

The same evening the equestrian statue of George III. which tory pride had raised in the year 1770, was by the sons of freedom, laid prostrate in the dirt. The lead wherewith this monument was made, is to be run into bullets to assimilate with the brains of our infatuated adversaries, who to gain a pepper corn, have lost an empire. *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

Lord Howe arrived at Staten Island on the 12th of July.

New-York, July 15. Yesterday Lord Howe sent up a flag, with the captain and lieutenant of the Eagle man of war. The adjutant-general met them, after some little ceremony, but as the letter was directed for George Washington, Esq. he could not receive it; the officers insisted much on his receiving it, saying it was of a civil nature, his lordship being invested with unlimited powers, and was sorry he had not arrived a few days sooner.

These applications having proved ineffectual, Colonel Paterfon, who is Adjutant-general, was sent with a verbal message. He asked for 'the General,' and was admitted. General Washington received him in great form and dignity, having all his officers, guards, &c. with him. The conference lasted about an hour.— The particulars are not known.

On Tuesday a flag from the fleet appeared, and was met as the first, when a letter was again offered, but, for the same reason as the former, rejected.

The Phoenix, Capt. Parker, and the Rose, Captain Wallace, with two tenders, went up the north river, on the 15th of July; notwithstanding a heavy cannonade on all sides, without sustaining much damage, as appeared by signals previously agreed upon.— They got 25 miles up the river, opposite Tarytown, where the river is four miles wide. The Americans have two frigates, of 32 guns each, on the stocks, about 40 miles above this place, and a fort lately built called Montgomery fort.

Lord Howe, immediately after his arrival, ordered all the cruisers he could spare, to go and cruize off the American ports, to intercept their trade; and particularly, five to go into Delaware bay, and block up that river. This last was occasioned by information he had just received, that ten prizes had, a few days before, been carried up that river to Philadelphia. The Congress seem to have expected some attempt of this sort, for the former galleys, stationed to defend that river, being not thought sufficient, thirteen others, large enough to keep the bay in hard weather, had been ordered. Their guns are 32 pounders, all cast at a foundery at Kensington, near Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, In Congress, July 19. Resolved, That General Washington, in refusing to receive a letter said to be sent from Lord Howe, addressed to "George Washington, Esq." acted with a dignity becoming his station, and therefore this congress do highly approve the same, and do direct that no letter or message be received, on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the command: in

in chief, or other the commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain.

By order of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Congress, July 19. Resolved, That a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration they inclosed from Lord Howe to Mr. W. Franklin, Mr. Penn, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late governors, sent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to Congress by General Washington, be published in the several Gazettes, that the good people of these United States may be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain has endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of may now, at length, be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.
Eagle, off the coast of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, June 20.

Sir, Being appointed commander in chief of the ships and vessels of his Majesty's fleet, employed in North-America, and having the honour to be by his Majesty constituted one of his commissioners for restoring peace to his colonies, and for granting pardons to such of his subjects therein as shall be duly solicitous to benefit by that effect of his gracious indulgence, I embrace this opportunity to inform you of my arrival on the American coast, where my first object will be an early meeting with General Howe, whom his Majesty has been pleased to join with me in the said commission.

In the mean time I have judged it expedient to issue the inclosed decla-

ration, in order that all persons may have immediate information of his Majesty's most gracious intentions. And I desire you will be pleased forthwith to cause the said declaration to be promulgated, in such manner, and at such places within the province of New Jersey, as will render the same of the most publick notoriety.

Affured of being favoured with your assistance in every measure for the speedy and effectual restoration of publick tranquillity, I am to request you will communicate, from time to time, such information as you may think will facilitate the attainment of that important object in the province over which you preside. I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,
HOWE."

By Richard Viscount Howe, one of the King's Commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, &c.

DECLARATION.

Whereas, by an act passed in the last session of parliament, to prohibit, all trade and intercourse with the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower countries on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and for other purposes therein mentioned, it is enacted, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for any person or persons appointed and authorized by his Majesty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons by proclamation in his Majesty's name, to declare any Colony or Province to be at the peace of his Majesty; and that from and after the issuing of any such proclamation, in any of the aforesaid Colonies or Provinces, or if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to signify the same by his

his royal proclamation, the said act, with respect to such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void :

And whereas the king, desirous to deliver all his subjects from the calamities of war, and other oppressions which they now undergo, and to restore the said Colonies to his protection and peace, as soon as the constitutional authority of government therein may be replaced, hath been graciously pleased, by letters patent under the great seal, dated the 6th day of May, in the 16th year of his his majesty's reign, to nominate and appoint me, Richard Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; General of his forces in North America, and each of us, jointly and separately, to be his Majesty's commissioner and commissioners, for granting his free and general pardons to all those who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, may have deviated from their just allegiance, and who are willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and also for declaring, in his Majesty's name, any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty. I do therefore hereby declare, that due consideration shall be had to the meritorious services of all persons who shall aid and assist in restoring the public tranquility in the said colonies, or in any part or parts thereof; that pardons shall be granted, dutiful representations received, and every suitable encouragement given, for promoting such measures as shall be conducive to the establishment of legal government and peace, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious purposes aforesaid.

Given on board his Majesty's ship the Eagle, off the coast of the

province of Massachusetts bay, the 20th day of June 1776.

Howe.

By order of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President

In Congress, June 13, 1776.

Resolved, That a flying camp be immediately established, and that it consist of ten thousand men, to make up which number, resolved, that the colony of Pennsylvania be requested to furnish of their militia 6000; Maryland, of their militia, 3400; Delaware government, of their's 600.—
See pages 204, and 264.

That the militia be engaged to the first day of December next, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

That the pay of the militia commence from the day of their marching from home, and that they be allowed one penny a mile, lawful money, in lieu of rations for travelling expences, and one day's pay for every twenty miles, between home and the general rendezvous, going and returning.

That the three Provincial Brigadier-generals be employed for the flying camp, two from Pennsylvania, and one from Maryland.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

In Congress, June 26, 1776.

Resolved, That a bounty of ten dollars be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier who will enlist to serve for the term of three years.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Copy of a letter from Lieut. Col. Campbell, to General Howe.

Boston, June 19, 1776.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform you, that it has been my unfortunate lot to have fallen into the hands of the Americans, in the middle of Boston harbour; but when the circumstances which have occasioned this disaster are understood, I flatter myself no reflection

tion will arise to myself or my officers on account of it.

On the 16th of June the *George* and *Annabella* transports, with two companies of the 71st regiment of highlanders, made the land of Cape Ann, after a passage of seven weeks from Scotland, during the course of which, we had not an opportunity of speaking to a single vessel that could give us the smallest information of the British troops having evacuated Boston. On the 17th at day light we found ourselves opposite to the harbour's mouth of Boston, but from contrary winds it was necessary to make several tacks to reach it. Four schooners, which we took to be pilots or armed vessels in the service of his Majesty (but which were afterwards found to be four American privateers of 8 carriage guns, 12 swivels, and 49 men each) were bearing down upon us at four o'clock in the morning,—at half an hour thereafter two of them engaged us, and about eleven o'clock the other two were close along side. The *George* transport, on board of which Major Menzies and I, with 108 men of the 2d battalion, the adjutant, the quartermaster, two lieutenants, five volunteers, were passengers, had only six pieces of cannon to oppose them; and the *Annabella*, on board of which was Captain M'Kenzie, together with two subalterns, two volunteers, and 82 private men of the first battalion, had only two swivels for her defence. Under such circumstances, I thought it expedient for the *Annabella* to keep a head of the *George*, that our artillery might be used with more effect and less obstruction. Two of the privateers having stationed themselves upon our larboard quarter and two upon our starboard quarter, a tolerable cannonade ensued, which, with very few intermissions, lasted till four o'clock

in the evening, when the enemy bore away, and anchored in Plymouth harbour. Our loss upon this occasion was only three men mortally wounded on board the *George*, one man killed, and one man slightly wounded on board the *Annabella*. As my orders were for the port of Boston, I thought it my duty, at this happy crisis, to push forward into the harbour, not doubting I should receive protection, either from a fort or from some ship, of force stationed there for the security of our fleet.

Towards the close of the evening we perceived the four schooners that were engaged with us in the morning, joined by the brig *Defence*, of 16 carriage guns, 20 swivels, and 117 men, and a schooner of eight carriage guns, 12 swivels, and 49 men, got under way, and made towards us. As we stood up for Nantasket road, an American battery opened upon us, which was the first serious proof we had that there could scarcely be many of our friends at Boston; and we were too far embayed to retreat, especially as the wind had died away, and the tide of flood not half expended. After each of the vessels had twice run a-ground, we anchored at *George's Island*, and prepared for action; but the *Annabella*, by some misfortune or other, got a-ground so far a-stern of the *George*, we could expect but a feeble support from her musketry. About eleven o'clock four of the schooners anchored right on our bow, and one right a-stern of us; the armed brig took her station on our starboard side, at the distance of 200 yards, and hailed us to strike the British flag. Although the mate of our ship, and every sailor on board (the Captain only excepted) refused positively to fight any longer, I have the pleasure to inform you, that there was not an officer, non-commissioned officer,

officer, or private man of the 71st, but what stood to their quarters with a ready and chearful obedience. On our refusing to strike the British flag, the action was renewed with a good deal of warmth on both sides, and it was our misfortune, after a sharp combat of an hour and an half, to have expended every shot that we had for our artillery. Under such circumstances, hemmed in as we were with six privateers, in the middle of an enemy's harbour, beset with a dead calm, without the power of escaping, or even the most distant hope of relief, I thought it became my duty not to sacrifice the lives of gallant men wantonly in the arduous attempt of an evident impossibility. In this unfortunate affair, Major Menzies and 7 private soldiers were killed; the quarter-master and 12 private soldiers wounded. The major was buried with the honours of war at Boston.

Since our captivity I have the honour to acquaint you, that we have experienced the utmost civility and good treatment from the people of power at Boston, insomuch, Sir, that I should do injustice to the feelings of generosity, did I not give this particular information with pleasure and satisfaction. I have now to request of you, that so soon as the distracted state of this unfortunate controversy will admit, you will be pleased to take an early opportunity of settling a cartel for myself and officers. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

Lieut. Col. of the 2d. bat. 71st. regiment.

P. S. On my arrival at Boston I found that Capt. Maxwell, with the light infantry of the 1st battalion of the 71st regiment, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of some other privateers, and was carried into

Marblehead the 10th inst. Captain Campbell with the grenadiers of the 2d battalion, who was ignorant as we were of the evacuation of Boston, stood into the mouth of the harbour and was surrounded and taken by eight privateers this forenoon.

In case a cartel is established, the following return is, as near as I can effect, the number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men of the 71st regiment, who are prisoners of war at and in the neighbourhood of Boston.

The George transport, Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell; Lieut. and Adjut. Archibald Balneaves; Lieut. Hugh Campbell; Quarter-master William Ogilvie; Surgeon's-mate David Burnes; Patrick M'Dougal, volunteer, and acting serjeant-major; James Flint, volunteer; Dougald Campbell, ditto: Donald M'Bane, John Wilson, 3 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 90 private men.

The Annabella transport, Captain George M'Kinzie; Lieut. Colin M'Kinzie; Ensign Peter Frazer; Mr. M'Kinzie and Alex. M'Tavish, volunteers: 4 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, and 81 private men.

Lord Howe transport, Captain Lawrence Campbell; Lieut. Robert Duncanson; Lieut. Arch. M'Lean; Lieut. Lewis Colhoun; Dun. Campbell, volunteer; 4 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, and 96 private men.

Ann transport, Captain Hamilton Maxwell; Lieut. Charles Campbell; Lieut. Frazer; Lieut. ———, 4 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 96 private men.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

Lieut. Col. of the 2d bat. 71st regt.

London, September 26. Advices have been received from Canada, dated Aug. 12, which say, that General Burgoyne's army, have found it impracticable to get across the Lakes this season.

season. — That the naval force of the Provincials upon the lakes, is too great for them to contend with at present. That they must build larger vessels for this purpose; and that these vessels cannot be ready before next summer. The army will therefore be obliged to winter in Canada, about Montreal, St. John's, &c. And they will be in want of provisions, unless supplied from England. General Carleton has requested, that a sufficient quantity of provisions may be sent. The design was, that the two armies commanded by the Generals, Howe and Burgoyne, should co-operate; that they should both be on the Hudson's river at the same time; and that they should join about Albany; and thereby cut off all communication between the northern and southern colonies.

A cursory view of the present state of liberty in Europe: In a letter written by the celebrated Mr. Rousseau, to his friend at Amsterdam.

If it is true that despotism and arbitrary power were originally intended for savage nations only; if it is true that nations amongst which industry, agriculture, commerce, navigation, and all arts and sciences are flourishing in the highest degree, come under the appellation of, and actually are, civilized nations; and if it is true that from the very nature of civilized nations it follows that they should be free; all Europe then, (the exterior part of Russia, and a part of Turkey excepted) ought, by the unquestionable right of mankind, to be free, and no such name as arbitrary power or despotism be known in it.

Nevertheless, we find poor civilized Europe groaning under the heavy yoke of oppression; and her being thoroughly civilized, and well versed in the natural rights of mankind,

only serves to make her the more sensible of the insupportable chains which she wears, and from which to be released, there is, alas! not the least prospect; the princes as it seems are all putting their heads together, in order to establish an universal slavery amongst mankind, vulgarly called an universal monarchy, for the support of which they actually keep no less than one million of mercenaries; all which stand watching with drawn swords, to destroy every one who should dare to say the least thing against it.

Liberty, it seems, was in expectation, during these two centuries, to take up her residence in Europe; but finding herself grievously disappointed at last, all of a sudden took a flight across the Atlantic, with an intent to settle in America, where there are no haughty, proud, ambitious Emperors, Kings, or Princes, to oppose her, no giddy dissipated nobles to slight her; no slanderous, cringing courtiers to prejudice her; and no luxury, pension, nor bribe to corrupt her.

In the course of her travels through Europe, she left here and there a shadow behind her, which shadows dwindle away gradually at the approach of the horrid night of oppression, and but a little while, not the least mark will be seen of her.

Perhaps you will interrupt me here, and cry out, Does not liberty in her full glory reside among us Dutchmen? but, my dear friend, if you come to examine it, you will find a mere shadow instead of reality. It is true you have no King; your Stadholder has not the least prerogative; your national affairs are conducted by your own council; nay, there are even some of your senators along with the army in a time of war, without whose order nothing can be done; these are blessings, I readily confess; but what

is all this to the individual? Is he happy?—free? your government, although a republican one, is as despotic as the court of Constantinople. A chief magistrate at Amsterdam has it in his power to send a letter *de cachet* to any citizen, however respectable and opulent he may be, ordering him to leave the city, within four and twenty hours, under pain of imprisonment, and large pecuniary penalties. Liberty indeed!

Your police is the most corrupted one in Europe, being only calculated to fill the pockets of its officers; your civil laws are so complicated, that a suit in law is never decided before two or three years, by which both parties are generally impoverished before it is ended; your criminal laws are as barbarous as they were under the Spaniards; you keep on the torture, whilst it becomes abolished in the most obscure countries; your press, that great standard of liberty, is far more confined than at Paris; even your poor paltry news-papers are read over and curtailed several times by a stupid magistrate, before they can go to the press. The poor printer of the Leyden paper has but lately been summoned before the States, for having glanced at the natural abilities of the grand Duke of Russia, and was obliged to kneel down before the Russian ambassador, and beg pardon. Your clergy have far more power, and are more spiteful than the Sorbonnes at Paris; your taxes are chiefly, and indeed all, levied on the most necessary articles of life, by which the poor and industrious are burthened, whilst the great men of landed property make it as easy for themselves as possible. Your governors in the West-Indies exercise the most despotic and tyrannical authorities over individuals, although Dutch subjects; your governors,

and officers in the East-Indies, are totally destitute of all human feelings, and acknowledged to be the greatest tyrants that ever disgraced the human race; in a word, you have adopted in your government the slowness of a democracy, the selfishness of an aristocracy, the mercilessness of a republic, and the oppression of individuals of a monarchy. So far for Dutch liberty.

But what say you of your own country? You will reply, "Does not liberty shine in her perfect lustre at Switzerland?" Alas! my dear friend, whatever I said against your government, is doubly applicable to that of my own country, with the addition that Switzerland is in every respect the European coast of Guinea; their freedom consists therein, that every nation may come thither, and purchase slaves; with the only difference, that the slaves purchased on the coast of Guinea are sent to the West-Indies or America, to cultivate the different plantations, or to do other business calculated for the general good of mankind; whilst the slaves purchased in Switzerland are sent to France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, &c. to lay waste and ruin the best countries, or to do other business calculated for the general destruction of mankind.

Scarcely did a petty tyrant on the continent send a few thousand men to quell rebellion (a technical term in the parliamentary language for liberty) but all the sons of freedom exclaimed against it; whilst our free and independent united cantons of Switzerland make it their sole business to sell their sons to cut throats for France, Spain, &c. or to whoever wants common destroyers of the human race. If you ask a Swiss, What is the production of your country? He will directly answer "Good cattle

cattle and stout men." Argue with a polite Swiss about the shameful practice of selling their freeborn subjects to fight for other nations, they will answer you, "It is the remarkable martial spirit which characterises the Swiss, and prompts them to fight for any body."

Martial spirit seems to be, in our refined age, the technical term for public murder and plunder. It is true, that it is highly consistent with a virtuous citizen to take up arms in defence only when his country and property is in danger of being invaded. The law of nature gives that right; but to be hired to fight for another country, whether the cause be right or wrong, deserves our contempt. An officer or soldier who places himself at the head of a battle, and gives proofs of his intrepidity in his own country's cause, deserves our admiration, if it is from motives of zeal to a good cause; but if it proceeds from motives of interest and preferences (although for his own country) we should look upon him with equal contempt, and brand him with the just epithet of a mercenary. How can we look upon him in any other light? (says the truly learned Marmontel) "*s'exposer à la mort pour gagner la vie*" (he earns his livelihood, by exposing himself to death.)"

Being in the neighbourhood of Italy, I will just mention the republics of Genoa, Venice, Ragusa, and Malta. All I have to say on these free governments is, that for the good of mankind, I would sooner wish the subjects of these states to be governed by the present humane Dey of Algiers, than by those haughty, proud, and insignificant Italian nobles. Aristotle, in his definition of a monarchy, says, 'that one man is free, and all the rest slaves;' but he forgets, that in his own form of government he institutes, instead of one tyrant, a

number of tyrants. It is the happiness and freedom of the governed, but not that of the governor, which is to be considered.

Corsica was crushed by the irresistible force of a neighbour, and by the treachery of the chief officers. The head of them (as report says) was winked at by the conqueror to strip the treasury of a considerable sum, and to escape; but I am happy to find that a true spirit, and even enthusiasm of liberty, still prevails among that handful of people; and I suppose that after the conquest cost above 20,000 men, and nearly as many millions of livres, the conqueror will at the end be obliged to give it up.

A shadow of liberty existed in Sweden, but it soon vanished away at the approach of despotism; and all the states of Europe, free as well as despotic, congratulated the usurper on the glorious revolution.

The extensive kingdom of Poland was in some respect free. It was a mixture of all kinds of governments, with a King at the head. They had an advantage even over Great Britain, because their Kings were electable; and according to the latest constitution, even the third generation of the King was not to be entitled to offer himself a candidate for the crown. Three neighbouring powers, in spite of all laws of nations, dismembered the country, and divided it amongst themselves; the feeble fragments which were left, carry still the mere name of freedom; and their affairs are to be conducted by a Council Permanent (elected by the Diet) and by the Diet itself.

A general Diet is at this time assembling, and I have grounds to fear it will be the very last; for there are no less than 21,000 men, viz. 7000 Russians, 7000 Austrians, and 7000 Prussians, ordered to encamp close

close to Warsaw; and the business of this diet (or rather of the 21000 cut-throats) as I am informed from the best authority, is to be, to abolish the council permanent, and to render the Polish crown hereditary. The King is to marry a Princess of the House of Austria; and, in a word, to render the King entirely despotic in that part of Poland now called the republic; and thus poor liberty will be banished from that spot too.

You will be curious to hear my opinion of the people in Great-Britain, that most ancient seat of liberty: the people there, I am told, are perfectly happy in being indulged to speak and write, to abuse King and ministry in what manner they please, which they consider as an ample satisfaction for paying exorbitant taxes, and supplying the enormous exigencies of government. I must also acknowledge the people to be perfectly free, viz. the cities, towns, boroughs, and corporations, are entirely free to elect their representatives in parliament, either according to their consciences, or to the highest bidder. The members of both houses of parliament are entirely free to discharge their duty, either according to their consciences, or according to the places and pensions they hold. The King is entirely free to chuse ministers: the minister is entirely free to propose constitutional or unconstitutional measures. But how far all these freedoms are exercised, I am not a skilled historian enough to decide.

Journal of occurrences which happened in the march of the detachment commanded by Benedictine Arnold, Colonel, consisting of two battalions which were detached from the army at Cambridge to Canada, in the year 1775.

Printed from the American Copy.
(Supposed to be written by Major Meigs.)

Field Officers Names

COL. CHRISTOPPER GREEN.

COL. ROGER ENAS.

MAJOR ROBERT MEIGS.

MAJOR TIMOTHY BRIGELOW.

Sept. 9, 1775. I marched from Roxbury (where I had been stationed the summer) to Cambridge.

10, 11, 12. At Cambridge preparations for our march.—13th in the evening marched to Myttick—and the 14th, continued our march, through the towns of Malden, Lynn, and Salem, and encamped at Danvers.

15. In the morning continued our march through the towns of Beverley, and Wenham, and encamped at Rowley.

16. In the morning we continued our march; at 10. A. M. arrived at Newbury Port, and there encamped.

17. Being Sunday, attended divine service at the Rev. Mr. Parsons's meeting at Newbury Port, dined at Mr. Nathaniel Tracey's. Weather fine.

18. Preparing to embark, dined at Mr. Dalton's. Weather fine.

19. Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of ten companies of musquet-men, and three companies of rifle-men, amounting to 1100 men, on board ten transports—I went on board the sloop Britannia. The fleet sailed at 10 A. M. came out of the harbour and lay to, till one o'clock P. M. when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebec, 40 leagues from Newbury-Port.

Received with our sailing orders the following signals, viz.

1st signal, for *speaking* with the whole fleet. Ensign at the main-top-mast head

2d signal, for *chasing* a sail. Ensign at the fore-top-mast head.

3d signal, for *heaving to*. The lantern at the main-top-mast head, and two guns, if head on shore; and three if off shore.

4th signal, for *making sail in the night*. One lantern at the main-top-

Q 9

mast

mast head and 4 guns—In the day, jack at the fore-top-mast head.

5th signal, for *dispersing* and every vessel making the nearest harbour. Ensign at the main peak.

6th signal, for *boarding* any vessel. A jack at the main-top-mast head and the whole fleet draw up in a line, as near as possible. The weather was fair, and very fresh, but I was very sea-sick.

20. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebec, right a-head, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms who were there stationed; they were answered "we were Continental troops, and that we wanted a pilot," whom they immediately sent on board. The wind and tide favoured us as we proceeded up the river. Five miles from the mouth lies an island called *Roufack*; upon this were a meeting-house, and some very good dwelling-houses; the river to this island is very unequal, width from one to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile, the water deep, great tides, and the shores generally rocky. Ten miles from the mouth are elegant buildings: at a place called George Town, 20 miles from the mouth, is a very large bay, called Merry Meeting Bay; 25 miles from the mouth is Swan Island; and a little above this island opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house, we came to an anchor. I cannot help remarking our dispatch, that this day makes 14 only since the orders were first given for building 200 batteaux, for collecting provisions, and for levying 1100 men, and marching them to this place, Gardiner's Town.

21. All day at Gardiner's Town. Weather fine.

22. Embarked on board the batteaux—proceeded up the river—and towards evening I put up at the house

of Mr. North, and was very agreeably entertained.

23. In the morning proceeded up the river about 6 miles to Port Western, where an unhappy incident fell out in the evening. A number of soldiers being in a parish house, some words produced a quarrel, and Mr. Cormish being turned out, immediately discharged his gun into the house, and shot a man through the body, of which he soon expired. Mr. Cormish was tried by a court-martial, and received sentence of death, but denied the crime till he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed himself guilty, but for some reasons he was reprieved until the pleasure of General Washington could be known.

24. At Fort Western preparing for our march to Quebec; this fort stands on the east side of the river Kennebec, and consists of two block-houses, and a large house 100 feet long, which were inclosed with pickets; this house is the property of ——— Howard, Esq; where we were exceedingly well entertained.

25. Some men embarked in batteaux, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying place, and clear the road, while the other divisions came up.

26. Col. Green embarked on board the batteaux three companies of musquet-men, with whom went Major Brigelow on their journey to Canada.

27. At three o'clock P. M. I embarked on board my batteaux with the third division of the army, consisting of four companies of musquet-men, with 45 days provisions, and proceeded up the river, hoping for the protection of a kind providence. We encamped in the evening 4 miles from Fort Western.

I had forgot to mention that the navigation for vessels is good to Fort Western, which is 30 miles from the river's mouth: the water some part of the way rapid.

28. Pro-

28. Proceeded up the river, the stream very rapid, and the bottom and shores rocky.

29. In the morning continued our route up the river; at 11 A. M. arrived at Fort Halifax, which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebec and the river Sebastranook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an hour at the fort, then crossed the river to a carrying-place, which is 97 rods carriage, then proceeded up the river (which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom) 5 miles, and encamped. The above are called Taernok.

30. Proceeded up the river 9 miles and encamped; the land we passed this day was generally very good. Colonel Arnold joined at night and encamped with us.

Oct. 1. I proceeded up the river 9 miles and encamped; the land we passed this day was generally very good; the timber, butternutt, beach, hemlock, white pine, red cedar, &c.

2. In the morning proceeded up the river—at ten o'clock arrived at Sachegin falls, where there is a carrying-place of 250 paces, which lies across a small island in the river. Here I waited for my division to come up, and encamped on the west side of the river opposite the island with Capt. Goodrick. Had much rain in the night. I turned out, put on my clothes and lay down again and slept well till morning. Our course in general from the mouth of the river to this place has been from North to North East.

3. Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk; on my way I called at a house where I saw a child 14 months old, which is the first white child born here. At seven o'clock in the evening a little below Norridgewalk, my bateau filled with water; going up the

falls, I lost my kettle, butter, and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk is to be seen the vestige of an Indian fort, chapel, and a priest's grave; there appear to have been some intrenchments on the covered way through the bank of the river, for the conveniency of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared.

4. I proceeded up the river about a mile and a quarter. Here I came up with the second division commanded by Col. Green.

5. All day at the carrying place; at evening moved one company up the river 1 mile, where they encamped, waiting for the other companies of my division.

6. Still at the carrying-place; getting over boats and provisions: at 4 P. M. I proceeded up the river 5 miles and encamped.

7. Continued our march up the river, and at 12 o'clock arrived at Carratuneaus carrying-place. Here the river is confined between two rocks, not more than 40 rods wide, which lie in piles 40 rods in length on each side the river. These rocks are polished in some places by the swift running of the water. The carrying-place is here 434 paces in length.

8. All day at the carrying-place at Carratuneaus; rainy weather. Capt. Darbern's company passing the carrying-place this day at 3 P. M.

9. Capt. Ward's company passed the carrying-place this day at 12 o'clock. At one P. M. I left the carrying-place, and proceeded up the river about 4 miles and encamped. The stream for 4 miles very rapid, and in some places very shoaly, being divided by a number of islands which appear to be fine land: from this encampment some high mountains rise to our view to the northward.

10. Proceeded up the river, which continues its course N. W. between two high mountains, and encamped at the great carrying place, which is 12 miles and a half a-cross, including 3 ponds which we were obliged to pass.

11. I crossed the great carrying-place as far as the third pond; there I had the pleasure of discovering Lieut. Steel and party, who had been sent forwards on a reconnoitring command as far as Chaudiere head: they discovered nothing with regard to the enemy. I returned back and lodged with Col. Green.

12. In the morning repassed the second pond, and went to the river and gave orders which I received from Col. Arnold for building a block-house, and then returned and crossed the first pond and encamped. In three ponds, found plenty of trout. Col. Enas arrived this day at the great carrying-place with the 4th division of the army, consisting of three companies of musquet-men.

13. Employed in carrying our boats and provisions a-cross the first pond and the second portage. I went myself a-cross the third portage and returned back by the East-side of the second portage and encamped with Col. Arnold. The wind so high, the boats could not cross the third pond. About the time we killed 4 moose, which is excellent meat.

14. At 11 o'clock I repassed the first pond to see Capt. Darbern's and Capt. Ward's companies over. Last night a tree blown down by the wind, fell on one of our men, and bruised him in such a manner that his life is despaired of. In the evening I returned back to the second portage and encamped with Capt. Ward.

15. This morning orders were given that the allowance should be $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of pork and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of flour per man per diem. At 2 o'clock I crossed the third pond and encamped in a cedar swamp.

This pond is about 9 miles in circumference and surrounded with cedar timber. This last pond is much smaller than the other two.

16. In the morning I went to Dead river, and took part of Capt. Goodrick's company and returned to the third pond, where I met with Capt. Ward's company. At evening returned to Dead river; marched one mile up and encamped with Capt. Hanchet.

17. In the morning I set out with Capt. Hanchet, to reconnoitre a very high mountain about ten miles from our encampment, but we were too late in the day, and returned towards evening without being able to ascend the mountain.

18. In the morning ordered 8 men to kill two oxen, which we had drove with great difficulty to this place, and to bring 5 quarters to the detachment that was gone forward, and to leave 3 quarters under a guard for Col. Enas's divisions. Then I proceeded up the river with my division about twenty miles; the water runs with a very gentle current, and encamped on the south-side; here I joined Col. Arnold and Col. Green's divisions. The land we passed this day very fine, thinly timbered, and mostly covered with grass, as high as a man's waist.

19. In the morning it rained, we tarried in our camp till two o'clock, then continued our rout up the river 5 miles, and encamped on the north-side: this afternoon we passed three small falls: the current, except the falls, very gentle.

This day I received orders from Col. Arnold, to proceed with my division with the greatest expedition to Chaudiere, and when arrived there to make up our cartridges, and wait for the rear divisions, and furnish a number of pioneers under Mr. Eyres, to clear the carrying-place.

20. Pro-

20. Proceeded up the river, passed several falls, and one portage only three roods a-cross, and encamped at evening; rainy weather all day.

21. In the morning proceeded up the river about three miles to a carrying-place 45 perches a-cross; then continued our route up the river about 2 miles to a portage 30 perches a-cross, where we encamped.

22. Continued our route up the river about 3 miles: in our way we passed two portages, or carrying-places, each 74 perches. Our course this day is only three miles, owing to the extraordinary rise of the river. The last night in some parts of the river the water rose eight feet perpendicular, and in many places overflowed its banks and filled the country with water, which made it very difficult for our men on shore to march.

23. In the morning continued our march, though very slow, owing to the rapidity of the stream. A number of our men who marched on the shore, coursed a river that came in from the westward, mistaking it for the main river, which as soon as we discovered, we dispatched some boats after them. The river Nois falls fast. Encamped this evening at a carrying-place 15 perches a-cross. Here a council of war was held, in which it was resolved that 50 men should march with all dispatch by land to Chaudiere pond; and that the sick of my division, and Capt. Morgan's, should return back to Cambridge. At this place the Arcam very rapid, in passing which, 5 or 6 batteaux filled, and overset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some cloaths, cash, &c.

24. Proceeded up the river, though with great fatigue, the water being rapid. Our whole course this day was only 4 miles, when we encamped.

25. Continued our route up the river about 6 miles, and encamped—the stream very rapid; in our way we passed three carrying-places, two of 70 rods each, the other 90.

26. Continued our route, and soon entered a sound about 2 miles a-cross, and passed through a narrow freight only two perches and a half wide, and about 4 roods long; then entered another small pond about one mile over, and then through a narrow freight about a mile and a half over to a third pond three miles wide, then passed through a narrow freight and entered a fourth pond a quarter of a mile wide, and then entered a crooked river about three miles in length to a carrying-place 15 perches a-cross, to a pond 100 perches a-cross, and encamped on the north-west side upon a high hill which is a carrying-place. The ponds are surrounded with mountains.

27. In the morning continued our route a-cross the carrying-place, which is 1 mile, to a pond, 50 roods wide, to a carrying-place 44 perches long, to a pond about 2 miles, to a carrying-place 4 miles and 60 perches. This carrying-place lies a-cross the heights of land, and is about 2 miles from the last mentioned pond to the height, when all the streams run the reverse of the rivers we came up. We encamped this evening on the heights of land.

28. In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere river; made a division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the heights and encamped. Here I distributed the following sums of money, to the following persons: viz. To Col. Green 500 dollars, to Major Bigelow 50; and paid Mr Gatchel 44; paid Mr. Berry 4l. 5s. lawful money.

29. Con-

29. Continued our march by land to Quebec. At 1 P. M. came to Nepes lake, which we supposed to be Ammeguntick lake: we continued our march till night, and encamped on the banks of the lake Nepes, where there had been an Indian camp.

30. Marched through the woods about 15 miles, and encamped near the north end of Ammeguntick lake.

Nov. 1. Continued our march thro' the woods; the marching this day was exceedingly bad. I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions, and were somewhat sick. It was not in my power to help or relieve them. One or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with good appetite, even the feet and skin. This day in our march upon the banks of the Chaudiere, we saw several boats that were split upon the rocks, and one of Capt. Morgan's men was drowned. The travelling this day, as yesterday, very bad over mountains and morasses.

2. In the morning continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. The marching this day better than we have lately had. The river grows wider, and runs very quick, and in some places very shallow. We passed this day several small islands. The weather exceeding fine, and as warm as ever I felt it at this season in New-England.

3. Continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere: at 12 o'clock we met with provisions, to the intexpresible joy of the soldiers, who were near starving. After refreshing ourselves, we marched a few miles and encamped.

4. In the morning continued our march: At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and were hospitably used: this is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been all that time in a rough, barren, and uninhabited wil-

derness, where we never saw a human being except our own men. Immediately after our arrival, we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants, and vegetables. This settlement is called Serigan, and is 25 leagues from Quebec.

5. Marched down to the parish of St. Mary's: the country thinly settled; the people kindly supplied us with plenty of provisions.

6, 7, 8, 9. I was on business up and down the country on each side the river; the inhabitants very hospitable. Our men that were gone forward to Point Levi, made prisoner Mr. M'Kenzie, a midshipman of the Hunter sloop of war. This night I lodged at St. Mary's.

10. I marched down to Point Levi, and joined the detachment.

11, 12, 13. I was at Point Levi; nothing extraordinary happened, except a deserter came in to us from Quebec, by whom we were informed Col. M'Clean had arrived from Sorrel with his regiment. The Lizard frigate also arrived a few days before us. On the evening of this day at 9 o'clock, we began to embark our men on board 35 canoes. At 4 P.M. we got over and landed 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men of war were stationed to prevent us. We landed at the same place Gen. Wolfe did, in a small cove, which is now called Wolfe's cove.

Soon after our landing, a barge from the Lizard frigate came rowing up the river: we hailed her, and ordered her to come on shore; they refusing, we fired upon them, they pushed off shore and cried out. After parading our men on the heights of Abraham, and sending out a reconnoitring party towards the city, and placing centinels, we marched across the plain and took possession of a large house which was formerly owned by Gen. Murray, and other houses
ad-

adjacent, which were fine accommodations for our troops.

14. This morning employed in placing proper guards on the different roads to cut off the communication between the city and country. At 12 o'clock the enemy surprized one of our advanced centres, and made him prisoner; the guard soon perceived the enemy and pursued, but were not able to overtake them; we rallied the main body, and marched upon the heights near the city, gave them three huzzas, and marched our men fairly in their view.

They did not choose to come out to us, but gave us a few shot from the ramparts, and we then returned to our camp. This afternoon they set fire to the suburbs and burnt several houses. This evening Col. Arnold sent a flag of truce with a demand of the garrison, in the name and behalf of the United Colonies. As the flag approached the walls it was fired upon, contrary to all rule and custom on such occasions. We constantly lay on our arms to prevent surprize; for we were informed by a gentleman from Quebec, that we might expect an attack very soon from the city.

15. The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing on our flag yesterday was through mistake, but it was treated in the same manner as before; on which it returned. An express went off to Gen. Montgomery this morning. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed with a report, that the troops in town were coming out to attack us. We turned out to meet them, but it proved false.

16. This morning it is reported Montreal surrendered to Gen. Montgomery the last sabbath, and that the shipping were taken. One of our men, a serjeant in one of the rifled companies, received a shot from a cannon, which shattered one of his

legs in such a manner that amputation was necessary. This day we sent a company of our men and took possession of the general hospital; the Canadians are continually coming in, to express their satisfaction at our coming into this country.

17. The serjeant that was wounded yesterday, died this morning, with great composure and resignation. — This day we had a confirmation of the surrender of Montreal to Gen. Montgomery. A soldier came in to us from Quebec, but no intelligence extraordinary from him. A party of our men went, over to Point Levi, with boats, to bring a party of our detachment that were left there with provisions. Weather pleasant.

18. We have orders to parade at 3 o'clock to-morrow morning.

19. Early in the morning decamped and marched up to Point au Tremble, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we passed, thick settled; every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us seven prisoners, and two deserters.

20. An express came in this morning from Gen. Montgomery at Montreal; the contents are, that the King's troops had abandoned the town, not the shipping, and that he was about to attack with row gallees and boats with artillery mounted in them, and that he should immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which I write to my family. The curate of the parish at Point aux Trembles, dines this day at head-quarters.

(C O P Y .)

Montreal, January 6th, 1776.

Dear Sir;

With the greatest distress of mind, I now sit down to acquaint you of the event, of an unfortunate attack made upon Quebec, between the hours of

4 and

4 and six of the morning of the 31st of December, unfortunate indeed, for in it fell our brave General Montgomery, his aid de camp M'Pherson, Capt. Cheefman, Capt. Hendricks, of the riflemen, and two or three subaltern officers, and between 60 and 100 privates, the number not certainly known, and about 300 officers and soldiers taken prisoners, amongst which are Lieutenant Col. Green, Major Bigalow, Major Meigs, and a number of captains and inferior officers. Col. Arnold was wounded in the leg in the beginning of the action, as was Major Ogden in the shoulder, and brought off to the general hospital; I have not time to give you all the particulars, but thus much will serve to shew you, that in consequence of this defeat, our prospects are rendered very dubious, and unless we can quickly be reinforced, perhaps this may be fatal, not only to us, who are stationed here, but also to the colonies in general, the frontiers especially greatly, very greatly depends upon keeping possession of this country.— You know as well as any man, the tempers, dispositions and character of the Canadians, they are not persevering in adversity, they are not to be depended upon, but like the savages, are exceeding fond of chusing the strongest party; add to this our enemies in this country, of whom there are very many, use every method to excite the Canadians against us; the clergy refuse absolution, to all who have shewn themselves our friends, and preach damnation to those who will not take up arms against us, and tell them, that now it is not too late, that we are but a handful of men, &c. I have sent an express to Gen. Schuyler, Gen. Washington, and the Congress, but you know how far they have to go, and that it is very uncertain how long it will be before we can have relief from them:

therefore let me beg of you to collect immediately as many men as you can, five, or six, or seven hundred, if it can be done, and some how or other get into this country, and stay with us, till we can get relief from the colonies. You are sensible we have provisions of all kinds enough, and the weather in this country is far from being so frightful as many have imagined. You will see that proper officers and soldiers are appointed under you; and both officers and soldiers shall be paid, as other continental troops; it will be well for your men to set out as fast as they can be collected, not so much matter whether together or not, but let them set out by 10, 20, 30, 40, or 50, as they can be collected, for it must have a good effect upon the minds of the Canadians to see succours coming in. You will be good enough to send copies of this letter to the people below. I can't but think our friends will make a push, to get into this country. I am confident you will not disappoint my most fervent wish and expectations of seeing you here, with your men in a short time. Now, Sir, is the time to distinguish yourself and obtain the applause of your ever grateful countrymen, of your distressed friends in Canada, and your sincere friend, &c.

Signed, DAVID WOOSTER.

To Col. Warner.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Arnold, dated camp before Quebec, January 14, 1776.

The charge which has devolved upon me, has been a most arduous task; our last disaster so disheartened the troops, that I have had the greatest difficulty to keep them together. Our whole force since the attack amounts to more than 700 men. We were for some time in expectation of an attack from the garrison consisting of 1500, but they have as yet thought proper

proper to continue in their strong hold, and we have effectually blocked them up. Gen. Wooster, whom I for a while expected, acquaints me he cannot leave Montreal, but will send me a reinforcement as soon as possible. Our duty has been extremely hard and fatiguing in this inclement climate, where the snow is now four feet deep on a level; but what cannot soldiers do, who are fighting for liberty and their country? I make no doubt of a large reinforcement being sent us as early as possible, and of being in Quebec before spring.

New York, May 23. The smallness of our army at Quebec, was occasioned by so many of them being sick, and others dispersed in different posts, for conveniency of quarters; so that at head-quarters there were but 200 effective men, where there was no intrenchment, nor breast-work, nor tools to make any, and but six days provisions. It had been determined in a council of war, to raise the siege in two or three days. Gen. Wooster with his own baggage, Capt. Mott, and others, had set out on their return three days before the enemy's ships appeared. It was supposed General Carleton had notice of this determination, by spies and deserters; and on this information, made his sally the instant he was reinforced by the ships. Upon the unexpected appearance of the ships, our people quitted the place with precipitation and confusion, leaving their cannon, baggage, and sick. Our people were not pursued, nor was there any firing; but as our people proceeded up the river, the men of war followed till near De Chambeau, where our people made a stand, and the ships went down the river.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Douglas, to the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, dated Quebec, June 19, 1776.

On the 19th ult. Capt. Foster, with his light infantry company, of the 8th regiment, a few Canadians, and 200 Indians, having descended from the lakes, attacked, carried and intrenched a rebel post of four hundred men, with two pieces of brass cannon, at a place on the main, and called the Cedars, eight leagues above the town of Montreal, with the loss of one Indian killed, and two wounded. The Sachems acting herein as principals, not knowing what to do with above 500 prisoners, which they first and last had taken (reserving hostages) suffered them to depart, stipulating for their never more bearing arms against the King, and for the return of the 7th and 26th regiments in lieu. A few days after this event, a thousand rebels evacuated the important post at Trois Rivieres, with great precipitation. Between the 27th ult. and the 7th inst. the armies from Ireland and England, convoyed by the Carysfort and Pearl, the Juno and Blond, arrived, and passed the rapids of Richlieu; as did the latter frigate and the Triton on the 8th, and proceeded quite up to Trois Rivieres, where on that day early in the morning, a detachment, said to have consisted of 2500 rebels, commanded by one of their generals, called Thompson, now a prisoner on board the Blond, expecting to find only 4 or 500 men, attacked, and after a feeble resistance, was repulsed and dispersed by the 29th, 47th, and 62d regiments, leaving some slain about the skirts of the wood, which had concealed them and 200 more prisoners; on our side only two men were killed and 10 wounded. On the 14th, the first division, of between 70 and 80 sail of transports, store-ships, armed vessels, &c. led by the Martin sloop, entered St. Peter's lake early in the morning. At noon, on its appearance, the rebels abandoned their fa-

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yourite post, at the mouth of the river Sorel, and one on the other side of the lake, at a place called Berchies, as did Arnold, *the horse-dealing general*, the town of Montreal, on the 15th, who was presently succeeded therein by Capt. Forster aforesaid, his Indians, and the 29th regiment. His Majesty's other troops are in pursuit of the fugitives, towards St. John's fort, and it is hoped may yet give a good account of their heavy baggage at least.

Extract of a letter from the camp at Sorel, June 13, 1776.

On the 8th instant a detachment of sixteen hundred men, under the command of General Thompson, left the mouth of Nicolette, in order to surprize the enemy at Three Rivers. The design was, to have attacked the town before day; but some unforeseen accidents retarded him, so that it was quite light before he got near the town. An advanced boat discovered the party on their march, gave the alarm, and was fired on by the riflemen, who drove her off into the stream. This happened a little before sun-rise, and all prospect of succeeding by surprize was then over; the General determined to make the attack, ordered the drums to beat, to put the best face upon the matter, and to intimidate the enemy. In this manner the march continued till they came within the reach of the vessels, some of which were anchored along the shore for about a mile and a half above the town, when a brisk cannonade began from them, but without effect, or occasioning the least disorder among the troops, who bore it with as good a countenance as the best veterans in the world could have done. Col. Maxwell, who led the first division, seeing however, that in proceeding by the road, he would be exposed to a very galling fire from all the vessels, seventeen in number;

turned a little to the left, in order to cross what seemed to be a point of woods, and by which it seemed as if we could gain the height of the town, where the firing from the vessels would be ineffectual. This point turned out to be a very thick swamp of great extent, and which took up three hours or more to get through; every step to the knee, and very often a great deal higher. This was very unfavourable to us, for it was impossible for men to march through it without being broken, and in a good deal of confusion; and as the enemy were ready for us on the farther side, there was neither time nor ground to form properly. The consequence was, as you may judge, that we had the worst of it.

The General's original plan was to have attacked before day, at four separate places; two attacks by the opposite ends of the main street; each division consisting of 300 men. A reserve of 250 was to remain ready for the support of any of the others. I am persuaded, if we had arrived in time to put this in execution, it would have succeeded, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy in numbers. No new plan was formed, because the General had it not in his power, for one of the divisions was separated from the rest by the swamp, and the general did not know where they were until the firing began from them; all he could do was to order them to be supported. This was done for some time with effect; the enemy were broken and gave way for some distance; but being supported in their turn, they drove our people back, who bore a very heavy fire from the musquetry, and two pieces of field artillery, loaded with grape shot. After repeated attacks, we were obliged to give way, the enemy scarcely pursuing us.

Our

Our loss is not considerable as to numbers, but General Thompson is among the prisoners. I believe we made some impression on the minds of our enemies. They allow we behaved well; and it will not tell amiss, that 1200 Americans attacked under every disadvantage, four thousand British troops, obliged them at first to give way, and when beat back, made a retreat of forty-five miles, with the loss of only 150 men.

A letter from Chamblée, dated July 12, among other things, says, 'The army were getting every thing ready for passing the lakes; but that the ordnance ship, with all her stores, is fallen into the hands of the rebels, within four or five miles of two of the King's ships (becalmed) who sent boats manned and armed to retake her; but after losing one of the boats, and 26 men killed, were obliged to leave her in the hands of the rebels. Captain Douglas is arrived here to inspect the rigging, &c. of the vessels. We are in great want of ship-carpenters; 120 were demanded in England, by those who understood the service; but only 20 were sent. Every carpenter on board the transports and men of war has been sent; but unfortunately the Provincials burnt a large quantity of timber that had been prepared for building the vessels.'

General Carleton has acted with a spirit and dignity becoming a better situation. Finding the Indians could not be kept from scalping, he has dismissed every one of them, saying, he would rather forego all the advantages of their assistance, than make war in so cruel a manner. His conduct has not been spoken well of by the partizans of the court, but it reflects great honour upon his character as a gentleman, and a soldier. About 600 of the Provincials, who had been made prisoners in different parts of Canada he has released, first oblig-

ing them to take an oath not to serve for one year, and has cloathed many of them; the American officers he has dismissed upon the same condition. His provisions begin to run very low.

The Provincials who had fled from Canada assembled at Crown Point, where they received some reinforcements; five battalions which they had raised among the peasantry in Canada, they brought over the lake with them, and they continue with the Provincial army. The peasantry of Canada are more friends to the Americans than to the British troops; many of them have refused to work for the British army, and have in consequence been very ill treated, which has occasioned much discontent among the peasantry. The Brunswickers are not so alert as the British troops, they move heavily and slowly; several of them have deserted. Six Brunswick deserters were hanged in one day. The Provincial troops became very sickly soon after they arrived at Crown Point; the small-pox raged in their camp; the officers differed exceedingly with each other; and it is not improbable the service would have been greatly injured, if the Continental Congress had not interfered. They appointed Major General Gates to be commander in chief in Canada. He embarked at New-York on the 27th of June, with several gentlemen of his suite for Albany. Upon his arrival at Crown Point, he ordered that place to be abandoned; for if General Burgoyne should get over the Lake Champlain, he might get behind Crown Point: he therefore made choice of Ticonderoga to make his stand at. He is repairing the works, and putting every thing in the best order possible. The Congress have ordered his army to be reinforced to 18,000 men.

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Extract

Extract of a letter from Independent Point, July 30.

Three schooners are gone down the lake; and a sloop, and six or eight gondolas will follow in a few days. Two hundred carpenters are employed in building more after the Delaware mould. We have plenty of large guns, and hope soon to have a formidable fleet upon the lake Champlain. Generals Carleton and Burgoyne are at St. John's, likewise busy in preparing a fleet. A Canadian, a friend of ours, and an officer in the militia, says, General Carleton has not yet ordered the Canadians to arms, but has given them notice to be ready in September to go across the lakes, as he and General Burgoyne are determined to drive the rebels out of the country, and shall winter at Albany. They will find it impracticable. They will have to pass first the Gondolas, 2dly, Crown-Point, 3dly, the Narrows, below Independent Point and Ticonderoga. Our fortifications are much stronger than when the French had this post; when with only 3000 French and Canadians, they made such havock in the British army in 1758.

Extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Aug. 15, 1776.

'I came over here to conduct a Canadian from St. Francois to headquarters. He assures me, that the Indians in general have resolved not to join in the war. Things here begin to wear a different face. The greatest harmony reigns among the general officers. Order is taking place in the army, and the men in high spirits. Great numbers are coming in from New-England to Skeneborough. General Carleton has barbarously used the Canadians who favoured us. General Burgoyne has endeavoured to persuade some tribes of Canadian Indians to join the Bri-

tish army; but they absolutely refused to take any part, adding, that if Great-Britain and America should become reconciled, they should be the greatest sufferers, and therefore were determined to be neuter. We have received a large supply of fresh beef, which has been of great service in the recovery of the sick. Our marine force consists of eight gondolas and four schooners. We are going from here down the lake, in order to retake St. John's, which General Burgoyne has possession of at present.—As we have numbers, and our army are determined, I do not entertain the least doubt of success.'

New-York, Aug. 22. The foreigners in General Burgoyne's army desert in large numbers. Sixty came over in a large boat to our troops at Ticonderoga. The Congress have received advice from Ticonderoga, of two deserters from the Brunswickers being got in, and that ninety more came off with them.

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, October 11.

'Yesterday arrived the Favourite, Fisher, Sisters, Guthrie, and Grace, Conkie from Quebec, in four weeks, by whom we hear, that about 5000 Americans crossed lake Champlain, and landed in Canada at Point au Fer, about seven leagues above St. John's, They had 16 armed vessels on the lakes, and a great number of batteaux. It was expected and hoped that his majesty's troops would be in readiness to cross the lakes by the 15th of last month.'

Montreal, Aug. 4. The Indians have come down from the most interior parts of the country, to solicit being employed in the war, but the general, too brave and generous to employ such an enemy but in the last extremity, has refused them; telling them, that the design of war was only to bring

bring back to a sense of duty the most ungrateful children to an indulgent parent, and then laid before them the obligations the Colonies have been under from the first settlement of the country, and the causes of their revolt, and that the force he had would undoubtedly accomplish so just and humane a purpose, and then forbade them every act of cruelty whatever. They are an enemy, who, when let loose will probably make no distinction between those that are friends of government and those that are rebels, therefore we cannot but applaud so humane a determination; but I fear this cannot last long, for the rebels are committing such acts of cruelty as the savages would blush at, and one in particular which has raised the resentment of the army. Last week brigadier General Gordon was riding alone from St. John's to Lapparrarie, and was shot by a party of five, who had been lurking in the woods. The general died a few days after.

After the rebels fled from the country, leaving their sick and wounded in the woods, the general issued a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to seek those miserable objects, and to provide them with every necessary, that they may be sent home to their respective provinces; and this was done.

Capt. Forster, with a company of regulars and 150 Indians, came down from the upper country early in the season in order to relieve Quebec; they met a party of the rebels, engaged them, and took a large number of prisoners. Provisions were insufficient for so great an addition of numbers; the captain was obliged to put his men and the Indians on half allowance, which the Indians would not submit to, and insisted on putting them to immediate death. Captain Forster, with the utmost entreaty, (I have an account from two officers

of veracity who were in the engagement) prevailed that they might be sent to the colonies and exchanged for as many of their prisoners, and they were sent away, with every necessary for their march: I am ashamed to say what returns they have made for these acts of benevolence; I am told, (but I cannot answer for the truth of this) that the prisoners soon joined the rebel army again; this much we are certain of, that there has been no return of our prisoners, but the Congress have sent to demand Capt. Forster, and all concerned in the horrid massacre (as they are pleased to call it). I suppose their plea for this was, that the Indians had killed two men, after they had consented they should return, which was done in cold blood, but on some dispute that arose from their own obstinacy.

The prisoners which the Indians have taken have been bought by the English inhabitants and officers of the army, in order to save their lives.

Montreal, Aug. 18. In my last letter to —, I mentioned that early in the spring, Capt. Forster had defeated a party of the rebels; that on account of a scarcity of provisions the Indians were resolved to murder them, that Capt. Forster with the utmost entreaty prevailed to have the prisoners exchanged for as many of the king's troops, and four of their officers who are now in this town were retained as hostages. The Congress hearing of this, and caring but very little how many of their soldiers were taken, regarding their hostages as little, or perhaps relying on that humanity which the king's troops have always shewn, resolved not to comply with the agreement made, and have entered into some resolves to inflame and further delude the people.

General

General Burgoyne permitted the hostages to write to their friends, and I inclose you a copy of one of their letters, the publishing of which I think may answer a good end; besides which, one of the hostages declared to me, that the intreaty of Capt. Forster saved him and his whole party from being murdered.

Copy of a letter wrote by Ebenezer Sullivan, a hostage, in the hands of Capt. Forster in Canada, to his brother in New-England.

To the honourable General John Sullivan at Durham, Colony of New Hampshire near Portsmouth.

Dear Sir, *Montreal, 14th Aug.*

I am permitted by his Excellency, which is a favour I did not expect to obtain, to inform you I am well, as are the hostages that are with me: I am much surprized to hear that the Congress, instead of redeeming us according to the cartel, have not only refused to do it, but have demanded Capt. Forster to be delivered up to answer his conduct in what they are pleased to term the massacre of the Cedars. I would fain flatter myself that the Congress would never have thought of such unheard of proceedings, had they not had a false representation of the matter.

Do not think I am under any constraint when I say, and call on God who must judge of the truth to witness, that not a man living could have used more humanity than Capt. Forster did after the surrender of the party I belonged to; and whoever says to the contrary, let his station in life be what it will, he is an enemy to peace, and a fallacious disturber of mankind.

What reason they can give for not redeeming us I cannot conceive: if they are wrongly informed that the affair of the Cedars was a massacre, why do not they rather fulfil the cartel than let their hostages remain

in the hands of a merciless enemy? or do they regard their troops, only while the heavens make them victorious? Were we in the hands of a rigorous power (as they would intimate) have they not every colour of justice, after so enormous a breach of faith, loaden with chains, to cast us into some horrid place, and tell us to languish out our days under a sentence past by our own people? If they say here is some hidden reason; that is far beyond the reach of policy to find out. For could they suppose it policy to distress his majesty's troops, by retaining such a number of men from them, it would not be the breach of their faith only that would threaten them: for consider the number of prisoners already in the hands of the British army, and also consider the chance of war that may yet throw greater numbers into their hands; and will people rest content, when they find their own rulers willing to let them remain prisoners, in the hands of what themselves term (though unjustly) a merciless people? or will they not, fired with resentment for such inhuman treatment, take arms to suppress the power that regards them no longer than while their blood is spilling in their service? If this, which appears too probable, should happen, consider whether those prisoners will not be followed by a number of their friends, which must naturally make a great division upon the colonies; then take a view of Great Britain and her allies pouring on you, and let the most sanguine expector in America then judge how long the colonies thus divided can stand the fury of the combat.

I know your influence has been great, and for that reason have wrote, that you may if possible yet prevent America from being branded with the name of injustice.

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If you suspect I write this for the sake of getting my own liberty, your suspicions wrong me; it is not my own confinement, but the breach of the treaty (which even savages have ever held sacred) that causes me to write.

You'll be so kind as to convey the enclosed to my wife; and if ever I had so much of your love as to demand any favour of you, let this be the time that I may implore your assistance for my distressed wife and helpless orphans. May God grant I may once more see them; till when I am your affectionate brother.

EBENEZER SULLIVAN.

Savannah, (Georgia) June 20.

Our Provincial Congress met here on the 6th inst. when his Excellency Archibald Bullock, Esq; president and commander in chief of the province of Georgia, delivered the following speech.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Congress.

The state of the province at your last meeting made it absolutely necessary to adopt some temporary regulations for the preservation of the public peace and safety; and your appointment of me to carry these things into execution, at a time so critical and important to the welfare of this country, requires an exertion of the greatest prudence and abilities.

At a time, when our rights and privileges are invaded, when the fundamental principles of the constitution are subverted, and those men whose duty should teach them to protect and defend us, are become our betrayers and murderers; it calls aloud on every virtuous member of the community, to stand forth, and stem the prevailing torrent of corruption and lawless power.

The many and frequent instances of your attachment towards me, and an ardent desire to promote the wel-

fare of my country, have induced me to accept of this weighty and important trust; for your interest only I desire to act; and relying on your aid and assistance in every difficulty, I shall always most confidently expect it.

Some venal disaffected men may endeavour to persuade the people to submit to the mandates of despotism; but surely every freeman would consider the nature, and inspect the designs and execution of that government, under which he may be called to live. The people of this province, in opposing the designs of a cruel and corrupt ministry, have surmounted what appeared insurmountable difficulties; and notwithstanding the artifice and address that for a long time were employed to divert their attention from the common cause, they at length by imperceptible degrees succeeded, and declared their resolutions to assert their liberties, and to maintain them, at all events, in concurrence with the other associated colonies. For my part, I most candidly declare, that from the origin of these unhappy disputes, I heartily approved of the conduct of the Americans. My approbation was not the result of prejudice or partiality, but proceeded from a firm persuasion of their having acted agreeable to constitutional principles, and the dictates of an upright disinterested conscience.

We must all acknowledge our great obligations to our ancestors, for the invaluable liberties we enjoy; it is our indispensable duty to transmit them inviolate to posterity; and to be negligent in an affair of such moment, would be an indelible stain of infamy on the present æra. Animated with this principle, I shall think myself amply rewarded, if I can be so fortunate as to render any service to the cause of freedom and posterity.

Mr.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Congress.

Being sensible that colony matters of great importance will claim your attention at this meeting, I will not take up too much of your time from the public business. Some farther regulations respecting the courts of justice, the state of the Continental battalions, and the better ordering of the militia of this province, will necessarily be the subject of your discussions.

You must be convinced of the many difficulties we labour under, arising from the number that still remain among us, under the shelter of an affected neutrality. The arguments alledged for their conduct, appear too weak to merit a refutation. This is no time to talk of moderation: in the present instance it ceases to be a virtue. An appeal, an awful appeal is made to heaven, and thousands of lives are in jeopardy every hour. Our northern brethren point to their wounds, and call for our most vigorous exertions; and God forbid that so noble a contest should end in an infamous conclusion. You will not therefore be biased by any suggestions from these enemies of American liberty, or regard any censure they may bestow on the forwardness and zeal of this infant colony. You must evidently perceive the necessity of making some further laws respecting these non-associates; and though there may be some who appear at present forward to sign the association, yet it becomes us to keep a watchful eye on the motive, and conduct of these men, lest the public good should be endangered through this perfidy and pretended friendship.

By the resolves of the General Congress, the inhabitants of the United Colonies are permitted to trade to any part of the world, except the dominions of the King of Great-

Britain; and in consequence of which, it will be necessary to fix on some mode of proceeding, for the clearance of vessels and other matters relative thereto; and perhaps you may think it farther requisite, to appoint proper officers to dispatch this business, that the adventurers in trade may meet with as little obstruction as possible. And I would at the same time recommend to your consideration, the exorbitant prices of goods, and other necessaries of life in the town of Savannah, and every part of the province. This certainly requires some immediate regulations, as the poor must be greatly distressed by such alarming and unheard of extortions.

With respect to India affairs, I hoped to have the pleasure of assuring you, from the state of the proceedings of the commissioners, that they were in every respect friendly and warmly attached to our interest, and that there was the greatest reason to expect a continuance of the same friendly disposition; but I have received some accounts rather unfavourable. As this is of the highest consequence to the peace and welfare of the colony, I would here suggest whether it would not be necessary to enter into some resolves, in order to prevent any future misunderstanding between them and our back settlers; and to this I think I may add, that the putting the province in the best posture of defence, would be an object very requisite at this juncture.

The Continental Congress have always been solicitous to promote the increase and improvement of useful knowledge, and with the highest satisfaction contemplating the rapid progress of the arts and sciences in America, have thought proper to recommend the encouraging the manufactory of saltpetre, sulphur, and gunpowder. The process is extremely easy, and I should be very glad to see any

any of the good people of this province exerting themselves in the manufacture of these useful and necessary articles. If they once consider it is for the public good, they will need no other inducement.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Congress. Remember in all your deliberations you are engaged in a most arduous undertaking. Generations yet unborn may owe their freedom and happiness to your determination, and may bestow blessings or execrations on your memory, in such manner as you discharge the trust reposed in you by your constituents. Thoughts like these will influence you to throw aside every prejudice, and to exert your utmost efforts to preserve unanimity, firmness and impartiality in all your proceedings.

ARCHIBALD BULLOCK.

Savannah, June 5, 1776.

*To his Excellency Archibald Bullock, Esq.
President and Commander in Chief of
the Province of Georgia.*

The Address of the Provincial Congress of the said Province.

May it please your Excellency,

WE the Representatives of the Province of Georgia, in Congress met, beg leave to return your Excellency our thanks for your speech delivered to us yesterday.

Animated, we hope, with the principles of virtuous citizens, and inspired with sentiments becoming the glorious cause we are engaged in, we behold with pleasure the elevation of men from among us, whose assiduity and unwearied endeavours have rendered them the objects of favour with their country; and we trust that while the executive departments of government shall continue to be filled with such men, no murmurings or discontents will find admission among the good people of this province.

Being truly sensible that to be a freeman under the British constitution,

for which our ancestors fought and bled, implies a right to examine with freedom and to pass censure or applause upon every act of government; we have exercised the right of inspecting into the late measures pursued against these Colonies, and the more we deliberate upon them, the more firmly persuaded we are of their wicked and dangerous tendency; and that as they are founded in iniquity, so they must end, if submitted to, in ruin and destruction to us and our posterity.

From these motives and considerations have we entered into the present laudable opposition, in which we are determined religiously to persist, till law and justice shall rear their heads above tyranny and oppression.—And your Excellency may be assured that in every wise and necessary step towards this great end you shall meet with our warmest concurrence and support.

While we continue actuated by the same feelings as led us to deny the usurped authority of Great Britain, we hope no man will entertain an idea so dishonourable to us, as to suppose we can be influenced or biassed by any motives, but such as ought at all times to govern good men and free citizens; and therefore your Excellency may rest satisfied we shall in all our deliberations and conduct, whether they respect those concerned for or against us, act with firmness, justice and impartiality, so far as is consistent with the great cause in which we are all embarked.

We are truly concerned at that part of your Excellency's speech, wherein you tell us, your last accounts from the Indian nations, are less favourable than the former; but at the same time, that we wish by every means in our power to avert so great a calamity as would be the consequence of a war with these uncivilized people, yet we are resolved to submit peaceably to improper behaviour in them; and

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should they be prevailed upon by our inhuman enemies to join in a war against us, we trust that God who has already manifested himself in our behalf will safely conduct us through all our afflictions.

Permit us to congratulate your Excellency and the Province, on the several other appointments that have taken place under our late temporary constitution. It must be a pleasing reflection to you, Sir, that your business in the weighty concerns of the state lies with men of such well known ability, integrity and zeal.

We shall take into our early consideration the several matters recommended to us by your Excellency, and proceed upon the same with all that dispatch, temper and firmness, which the nature of the subject demands.

Savannah, June 7, 1776.

To which his Excellency returned the following answer.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Congress.

I return you all due thanks for this address. I must flatter myself you are convinced I can have no separate interest from yours, and therefore need not be solicitous about the means employed, or with whom they may originate, for obtaining the inestimable blessings of happiness to my native country.

I have entertained the most honourable ideas of the warm and real friends to our glorious cause, knowing they are influenced by no other motives but such as become men and free citizens.

ARCH. BULLOCK.

June 7, 1776.

Resolutions agreed to at Savannah, in Georgia.

In the COUNCIL of SAFETY. For the safety of this province, and the good of the United Colonies, it is unanimously resolved,

That the houses in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets thereto

belonging, together with the shipping now in our port, the property, or appertaining to the friends of America, who have associated and approved, or who shall appear in the present alarm to defend the same, and also the houses of widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith appraised.

That it be considered, as a desertion from the cause of America, and a desertion of property, in such persons who have and shall leave the town of Savannah, or the hamlets thereto belonging, during the present alarm; and such persons shall be excluded from any support or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification.

That it be incumbent on the friends of America in this province to defend the metropolis, as long as the same shall be tenable.

That rather than the same shall be held and occupied by our enemies, or the shipping now in the port of Savannah taken and employed by them, that the same shall be burnt and destroyed.

That orders shall be issued to the commanding officer, directing him to have the foregoing resolutions put in execution.

A true copy from the minutes,

ED. LANGWORTH, Sec.

Resolutions of the Congress of South Carolina.

1. That this Congress being a full and free representation of this colony, shall henceforth be deemed and called the General Assembly of South Carolina, and as such shall continue until the twenty-first day of October next, and no longer.

2. That the General Assembly shall, out of their own body, elect by ballot a legislative council, to consist of thirteen members (seven whereof shall be a quorum) and to continue for the same time as the General Assembly.

3. That

3. That the General Assembly, and the said legislative council, shall jointly chuse by ballot, from among themselves, or from the people at large, a president and commander in chief, and a vice-president of the colony.

4. That a member of the General Assembly, being chosen and acting as president and commander in chief, or vice-president, or one of the legislative council, shall vacate his seat in the General Assembly, and another person shall be elected in his room; and if one of the legislative council is chosen president, and commander in chief, or vice-president, he shall lose his seat, and another person be elected in his stead.

5. That there be a privy-council, whereof the vice-president of the colony shall of course be a member, and president of the privy-council, and that six members be chosen by a ballot, three by the General Assembly, and three by the legislative council. Provided always, that no officer of the army or navy, in the service of the continent, or of this colony shall be eligible. And a member of the General Assembly, or of the legislative council, being chosen by the privy-council, shall not thereby lose his seat in the General Assembly or legislative council, unless he be elected vice-president of the colony, in which case he shall, and another person shall be chosen in his stead. The privy council (of which four to be a quorum) to advise the president and commander in chief when required; but he shall not be bound to consult them, unless in cases after-mentioned.

6. That the qualifications of the president and commander in chief, and vice-president of the colony, and members of the legislative and privy council, shall be the same as of the members of the General Assembly;

and on being elected, they shall take an oath of qualification in the General Assembly.

7. That the legislative authority be vested in the president and commander in chief, the General Assembly, and legislative council. All money bills for the support of government shall originate in the General Assembly, and shall not be altered, or amended by the legislative council, but may be rejected by them. All other bills and ordinances may take rise in the General Assembly or legislative council, and be altered, or amended, or rejected by either. Bills having passed the General Assembly and legislative council, may be assented to or rejected by the president and commander in chief; having received his assent, they shall have all the force and validity of an act of the General Assembly of this colony. And the General Assembly and legislative council respectively, shall enjoy all other privileges which have at any time been claimed or exercised by the Commons House of Assembly; but the legislative council shall have no power of expelling their own members,

Oath of office administered to and taken by his Excellency John Rutledge, Esq; president and commander in chief of the colony of South Carolina, March 28, 1776. ' I solemnly
' promise and swear to preside over
' the people of this colony according
' to the constitution or form of go-
' vernment agreed to and resolved
' upon by the representatives of South
' Carolina in Congress assembled on
' the 26th day of March, 1776:—
' That I will cause law and justice in
' mercy to be executed, and to the
' utmost of my power maintain and
' defend the laws of God, the Pro-
' testant religion, and the liberties of
' America. So help me God.'

Account of the affair on Sullivan's Island.

The *Tanner* was fatigued off Charles-Town, but being in want of water went to North Carolina for some, while gone, the works on Sullivan's Island were erected. When she returned she was beat off. The captain acquainted Sir Peter Parker of this matter. He was piqued at the affair, and resolved to go thither to destroy those works. Some friends of his say Gen. Clinton promised to support him with the army, but when they came there they differed in opinion; and this difference is represented as the cause of the misfortune. The banks are said to have moved, which prevented the troops getting across the water. The circumstance of the banks moving is not extraordinary; it frequently happens in this part,

A private letter mentions, that the attempt on Sullivan's Island was made with a view of re-instating Lord William Campbell in his government. It is certain, that his lordship was very desirous of it.—Perhaps all the ascribed causes are true; and together, made the reason for attacking.

Charlestown, Aug. 2. [It having been deemed expedient that the printing press should be moved out of town during the late alarm, the publication of this gazette was necessarily discontinued. As the transactions in this province will probably be distinguished in the American annals, we doubt not but a succinct account of them will be very acceptable to our readers. *Printer's apology.*]

On the first of June, his Excellency the president received advice of a fleet of 40 or 50 sail being at anchor about 6 leagues to the north of Sullivan's Island. Accounts of the arrival of Sir Peter Parker's fleet in North Carolina, and that it was destined for this province, having been received, put it out of doubt; that this was his fleet. Next morning the alarm was

fired, expresses having been sent, ordering the country militia to town; the fortifications were all visited by his Excellency and General Armstrong, and preparations for the most vigorous defence ordered. In the evening a man of war of 20 guns anchored off the bar. Next day she was joined by about 50 sail, frigates, transports, &c.

June 4. An express from General Lee, that the enemy were gone from North Carolina, and that he would be here with the continental regiments to our assistance as speedily as possible.

June 5. Several of the transports and small armed vessels went to Long Island, situated to the eastward of Sullivan's Island, from which it is separated by a small creek called the Breach, where they landed a large body of troops who encamped there. The wind and tide being favourable the four following days 36 vessels came over the bar and anchored at about 3 miles distance from Sullivan's island. Two of the transports were aground in coming over, one got off, but the other went to pieces. On the 10th the *Bristol* came over, her guns being previously taken out.

On the 7th, a boat with a flag came towards the island, but was fired at by an ignorant centinel. Next day, Colonel Moultrie sent an officer to the fleet to acquaint them of the centinel's mistake, and that he was ready to receive any thing they had to send. General Clinton said the intention of the flag was only to deliver a proclamation which he now sent. [This proclamation was verbatim the same with that he issued off Virginia. See page 209, leaving out the excepted persons, and dated from on board the *Sovereign* transport, June 6.]

On the 9th, General Lee, Brigadier-general Howe, Colonels Bullett, and Jenifer; Orway Byrd, and Lewis Morris,

Morris, esqrs. aids de camp to General Lee arrived at Haddrell's point. They immediately viewed the fortifications there, and upon Sullivan's and James's Islands.

June 10. The buildings on the wharfs were pulled down; entrenchments were thrown up round the town; the principal streets barricaded, and every person without distinction employed in these works.

June 12. A violent storm. An hospital ship and another were obliged to put out to sea. A schooner with provisions and coals drifted from the fleet, and was taken by one of our pilot-boats and brought to town.

June 14. His Excellency the president proposed an oath of fidelity to the militia under arms, which was readily taken. Next day it was proposed to the country militia doing duty in town, and to the artillery companies. It was unanimously taken.

June 16. A sloop from the West Indies, with gunpowder and small arms for this town, not knowing the fleet were here, sailed amongst them, and endeavouring to make her escape, ran ashore: the crew quitted her. She was soon after boarded, set on fire, and blew up.

June 20. Some sailors, deserters from the Ranger, informed that the British forces were about 2800, commanded by General Clifton, who had under him Lord Cornwallis and Brigadier-General Vaughan.

June 21. Our advanced party at the north-east end of Sullivan's island, took several boats an armed schooner, an armed sloop, and a pilot boat, lying in the creek between Long Island and the Main, several of which killed them. For several mornings and evenings the enemy threw shells, and fired from some field-pieces upon our advanced post, but without effect.

On the 25th, a large ship appeared, thought at first to be the Roebuck,

but it proved to be the Experiment. Her guns were taken out, and next day she came over the bar.

On the 27th, between nine and ten in the forenoon, as soon as the Experiment had all her guns in, the Commodore hoisted his top-sails, fired a gun, and got under way. His example was followed by several others of the men of war; but a squall coming on, and the wind shifting from S. E. to N. W. prevented their coming much nearer at that time. But in the afternoon, the Commodore got again under way, and came about a mile nearer Sullivan's Island.

June 28. The following was the disposition of the ships of war; the Friendship armed vessel, of 18 guns, at the distance of about a mile and an half from Sullivan's Island, covering the Thunder Bomb; the Solbay, Sphinx, Bristol, Active, Experiment, Adzeon, and Syren. About half an hour past tea in the forenoon, the Thunder-Bomb began throwing shells on fort Sullivan, and the Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solbay, came boldly up to the attack in the order their names are put down.

A little before 11 o'clock, the garrison fired four or five shot at the Active, while under sail, some of which struck her; these she did not seem to regard, till within 350 yards of the fort, when she dropped anchor, and poured in a broad-side. Her example was in a few minutes followed by the three other vessels, when there ensued one of the most heavy and incessant cannonades perhaps ever known.

The bomb vessel was at the same time throwing shells, a firing was heard from the advanced post at the N. E. end of the island, and more vessels were seen coming up.

Our brave garrison, consisting of the second regiment of Provincials, a detachment of artillery and some

volunteers)

volunteers) under all these difficulties, which to the far greater part were entirely new, encouraged by the example of their gallant commander, Colonel William Moultrie, and the rest of the officers, behaved with the cool intrepidity of veterans. Our cannon were well served, and did dreadful execution. About 12 o'clock the Sphinx, Acteon, and Syren, got entangled with a shoal called the middle ground. The two first ran foul of each other. The Sphinx got off with the loss of her boltsprit; but the Acteon stuck fast. The Syren also got off. Much about the same time, the bomb vessel ceased firing, after having thrown upwards of 60 shells. We have since learned, that her beds got damaged; and that she will require much repairing before she is fit for service again. In the afternoon, the enemy's fire was increased by that of the Syren and Friendship, which came within 500 yards of the fort. Till near 7 o'clock the enemy's fire was kept up without intermission. It slackened considerably after that. At half past nine, the firing on both sides ceased, and at eleven the ships flipped their cables.

About the time the ships came up, an armed sloop and schooner came nearer our advanced post, in order to cover the landing of their troops, and every other preparation for that purpose was made; the soldiers even got into their boats, and a number of shells were thrown into our intrenchment, but did no other damage than wounding one soldier. Notwithstanding which they never once attempted to land. At the advanced post were stationed, Colonel Thomson, with his Rangers, some companies of militia, and a detachment of artillery. They had one 18 pounder, and two field-pieces; from which they returned the enemy's fire. They were reinforced in the afternoon with Col. Muhlenburgh's Virginia battalion.

Next morning, all the men of war, except the Acteon, were retired about two miles from the island, which they quietly effected under cloud of the night. The garrison fired several shots at the Acteon, which she returned, but soon after her crew set her on fire, and abandoned her, leaving her colours flying, guns loaded, with all her ammunition, provisions, and stores on board. They had not been long gone, before several boats from the island went to her: Lieut Jacob Milligan, with some others, went on board, and brought off her jack, bell, some sails and stores, while the flames were bursting out on all sides. He fired three of her guns at the Commodore. In less than half an hour after they quitted her, she blew up.

The Bristol, against which the fire was chiefly directed, is very much damaged. Not less than 70 balls went through her. Her mizen-mast was so much hurt they have replaced it by another. Her mainmast is cut away about 15 feet below the hounds, and her broad penant is now hardly to be seen on a jury-mast. The Experiment's mizen gaff was shot away. The other vessels sustained little damage, only in their rigging. Sir Peter Parker had the hind part of his breeches shot away which laid his posteriors bare; his knee-pan was hurt by a splinter.

The loss of the garrison was as follows: Artillery. Killed 1 matross. Wounded 2 matrosses. Second regt. Killed 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file. Wounded lieutenants Gray and Hall, the 5th major, 1 serjeant, and 19 rank and file. An officer's Mulatto waiting boy was killed. Total Killed 12; wounded 23,—5 since dead. The officers are recovered.

The works are very little damaged, but hardly a hut or tree upon the island escaped the shot; many thousands of which have been picked up on the island,

General

General Lee was at Haddrell's point at the beginning of the action, and went in a boat through a thick fire to the fort, where he staid some time. He, says, in the whole course of his military service he never knew men behave better, and cannot sufficiently praise both officers and soldiers for their coolness and intrepidity. The behaviour of two serjeants ought to be remembered. In the beginning of the action the flag staff was shot away, which being observed by serjeant Jasper of the grenadiers, he immediately jumped from one of the embrasures upon the beach, took up the flag and fixed it on a sponge staff: with it in his hand he mounted the merlon, and notwithstanding the shot flew as thick as hail around him he leisurely fixed it. Serjeant M'Donald of Captain Huger's company while exerting himself in a very distinguished manner, was shattered by a cannon ball; he expired in a few minutes, desiring his comrades to continue steady in the cause of liberty. Jasper removed the body out of their sight, and called aloud to them to revenge that brave man's death. The day after the action, his Excellency the president, presented Jasper with a sword, as a mark of esteem for his distinguished valour.

Several deserters from the fleet say, the carpenters are all hard at work, and that we need not expect another visit from them at present. The army and fleet are to go to New-York, and two frigates to be left to cruize between North Carolina and Georgia.

July 2. General Lee sent a flag to the enemy, with a proposal to exchange a prisoner for Col. Ethan Allen, who it was said was in the fleet. A present of some fresh meat and vegetables were sent at the same time. General Clinton being at Long Island, an answer was not returned till two

days afterwards, when he informed General Lee that Colonel Allen was not on board, and in return for his present sent some porter and cheese. Two engineers came in the boat; but as they were received at some distance from the fort, they could not see what they wanted.

About ten days after the repulse, the transports went to Long Island, and Goat Island, and took the troops on board which were there. At the same time the light vessels went over the bar. On the 14th of July, the Bristol attempted to get over the bar, but struck: four days after she succeeded.

July 20. A brigantine, having 50 soldiers and 6 sailors, got a-ground near Devec's Islet. Next day she was taken by an armed flat, commanded by Lieutenant Pickering.— The soldiers threw away their arms on the approach of the flat.

July 25. The Experiment went over the bar, having her guns taken out. A frigate which had not been here before, came to the Commodore in the afternoon. Next morning she sailed for the southward, and two days after the Syren followed her.

July 27. The remainder of the fleet went over the bar, and the whole stood out to sea.

[*South Carolina Gazette*.]

Another Account.

Williamsburg, July 13. 'The following is an account of an engagement which happened at Charlestown the 28th of last month, between his Britannick Majesty's fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and our gallant brethren of that city, commanded by his Excellency General Lee, and may therefore be hourly expected. The general's letter is dated July the 3d, in which he says, 'that the affair is much more important than he at first imagined; that the enclosed is the narrative of
some

Some deserters, one of whom is a very indolgent fellow; that he thinks it his duty to send the account in its proper form, without adding or curtailing a single circumstance; and congratulates the Hon. President of the Convention, and the public, on an event which certainly does great credit to the American arms, and, he hopes, must be attended with very great advantages.

Narrative by Thomas Bennet of Col. Danilson's Massachusetts reg. Daniel Hawkins of Boston, Robert Scott and Edward Alston of New-Hampshire, and James Scott of Virginia, deserters from the fleet which attacked and were beaten off by the brave garrison in fort Sullivan, under the command of Col. Mautris, on Friday the 28th of June, 1776.—[They are all Americans, and had been taken by the enemy at sea.]

THE Bristol of 50 guns, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, is greatly damaged in the hull, large pieces and timbers shot through, and smashed. If the water had not been very smooth, it would have been impossible to have kept her from sinking. All the carpenters in the fleet had been called to her assistance. Her mizen-mast shot away, main-mast badly wounded by three several shot, fore-mast by two, and her rigging, sails, and yards, much damaged. The captain of the Commodore lost his left arm, above the elbow. He was sent yesterday (June 30th) to England, in a brigantine. The commodore had his breeches tore off, his backside laid bare, and his thigh and knee much wounded. He walks only when supported by two men. There were 44 men killed, and 30 wounded, among whom were many midshipmen and petty officers; 20 of the wounded dead since the action. It was talked in the fleet, that the two large ships

would go over the bar again, and proceed to English harbour, in Antigua, to be repaired.—The Bristol, when lightened as much as possible, drew 8 feet 7 inches water.—The Experiment of 50 guns, on two decks, all twelve pounders, a slighter vessel than the Bristol, exceedingly damaged in her hull, several ports beat in, one of her mizen-masts hurt, but uncertain of particulars. Killed 57, of whom the captain was one. Wounded 30; several since dead. Draws, when lightest, 17 feet water. The general opinion, that neither of these large ships will go safely over the bar again.—Solebay, 28 guns, two men killed, and four wounded.—Active 28 guns, the lieutenant killed, and four men wounded.—Actæon 28, Sphynx 20, Syren 28, all got aground; the first in coming up, the two latter in running away. The Sphynx cut away her boltsprit; the Syren got off. The Actæon, by the assistance of a friendly English seaman, remained fast; burnt, and blown up by her own people. [Whilst she was on fire, Capt. Milligan, one of our marine officers, and a party of men, boarded her, brought off her colours, the ship's bell, and as many sails and stores as three boats could contain.]—The Thunder bomb lay at a considerable distance, throwing shells at the fort; and, by overcharging, had shattered the beds and damaged the ship so much as to render it necessary for her to go into dock before she can act again.—The Friendship, a hired armed vessel of 26 guns, of various sizes, covered the bomb, as did the Syren, which also fired very briskly at the fort. The whole fleet badly manned, and sickly, particularly the Syren's crew; at two thirds short allowance of provision and water, and no fresh meat since their arrival, June the 1st.

Lord

Lord William Campbell had been very anxious for the attack, and proposed taking all the forts with only the Syren and Solebay.—Lord Cornwallis has the chief command of the land forces; he and General Clinton are both ashore with the troops at Long Island. His lordship had some time ago urged Sir Peter Parker to attack on the sea side, otherwise he would march up, attack, and take the fort, and complain of Sir Peter's tardiness. The commodore replied, 'Lord Cornwallis might march his troops where he pleased, but the fleet required fair wind; the first that happened, he would proceed against the fort.' The general at that time believed we had no troops out of garrison, but he was soon better informed, being since repulsed, and drove back with loss. He remained quiet, and left the commodore to enjoy the glory of being defeated alone.

The negro pilot Sampson, who is exceedingly careless, was on board the Commodore, and put down with the doctor out of harm's way.

When the fleet sailed from Ireland, the number of troops was about 4000; but 11 transports had been separated from the rest, and have not been since heard of.—Some of the deserters, who had seen all the land forces, said the amount was from 1300 to 2000 at most.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock, the *Acæon*, the Commodore, and other ships, began to steal away. They made no piping, nor waited to heave up their anchors, but slipped their cables. The Commodore has only one anchor and cable left.

About 2 o'clock on Friday, when the fort was waiting for a supply of powder, some of the men of war's men, mistaking the unavoidable silence for surrender, cried out, 'The Yankees had done fighting.' Others

replied, 'By God we are glad of it, for we never had such a drubbing in our lives. We had been told the Yankees would not stand two fires, but we never saw better fellows.' All the common men in the fleet spoke loudly in praise of the garrison,—'brave fine fellows!'

The seamen in general are desirous of getting on shore to join the Americans. One M'Neal, a deserter from Col. Gadsden's regiment, had informed the Commodore, that before he left fort Johnson he had spiked up all the cannon, and that the fort might be easily taken.

A report in the fleet, that no quarter would be given to the Americans, and that 5000l. had been offered for General Lee.

[*Supplement to the Virginia Gazette.*]

Charlestown, Aug. 14. On the 12th, General Lee and General Robert Howe, set out for Georgia; they will go to St. Augustine in Florida.

Ten fine double fortified 9 pounders, late belonging to the *Acæon*, and several anchors, &c. which the men of war left in the night of June 28. The search is continued, and it is expected more guns will be got up.

By letters of the 6th inst. from the camp, two miles below Keowee, in the Cherokee country, we have the following interesting intelligence:

'On the 31st of July, some of Col. Williamson's scouts took two white men prisoners, who had been sent to get cattle for the enemy.—They informed the Colonel, that Cameron had come over the hills a few days before with 12 white men; and that he, with the Seneca and some other Indians, in all about 150, were then encamped at Cowanacoss, about 30 miles from twenty-three mile Creek, where our army then lay encamped; and that their women and children had all retired from the towns to the neighbourhood of the

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same place. This intelligence determined the Colonel to march that evening, at the head of 330 horsemen, taking the two prisoners with him. His intention was to leave the horses two miles behind, with a party to guard them, and surrounded the enemy's camp by day-break. The river Keowee lying in his route, and being only passable at a ford at Seneca, obliged him to take that road. About one o'clock in the morning he arrived at the out-skirts of that town, which he had received accounts of being entirely abandoned; and therefore little expected to meet with any opposition there. The enemy, however, having received some intimation of his march, had taken possession of the first houses, and posted themselves behind a long fence, stuffed with twigs and corn-blades, on an eminence close to the road where the party was to pass; they allowed the guides and advanced guard to come almost up to the houses, when they fired five or six guns, but without doing any other damage than killing one of the guides horses. They immediately afterwards began a very heavy fire on our advanced guard and main body, by which Mr. Fra. Salvador was shot in three different places, Col. Williamson had his horse shot under him, and eight men were badly wounded, and two slightly. Mr. Salvador falling among the bushes, it being dark, and both parties mixed, they unluckily got his scalp. The Indian was seen by Capt. Smith, who would have prevented his accomplishing his cruel purpose, had he not thought it was Mr. Salvador's servant taking care of his master. He died about three quarters of an hour after. The whole army regretted his loss, as he was universally loved and esteemed by them. Two of the wounded died next morning.

Our party soon recovering from their surprize, kept up a brisk fire on

the places where the flashes of the enemy's guns were seen, and soon drove them from their fences and houses.— Their loss is not known, but from the number of blankets, shirts, tomahawks, &c. left besmeared with blood, and the bloody tracks which marked their retreat, it is supposed to be considerable. Col. Williamson remained on the ground till day-break, and burnt all the houses on both sides of the river, and destroyed their corn, &c. Judging that the party he had defeated would immediately proceed to their camp, and apprize them of his approach, and having made an appointment to meet Colonels Neel and Thomas at Sugar Town, the Colonel, after leaving a party to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; returned to his camp. Next day, in consequence of this appointment, the whole army proceeded to the neighbourhood of Keowee, where they encamped; and on the 4th, a party of 400 men was sent to burn that town and Sugar Town, which they effected. They found only an old lame Indian, who informed them, that the others had left the towns four days before, on a white man's telling them a large army was at Paris's, which probably may be Col. Neel and Thomas's party. He would not tell where the Indians were gone to.

On the 6th, the Colonel marched at the head of 650 men after the enemy, being fully determined to carry fire and sword throughout their country.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

At an adjournment of the court of general sessions of the peace, over and terminer, assize and general goal delivery, held at Charlestown, for the district of Charlestown, on Tuesday the 23d day of April, 1776, before the Hon. William Henry Drayton, Esq; Chief Justice, and his associates
justices

Justices of the colony of South Carolina.

On motion of Mr. Attorney General, ordered, That the charge of his honour the chief justice, delivered to the grand jury, be published, together with their presentments.

By order of the court,

JOHN COLCOCK, C. C. S.

The Charge to the Grand Jury.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

When by evil machinations tending to nothing less than absolute tyranny, trials by jury have been discontinued; and juries in discharge of their duty have assembled, as soon met as silently and arbitrarily dismissed without being empannelled, whereby in contempt of Magna Charta, justice has been delayed and denied: It cannot but afford to every good citizen, the most sincere satisfaction, once more to see juries, as they now are, legally impannelled, to the end that the laws may be duly administered. I do most heartily congratulate you upon so important an event.

In this court, where silence has but too long presided, with a direct purpose to loosen the bands of government, that this country might be involved in anarchy and confusion; you are now met to regulate your verdicts, under a new constitution of government, independent of royal authority. A constitution which arose according to the great law of nature and of nations: and which was established in the late Congress on the 26th day of March last; a day that will be ever memorable in this country; a month, remarkable in our history, for having given birth to the original constitution of our government in the year 1669; for being the *Æra* of the American calamities by the stamp act in the year 1765; for being the date of the repeal of that act in the following year: and for the conclusion of

the famous siege of Boston, when the American arms compelled General Howe, a General of the first reputation in the British service, with the largest, best disciplined, and best provided army in that service, supported by a formidable fleet, so precipitately to abandon the most impregnable fortifications in America, as that he left behind him a great part of the bedding, military stores, and cannon of the army; and for so many important events in the month of March remarkable in our annals. But I proceed to lay before you the principal causes leading to the late revolution of our government; the law upon the point, and the benefits resulting from that happy and necessary establishment. The importance of the transaction deserves such a state; the occasion demands, and our future welfare requires it. To do this may take up some little time; but the subject is of the highest moment, and worthy of your particular attention; I will therefore confine my discourse to that great point; and after charging you to attend to the due observance of the jury law, and the patrol and negro acts, forbearing to mention the other common duties of a grand jury, I will expound to you the constitution of your country.

The house of Brunswick was yet scarcely settled in the British throne, to which it had been called by a free people, when in the year 1719, our ancestors in this country finding that the government of the lords proprietors operated to their ruin, exercised the rights transmitted to them by their forefathers of England; and casting off the proprietary authority, called upon the house of Brunswick to rule over them—a house elevated to royal dominion, for no other purpose than to preserve to a people, their unalienable rights. The king accepted the invitation: and thereby indisputably

tably admitted the legality of that revolution. And, in so doing, by his own act, he vested in those our forefathers, and in us their posterity, a clear right to effect another revolution, if ever the government of the house of Brunswick should operate to the ruin of the people. So the excellent Roman emperor Trajan, delivered a sword to Saburanus his captain of the Prætorian guard, with this admired sentence. 'Receive this sword, and use it to defend me if I govern well, but, against me, if I behave ill.'

With joyful acclamations; our ancestors by act of assembly passed on the 18th day of August 1721, recognized the British monarch: the virtues of the *second* George are still revered among us—he, was the father of his people: and it was with extacy we saw his grandson George the Third mount the throne possessed of the hearts of his subjects.

But alas! Almost with the commencement of his reign, his subjects felt causes to complain of government. The reign advanced—the grievances became more numerous and intolerable—the complaints more general and loud—the whole empire resounded with the cries of injured subjects! At length, grievances being unredressed and ever increasing; all patience being borne down; all hope destroyed; all confidence in royal government blasted!—Behold! the empire is rent from pole to pole! perhaps to continue asunder for ever!

The catalogue of our oppressions, continental and local, is enormous. Of such oppressions, I will mention only some of the most weighty.

Under colour of law, the *King* and parliament of Great Britain have made the most arbitrary attempts to enslave America.

By claiming a right to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever,

By laying duties at their mere will and pleasure, upon all the colonies:

By suspending the legislature of New-York.

By rendering the American charters of no validity, having annulled the most material parts of the charter of the Massachusetts Bay.

By divesting multitudes of the colonists of their property, without legal accusation or trial.

By depriving whole colonies of the bounty of providence on their own proper coasts; in order to coerce them by famine:

By restricting the trade and commerce of America.

By sending to, and continuing in America, in time of peace, an armed force without, and against the consent of the people.

By granting impunity to a soldiery instigated to murder the Americans.

By declaring, that the people of Massachusetts Bay are liable for offences, or pretended offences done in that colony, to be sent to, and tried for the same in England, or in any colony, where they cannot have the benefit of a jury of the vicinage.

By establishing in Quebec the Roman Catholic religion, and an arbitrary government; instead of the Protestant religion and a free government.

And, thus America saw it demonstrated, that no faith ought to be put in a *royal* proclamation; for I must observe to you, that in the year 1763; by such a proclamation people were invited to settle in Canada; and were assured of a legislative representation, the benefit of the common law of England, and a free government. It is a misfortune to the publick, that this is not the only instance of the inefficacy of a *royal* proclamation: however having given you one instance of a failure of *royal* faith in the northern extremity of this abused

abused continent, let it suffice, that I direct your attention to the southern extremity; respecting which, the same particulars, were in the same manner promised; but, the deceived inhabitants of St. Augustine, are left, by their grand jury, in vain to complain and lament to the world, and yet scarcely permitted to exercise even that privilege distinguishing the miserable, that *royal* faith is not kept with them!

The proceedings which I have enumerated, either immediately or in their evident consequences, deeply affected all the colonies; ruin stared them in the face. They united their councils, and laid their just complaints before the throne, praying a redress of grievances. But, to their astonishment, their dutiful petition for peace and safety, was answered, only by an actual commencement of war and military destruction!

In the mean time, the British troops that had been peaceably received by the devoted inhabitants of Boston, as the troops of their sovereign bound to protect them, fortified that town, to imprison the inhabitants, and to hold that capital against the people to whom it belonged; and the British rulers having determined to appeal from reason and justice, to violence and arms, a select body of those troops, being in the night suddenly and privately marched from Boston; at Lexington, on the 19th day of April 1775, they by surprize drew the sword of civil war, and plunged it into the breasts of the Americans? Against this horrid injustice, the Almighty gave instant judgment: An handful of country militia badly armed, suddenly collected, and unconnectedly and irregularly brought up to repel the attack, discomfited the regular bands; they retreated, and night saved them from total slaughter.

Thus forced to take up arms in our own defence, America yet again most dutifully petitioned the king that he would be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in presence of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time, measures might be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of his majesty's subjects:—But, it was in vain!—The petition, on the part of millions, praying that the effusion of blood might be *stayed*, was not thought worthy of an answer; the nefarious war continued. The ruins of Charlestown, Falmouth and Norfolk, towns not constructed for offence or defence, mark the humane progress of the royal arms: so the ruins of Carthage, Corinth and Numantium proclaimed to the world, that justice was expelled the Roman senate!—On the other hand, the fortitude with which America has endured these civil and military outrages; the union of her people, as astonishing as unprecedented, when we consider their various manners and religious tenets; their distance from each other; their various and clashing local interests; their self denial; and their miraculous success in the prosecution of the war: I say, these things all demonstrate that the lord of hosts is on our side! So it is apparent, that the almighty constructor of the universe, having formed this continent of materials to compose a state pre-eminent in the world, is now making use of the tyranny of the British rulers, as an instrument to fashion and arrange those materials for the end for which, in his wisdom, he had formed them.

In this enlightened age, humanity must be particularly shocked at a recital of such violences; and it is scarce

scarce to be believed, that the British tyranny could entertain an idea of proceeding against America, by a train of more dishonourable machinations. But nothing less than absolute proof has convinced us, that in the carrying on the conspiracy against the rights of humanity, the tyranny is capable of attempting to perpetrate whatever is infamous.

For the little purpose of disarming the imprisoned inhabitants of Boston, the *British General Gage* in the face of day, violated the public faith, by himself plighted; and in concert with other governors, and with John Stuart, he made every attempt to instigate the savage nations to war upon the southern colonies, indiscriminately to massacre man, woman, and child. The governors in general have demonstrated, that truth is not in them; they have inveigled negroes from, and have armed them against their masters; they have armed brother against brother, son against father! Oh Almighty director of the universe! What confidence can be put in a government ruling by such engines, and upon such principles of unnatural destruction! A government, that on the 21st day of December last, made a law, *ex post facto*, to justify what had been done, not only without law, but in its nature unjust! a law to make prize of all vessels trading in, to, or from the United Colonies; a law to make slaves of the crews of such vessels, and to compel them to bear arms against their conscience, their fathers, their bleeding country! The world, so old as it is, heretofore had never heard of so atrocious a procedure. It has no parallel in the registers of tyranny.-- But to proceed,

The King's judges in this country refused to administer justice; and the late Governor

endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this country, by breaking the original contract between King and people, attacking the people by force of arms; having violated the fundamental laws; having carried off the great seal, and having withdrawn himself out of this colony, he abdicated the government.

Oppressed by a variety of enormous injuries, continental and local, civil and military; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses; all done and perpetrated by the assent, command, or sufferance of *the King & Parliament* the representatives of South Carolina in Congress assembled, found themselves under an unavoidable necessity of establishing a form of government, with powers legislative, executive and judicial, for the good of the people; the origin and great end of all just government. For this only end, the House of Brunswick was called to rule over us. Oh! agonizing reflection! that house ruled us with swords, fire and bayonets! The British government operated only to our destruction. Nature cries aloud, self-preservation is the great law. We have but obeyed.

If I turn my thoughts to recollect in history, a change of government upon more cogent reasons; I say, I know of no change upon principles so provoking—compelling—justifiable. And in these respects, even the famous revolution in England in the year 1688, is much inferior.—However, we need no better authority than that illustrious precedent; and I will therefore compare the causes of, and the law upon the two events.

On the 7th of February, 1688, the Lords and Commons of England in convention, completed the following resolution.

Resolved, that King James the second having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between

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tween King and people; and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws; and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom; has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant."

That famous resolution, deprived James of his crown; and became the foundation on which the throne of the present King of Great Britain is built—it also supports the edifice of government which we have erected.

In that resolve there are but three facts stated to have been done by James: I will point them out and examine, whether those facts will apply to *the King & the Parliament* with regard to the operations of government,

immediately or by consequence affecting this colony.

The first fact is, the having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract.

The violation of the fundamental laws is the second fact; and in support of these two charges, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, on the 12th day of February, 1688, declared that James was guilty:

By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws without consent of parliament.

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

By issuing and causing to be executed, a commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other

manner, than the same was granted by parliament.

By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom, in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament.

By prosecution in the court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

This declaration, thus containing two points of criminality, breach of the original contract, and violation of fundamental laws—I am to distinguish one from the other.

In the first place then, it is laid down in the best law authorities, that protection and subjection are reciprocal; and that these reciprocal duties form the original contract between King and people. It therefore follows, that the original contract was broken by James's conduct as above stated, which amounted to a not affording due protection to his people. And, it is as clear, that he violated the fundamental laws, by the suspending of laws, and the execution of laws; by levying money; by violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament; by keeping a standing army in time of peace; and by quartering soldiers, contrary to law, and without consent of parliament; which is as much as to say that he did those things without the consent of the legislature assembly chosen by the personal election of that people, over whom such doings were exercised.

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These points, reasonings, and conclusions, being settled in, deduced from, and established upon parliamentary proceedings; and the best law authorities; must ever remain unshaken. I am now to undertake the disagreeable task of examining, whether they will apply to the violence which have lighted up, and how feed the flames of civil war in America.

James the Second suspended the operation of laws—*Geo: 3.* caused the charter of Massachusetts Bay to be in effect annihilated; he suspended the operation of the law which formed a legislature in New-York, vesting it with adequate powers; and thereby, he caused the very ability of making laws in that colony to be suspended.

King James levied money without the consent of the representatives of the people called upon to pay it—

Geo: 3. has levied money upon America, not only without; but expressly against the consent of the representatives of the people in America.

King James violated the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament—*Geo: 3.* by his representative

broke through a fundamental law of this country, for the certain holding of general assemblies; and thereby, as far as in him lay, not only violated but annihilated the very ability of holding a general assembly.

King James in time of peace kept a standing army in England, without consent of the representatives of the people, among whom that army was kept—*Geo: 3.* hath in time of peace, invaded this continent with a large standing army without the consent, and, he hath kept it within this continent, expressly against the consent of the representatives of the people, among whom that army is posted.

All which doings of the King his Majesty, respecting America, are as much contrary to our interests and welfare; as much against law, and tend as much, at least, to subvert and extinguish the liberties of this colony, and of America; as the similar proceedings of James the Second operated respecting the people of England. For the same principle of law touching the premises, equally applies to the people of England in the one case; and to the people of America in the other; and this is the great principle. Certain acts done, over, and affecting a people, against and without their consent, expressed by themselves, or by representatives of their own election. Upon this only principle was grounded the complaints of the people of England; upon the same is grounded the complaints of the people of America. And hence it clearly follows, that if James the Second violated the fundamental laws of England; *his Geo: 3. has also violated* the fundamental laws of America.

Again, King James broke the original contract, by not affording due protection to his subjects, although he was not charged with having seized their towns, and with having held them against the people; or with having laid them in ruins by his arms; or with having seized their vessels; or with having put them in people with fire and sword; or with having declared them rebels, for resisting his arms levelled to destroy their lives, liberties, and properties. But *Geo: 3.* hath done all things; and it is therefore undeniable, that he hath not afforded due protection to the people. Wherefore, if James the Second broke the original contract, it is undeniable *his Geo: 3.* has also broken the original contract between King and people;

people; and that he made use of the most violent measures by which it could be done. Violences, of which James was guiltless. Measures, carrying conflagration, massacre and open war amidst a people, whose subjection to the King of Great Britain, the law holds to be due, only as a return for protection. And so tenacious and clear is the law upon this very principle, that it is laid down, subjection is not due even to a King *de jure* or of right, unless he be also King *de facto*, or in possession of the executive powers dispensing protection.

Again, The third fact charged against James is, that he withdrew himself out of the kingdom; and we know that the people of this country have declared, that Lord *Wm. Campbell Gov. of South Carolina*

having used his utmost efforts to destroy the lives, liberties, and properties of the good people here, whom by the duty of his station he was bound to protect, withdrew himself out of the colony. Hence it will appear, that *the K. of G. B.* hath withdrawn himself out of this colony, provided it be established, that exactly the same natural consequences resulted from the withdrawing in each case respectively: King James personally out of England, and *K. Geo.* out of Carolina, by the agency of his substitute *L. W. Campbell*

By King James's withdrawing, the executive magistrate was gone, thereby, in the eye of the law, the executive magistrate was dead, and of consequence royal government actually ceased in England, so by *L. W. Campbell* withdrawing, the executive magistrate was gone, the death in law became apparent, and of consequence royal government actually ceased in this colony. Lord William withdrew as the King's representative,

carrying off the great seal, and royal instructions to governors, and acting for and on the part of his principal, by every construction of law, that conduct became the conduct of his *Son* and thus, James the Second withdrew out of England; *so Geo: 3^d* withdrew out of South Carolina; and by such a conduct respectively, the people in each country were exactly in the same degree injured.

The three facts against King James being thus stated and compared with similar proceedings of ~~the King~~ we are now to ascertain the result of the injuries done by the first, and the law upon that point; which, being ascertained, must naturally constitute the judgment in law, upon the result of the similar injuries done by the last; and I am happy that I can give you the best authority upon this important point.

Treating upon this great precedent in constitutional law, the learned Judge Blackstone declares, that the result of the facts 'amounted to an abdication of the government, which abdication, did not affect only the person of the King himself, but also all his heirs; and rendered the throne absolutely and completely vacant.' Thus it clearly appears, that the government was not abdicated, and the throne vacated by the resolution of the Lords and Commons; but, that the resolution was only declaratory of the law of nature and reason, upon the result of the injuries proceeding from the three combined facts of mal-administration. And thus, as I have on the foot of the best authorities made it evident, that *the K. of G. B.*

has endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the country, by breaking the original contract between *the K. & People* by the advice of wicked persons has violated the fun-

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fundamental laws; and has withdrawn himself by withdrawing the constitutional benefits of *the Governor* and his protection out of this country: from such a result of injuries; from such a conjuncture of circumstances, the law of the land authorises me to declare, and it is my duty boldly to declare the law, that *the K. of G. B.* abdicated the government, and that

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'he has no authority over us, and we give no obedience to him.'—The *K. & his Ministers* already have presented a charge of mine to the notice of the Lords and Commons in parliament; and I am nothing loath that they take equal resentment again this charge. For, supported by the fundamental laws of the constitution; and engaged as I am in the cause of virtue—I fear no consequence from their machinations.

Thus having stated the principal causes of our last revolution, it is as clear as the sun in meridian, that *Geo: 3^d* has injured the Americans, at least as grievously as James the Second injured the people of England; but that James did not oppress them in so criminal a manner as *Geo: 3^d* has oppressed the Americans. Having also stated the law on the case, I am naturally led to point out to you, some of the great benefits resulting from that revolution.

In one word then, you have a form of government in every respect preferable to the mode under the British authority; and this will most clearly appear by contrasting the two forms of government.

Under the British authority, governors were sent over to us, who were utterly unacquainted with our local interests, genius of the people, and our laws; generally, they were but too much disposed to obey the mandates of an arbitrary minister; and if

the Governor behaved ill, we could not by any peaceable means procure redress. But under our present happy constitution, our executive magistracy arises according to the spirit and letter of holy writ—*their governors shall proceed from the midst of them.* Thus, the people have an opportunity of choosing a man intimately acquainted with their true interests, their genius, and their laws; a man perfectly disposed to defend them against arbitrary ministers; and to promote the happiness of that people from among whom he was elevated; and by whom, without the least difficulty, he may be removed and blended in the common mass:

Again, under the British, it was in effect declared, that we had no property; nay, that we could not possess any; and that we had not any of the rights of humanity. For men who knew us not, men who gained in proportion as we lost, arrogated to themselves a right, to bind us in all cases whatsoever; but our constitution is calculated to free us from foreign bondage; to secure to us our property; to maintain to us the rights of humanity; and to defend us and our posterity against British authority, aiming to reduce us to the most abject slavery!

Again, the British authority declared, that we should not erect slitting mills, and to this unjust law we implicitly and respectfully submitted so long, as with safety to our lives we could yield obedience to such authority, but a resolution of congress now grants a premium to encourage the construction of such mills. The British authority discouraged our attempting to manufacture for our own consumption, but, the new constitution, by authorising the disbursement of large sums of money by way of loan, or premium, encourages the making of iron, bar steel, nail-roads,
gad

gun, locks, gun-barrels, sulphur, nitre, gun-powder, lead, woollens, cottons, linens, paper and salt.

Upon the whole, it has been the policy of the British authority to oblige us to supply our wants at their market, which is the dearest in the known world; and to cramp and confine our trade so as to be subservient to their commerce, our real interests being ever out of the question. On the other hand, the new constitution is wisely adapted to enable us to trade with foreign nation, and thereby to supply our wants at the cheapest markets in the universe; to extend our trade infinitely beyond what it has ever been known; to encourage manufactures among us; and it is peculiarly formed to promote the happiness of the people, from among whom by virtue and merit, the poorest man may arrive at the highest dignity. Oh Carolinians! happy would you be under this new constitution, if you knew your happy state.

Possessed of a constitution of government, founded on so generous, equal and natural a principle, government expressly calculated to make the people rich, powerful, virtuous and happy, who can wish to change it, to return under a government; the vital principles of which are the reverse in every particular! It was my duty to lay this happy constitution before you, in its genuine light; it is your duty to understand, to instruct others, and to defend it.

I might here with propriety quit this truly important subject, but my anxiety for the public weal, compels me to detain your attention, while I make an observation or two, upon one particular part of the constitution.

When all the various attempts to enslave America, by fraud, under guise of law; by military threats; by famine; massacre; breach of public faith, and open war; I say, when

these things are considered on the one hand; and on the other, the constitution, expressing that some mode of government should be established, until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and America can be obtained, an event which, though traduced and treated as rebels, we still ardently desire: I say, when these two points are contrasted, we avoid revering the magnanimity of that great council of the state, who after such injuries, could entertain such a principle! But the virtuous are ever generous; we do not wish revenge; we earnestly wish an accommodation of our unhappy disputes with Great-Britain; for, we prefer peace to war. Nay, there may be even such an accommodation, as excluding every idea of revenue by taxation or duty, or of legislation, by act of parliament, may vest the King of Great Britain with such a limited dominion over us, as may tend, *bona fide*, to promote our true commercial interests, and to secure our freedom and safety; the only just ends of any dominion. But, while I declare thus much on the one side, on the other, it is my duty also to declare, that in my opinion, our true commercial interests cannot be provided for, but by such a material alteration of the British acts of navigation, as, according to the resolve of the Hon. the Continental Congress, will secure the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members. And, that our liberties and safety cannot be depended upon, if the King of Great Britain should be allowed to hold our forts and cannon; or to have authority over a single regiment in America, or a single ship of war in our ports; for if he holds our forts, he may turn them against us, as he did Boston against her proprietors,

ers. If he acquires our cannon, he will effectually disarm the colony; if he has a command of troops among us, even if we raise and pay them, shackles are fixed upon us—witness Ireland and her national army. The most express act of parliament cannot give us security; for acts of parliament are as easily repealed as made. Royal proclamations are not to be depended upon—witness the disappointments of the inhabitants of Quebec and St. Augustine. Even a change of ministry will not avail us; because, notwithstanding the rapid succession of ministers, for which the British court has been famous during the present reign, yet the same ruinous policy ever continued to prevail against America. In short, I think it my duty to declare, in the awful seat of justice, and before Almighty God, that in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the divine favour, their own virtue, and their being so prudent, as not to leave it in the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed, the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side; and the jealousies entertained, and which, in the nature of things, must daily encrease against us on the other; demonstrate to a mind in the least given to reflection, upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconciliation never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain—Let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of her enemies, who think her prosperity and power already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety

are so blended, that to refuse our labours in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people!

And now having left the important alternative, political happiness or wretchedness, under God, in a great degree in your own hands; I pray the supreme arbiter of the affairs of men, so to direct your judgement, as that you may act agreeable to what seems to be his will, revealed in his miraculous works in behalf of America, bleeding at the altar of liberty!

South-Carolina, Charlestown-district.

At a court of General Sessions of the Peace, over and terminer, assize of general gaol delivery, began to be holden in, and for the district of Charlestown, at Charlestown in the colony aforesaid, on Tuesday the 23d day of April, in the year of our Lord 1776

The presentments of the Grand Jury for the said district.

I. Fully sensible and thoroughly convinced, that to live in a society without laws or a proper execution of them, to restrain the licentious nature of mankind, is the greatest misery that can befall a people, and must render any body of men in such a situation, but little superior to a herd of brutes; and being no less sensible that it was the scheme of a corrupt nefarious administration in Great Britain to reduce the good people of this colony to that wretched situation, from a want of officers to execute the laws, those whom they had appointed having refused to act in their respective stations, that through the evil effects of anarchy and confusion, the people might become an easy prey to the cruel designs of their insidious enemies; while we lament the necessity which has obliged the people to resume into their hands, those powers of government which were originally derived from themselves for the protection of those

those rights which God alone has given them, as essential to their happiness; we cannot but express our most unfeigned joy in the happy constitution of government now established in this colony, which promises every blessing to its inhabitants which a people endued with virtue, and a just regard to the rights of mankind, could desire. With gratitude to the divine ruler of human events, and with the most pleasing expectation of happiness from a constitution so wise in its nature, and virtuous in its ends, being founded on the strictest principles of justice and humanity, and consistent with every privilege incident to the dignity of a rational being; we cannot but declare we think every opposition to its operations, or disregard to its authority, the foulest criminality a mortal can be guilty of, highly offensive to the eyes of God and of all just men, and deserving the most exemplary punishment.

We cannot but deplore the unhappy situation of any few amongst all the people of this colony, who, through an ignorance of their true interests and just rights, and from a want of proper information of the real truth, may be misled by the artifice and cunning of their false and designing enemies, from a real sense of those benefits which our present constitution has so amply provided for; benefits which are not confined or limited to any ranks or degrees of men in particular, but generally, equally and indiscriminately extending to all, from the richest to the poorest, and which time and a little patient experience must soon evince.

Every good citizen must be happy in the consideration of the choice of those officers, appointed in the administration of our present government; as well in the impartial mode of an appointment arising from the people themselves, and the limited

duration of their power, as in their personal characters as men, justly beloved and revered by their country, and whose merits and virtues entitle them to every pre-eminence.

Filled with these sentiments, arising from mature deliberation, and the most impartial enquiry, we must further declare, that blessings such as these we have before enumerated, are too inestimable to be lost; and that nothing in nature can repay the least violation of them; and although an accommodation with the power which attempts to destroy them, may be highly worthy of attention, and upon principles truly honourable, of obtaining; yet we think it a sacred duty incumbent on every citizen, to maintain and defend with his life and fortune, what is given and entrusted to him by the hand of providence, not for his own good only, but for the lasting happiness of posterity; a trust, which no law can ever annul, which is the grand principle of existence, and the source of every social virtue.

II. We present as a grievance intolerable to the spirit of the people, born and nurtured in the arms of freedom, and (though ever submissive to the just mandates of legal authority) holding every oppression as detestable; the unjust, cruel, and diabolical acts of the British parliament, not only declaring the good people of the United Colonies of North America rebels, for defending those invaluable rights, which no human power can lawfully divest them of, but making all murders, rapines, thefts, robberies, and other inhuman oppressions, done before the passing of those acts, without authority, and which were after passing the said acts, to be done by the British forces in these colonies, legal and warrantable to the eternal disgrace and indelible infamy of a kingdom once renowned for her justice, honour, and humanity, but now meanly

ly descending to that wanton profligacy which even savages abhor.

III. We present as a very great grievance, the indulgence allowed to all those who are inimical to the liberties of America and the operations of the United Colonies amongst us in suffering them to reside here, and be admitted to intercourses dangerous to the peace and welfare of this colony.

IV. We present that the public oaths directed by an act of the general assembly, passed since the forming of our present constitution, to be administered to those exercising publick offices, trusts and professions, are not administered to such of the clergy as are included in the same.

V. We present that the times at which the several parochial committees meet or are appointed for their meeting, are not made public; and we do recommend that they do publish the same in the public papers, that all persons who are desirous of obtaining leave to sue for debts, may know when to apply.

VI. We present as a great grievance, more particularly at this time, the want of due attention to the roads and ferries in this colony; many of the roads not being sufficiently wide and worked upon agreeable to law, and the ferries in general not having boats sufficient to forward passengers upon any emergent occasion.

VII. We present as a grievance the too frequent forestalling out of the waggons coming from the back parts of the country, the many necessaries of life, by which the good inhabitants of this town are obliged to pay most exorbitant prices for the same; and with submission would recommend a place to be appointed for the sale of bacon, flour, butter, and other such necessaries brought to town in carriages, to be regulated by the market act.

VIII. We present the want of a proper person by law, to oblige the sel-

lers of blades and hay, to weigh the same at a public scale.

Jonathan Scott, foreman, George Cooke, Thomas Jones, John Lightwood, Peter Leger, Philip Mayer, Isaac Mazyck, John Owen, John Smyth, Joseph Jenkins, Joseph Cox, Daniel Lessesne, Lewis Dutarque, John Singeltary.

South Carolina, George-town district.

At a court of general sessions of the peace,oyer and terminer, assize and general gaol delivery, begun to be holden in and for the said district, at George-town, in the colony aforesaid, on Monday the 6th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1776.

The presentments of the grand jury for the said district.

I. When a people, ever dutiful and affectionate to that system of government formed for their happiness, and under which they long had lived, find that, by the baseness and corruption of their rulers, those laws which were intended as the guardians of their sacred and unalienable rights, are impiously perverted into instruments of oppression; and in violation of every social compact, and the ties of common justice, every means is adopted, by those whom they constituted to govern and protect them, to enslave and destroy them: human nature, and the laws of God, justify their employing those means for redress, which self preservation dictates. It is with the most joyful sensibility, we behold this once happy country, amidst all the evil attempts of her British enemies to enslave and oppress her, and whilst she is involved in all the tumults of war, still fix that system of peace for which she is contending, by forming a constitution of government, the most equitable and desirable that human imagination could invent, thereby convincing the world of the justice

justice of her intentions, and her own regard to the rights of mankind. The present constitution of government, formed by the late congress of this colony, promises to its inhabitants, every happy effect which can arise from society. Equal and just in his principles, wise and virtuous in its end; we now see every hope of future liberty, safety and happiness, confirmed to ourselves and our posterity, and the possession of which our own virtuous perseverance must render perpetual. Every good citizen will joyfully exult at those considerations, and when he finds himself living in a community, where virtue alone is sovereign, where tyranny is banished, and every system of oppression held as detestable; earnestly endeavouring, regardless of every danger, to support those glorious advantages against any hand that dares to molest them. And should there be a wretch so lost to every humane principle, whose heart but harbours the least dissatisfaction, in such a situation, we hold him as unworthy the society of men.

II. We cannot but express our unfeigned satisfaction, in the choice of the present public officers, acting under our constitution. The method of their appointment being founded on the strictest justice and impartiality, the duration of their power being consistent with every principle of safety to the people, and the characters of such as are now in appointment so confided in, from their well known personal merits.

III. When we reflect on the general harmony which now prevails in this part of the colony, and are sensible how soon the good effect of our present government must appear to every one, we promise to ourselves the happiness of soon seeing this oppressed and much injured colony, enjoying a state of freedom and felicity unknown before.

And lastly, we beg leave to return our sincere thanks to the Hon. Mr.

Justice Mathews; for his truly patriotic and spirited charge, delivered to us at the opening of this session, and to request that these our sentiments and thanks be printed in the publick papers.

BENJAMIN YOUNG, Foreman.

North Carolina.

In Congress, April 12, 1776.

Resolved, That the delegates for this colony in Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof) to meet the delegates of the other colonies, for such purposes as shall hereafter be pointed out.

By order,

JAMES GREEN, jun. Sec.

Williamsburgh, June 22. By express from Charlestown, we learn, that two ships arrived safe laden with arms and powder; one having on board ten thousand weight. On the 5th inst. Col. Muhlenburg's regiment, with a body of North Carolina forces, were with in two days march of Charlestown.

Philadelphia, June 27. This afternoon a gentleman arrived from Charlestown, which he left on the 15th inst. He informs, that Generals Lee and Howe were arrived there from Virginia and North Carolina.

New-York, July 4.

Extract of a letter from Charlestown.

By a remarkable providence the Creek Indians have engaged in our favour. A party of men came to Georgia, expecting by favour of the Tories, to make that a provision colony. At the very period, a few head men of that nation happened to be at Mr. Bryant's, to warn him of the danger of an Indian war. At this

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this moment, he being absent, his house was attacked by some of the enemy, who had got up the river Savannah. The savages finding that in the absence of their old friend, their house was assaulted, they defended it; and one of their chiefs, the only man that was hurt, was wounded in the thigh. This so enraged them, that they sent off a runner, who in a few days brought down 500, who have since killed several men of the fleet who had landed to water.

Williamsburgh, Aug. 10. From Fin-castle we are informed, that on the 21st of July, a large party of Indians attacked the Watanga fort, in which were 150 men. They fired upon a number of women, who went out at day-break to milk their cows, and drove them into the fort. They fired upon the fort some hours, but retired with considerable loss, as was discovered by the large quantity of blood on the ground. Six days after, they returned; but a detachment from Holstein sent to relieve the fort on the 29th, dispersed them, killed five, took 20 guns, and one prisoner. We lost not a man.

Philadelphia, Aug. 20. By a letter received from Virginia we have an account, that Archibald Govan's vessel, with a number of Scotch passengers, were stopped, and the property secured, consisting chiefly of specie, said to the amount of 50,000*l.* The vessel will be returned to Govan as American property; but the money, being intended for the Scotch, will certainly be condemned. Several persons of rank in Urbana have been taken up for holding a traitorous correspondence with Lord Dunmore. Ralph Wormley, Esq; jun. formerly one of the Governor's council, is among them; and he was sent to Williamsburgh; proper persons were appointed to take an inventory of his estate and effects.

Philadelphia, Aug. 20.

Extract of a letter from Dumfries, in Virginia.

On Monday, July 22, the Roebuck, Mercury, Otter, and an armed ship, came up to Potomack, and anchored two miles below Dumfries, where the water is fresh. Next day at 12 o'clock, they sent off two tenders, a gondola covered, and eight large boats full of men, of the 14th regiment, marines, &c. They landed at William Brent's, Esq; where about 60 of the Stafford militia were posted, without any cover; the gondola drawing but sixteen inches water, run ~~in~~ close to the shore, and with a nine pounder and grape shot, obliged the militia to retreat, when about 150 men landed, and burnt the out-houses &c. of Mr. Brent, and intended to have burnt his fine mill and other houses; but the Roebuck observing the Prince William militia on their march, hoisted a white flag, and their men immediately retreated, without doing any further damage. The fleet having taken in fresh water, fell down the river the next day. These white men and four negroes were found dead on shore; two of the whites were sewed up in hammocks, and shot through the breast; they had fine Holland shirts on, and are supposed to have been officers. A gold laced hat was found with a bullet hole through both sides of the crown. As the riflemen had some fair shot at them, it is not doubted but several are killed.

ANNAPOLIS, June 9.

In Convention, June 24.

The letters of Captain Montagu, and of Robert Eden, Esq; of this day, to the council of safety, were laid before the convention, and on consideration thereof,

Resolved unanimously, That the said Captain Montagu, by detaining several servants belonging to the inhabitants

habitants of this province, and by refusing to deliver up a soldier who had deserted from the service of this colony, hath violated the truce, and acted in manifest violation of his promise to preserve the same sacred.

Ordered, That the commanding officer do not permit any baggage or effects, belonging to Robert Eden, Esq; or any other person on board the Fowey, to be carried on board the said ship, and to take care that all communication with the said ship immediately cease.

Copy of Governor Eden's letter.

His Majesty's Ship Rowey, June 24,
1776:

Sir,
In answer to your letter by Capt. Stone, which I have just received, relative to the application made by Mr. Galloway, and others, on account of some runaway servants; I can only say, that Captain Montagu's orders to receive on board, and give protection to all British well-affected subjects, are positive, and that he does not consider it in his power, consistently with those orders, to comply with your request.

He says, that you cannot consider this refusal as any violation of the truce; that the Fowey has not, and will not receive any runaway slaves on board; that he is bound by, and must follow his instructions; that all vessels belonging to this place, now along side, he intends giving up; and that he has never sent ashore to bring servants off, or encourage deserters. I can add no more, than that every exertion of interest, or interposition on this subject, must prove ineffectual against the King's orders.

I hope we shall get away to-morrow, and not be delayed by any obstruction to the baggage and stock of the gentlemen here, as yet not brought off. Wishing peace and prof-

perity to the province on constitutional principles. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT EDEN.

Charles Carroll, Esq; barrister.

V. P. of the council of Safety,

Annapolis.

In Council of Safety, Annapolis, June
25, 1776.

Sir,

By command of the convention, I enclose you their resolution of yesterday, which expresses the occasion of discontinuing an intercourse with the Fowey, which was wished and expected to have ended more satisfactorily. Any measures that may be attempted, for the ostensible cause of stopping the Governor's baggage, must be properly imputed to your breach of truce, and will be resented in full proportion to the injury. For, and on behalf of the Council of Safety.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

DAN. of St. THO. JENIFER, P.

George Montagu, Esq;

Philadelphia, July 6. Last Saturday, the brig Nancy, Capt. Montgomery, loaded by the congress with 400 barrels of powder and 50 small arms, was drove ashore at Cape May by the King's Fisher. Under favour of a fog in the night 260 barrels of the powder were got safe ashore, and the small arms; but the fog clearing away in the morning, and a tender coming in sight, and 5 barges full of men coming to attack her, the remainder of the powder was started in the cabin, and about 50lb. wrapt in the main sail and some fire put near it; the crew having done this quitted her. The boats directly boarded her, gave three cheers, and began firing upon our people who were on shore, when the vessel blew up. We know not how many were killed, but apprehend not less than 70 or 80, by the number

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ber

der of persons seen in the air, and the number of heads, legs, &c. afterwards found. There were some white spatterdashes found supposed to belong to officers. Governor Franklin is sent to Wallingford. A few days ago Major Rogers was taken up at South Amboy ferry.

The declaration of the deputies of Pennsylvania, met in Provincial Congress at Philadelphia, June 24, 1776.

Whereas, in violation of the principles of the British constitution, and the laws of justice and humanity, hath by an accumulation of oppressions unparalleled in history, excluded the inhabitants of this with the other American colonies from protection. And whereas, hath paid no regard to any of our remonstrances and dutiful petitions for redress of our complicated grievances, but hath lately purchased foreign troops to assist in enslaving us, and hath excited the savages of this country to carry on a war against us, as also the negroes to imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters, in a manner unpractised by civilized nations; and moreover hath lately insulted our calamities by declaring, that will shew us no mercy, until hath subdued us; and whereas the obligations of (being reciprocal between) are now dissolved on the side of the colonists by the despotism and declaration info-

much, that it now appears that is treason against the good people of this country; and whereas not only the parliament, but there is reason to believe, too many of the people of Great Britain have concurred in the aforesaid arbitrary and unjust proceedings against us; and whereas the public virtue of this colony (so essential to its liberty and happiness) must be endangered by a future political union with or dependence upon a and nation so lost to

justice, patriotism and magnanimity:

We the deputies of the people of Pennsylvania, assembled in full provincial conference for forming a plan for executing the resolve of congress of the 15th of May last, for suppressing all authority in this province derived from the crown of Great Britain, and for establishing a government upon the authority of the people only—do in this public manner in behalf of ourselves, and with the approbation, consent and authority of our constituents, unanimously declare our willingness to concur in a vote of the congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent states: provided the forming the government, and the regulation of the internal police of this colony, be always reserved to the people of the said colony. And we do further call upon the nations of Europe, and appeal to the great arbiter and governor of the empires of the world to witness for us, that this declaration did not originate in ambition, or in an impatience of lawful authority; but that we were driven to it in obedience to the first principles of nature, by the oppressions and cruelties of the aforesaid and parliament of Great Britain, as the only possible measure that was left to preserve and establish our liberties, and to transmit them inviolate to posterity.

Signed by order of the Conference,
THOMAS M'KEAN, President.

In Congress, June 3, 1776.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the assemblies, conventions and committees of safety, in the United Colonies, to fall upon the most effectual means of removing the stocks, grain, and meal, from such parts of their respective colonies as are invaded, or are in danger of being invaded by the enemy.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

In Congress, June 26, 1776.

Resolved, That a bounty of TEN DOLLARS be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier, who will enlist to serve for THREE YEARS.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Philadelphia, July 8, 1776. At a conference of the delegates in Congress, for the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, of the committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, the committee of inspection and observation, for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and the field-officers of the five battalions of the said city, &c. at the State-house in Philadelphia, on the 5th of July 1776, in pursuance of the following resolution of Congress, to wit,

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

Resolved, That the delegates of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, be a committee to confer with the committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, the committee of inspection of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and the field-officers of the battalions of the city and liberties, on the best means of defending the colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and that they be empowered to send expresses where necessary.

JOHN HANCOCK, president.

THOMAS M'KEAN in the chair.

Resolved, That it appears to the conferees, that all the associated militia of Pennsylvania (excepting the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford, and Northumberland) who can be furnished with arms and accoutrements, should be forthwith requested to march with the utmost expedition to Trenton, except the militia of Northampton county, who are to march directly for New Brunswick, and that the said militia continue in service until the flying camp of ten thousand men can be collected to relieve them, unless they shall sooner be discharged by the Congress.

THOMAS M'KEAN, chairman.

In Congress, July 5.

Resolved, That the committees of inspection for the several counties, in the colony of Pennsylvania, be directed to order such troops as they may raise for the flying camp, to be marched to Trenton.

Resolved, That this Congress highly approve of the foregoing resolution, and recommend it to the good people of Pennsylvania, to carry the same into execution, with the same laudable readiness, which they have hitherto manifested in supporting the injured rights of their country,

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

Resolved, That the board of war be empowered to employ such a number of persons as they shall find necessary to manufacture flints for the continent; and for this purpose to apply to the respective assemblies, conventions, and councils or committees of safety of the United American States, or committees of inspection of the counties and towns thereto belonging, for the names and places of abode of persons skilled in the manufactory aforesaid, and of the places in their respective states, where the best flint stones are to be obtained, with samples of the same.

By order of the Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

War-Office, Philadelphia, July 6, 1776.

All persons in the United American States, who are able to inform the Congress of any quantity of flint-stone, or of any persons who are skilled in the manufacture of flints, are requested to apply in person or by letter to the board of war and ordnance, at the war-office, in Market-street. RICHARD PETERS, jun. Sec.

Philadelphia, July 8. This day at 12 o'clock, the declaration of independence was proclaimed at the State-house, amidst the greatest acclamations of joy.

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In

*In Convention of the State of New-Jersey.**Brunswick, Aug. 10, 1776.*

That to prevent desertion no person or persons belonging to or coming from the army in the state of New-Jersey, be permitted to go over any of the ferries in, or travel through any of the said state without a pass, signed either by General Mercier, General Wrexon, General Livingston, Colonel Griffin, or Col. Biddle,

WM. PATERSON, Secy.

In Convention of the same.

Resolved, that the several county committees within this state, do cause inventories and appraisements to be made of the estates, real as well as personal, of all such persons within their respective bounds, as have absconded, or shall abscond from their homes, and joined themselves to the enemies of this state, causing all perishable articles to be sold, and the monies arising therefrom, and all other the goods and estates of such persons, that they keep in safe and secure custody until the further order of this convention, provided that the said committees be empowered to leave any part of the said estate in the hands of the relations or friends of such absconding persons, taking such security as they think proper for the return or value thereof.

WM. PATERSON, Secy.

NEW-JERSEY.

On the 13th of August, came on the election of Legislative Council, Assembly, &c. of this state. Samuel Tucker, esq. is the new governor, chosen by the convention. In Burlington county, the Hon. Richard Smith was chosen one of the Council, and Caleb Shreve, Joseph Newbold, and — Tallman, esqrs. members of Assembly.

August 22. Several vessels have arrived at different inlets in New-Jersey, one is a brig belonging to New-

York. She has brought on the Congress account 9 tons of powder, 779 stands of arms, and 20 pieces of cannon, 4 and 6 pounders.

In Provincial Congress, New-York, June 20, 1776.

Whereas the Continental Congress on the 14th day of March last, did recommend it to the several assemblies, conventions and councils, or committees of safety of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all persons to be disarmed within their respective colonies, who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, or had not associated, and refused to associate, to defend by arms these United Colonies, against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies.

And whereas the late committee of safety of this colony, did thereupon on the 27th of March, recommend it to the committees of the several cities, counties, manors, &c. in this colony, forthwith to cause to be disarmed, all persons within their respective districts, who were known to be disaffected to the cause of America, and also to sign an association.

(*The draft of association having been objected to*) The Provincial Congress this day

Resolved unanimously, That the following form of an association be, and is hereby recommended to them, viz.

WE, the subscribers, inhabitants of _____ in the county of _____ and colony of New-York, do most solemnly declare, that the claims of the British parliament, to bind at their discretion the people of the United Colonies in America, in all cases whatsoever, are, in our opinion absurd, unjust, and tyrannical; and that the hostile attempts of their fleets and armies to enforce submission to those wicked and ridiculous claims, ought to be resisted by arms. And therefore

fore, we do engage and associate, under all the ties which we respectively hold sacred, to defend by arms these United Colonies, against the said hostile attempts, agreeable to such laws and regulations as our representatives in the Congresses, or future general assemblies of this colony, have, or shall, for that purpose, make and establish.

Resolved unanimously, That all such persons, as shall refuse to subscribe the same, together with all notoriously disaffected persons, be forthwith (if not already done) disarmed, and required on oath to declare and discover, whether the arms so taken from them; be all the arms they respectively have, or had, and if not, where the residue, to the best of their knowledge, are deposited, and may be found, and that such of them as refuse to take such oath, be committed to safe custody, till they consent to take it.

Resolved unanimously, That it be, and it is hereby recommended to the several committees in this colony, to carry the aforesaid resolution into execution, with diligence and punctuality.

Extract from the minutes,

ROBERT BENSON, Sec.

New-York, June 24. On the 21st, about four o'clock in the morning, we attacked the light house with 300 men, but could make no impression. The attack lasted near two hours, from field-pieces and small arms, during which our people were exposed to the fire of the ships, and of the light-house. Finding nothing could be done, they returned to the camp, at the south-end of the Cedars. They had not heavy cannon sufficient to make a breach.

New-York, June 24. A barbarous and infernal plot has been discovered here among the Tories; the particulars are not exactly known, as the

committee of examination consists of but three, who are sworn to secrecy. Two of General Washington's guards are concerned; and a third, whom they tempted to join them, made the discovery. The design is said to have been this; upon the arrival of the troops, they were to murder all the staff-officers, blow up the magazines, and secure the passes of the town.— Gilbert Forbes, gunsmith, in the Broadway, was, on the 22d, between two and three o'clock in the morning, carried before our Congress, who were then sitting. He refused to make any discovery; upon which he was sent to jail, and put in irons.— Young Mr. Livingstone went to see him early in the morning, told him he was very sorry to find he had been concerned, and as his time was very short, not having above three days to live, advised him to prepare himself. This had the desired effect; he asked to be carried before the Congress again, and he would discover all he knew. Several were taken yesterday and to-day; among them our mayor, who has confessed the bringing 140l. from Governor Tryon, to pay for the rifle-guns Gilbert Forbes had made. They are all in confinement. It is said their party consisted of near 500 men. The mayor was examined twice yesterday, remanded to prison upon a proper guard. Many more it is expected will be taken up. A party of our men went over to Long Island, to take up the Tories there. They brought to town one Downing, who was concerned in the plot. They took six more, and put them in Jamaica jail in Long Island. Yesterday the General's housekeeper was taken up: it is said she is concerned.

Albany, July 15. Last Saturday a plot was discovered here, by confession of two Tories, that this week the city was to be set on fire in different places, and the magazines blown up. Yesterday

Yesterday 200 men went out armed to take up the scoundrels, who, by information, were skulking in the woods, where several have been taken. As there are no soldiers in town, the inhabitants keep guard every night. In Provincial Congress, New-York, June 30, 1776.

Whereas this congress, has received intimation, that divers distressed and dangerous persons in this colony have lately left their usual places of residence, and secreted themselves in woods, swamps and other places, in all probability with a design to join the enemy when an opportunity shall offer, which, if not prevented, will endanger the peace, quiet and safety of the inhabitants.

Resolved therefore, that it be, and it is hereby recommended to the committees of the several cities, towns, manors, precincts and districts in this colony, to cause to be apprehended and brought before them, all such persons as are above described; and that they cause them to be sent to some gaol or other place of security in this colony. And the said committees are hereby empowered to order the officers of the militia in their several districts to carry this resolution into effectual execution.

A true copy of the minutes.

ROBERT BENSON, Sec.

New-York, July 4. It is intended in three months to suppress all the copper coin made of base metal or wanting in weight, the rest to pass at the rate of 15 for an 8th part of a dollar. And if there is not a sufficiency to call the whole in, and to strike a new impression of continental copper coin of a large size, 12 of which are to pass for an 8th of a dollar, and no other coppers to pass current.

In consequence of an information lately made, that sundry persons had entered into a solemn agreement to

aid and assist our unnatural enemies in making themselves masters of our city, several of them were apprehended; and on Friday last, one of these conspirators, a soldier in his Excellency General Washington's guard, was executed in a field near this city in the presence of a multitude of spectators.

New-York, July 11. Several of the new raised regiments of Connecticut troops are arrived here. They appear fine men. Among them are between 5 and 600 light dragoons, who paraded through the town on horseback and made a noble appearance. They are chiefly composed of the substantial yeomanry of our sister colony. Some of them assisted at the reduction of Louisbourg.

New-York, July 22. On the 14th, a barge from the fleet appeared in our bay with a white flag, which was met by the general's barge. The flag was sent by Lord Howe with a letter for Mr. Washington. But as the letter was improperly directed, it was not received, though much solicited by the officer. Next day, another flag was sent in the same manner with a letter, which was again offered, but again refused for the same reason as before. On the 16th a third flag came, but brought only an open letter directed to Miss Margaret Moncrieffe. This day came a fourth flag with Adjutant General Paterfon of the British army. He landed near our battery and passed through the life-guards of General Washington, and had a private conference with him at Colonel Knox's for near half an hour. One part of his business was to urge General Washington to accept of Lord Howe's letter, as it was only of a private nature: General Washington said, that for himself he did not mind the title, but the general officers did not think proper for him to receive it without;

Without ; therefore he could not upon any account receive it. The adjutant behaved with great politeness, and made use of all expressions proper for the general's situation, as, your Excellency, &c. General Washington having some weeks ago sent a message to General Howe, respecting the barbarity of the Indians to some of our people in Canada, Colonel Paterson said, in answer to that message, that Lord Howe was very much averse to barbarity, but the army in the northern department was not under his command; he could do nothing in it. Col. Paterson offered and solicited the exchange of Master Lovell for Major Skene, which General Washington had requested when at Cambridge; but General Washington said, he could not now comply with that request without the consent of the congress. A servant of Mr. M'Evers was taken yesterday upon Long Island dressed in woman's cloaths, with a letter directed to Mr. Alexander Wallace. He is sent to jail. General Sullivan is arrived from Crown Point.

In Convention of the Representatives of the state of New-York, Aug. 10, 1776.

Resolved, that if any of the militia officers in the service of this state shall, during the present invasion, resign his commission after having received orders to proceed upon duty from this convention or his superior officer, without the permission of this state, or shall not repair with all possible dispatch to such place or places, as he or they may be ordered to by the convention of this state, or by his superior officer, shall, upon proof before a general court martial, be rendered incapable of holding any military employment under this state, and his name held up as a deserter of his country's cause.

ROBERT BENSON, Sec.

By his Excellency General Washington, General and Commander in Chief of the army of the United States of North America.

Whereas a bombardment and attack upon the city of New-York by our cruel and inveterate enemy may be hourly expected : and as there are great numbers of women, children, and infirm persons yet remaining in the city, whose continuance will rather be prejudicial than advantageous to the army, and their persons exposed to great danger and hazard : I do therefore recommend it to all persons, as they value their own safety and preservation, to remove with all expedition out of the said town at this critical period — trusting that with the blessing of heaven upon the American arms they may soon return to it in perfect security. And I do enjoin and require all the officers and soldiers in the army under my command, to forward and assist all such persons in their compliance with this recommendation,

Given under my hand, at head quarters, New-York, Aug. 17, 1776.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

In convention of the representatives of the state of New-York, held at Harlem, Aug. 17, 1776.

Resolved, That the women and children, and infirm persons in the city of New York, be immediately removed from the said city, agreeable to General Washington's request of this house, in his letter of this date.

ROBERT BENSON, Sec.

[Proper persons were appointed to inspect and assist in effecting this removal, to pay the expences, give permits, &c.]

New-York, Aug. 22. On the 16th inst. one of our fire-ships commanded by Captain Fosdick, and another by Captain Thomas, went up the north river after the Phœnix and Rose.

The

The night being dark, they passed the Phoenix, without seeing her.— Captain Thomas fell on board the tender which belonged to them, and burnt her. The light gave direction to Captain Foddick. He grappled the Phoenix; but by the lowness of his vessel, and the dexterity of the Phoenix's hands, she got clear off the fire-ship, and sunk her. However, this gallant enterprize struck such a panic into the enemy, that they thought it prudent to quit their station, and on the 18th, just before day-light, taking the advantage of a fine wind, the tide, and a very heavy rain, they came down the river, through a continual fire from our forts, by which they must have received considerable damage.

New-York, Aug. 22, 1776. Six regiments of militia from the State of Connecticut, arrived here yesterday. They are fine men, well equipped and disciplined.

Newbury-Port, (New-England) June 10.

' This day was launched, one of the continental frigates, of 24 guns, built under the direction of the Hon. Tho. Cushing; she is a fine ship, and well built, of the best timber. It is impossible to express the acclamations upon this occasion; she was named the Hancock. About a fortnight since, a frigate of 32 guns was launched at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire: she is said to be one of the finest ships ever built in America; being all prime timber, &c. yet from raising her till she was launched was no more than sixty days. She was built under the direction of John Langdon, Esq;'

New-London, June 28. A considerable number of vessels, bound to different foreign parts, are now lying in this harbour, waiting for a favourable wind to put to sea.

Hartford, July 1. At a full meeting of the inhabitants of King's district in Albany county, legally warned, for the purpose of electing twelve delegates to represent the said county in Provincial Congress, &c. the question was put, Whether the said district chuse to have the American colonies independent of Great Britain? it passed unanimously in the affirmative.

Spencer town, in Albany county, agreed to support the same with their lives and fortunes.

Extract of a letter from Halifax, Aug. 15.

An expedition has been formed here for landing some men at St. John's fort, on St. John's river, in the Bay of Fundy; the Tamer sloop of war has been to convey the transports thither, and is retired from that business, and brought back the vessels. What the design may be, I am not able to fathom. Our dock-yard here has constant employ, scarce any of the king's ports in England has more, which may easily be conceived from the number of ships employed on the continent.

This expedition was thus spoken of in the Halifax news-papers. 'Two thousand Highlanders, under convoy of three frigates and three armed schooners, have been sent to the Bay of Fundy to penetrate that way into New Hampshire.'

If this matter was really attempted, it is probable it gave rise to the following:

New-York, Aug. 1. The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, have laid an embargo upon all sorts of provision from that colony, until the first day of November next, unless the same be laden on board any ship or vessel, with intent to supply the fleets and armies of the United Colonies.

Colonies, or the inhabitants of some other part or parts of that colony.

New-York, Aug. 22. A large army is gone against Halifax, supposed to be under the command of Gen. Schuyler, and an embargo is laid on all the shipping in the four New-England Provinces until the expedition is completed, to prevent the Howes from sending supplies.

Extract of a letter from Long Island, dated Sept. 5.

'I am told that the enemy have detached a body of 20,000 men from Boston to besiege Halifax, and I hear that some of the men of war will sail in two or three days for its defence; it is supposed Sir Peter Parker, as Commodore, will go there in the Chatham.'

Nantz, Sept. 26. There are here no less than 12 or 14 ships, brigs, and schooners, &c. belonging to different ports in America, loading with military stores, &c. They bring wheat and flour in exchange. A large ship left this port yesterday bound to America, called the Hancock and Adams, commanded by one Smith. The day before he sailed, he was examined by order of the commandant, when a quantity of contraband stores was found on board which he was obliged to reland; but the same night they were all reshipped again, with a great deal more; particularly 2000 stand of arms, many barrels of gunpowder, and several barrels of saltpetre. A schooner and a sloop have almost completed their cargoes, and will sail in a few days. Our commandant takes little or no notice of their proceedings, only now and then inspecting a vessel to keep up appearances.

Bristol, Oct. 3. A person arrived here a few days ago from Bourdeaux in France, says, there were in that port seven American vessels, on board of which they were taking in military stores,

London, Oct. 17. It has been confidently asserted, that the French have sold to the Americans two or three of their line of battle ships.—There can be no doubt of the Americans receiving great assistance from France.

A letter from Bourdeaux, says, that at the beginning of October, a Dutch frigate of 26 guns arrived there; the captain of which left her, and immediately several American persons, and a crew of American sailors, went on board; and in twelve hours she sailed away.

Since the affair of Sullivan's Island, the Carolinians have sent several ships to France with rice, indigo, and deerskin; and several have arrived in the French ports, laden with rice on the Congress account.

List of vessels taken by the American Privateers.

Those marked o, retaken; oo, released; ooo, crews entered into the service of the Congress.

| <i>Names and Captains.</i> | <i>From and to</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Anne, Duncan, | Dominica, London. |
| Anne, Wise, | St. Vincent's, Liverpool. |
| Agnes, Mather, | Antigua, London. |
| Betsy, Wray, | London, Lisbon. |
| Black River, Currie, | Dominica, Bristol. |
| Blaze-Castle, Smith, | Barbadoes, Bristol. |
| Bee, Davies, | St. Kitt's, Lancaster. |
| Creighton, Rofs, | Antigua, Boston. |
| Content, Bagwell, | Exeter, Vigo. |
| Caledonia, M'Kinlay, | St. Kitt's, Greenock. |
| Diana, Maybury, | St. Vincent's, Corke. |
| Dove, Cunningham, | St. Eustatia, London. |
| Devonshire, Fisher, | Antigua, Dublin o. |
| Eagle, Barnes, | Barbadoes, London. |
| Errol, Bartlet, | Grenada, London. |
| Fanny, Blyth, | Barbadoes, Halifax. |
| Friendship, Mackay, | Grenada, London. (see 235) ooo. |
| Friendship, Naplett, | St. Croix, Guernsey. |
| Francis, Williamson, | Antigua, London oo. |
| Freedom, Wallace, | Grenada, — oo. |
| Good Intent, Davies, | Newcastle, Gibraltar. |
| Harlequin, Goodwin, | Nevis, London. |
| Heister, Crombie, | St. Kitt's, London. |
| Henrietta, Hayman, | Barbadoes, Corke o. |
| Isaac, Craigg, | Tortola, Liverpool. |
| James, Higgins, | Antigua, Lancaster oo. |
| Isabella, Kirk, | Antigua, Ireland. |
| Juno, Marfom, | Jamaica, Bristol. |
| Y y | Jane |

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Jane, Beane, | Dominica, Bristol. |
| Jenny, Cummings, | St. Andrew. |
| Ld Stanley, Strickland, | Leghorn, Dublin. |
| Lady Juliana, Stevenfon, | Jamaica, London. |
| Lancashire, Jones, | Jamaica, Liverpool. |
| Lively, Carter, | Chater, Malaga. |
| Leinster, Carew, | Antigua, Lancaster, (see 268) <i>ps.</i> |
| Minchhead, Whitehorn, | St. Vincent's, London. |
| Maria, Hall, | Tortola, Liverpool. |
| Mary, Morville, | London, Salerno. |
| Mary and Jas. Moore, | Nevis, London <i>e.</i> |
| Nevis, Coffin, | Antigua, Ireland. |
| Neptune, Paterfon, | Jamaica, London <i>e.</i> |
| Princess Royal, Duthie, | Grenada, Lancaster <i>e.</i> |
| Portland, Bromell, | St. Croix, Dublin <i>oo.</i> |
| Peggy, Dunlop, | Antigua, London. |
| Polly, Loar, | St. Vincent's, Liverpool |
| Peter, ———, | Tobago, London <i>ooo.</i> |
| Peccary, Cleveland, | Jamaica, London. |
| Reynolds, Rufden, | Antigua, Ireland. |
| Rover, Hunter, | Tortola, London. |
| Reward, Bailey, | Grenada, London. |
| Ro. Exchange, Bowden, | ———, London. |
| Sally, Bishop, | St. Kitt's, London. |
| Star and Garter, Hemfson, | Oporto, London, with money. |
| Sufannah, Crawford, | Exeter, Naples. |
| Sarah & Anne, Potbury, | St. Croix, Ireland <i>e.</i> |
| Tuite, Laning, | St. Kitt's, London <i>oo.</i> |
| Union, Wilson, | Grenada, Corke. |
| Wm. and Mary, Casey, | Jamaica, Liverpool. |
| William, Bond, | Jamaica, London. |
| Zach. Bayly, Hodge, | |

I had the honour at your request of presenting to the throne, and at the same time of assuring you, that both for your own sakes, and that of the commonwealth in general, my only wishes and endeavours have been to preserve that integrity of disposition you so firmly displayed, unblasted and unbroken; happy gentlemen would it have been in my opinion had your laudable example been followed by every other corporation in the kingdom, we should not then have been involved in a war the most unjust and unconstitutional in its principles, and ruinous in its tendency of any to be found in the annals of this or in any other nation upon earth; for so inauspicious is this war, that our very successes must destroy us; we are murdering our own people, choking up the channels of our own wealth, and thus enervated and drained, laying ourselves open to every combination in Europe that should think proper to fall upon us.

Our correspondent at the same time observes, that the conduct of that corporation on this occasion was the more meritorious, that neither the example of other boroughs, nor *very distant*, nor the influence of some great men in their neighbourhood, nor even the absolute refusal of their own representatives, were able to awe, daunt, or swerve them from what they thought and felt to be their indispensable duty.

Whitehall, Sept. 15. The following letters from Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, and General Howe, to Lord George Germaine, brought by the Sandwich packet from Staten Island to Falmouth in 37 days, were this day received.

Copy of a letter from Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Eagle, off Staten Island, Aug. 11, 1776.

The two ordnance transports; & the five transports with Highlanders; ten fishing vessels off Newfoundland, and many others; some with four crout, &c. the names of which are not recollected. [To be continued.]

Wallingford, Oct. 1. A few days ago at the annual meeting of the Mayor and Corporation of this borough, the Earl of Abingdon, our High-steward, took occasion to compliment them respecting their unanimous petition to the throne upon the unhappy troubles in America, in a speech to the following purport.

Gentlemen,
 'It is with infinite pleasure that I embrace this opportunity of congratulating you on that humane, independent, and truly patriotick spirit you so well expressed in the petition

My

My Lord,

Conceiving it of the utmost importance, in pursuit of the objects of the special commission with which I had the honour to be charged by his Majesty, that the colonies in rebellion should have the earliest information of his Majesty's most gracious intentions with respect to the restoration of peace, and the granting of pardons to such of his Majesty's subjects as, by a speedy return to their allegiance, might deserve the royal mercy; I thought proper, in the course of my voyage, to prepare a declaration to that effect, together with a circular letter addressed to the governors, or, in their absence, the lieutenant governors or chief magistrates, of the respective colonies; copies of which I have the honour to inclose to your lordship, No. 1 and 2.

I had little expectation that these letters and declaration would reach the hands of his Majesty's governors—my object was, that they should be circulated as much as possible throughout the provinces; and I hoped to have found an opportunity of landing them soon after the time of their date, by means of some vessel I might meet with upon the coasts; but no opportunity offered till I arrived off the harbour of New-York on the 12th of last month, when I dispatched the first lieutenant of the *Eagle* to Amboy, with those intended for the colonies to the southward of New-York, directing him to deliver them to any person who might appear in authority, and to desire they might be forwarded by the post.

The inclosed printed paper, No. 3, which came accidentally to my hands, will inform your lordship of the resolution of the General Congress, upon their receipt of the above-mentioned packets, which it seems were transmitted by Mr. (called General) Mercier, the commanding officer at

Amboy, to Mr. Washington at New-York, and by him to the congress.

Capt. Burnaby, in the *Merlin* sloop, was charged with the packets for the colonies of Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire, and directed to land them at Rhode-Island. On the 28th of last month he returned, with a letter to me from Mr. Cooke, acknowledging the receipt of my letter and declaration, and acquainting me that he had communicated them to 'the General Assembly of that state,' then sitting at Newport, who would transmit copies of them to 'the most honourable the General Congress of the United States of America, to whom every application ought to be addressed, and must be referred.' A copy of Mr. Cooke's letter to me is inclosed, No. 4.

As the issuing the abovementioned letters and declaration is the only measure I judged necessary to take before I could have a conference with General Howe, I have nothing further to add in this separate dispatch, but my hopes of being informed by your lordship, that my conduct is honoured with his Majesty's approbation. I have the honour to be, &c.

HOWE.

Copies of the papers number 1, 2, 3; referred to in the above letter, are inserted in p. 288, and 289.

Copy of the paper numbered 4, referred to in the above letter.

Rhode Island, Providence Plantations, Newport, July 21, 1776.

My Lord,

I am favoured with your lordship's letter of the 20th of June last, inclosing your declaration. I have communicated them to the General Assembly of this state now sitting here; and, at their request, inform your lordship, that they will transmit copies of them to the most Hon.

Y y 2

the

the General Congress of the United States of America, to whom every application respecting the disputes between the said states and Great Britain ought to be addressed, and must be referred.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

NICH. COOKE.

(Addressed) on the public service.

To his Excellency Lord Viscount Howe, Admiral of his Britannick Majesty's fleet, &c. on board the Eagle, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations,

NICH. COOKE.

Copy of a letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated head quarters, Staten island, Aug. 15, 1776.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatches on the 11th and 12th of June, by the Halifax packet arriving here the 11th instant.

On the 12th the two fleets under convoy of Commodore Hotham, and the *Repulse*, met off this harbour, and came in together; the guards and Hessians on board are reported to be very healthy. The campequipage is also come, and no time will be lost in proceeding upon the operations of the campaign.

Lord Dunmore and Lord William Campbell arrived yesterday from the southward, with Sir Peter Parker; being anxious to send off this packet, I defer being more particular until the next departure. I have the honour to be, &c.

WILL. HOWE.

The London Gazette Extraordinary.

Whitehall, Oct. 10. 1776. This morning Major Cuyler, first aid de camp to the Hon. General Howe, arrived with the following letter from General Lord Howe, to Lord George Germaine.

Camp at Newtown, Long Island, Sept. 3, 1776.

My Lord,

On the 22d of last month, in the morning, the British, with Colonel Donop's corps of chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, disembarked near Utrecht on Long Island without opposition, the whole being landed, with forty pieces of cannon, in two hours and a half, under the direction of Commodore Hotham; Lieutenant-General Clinton commanding the first division of the troops.

The enemy had only small parties on the coast, who, upon the approach of the boats, retired to the woody heights, commanding a principal pass on the road from Flat-bush to their works at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was immediately detached to Flat-bush with the reserve, two battalions of light infantry, and Colonel Donop's corps, with six field-pieces, having orders not to risk an attack upon the pass, if he should find it occupied; which proving to be the case, his Lordship took post in the village, and the army extended from the ferry at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flat-land.

On the 25th, Lieutenant-General de Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten-Island, joined the army, leaving one brigade of his troops, a detachment of the 14th regiment from Virginia, some convalescents and recruits, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, for the security of that island.

On the 26th, Lieutenant-General de Heister took post at Flat-bush, and in the evening, Lord Cornwallis with the British drew off to Flat-land.— About nine o'clock the same night, the van of the army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Clinton, consisting of the light dragoons and brigade of light infantry, the reserve, under the command of Lord Cornwallis,

wallis,

walls, excepting the 42d regiment, which was posted to the left of the Hessians, the first brigade, and the 71st regiment, with fourteen field-pieces, began to move from Flat-land, across the country through the new Lots, to seize a pass in the heights, extending from east to west, along the middle of the island, and about three miles from Bedford, on the road to Jamaica, in order to turn the enemy's left, posted at Flat-bush.

Aug. 27th. General Clinton being arrived within half a mile of the pass about two hours before day-break, halted, and settled his disposition for the attack: one of his patrols, falling in with a patrol of the enemy's officers, took them; and the General learning from their information that the rebels had not occupied the pass, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights, with such a disposition as must have ensured success, had he found the enemy in force to oppose him.

The main body of the army, consisting of the guards, 2d, 3d, and 5th brigades, with ten field-pieces, led by Lord Percy, marched soon after General Clinton, and halted an hour before day in his rear. This column (the country not admitting of two columns of march) was followed by the 49th regiment, with four medium twelve pounders, and the baggage closed the rear with separate guard.

As soon as these corps had passed the heights, they halted for the soldiers to take a little refreshment, after which the march was continued, and about half an hour past eight o'clock, having got to Bedford, in the rear of the enemy's left, the attack was commenced by the light infantry and light dragoons upon large bodies of the rebels, having cannon, who were quitting the woody heights before-mentioned to return to their

lines, upon discovering the march of the army; instead of which they were drove back, and the army still moving on to gain the enemy's rear, the grenadiers and 33d regiment being in front of the column, soon approached within musquet-shot of the enemy's lines at Brooklyn, from whence these battalions, without regarding the fire of cannon and small arms upon them, pursued numbers of the rebels that were retiring from the heights so close to their principal redoubt, and with such eagerness to attack it by storm, that it required repeated orders to prevail upon them to desist from the attempt. Had they been permitted to go on, it is my opinion they would have carried the redoubt; but as it was apparent the lines must have been ours at a very cheap rate by regular approaches, I would not risk the loss that might have been sustained in the assault, and ordered them back to a hollow way, in the front of the works, out of the reach of musquetry.

Lieutenant-General de Heister began soon after day-break to cannonade the enemy in the front, and upon the approach of our right, ordered Colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack of the hill, following himself at the head of the brigades. The light infantry about that time having been reinforced by the light company, the grenadier company, and two other companies of the guards, who joined them with the greatest activity and spirit, had taken three pieces of cannon, and were warmly engaged with very superior numbers in the woods, when, on the Hessians advancing, the enemy gave way, and was intirely routed in that quarter.

On the left, Major General Grant having the fourth and sixth brigades, the 42d regiment, and two companies of New-York Provincials, raised by Governor Tryon in the spring, ad-

advanced along the coast with ten pieces of cannon, to divert the enemy's attention from their left. About midnight he fell in with their advanced parties; and at day-break with a large corps, having cannon, and advantageously posted, with whom there was skirmishing and a cannonade for some hours, until by the firing at Brooklyn, the rebels suspecting their retreat would be cut off, made a movement to the right in order to secure it across a swamp and creek, that covered the right of their works; but being met in their way by a part of the 2d grenadiers, who were soon after supported by the 7th regiment, and General Grant's left coming up, they suffered considerably: numbers of them, however, did get into the morass, where many were suffocated or drowned.

The force of the enemy detached from the lines where General Putnam commanded, was not less, from the best accounts I have had, than 10,000 men, who were under the orders of Major-General Sullivan, Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling and Udell. Their loss is computed to be about 3300 killed, wounded, prisoners, and drowned; with five field-pieces, and one Howitzer taken.— A return of the prisoners is enclosed.

On the part of the King's troops, five officers, and fifty-six non-commissioned officers, and rank and file killed; twelve officers, and 245 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file wounded: one officer and twenty grenadiers of the marines taken by mistaking the enemy for the Hessians.

The Hessians had two privates killed, three officers, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The wounds are in general very slight. Lieutenant Colonel Monckton is shot thro' the body, but there are the greatest hopes of his recovery.

The behaviour of both officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, was highly to their honour. More determined courage and steadiness in troops have never been experienced, or a greater ardor to distinguish themselves, as all those who had an opportunity have amply evinced by their actions.

In the evening of the 27th, the army encamped in front of the enemy's works. On the 28th, at night, broke ground 600 yards distant from a redoubt upon their left, and on the 29th at night, the rebels evacuated their intrenchments, and Redhook, with the utmost silence, and quitted Governor's Island the following evening, leaving their cannon and a quantity of stores, in all their works. At day-break on the 30th, their flight was discovered, the picquets of the line took possession; and those most advanced reached the shore opposite to New-York, as their rear guard was going over, and fired some shot among them.

The enemy is still in possession of the town and island of New-York, in force, and making demonstration of opposing us in their works on both sides of King's Bridge.

The inhabitants of this island, many of whom had been forced into rebellion, have all submitted and are ready to take the oaths of allegiance.

This dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Major Cuyler, my first aid de camp, who I trust will be able to give your Lordship such further information as may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILL. HOWE.

P. S. I have omitted to take notice in its proper place, of a movement made by the King's ships, towards the town, on the 27th, at day-break, with a view of drawing off the attention of the enemy from our real design, which, I believe, effectually answered the intended purpose.

Return

Return of the prisoners taken on Long Island, 27th August, 1776.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Three Generals.

Major-General Sullivan
Brigadier-General Lord Stelling
Brigadier-General Udeh

Three Colonels.

Pennsylvania rifle regiment — 1
Pennsylvania musketeers — 1
New Jersey militia — 1

Four Lieutenant-Colonels.

Pennsylvania rifle regiment — 1
Pennsylvania militia — 2
17th Continental regiment — 1

Three Majors.

Pennsylvania militia — 1
17th Continental regiment — 1
22d Ditto — 1

Eighteen Captains.

Pennsylvania rifle regiment — 2
Pennsylvania musketeers — 4
Pennsylvania militia — 5
17th Continental regiment — 4
Train of artillery — 1
Maryland Provincials — 2

Forty-three Lieutenants.

Provincial rifle regiment — 11
Pennsylvania musketeers — 1
Pennsylvania militia — 6
17th Continental regiment — 6
Delaware battalion — 2
1st battalion New York Continental — 5
11th battalion Continental — 1
New Jersey militia — 1
1st battalion Maryland independents — 2
Long Island militia — 2
Train of artillery — 1
Maryland Provincials — 5

Eleven Ensigns.

Pennsylvania musketeers — 4
17th Continental regiment — 5
Maryland Provincials — 2

STAFF.

Adjutant — 1
Surgeons — 3
Volunteers — 2
Privates — 1006

Total — 1097

N. B. Nine officers, and fifty eight privates, of the above wounded.

JOB. LORING, Command. of prisoners.

Return of brass and iron ordnance taken from the enemy, in the engagement on the 27th of August, 1776, and found in their different redoubts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

Camp at Newtown, Sept. 3, 1776.

BRASS ORDNANCE, taken in the engagement 27th August, 1776.

1 five and half-inch howitzer; 4 six pounders; 1 three pounder. Total of brass ordnance, 6.

IRON ORDNANCE, found in the different forts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

6 thirty-two pounders; one twenty-four pounder; 4 eighteen pounders; 2 twelve pounders; 2 nine pounders; 8 six pounders; 3 three pounders. Total of iron ordnance, 26.

A quantity of shot, shells, ammunition, intrenching tools, small arms, a number of long pikes, ammunition carts, and many other articles not at present ascertained.

Signed,

W. HOWE, Commander in Chief.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the following corps, Aug. 27, 1776.

First battalion of light infantry. 4 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file, wounded. 1 rank and file, missing.

Second ditto. 4 rank and file, killed. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 27 rank and file, wounded. 3d ditto. 3 rank and file, killed. 6 rank and file, wounded.

1st battalion of grenadiers. 1 rank and file, killed. 4 rank and file, wounded.

2d ditto. 2 captains, 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, killed. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 13 lieutenants, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, wounded. 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 20 rank and file, missing.

3d ditto.

R E S E R V E.

RESERVE.

3d ditto. 1 rank and file, wounded.

4th ditto. 1 rank and file, killed. 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, wounded. 1 rank and file, missing.

33d regiment. 4 rank and file, wounded.

42d regiment. 1 lieutenant, 9 rank and file, wounded.

First Brigade.

4th regiment. None killed, wounded, or missing.

15th ditto. 2 rank and file, wounded.

27th ditto. None killed, wounded, or missing.

45th ditto. Ditto.

Second Brigade.

5th regiment. None killed, wounded, or missing.

28th ditto. Ditto.

35th ditto. Ditto.

49th ditto. Ditto.

Third Brigade.

10th regiment. None killed, wounded, or missing.

37th ditto. 1 rank and file wounded.

38th ditto. 3 rank and file wounded.

52d ditto. 1 rank and file killed. 7 rank and file wounded. 1 rank and file missing.

Fourth Brigade.

17th regiment. 1 captain, 2 rank and file, killed. 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 19 rank and file, wounded.

40th ditto. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 rank and file killed. 5 rank and file wounded.

46th ditto. 4 rank and file wounded.

55th ditto. 1 rank and file killed, 3 rank and file wounded.

Fifth Brigade.

22d regiment. 1 rank and file killed. 1 rank and file wounded.

43d ditto. 1 rank and file killed.

54th ditto. None killed, wounded, or missing.

63d ditto. ditto

Sixth Brigade.

23d regiment. 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed. 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 26 rank and file, wounded.

44th ditto. 10 rank and file, killed, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 17 rank and file, wounded.

57th ditto. 1 rank and file killed.

64th ditto. None killed, wounded, or missing.

Seventh Brigade.

71st regiment. 3 rank and file killed. 2 serjeants, 9 rank and file wounded. 6 rank and file missing.

New-York Companies.

4 rank and file killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 14 rank and file wounded.

Royal Artillery.

1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant killed. 5 rank and file wounded.

Total. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 53 rank and file killed. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 11 serjeants, 3 drummers, 231 rank and file wounded. 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 29 rank and file missing.

List of Officers killed, wounded and missing.

Killed. Captain Sir Alexander Murray, 17th regiment.

Lieutenant-Col. Grant, 40th ditto.

Captain Nelson, 52d ditto.

Capt. Logan, 2d regiment marines.

Second Lieutenant Lovell, royal artillery.

Wounded. Lieutenant Morgan, 17th regiment.

Captain Grove, 23d ditto.

Lieutenant Crammond, 42d ditto

Lieutenant Mair, 43d ditto.

Lieutenant Weir, of ditto.

Captain Brown, 44th ditto.

Captain Kennedy, of ditto.

Lieutenant Brown, of ditto,

Lieutenant-Col. Monckton, 45th ditto.

Lieutenant Powell, 49th ditto.

Lieutenant Addison, 52d ditto.

Lieutenant Nugent, 1st regiment marines.

Missing,

Missing. Lieutenant Ragg, 2d regiment Marines, prisoner.

Hessian Troops.

2 rank and file killed; 23 rank and file wounded.

Major Paoli, Captain O'Reilly, Lieutenant Donop, wounded.

W. HOWE, Commander in Chief.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 10, 1776.

Extract of a letter from Lord Viscount Howe, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Eagle, off Bedlow's Island, New-York, the 31st of August, 1776.

On the 19th instant, Captain Parker in the Phoenix, with the Rose, Captain Wallace, and Tryal armed schooner, Lieutenant Brown, taking advantage of a fresh easterly wind, returned from the north river through the fire from the enemy's several batteries, and joined the fleet off Staten Island without any loss.

The spirit and perseverance of this small squadron will be explained to their lordships by Captain Parker's journal.

General Howe giving me notice of his intention to make a defence in Gravesend Bay on Long Island, on the morning of the 22d the necessary disposition was made, and seventy-five flat boats, with eleven batteaux and two galleys, built for the occasion, were prepared for that service.

The command of the whole remained with Commodore Hotham. The Captains Parker, Wallace, and Dickson, in the Phoenix, Rose, and Greyhound, with the Thunder and Carcass Bombs, under the direction of Colonel James, were appointed to cover the landing.

The flat boats, galleys, and three batteaux manned from the ships of war, were formed into divisions commanded respectively by the Captains Vandeput, Mason, Curtis, Caldwell,

Phipps, Caulfield, Uppleby, and Duncan, and Lieutenant Reeve of the Eagle. The rest of the batteaux making a tenth division, manned from the transports, were under the conduct of Lieutenant Bristol, an assistant agent.

Early in the morning of the 22d, the covering ships took their stations in Gravesend Bay. The light infantry with the reserve to be first landed, forming a corps together of 4000 men, entered the boats at Staten Island the same time.

The transports in which the several brigades composing the second debarkation (about five thousand men) had been before embarked, were moved down and suitably arranged without the covering ships by eight o'clock. The first debarkation not meeting with any opposition, the second succeeded immediately after; and the other transports, carrying the rest of the troops, following the former in proper succession. The whole force then destined for this service, consisting of about 15,000 men, was landed before noon.

On the diligence and utility of Captain Bourmaster, and the other agents of the transports on that occasion, too much commendation cannot be bestowed.

On the 25th an additional corps of Hessian troops under General Heister, with their field artillery and baggage, were conveyed to Gravesend Bay.

Being informed the next day, by General Howe, of his intentions to advance with the army that night to the enemy's lines; and of his wishes that some diversion might be attempted by the ships on this side, I gave direction to Sir Peter Parker for proceeding higher up in the channel towards the town of New-York next morning, with the Asia, Renown, Preston, (Commodore Hotham em-

Z z

barked

barked in the Phoenix, having been left to carry on the service in Grave-fend bay) Roebuck, and Repulse, and to keep those ships in readiness for being employed as occasion might require ; but the wind veering to the northward soon after the break of day, the ships could not be moved up to the distance proposed ; therefore when the troops under General Grant, forming the left column of the army, were seen to be engaged with the enemy in the morning, the Roebuck, Captain Hammond, leading the detached Squadron, was the only ship that could fetch high enough to the northward to exchange a few random shot with the battery on Redhook ;

and the ebb making strongly down the river soon after, I ordered the signal to be shewn for the Squadron to anchor.

It was observed that as soon as the centre column of the army was seen to have turned the flank of the enemy's line opposed to General Grant, they immediately attempted to make their retreat within their works, but that they suffered great loss both in the number killed and made prisoners.

On the night of the 29th the rebels abandoned all their posts and works on Long Island, and retired with great precipitation across the east river to the town of New-York.

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