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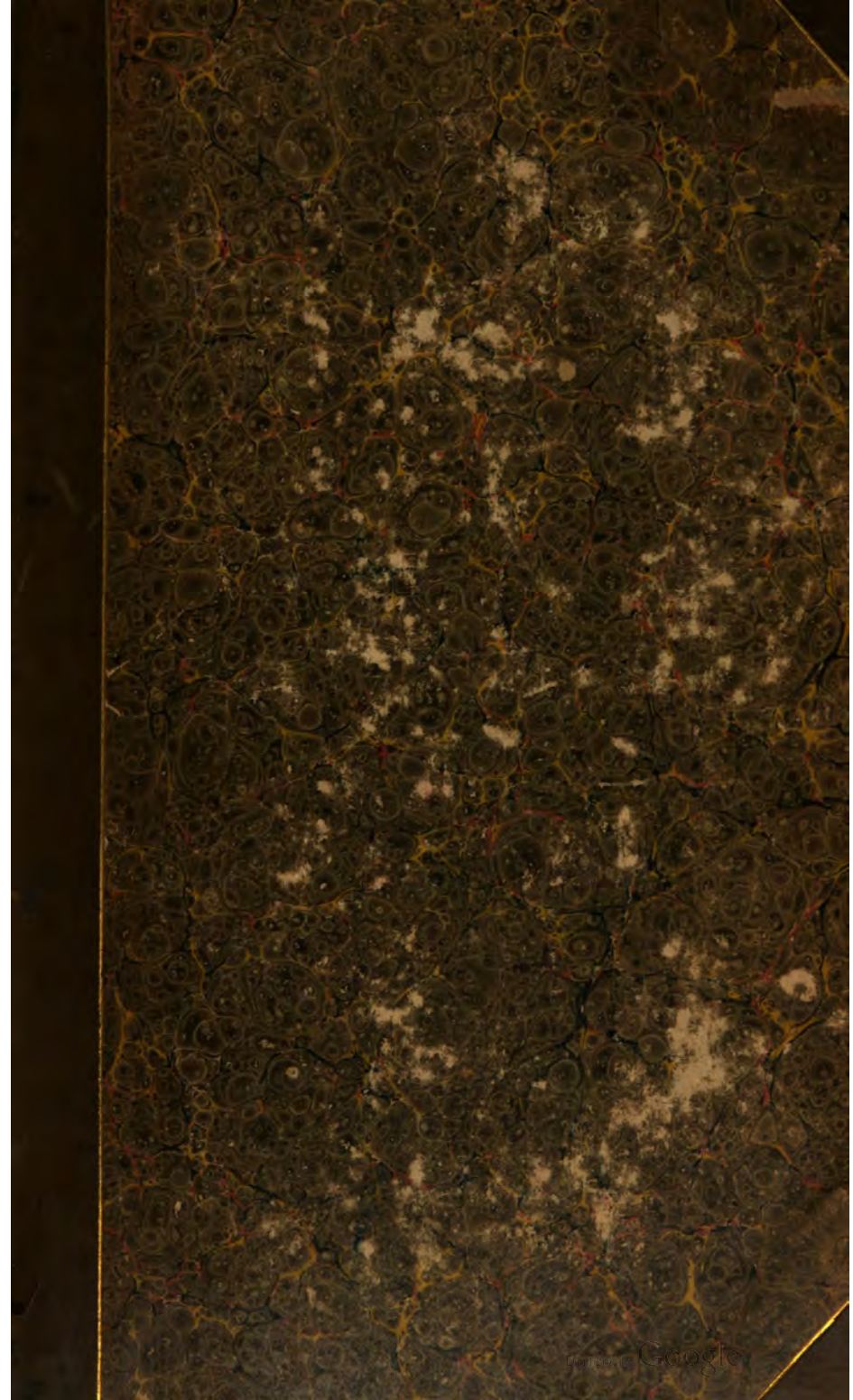
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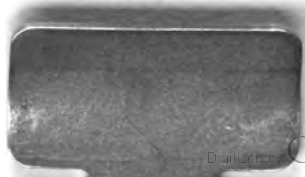
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Janna Thompson
Dec 25th 1836

THE
REMEMBRANCE;

OR,

IMPARTIAL REPOSITORY

OF

PUBLIC EVENTS,

For the YEAR 1780.

[Part. 1]



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REMEMBRANCER.

REMARKS on the King of GREAT BRITAIN'S JUSTIFYING MEMORIAL, &c.
which concludes the last Volume.

To EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. one of
the Lords of Trade.

S I R,

IT is true that you are a very late ministerial convert, but your zeal is ardent, and you become so distinguished a figure in the group of placemen and pensioners, that you ought to fix the first attention of the public. The *Memoire Justificatif*, which you have circulated with much industry as a favourite performance among your friends, would alone entitle you to this, perhaps *painful pre-eminence*.

The curiosity of this idle and luxurious capital has of late been highly gratified by the number and importance of *state papers*, which have engaged the general attention. France, Spain, and at last England, since the ministerial purchase of your pen, have fed the insatiate politician with food in an abundance sufficient to cloy the most craving appetite. France has the merit of taking the lead. England only yields to her in priority of time, for the banquet she has furnished will be found of the more exquisite relish. The grave Spaniard has merely served up an *olla podrida* of very stale fragments — to the number of one hundred.

Vol. IX.

I am much pleased when Sovereigns condescend to reason, as they suppose, and to hold out what they call the *real motives* of their actions, and a full *justification* of their conduct. We know the purpose is artfully to disguise, perplex, and conceal, but not infrequently a ray of truth pierces the Stygian gloom. Instead of sound argument, a subtle cavil, or flimsy pretext, is substituted. The great efficient motive is generally kept out of sight, yet often something escapes, which is not meant to *meet the eye*. This kind of proceeding has been common to all the crowned heads of Europe. What marks the *Memoire Justificatif*, as well as the French and Spanish *state papers*, at the present era, is the total want of that politeness, which gentlemen do not forget even in their private altercations. The respectable tribunal of civilized Europe, to which the appeal is made in the *Memoire Justificatif*, had a just claim, Sir, to decency of language, and the person in whose name the appeal was made, should have preserved the dignity of character *hitherto* inseparable from the Sovereign of a great and free nation.

The example of a petulant illiberality

rality was indeed given in the publications of the Courts of France and Spain, but men of letters regret that the answer from England has in a degree justified what was before severely condemned by every dispassionate State in Europe. It was hoped that you, Sir, by the most studied urbanity, as well as superiority of argument, would have made England triumph, not have copied, and in some instances exceeded, the low railing accusation of the foreign offices. Was a gentleman of rank, a Member of the British Parliament, of the most classical talents, to vie in scurrility with the under-clerks of under-secretaries? Has a Lord of Trade been employed to traffick in the grossest abuse, and to retail in a solemn memorial the vulgar expressions of *sanctus, pontificus, arguunt, dissimulation, &c. &c.*? Your facts should have been few, well chosen, strong and pointed: your language not diffuse, flowery, declamatory, but close, nervous, and above all, because it was in the name of your Prince, polite. Could not a single substantive escape without being compelled to marry an adjective? Why must it be "la declaration [converse] de leur independance [pretendus]" page 14, after the third anniversary of the independence of *The United States* had been celebrated? The independence of a country is tolerably well established, when a foreign prince cannot make an executioner.

Your zeal I applaud, the mode of it's exertion I reprobate. It was indeed wonderful, that when every true lover of his country shrunk from the present ministerial crew, men despised through Europe and abhorred at home, you, Sir, so late as July last, lifted under their inglorious banners, and, independent in fortune, unincumbered with a family, joined yourself to corruption, imbecility, and infamy, by accept-

ing a seat at the Board of Trade. I give you joy of the promotion of Lord Carlisle, by the Gazette of the 6th of this month, to be President of your Board. It is another proof of his Majesty's happy discernment of the peculiar talents of his subjects to appoint the Earl of Carlisle, not of his household, but *first* Lord of trade. You and I have read in a celebrated ancient, *Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos*. The measure will be highly relished by the commercial interest of this kingdom. His Lordship will as certainly restore our *lost trade*, as he restored peace with America when he was *first* Commissioner to the Congress. In the mean time so perfect a fine cure is exactly adapted to his Lordship's temper and talents. He will sit down contented, after a long fruitless trans-atlantic voyage, with the parade and profit of his new post, without casting one longing look behind.

In September you gave the world, in our Sovereign's name, the *Memoirs Justificatif*. I blush for the folly and prodigality of the age, when I reflect that Mr. Gibbon has 1000l. a year for a contemptible compilation, and Milton received only 100l. for his noble *Defence of the People of England*. What a beautiful consistency of conduct the public must remark in our Prince? Mr. Gibbon obtains a place, and the Welsh champion of Christendom, Henry Edward Davies, B. A. of Balliol College, Oxford, who attacked him as an ignorant, but daring, infidel, secures a pension. The avowed atheist, *David Hume*, was appointed, with a large salary, to represent the sacred person of our *most religious* King abroad, at the politest Court in Europe. The doughty defender of the Kirk of Scotland, Dr. James Beattie, a professor in Lord Bute's university of Aberdeen, stays at home, and is rewarded with a pension, by the head of the church of England,

for having overthrown this mighty *David*. Surely this must be the richest, and most foolish country in the universe.

Your conversion was not more rapid than unexpected. In the course of the last session you had frequent opportunities of *observing* the professions and conduct of the Minister, and the force of truth had more than once carried you from him among the minority. The bold *Lord Advocate of Scotland* testified his surprize at your first vote against his ministerial friends. You told him, *that you had voted with Ministry as long as any man of honour could*. What change has since happened--except at the Board of Trade? What single act of reparation has there been to an injured public. What *new* system of measures has been adopted, to which you are now giving your support? What *other* plan have you undertaken to *justify*, by accepting the pay of administration, the very individual administration, with which you declared that *no man of honour could vote* the very last session?

The *Memoire Justificatif* differs very essentially from other *state papers* of no less authority, the King's speeches to his Parliament. The *Memoire* gives us a long and minute detail of many and various infractions of the last peace of Paris. We find the particular period, at which they began, carefully marked. With remarkable affectation the first words of the French *Exposé des Motifs* are quoted, " lorsque la Providence appella le Roi au trone, la France jouissoit de la paix la plus profonde, p. 5." This is the precise term, from which you, Sir, date all the violations of the law of nations, and the last treaty of peace and amity signed at Paris in 1763. Louis XV. died in May, 1774. Let us now compare the declarations of the King of England, from the period of that

event, to his two Houses of Parliament, with what you have now given Europe in his name. The *Memoire* contains a regular succession of complaints made by our Ambassador, during the present French King's whole reign, that the Americans were supplied with " salpêtre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie, p. 15." and it is added that, " la conduite des negocians François *annonçoit hautement* qu'ils étoient assurés non seulement de l'impunité, mais de la *protection* même et de la *aveur* des Ministres de la Cour de Versailles." The ships of France scarcely went to America, it is said, but to carry warlike stores to the rebels. We are told that the proofs were clear, and the *remonstrances* from our Ambassador strong, but it seems as little regarded by the French King as the *remonstrances* of the people of England have been by the present Sovereign of Great-Britain. " Ils n'aborderent en Amerique que pour livrer aux rebelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés, p. 16." The English Ambassador " indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité des vaisseaux, que les agens du commerce de l'Amerique faisoient equiper dans les ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu' on avoit engagé dans le service des colonies revoltées, p. 16." The nine large vessels of the witty Sicur de *Beaumarchais*, a former favourite of, but now a REBEL to, his god Apollo, and seeking independence from Mammon, are complained of, p. 17. but carefully distinguished from the " Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui passèrent impunément au service des rebelles, p. 17." But the following passage ought to be given entire, because

you tell us that it was part of a *Memoirial* delivered to the French Court in November, 1777. " Il y a à Rochfort un vaisseau de soixante pieces de canon, et à l'Orient un vaisseau des Indes percé pour soixante canons: Ces deux vaisseaux sont destinés pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils seront chargés de différentes marchandises, et fretés par Messieurs Chaumont, Holken et Sabatier——Le Vaisseau l'Heureux est parté de Varseilles, sous un autre nom, le vingt-six de Septembre. Il va en droiture à la Nouvelle Hampshire, quoiqu'il pretend alleraux Îles. On y a permis l'embarquement de trois mille fusils, et de deux mille cinq cents livres de soufre, marchandise aussi necessaire aux Americains qu'elle est inutile dans les isles. Ce vaisseau est commandé par M. Lundi, officier François, officier de distinction, ci-devant Lieutenant de M. de Bougainville. L'Hippotame, appartenant au Sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à son bord quatorze mille fusils et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du Havre, de Bourdeaux, de Bayonne, et de differens autres ports. Voici les noms de quelques uns des principaux intéressés, M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ses associés, &c. &c." p. 17, 18. Are the English people and Parliament to learn all these important circumstances first from a *state paper in French*, delivered by order of their own Sovereign to all foreign Courts? The Parliament met towards the end of the same month of November, 1777. How carefully was the truth concealed from them? Not the least hint of such infractions of the peace of Paris, such an insult on the honour of the Crown! No notice was taken of this great *warlike* aid, not private commercial traffick! The King's speech, Nov. 20, 1777, only said, " I receive repeated assurances from foreign powers, of their pacific

dispositions." What a contempt of Parliament, to communicate only trifling verbal assurances, and industriously to keep back from the great council of the nation the knowledge of important and interesting facts, which contradicted those very assurances! It is the *observation* of the author of the *Memoire Justificatif*, " Ce tribunal, composé des hommes éclairés et desintéressés de toutes les nations, ne s'arrête jamais aux professions, et c'est par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des sentimens de leurs cœurs." With the same shameful intention of deceiving Parliament were all the speeches from the throne framed since the very epoch to which you always allude, although you have proved that Administration were at the time possessed of the clearest evidence of the hostile proceedings of France, pendant quatre ans, p. 5. At the opening of the present Parliament in November, 1774, his Majesty declared, it shall be my constant aim and endeavour to prevent the breaking out of fresh disturbances, and I cannot but flatter myself I shall succeed, as I continue to receive the strongest assurances from other powers of their being equally disposed to preserve the peace." Did the Prince, whose wisdom and prudence you have so lavishly celebrated, really trust to the strongest assurances combated by the strongest facts stated in your *Memoire*, or was Parliament designedly misled? The same acts of perfidy and hostility, you say, were regularly continued by France, and I find the same declaration in the May following, at the close of the session, by the same solemn assurances in the words of the speech. The delusion was continued the following session, for in the speech from the throne in October, 1775, his Majesty says, " I am happy to add, that as well from the assurances I have received; as from the general appearance, &c. Did

Did the *general appearance* warrant this declaration? Through the year 1776 was a continuation of the old manœuvres with apparently a similar intent. In May we heard from the throne, "it is with pleasure I inform you that the *assurances* which I have received of the dispositions of the several powers in Europe, &c." and in November "I continue to receive *assurances of amity* from the several Courts of Europe, &c." I have already stated the expressions of the speech in November, 1777, and in the March following the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles was delivered.

The rescript of the French Ambassador, presented the 15th of March, 1778, is called in the *Memoire Justificatif, la declaration de guerre par le Marquis de Noailles*, p. 21, and you assert that it was a *moment fatal et decisif*, p. 5. If it was then considered as a *declaration of war* on the part of France, and it is now so declared by the King, surely the dignity of the crown, which his Majesty wears, required that it should *immediately* be answered by a *declaration of war* on the part of England, not by an artful *memorial* after more than eighteen months had elapsed. A spirited measure of that nature would have struck terror into the wavering Spaniard. He would probably have temporized for years, as he did the last war, when Pitt and Victory had subdued every thing, but the malignant envy of your faction. It might have been a *moment fatal et decisif pour la France*. I deny, however, that this rescript of the French Ambassador can in any way be considered as a *declaration of war*. It gives notice merely of a *treaty of friendship and commerce*. I cannot find in it a syllable of the furnishing land forces, or ships, of armies or fleets, of attack or defence, of guarantees or reciprocal military succours. The new *Scottish*

Secretary of State, Lord Stormont, is of my opinion. He acknowledged in the House of Lords last December, on the debate respecting Lord Carlisle's Proclamation, "that *THIS TREATY* had *nothing in view but advantages of a commercial intercourse*, but that he could assure them, there was *another treaty*." How can the announcing *this treaty* then be a *declaration of war*? It is expressly declared to be only *un traité d'amitié et de commerce, destiné à servir de base à la bonne correspondance, mutuelle*, and that *sa Majesté est résolue de cultiver la bonne intelligence subsistante entre la France et la Grande Bretagne*. Is this a *declaration of war* against England? Every man who reads it, must laugh at the absurdity of the assertion. The rest of the rescript states, that "le Roi étoit déterminé à protéger efficacement la *liberté légitime du commerce de ses sujets*," and that "*les Etats Unis ont conservé la liberté de traiter avec toutes les nations quelconques sur le même pied*." Is it possible that such a rescript could be held to be a *specific declaration of war* against England? It is to be observed that the *United States* of North America had at the time of the rescript been in full possession of *independency* little short of two years.

The *Memoire Justificatif* furnishes abundant evidence that the conduct of France ever since the era of the late French King's death has been hostile, and that long before the *declaration of independence* she assisted the Americans with warlike stores of every kind, in the most public manner. Here then was just ground of hostility on the part of England, military succours given to those, whom the British King had declared *rebellious subjects*. The substance of the *Memoire Justificatif* would have composed the materials of a formal *declaration of war* by Harlequin heralds, and if the *London Gazette* had,

had, by a new effort, told only half the truth, it would have opened the eyes of all Europe. Why then the ridiculous pretext of a commercial treaty, when the proofs are multiplied of "l'attention constante et soutenue de la Cour de Versailles à nourrir la discorde et la guerre, p. 17." The conduct of the Court of England has been uniform through this whole reign, to contemn and oppress their own subjects, and tamely to submit to the insults of foreign powers, meanly to crouch to them, and set the people of England at defiance. On this plan every art of flattery has been employed both to France and Spain, till an open rupture became apparent, and then the Court in an equal indecent manner hastened to the other extreme. After undeniable evidence of the intentions of France, corroborated by a long succession of hostile acts, why were not the most early and effectual preparations made against the certain impending storm? Why was the French navy suffered to increase in a manner, not to rival, but surpass that of England? With the proofs given in the *Memoire Justificatif*, war had been a just and necessary measure. From the Duke of Grafton's note, taken at the time by his Grace, and produced in the House of Peers on the motion of Lord Bristol, the 23d of April last, it appeared that Lord Sandwich asserted "that no man was fit to be First Lord of the Admiralty who did not always take care to have a fleet equal to the fleets of France and Spain." That his Lordship did not take care to have such a fleet is highly criminal, when it is recollected that the most servile of all Parliaments never refused any thing asked by the most prodigal of all Ministers. The fact is, France alone has the two last years shewn herself superior to us on our own element. This very year she combined fleets chased the Eng-

lish Admirals into our own ports, maintained for some months the empire of the British Channel, and spread terror even to the most distant shores of the Thames, Medway, and Humber. Yet the same First Lord of the Admiralty continues in power, under the general indignation of mankind indeed, as he confesses in his speech published by himself, p. 7, but with the declared protection, and great personal favour of his pious Sovereign.

A similar declaration of the importance of the naval force of this kingdom you have given the King in the *Memoire Justificatif*, p. 11, "les forces maritimes ont fait dans sous les siècles la fureur et la gloire de ses états." Have our safety and glory depended the two last years on our naval force? In the King's speech of Nov. 29, 1777, it is indeed said, "I have thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my kingdoms in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection for the extensive commerce of my subjects." In the *Memoire Justificatif*, p. 12, the King says that he declared to his Parliament, "qu'il convenoit dans la situation actuelle des affaires, que la defence de l'Angleterre se trouvoit dans un état respectable." The expression in French of *la defence se trouvoit dans un état* is perhaps not very exact, but I wish l'Angleterre were even now dans un état respectable. I understand a *state of defence*, and the *defence of a state*, but, not quite so clearly *defence finding itself in a state*. Did the inhabitants of Plymouth the last autumn rest at home secure and happy in the protection of the British navy, or did they in the most dastardly manner run away, scared at the spectre of an invader? Have the shipping of Kingston on Hull, and other towns, been saved from the ravages of Paul Jones,

Jones, even in our own harbours, in this glorious age of George III. Was the Ardent man of war safe almost in Plymouth Sound? This neglect of the *naval force* of this kingdom for our internal defence becomes matter of the deepest guilt, when we know to what a degree the *army* was reduced; while the Administration pretended in Parliament that our *home defence* was their great and primary object." From a letter of Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, May 18, 1777, it appears that "at the time the augmentation failed from Europe, we had not a single *matros* left in the *Island*, and but one *battalion* of the *regiment* of *artillery* in Great Britain." Every lover of his country must look with horror on the treachery of Ministers in thus leaving us an easy prey to our ancient enemies, while the great force of the nation was employed in the mad scheme of establishing arbitrary power in America.

The Sovereigns of Europe have seldom been thus unguarded in their Manifestoes. It has been observed that they are peculiarly attentive to their declarations in State Papers, and seldom suffer any great inadvertencies to escape. The French "Exposé des Motifs" furnishes however a palpable instance of negligence. It is asserted that "la Cour de Londres faisoit dans ses Ports des préparatifs et des armemens qui ne pourroient avoir l'Amérique pour objet." Such an assertion is to be paralleled only with Monsieur Gerard's declarations to the Congress of the French King's *love of liberty*. They are absolutely words without a pretence to meaning. Such, Sir, are your expressions of "les dispositions paternelles de leur Souverain legitime," p. 27. as to the Americans, and "Pequisitè à toujours prescrit les sentimens et la conduit du Roi, et sa prudence même

est le garant de sa *sincerité* et de sa *modération*, p. 9." What a pity it is that the same line could not contain the King's panegyrick on his own *modesty*, as well as on his *prudence*, *sincerity*, and *moderation*? As to the virtue of *equity*, we may grieve at the royal idea of it, when we recollect that the King of England's sense of *equity* must be derived from his Lord Chancellor *Thurlow*, because he is declared to be the keeper of the King's conscience. The *dispositions paternelles* of the King to his American subjects, the whole conduct of the war, and the Proclamations in his name, will lead us to discover. General Burgoyne, lately returned from the King's closet, in his Sovereign's name, and by his orders, in the Proclamation of June 1777, from the camp at Putnam Creek, talks of *giving a stretch to the Indian forces*, of *executing the vengeance of the state*, of *the messengers of wrath*, of *devastation*, *famine*, and every concomitant horror. Among the various grievances complained of with justice by General Burgoyne, it is surprizing that he should omit the cruelty of his not being preferred with you to a seat at the Board of Trade, for he too issued a cruel and sanguinary Proclamation, as well as the Earl of Carlisle, and William Eden, Esq. another Lord of Trade. The Proclamation of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq. October 13, 1778, breathes a spirit of rage and even extermination. It threatens the extremes of war, and every kind of desolation. It allows a maxim absolutely inconsistent with the law of nations, that Great Britain may, *by every means in her power*, desolate and destroy what ceases to be her interest to preserve. I will venture to affirm, that no measure of any Prince now reigning has been received with more *general indignation* than this Proclamation to destroy by fire and

(sword)

sword a large continent, lost by oppression and tyranny, and unconquerable by the force of arms. The Presidentship of the Board of Trade will not wipe away the stain, which the signing such a Proclamation will to our latest posterity fix on the name of Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle. Numberless acts of cruelty have been perpetrated in conformity to the threatened terrors of the two Proclamations, with circumstances of uncommon barbarity. The answer of the Congress to Lord Carlisle's Proclamation, *by unanimous consent*, Oct. 30, 1778, is clear and strong. "The Congress desirous, since they could not prevent, at least to alleviate, the calamities of war, have studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

"The conduct of those serving under the King of Great Britain hath, with some few exceptions, been diametrically opposite. They have laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers, their ships of her seamen, and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insult."

I will quit a subject so disgraceful to English honour and humanity, after stating one remarkable fact from the "Narrative of the capture and treatment of John Dodge by the English at Detroit," published by himself, American Remembrancer, Vol. 8. p. 77. His Majesty's *Governors* seem to have the same idea of his *dispositions paternelles* towards the Americans, as his *Generals* and *Commissioners*. "Governor Hamilton—ordered myself and two servants to be ready, at a moment's warning, to march under Captain Le Motte on a scouting party with Indians. I told him it was against my inclination to take up arms

against my own flesh and blood, and much more so, to go with savages to butcher and scalp defenceless women and children, that were not interested in the present dispute. He said it was not any of my business whether they were interested in the dispute or not, and added, if you are not ready, when called for, I will fix you. Lucky for me he was soon after called down the country, and succeeded by Captain Mount-present as commander, who ordered Le Motte to strike my name out of his books; but my servants, with their pay, I lost entirely. The party of savages under Le Motte went out *with orders not to spare man, woman, or child. To this cruel mandate even some of the savages made an objection, respecting the butchering the women and children; but they were told the children would make soldiers, and the women would keep up the stock.*"

In the first page of the *Memoire Justificatif* you mention the King of Great Britain's being obliged to employ "*les forces que Dieu et son peuple lui ont confiees.*" The expression is unlucky, for it instantly brings to our recollection the state of Ireland. It was imprudent to remind all Europe, that a neighbouring kingdom have with spirit taken their defence into their own hands, and that *his people* of Ireland will not leave their Sovereign the naming of a single officer to an army of 20,000 men. In *their island* we shall hear of more than *one matross*, more than *one battalion of the regiment of artillery*, commanded by natives, brave officers as any in the Prussian service, and chosen by men determined to be free.

An unguarded expression even in a solemn *Memorial* may be pardoned, but no apology can be made for a deliberate assertion unfounded in truth. You assert, p. 3. "*Colonies Angloises, qui ne fondoient leur independance pretendue que sur la hardiesse*"

dieffe de leur revolte." Is it possible, Sir, that you should not have read the "Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," the famous Declaration of Independence of the memorable fourth of July, 1776? In that Declaration a number of reasons are given, and facts stated, on which they founded their claim of independence. Among many others they mention, "for imposing taxes on us without our consent, for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits 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 introducing 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, &c. &c. &c." Now I ask if these fundamental principles, or this foundation is merely "la hardieffe de leur revolte," without an attempt at argument, or reasoning deduced from a long chain of established facts? It is much easier to persuade the King of Great Britain, after the example of his Scottish Attorney-General, to call Dr. Franklin an *agent tenebreux*, and Hancock and Adams *chefs audacieux et criminels*, page 3, than to answer the *Manifestoes* and *Appeals* of the North-Americans.

I have now, Sir, finished the irksome task of examining and observing upon your *Memoire Justificatif*. You will acknowledge that I have proceeded no less than yourself *sans crainte et sans flatterie*. P. 1. In the progress, what compassion have

I felt for you, when I reflected on the many weary hours it has cost your learned leisure? I still more commiserated you for those keen reproaches of conscience, which you must have suffered in an attempt to justify the proceedings of an Administration, which so lately as a *man of honour* you reprobated. But perhaps the task was commanded by a task-master more cruel than those of Egypt? Or was it undertaken to divert your attention from the promised second volume of your "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire?" Such a subject must press with full force on your mind in the present moment, as to this lately flourishing empire. You might possibly with great prudence prefer a period prior to the loss of thirteen powerful colonies, and some rich sugar islands. It would at once soothe your own mind, and gratify the cabal by the specious and glaring colouring of your eloquence, but alas! how unavailing! Are we indeed secure of the return of the allegiance of any one of the lately revolted provinces, after all our efforts? The boundaries of this empire, so gloriously extended by our excellent Trajan, George II. even under his immediate successor, on every side recede. The neighbouring island of our Sicily renounces the yoke, and seems ripe for revolt. By the weakness of the King's Councils, and intestine discord, the State is shaken and convulsed to its center. The first Prince of the Brunswick line was stiled *fortunate*, like the second of the Cæsars. In the acclamations to all the succeeding Emperors of Trajan, the formulary vow was, *felicior Augusto, melior Trajano*. An Englishman would wish his Sovereign more *fortunate* than the first George, more *excellent* than the second. The present reigning Prince with all the virtues of *equity, prudence, sincerity, and moderation*, must be acknowledged *unfortunate*. In his reign we

have already to lament the narrow contracted limits, and rapid decline of the British Empire. May heaven avert the storm which seems to threaten even the dissolution of our state, scarcely to leave a wreck after the mighty fall of a potent empire under the modern *Augustulus*!

Nov. 25, 1779.

Fish-Kill, Sept. 16.

The SPEECH of his Excellency the Governor, to the Legislature, at the opening of the Session, in Kingston, on Monday the 24th of August, was in the words following, viz.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Assembly,

The meeting of the Legislature intended to have been held agreeable to their last adjournment, having been prevented by several of the members taking the field with the militia, the business of the session thereby remained unfinished; this, with the importance of several other matters I have now to lay before you, induced me to convene you at this early season, with a view to your dispatching those parts, which require your immediate attention, and fixing by your own adjournment, such future day as you shall judge most convenient for completing what may be safely deferred.

With respect to the general condition of the State, it is my duty to inform you, that the enemy, frustrated in their late attempts to penetrate into the more interior parts of it, and increasing in barbarity as they diminish in strength, have, with circumstances of extreme cruelty, laid waste a considerable part of West-Chester county; which, from its situation, must unavoidably be exposed to the ravages of an enemy, who have the command of the waters, by which it is nearly encompassed.

Such part of the levies, destined for the protection of the northern

and western frontiers, as are raised, have been so disposed, as with the militia, in a great measure to afford security to the different settlements; which (if we except the interruption of the enemy at Minisink, at a time when the guards, who had been stationed there, were withdrawn to assist in offensive operations) have, for the most part remained disturbed; and have no reason to hope, for the movements of our western armies, that the inhabitants will not only enjoy tranquillity in future, but that just vengeance will be taken on their savage enemy.

Gentlemen,

It is with pleasure I observe, that by the assiduity of the courts of justice, robberies, and other offences against the public peace, notwithstanding the insidious arts of our enemies to encourage them daily, become less frequent.

I am sorry at the same time to inform you, that neither the justice nor forbearance manifested in your late resolutions, relative to the distressed subjects in the north-eastern counties of this State, nor the measures which the Congress have yet thought fit to adopt, have in any degree tended to quiet the disturbances in that part of the State: The papers which I shall leave with you, will convey every necessary information on that head, and evince the necessity of your taking immediate and decisive steps, for the restoration of order and good government, and the protection of the faithful subjects of the State in those counties.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Assembly,

I now also submit to your consideration, a letter from his Excellency General Washington, dated the 22d day of May last, and sundry resolutions of Congress, transmitted me in the recess of the Legislature, particularly respecting the clothing, and recruiting the Continental regiments,

ments, and for the defraying the expences, of the current year, and supporting the credit of the paper-money. As the inlistments of many of the men will expire in the course of the ensuing winter, the supplying their place will merit your early attention. The evils which we experience from the continued depreciation of our currency, the encouragement the enemy derive from this circumstance, and the danger which might attend the total loss of its credit, render it a subject of the first importance, and are alone sufficient to recommend it to your serious deliberation. While the sense that your constituents express of the necessity of applying some suitable remedy to this growing evil, give you the strongest assurances of their acquiescence, in any plan, which their constitutional representatives, on a full and impartial review of the general interest, as well as the relative situation of the State, shall think proper to adopt.

Gentlemen of the Legislature,

I shall, from time to time, during the session, digest and communicate to you such other matters, as shall appear to me to require your attention. It is under Divine Providence, on the wisdom and unanimity of the Councils of America, at this juncture, that her happiness depends; and I have a confidence, that the same zeal to promote the common cause, for which the State hath hitherto been distinguished, will be equally conspicuous in your deliberations.

GEO. CLINTON.

Kingston, Aug. 24, 1779.

Boston, July 31.

PROCEEDINGS of the CONVENTION, begun and held at Concord in the County of Middlesex, in and for the State of Massachusetts Bay, on the 14th of July, 1779, for the purpose of carrying into effect the several interesting and important mea-

asures recommended by CONGRESS, to the inhabitants of the UNITED STATES, in their late wise, seasonable, and animating ADDRESS.

A large number of the Delegates being met, on a motion made (previous to the choice of a President) the Rev. Mr. Ripley, of Concord, attended, and opened the Convention with prayer.

After which, on a motion made, three o'clock, P. M. was assigned for the choice of a President.

Then adjourned to that time.

Three o'clock, met according to adjournment.

A Committee being appointed to receive and sort the votes for a President, the Hon. Azor Orne, Esq. of Marblehead, was chosen by a very great majority; and Mr. Samuel Ruggles, of Boston, was appointed Secretary.

On a motion made and seconded, a Committee of one from each county was appointed to receive the names and qualifications of the Delegates, for each town in his county, and lay the same on the table; who reported the following list, which was voted satisfactory, viz.

County of Suffolk.

- Boston, Mr. Thomas Walley, Mr. Samuel Ruggles, Mr. Amas Davis, Ellis Gray, Esq. Mr. Stephen Higginson, Samuel Barret, Esq. Mr. John Ballard.
- Roxbury, Mr. Jonathan Patten, Mr. Joseph Ruggles, Mr. Noah Davis.
- Dorchester, Mr. Philip Wittington.
- Milton, Mr. Allen Crocker.
- Braintree, Mr. Nathaniel Wales.
- Dedham, Capt. Joseph Guild, Mr. David Fuller.
- Brookline, Capt. John Goddard.
- Stoughton, Col. Pope.
- Stoughtonham, D. Elijah Hewins.
- Weymouth, Mr. Daniel Blanchard.
- Hingham, Dr. Thomas Thaxter, Mr. Charles Cushing.
- Walpole, Mr. Seth Clap.
- Medfield, Mr. John Fisher.

- Bellingham, Mr. Jabez Metcalf.
 Wrentham, Mr. Elias Bacon.
 Francklin, Mr. Nathan Mann.
 Roxborough, Mr. Joseph Everett.
County of Essex.
 Marblehead, Hon. Azor Orne, Esq.
 Mr. Burrel Devereux.
 Newbury-Port, Mr. John Bapmfield,
 Captain Michael Hodge, Major
 Enoch Titcomb.
 Danvers, Mr. Archelaus Date.
 Andover, Mr. Joshua Hodge, Sam.
 Osgood, Esq.
 Haverbill, Brigadier Gen. Brecket.
 Salisbury, Mr. Jonathan Evens.
 Bradford, Capt. Dudley Charlton.
 Lynn, Mr. Samuel Burrell.
 Boxford, Capt. John Robbinson.
 Rowley, Thomas Mighil, Esq.
 Ipswich, Mr. Nathan Foster.
 Beverly, Mr. George Cabbott, Mr.
 Joseph Wood.
 Topsfield, Mr. Abraham Hobbs,
 Mr. Daniel Perkins.
County of Middlesex.
 Charlestown, Nath. Gorham, Esq.
 Mr. David Wood, jun.
 Cambridge, Abraham Watson, Esq.
 Thomas Farrington, Esq.
 Medford, Mr. Step. Hall, tertius.
 Woburn, Mr. Samuel Thompson.
 Newton, Captain Jonas Stone, Mr.
 John Woodward.
 Weston, Mr. Nathan Hobbs, Mr.
 Josiah Biglelow, Mr. Oliver Bar-
 ber.
 Chelmsford, Oliver Barron, Esq.
 Mr. Samuel Stevens, Mr. Josiah
 Hodgman.
 Lemington, Mr. Matthew Meads,
 Mr. Thodeus Parker, Mr. Joel
 Vales.
 Waltham, Capt. Abraham Peirce,
 Mr. Samuel Sterns, Mr. Isaac
 Hager.
 Watertown, Mr. Richard Clark,
 Mr. Jed. Leathe.
 Marlborough, Edward Barnes, Esq.
 Mr. Benjamin Sawin.
 Littleton, Mr. Matthew Brooks,
 Bedford, Mr. John Marriam.
 Acton, Capt. Joseph Robbins, Mr.
 Seth Brooks, Mr. Thomas Noyes.
- Shirley, Mr. John Hale.
 Framingham, Mr. Daniel Sanger,
 Capt. Simeon Edgill.
 Belerica, Captain Josiah Bowers,
 Captain Jonas Stickney.
 Stow, Mr. John Eames, Mr. Noah
 Gates.
 Holliston, Mr. Joseph Biglelow.
 Malden, Benjamin Blaney, Esq.
 Sherburne, Mr. Jedediah Phipps.
 Townshend, Mr. James Lock.
 Reading, Mr. Abraham Foster.
 Natick, Mr. Abel Perrey.
 Ashby, Mr. Isaac Gregory.
 Wilmington, Timothy Walker, Esq.
 Stenham, Mr. John Geary.
 Tewksbury, Mr. Ezra Kendall.
 Westford, Mr. Jonas Proctor, Mr.
 Josiah Boynton, Mr. Samuel
 Wright.
 Sudbury, William Baldwin, Esq.
 Mr. Samuel Puffer.
 Dunstable, Mr. Oliver Cummins.
 Pepperrel, William Prescott, Esq.
 Concord, John Cummings, Esq.
 Jonas Haywood, Esq. James Bar-
 ret, Esq. Jonas Butterick, Esq.
 Ephraim Wood, Esq. Captain
 David Brown, Mr. Josiah Mer-
 riam.
 Groton, James Prescott, Esq. Josiah
 Sartell, Esq.
 Lincoln, Captain Samuel Farrar,
 Abijah Peirce, Esq.
County of Hampshire.
 Southampton, Mr. Jonathan Clark,
 Murrayfield, Mr. Enoch Sheppard.
 Blanford, Mr. Justus Ashmun.
 Granville, Mr. Josiah Harvey.
 Amherst, Mr. Eben. Mattcon, jun.
County of Cumberland.
 Brunswick, Aaron Hinkley, Esq.
 Scarborough, Deacon Samuel Small.
 North Yarmouth, Mr. John Hayes.
 New Gloucester, Mr. Isaac Parsons.
 Gotham, Edmund Phinney, Esq.
 Falmouth, Mr. Stephen Hall.
 [The preceding six Gentlemen
 were chosen in a County Convention,
 to represent the County.]
County of Plymouth.
 Plymouth, Col. Theop. Cotton,
 Mr. Eph. Spooner.

Bridgewater, Capt. Joseph Garnet,
 Capt. Nathan Mitchell.
 Hanover, Mr. Joseph Ramsdell.
 Pembroke, Col. Jeremiah Hall.
 Scituate, William Turner, Esq.
 Abington, Col. David Jones.
 Marshfield, Capt. Thomas Water-
 man.

Middleborough, Mr. Zeb. Sprout.

County of Bristol.

Dartmouth, Mr. Jireh Willis, Mr.
 Jonathan Tabor.

Freetown, Mr. Jonathan Read.

Swansea, Mr. Israel Barney.

Rehoboth, Mr. John Wheeler.

Norton, William Holmes, Esq.

Eastown, Mr. Abiel Kingsley.

Mansfield, Mr. Benjamin Bates.

County of Worcester.

Worcester, Capt. David Bigelow,
 Mr. Joseph Barber.

Lancaster, Col. Joseph Reed, Mr.
 Ebenezer Allen.

Mendon, Captain John Tyler.

Brookfield, Capt. John Wait.

Oxford, Mr. Reuben Lamb.

Sutton, Deacon Willis Hall, Mr.
 Ebenezer Waters.

Leicester, Mr. Henry King.

Spencer, Asa Baldwin, Esq.

Oakham, Capt. Joseph Chaddock.

Barre, Capt. Andrew Parker, Mr.
 Joseph Farrar.

New-Braintree, Mr. James Woods.

Westborough, Doctor James Hawes.

Northborough, Mr. Gillam Bass.

Lunenburg, Capt. Geo. Kimball.

Uxbridge, Mr. Amariah Preston.

Harvard, Capt. Eleazer Hamlin.

Bolton, Mr. Ephraim Fairbanks,
 Capt. David Nufs.

Upton, Capt. Thomas M. Baker.

Hardwick, General Jonathan War-
 ner.

Holden, Major Francis Wilson.

Western, Col. James Stone.

Douglas, Mr. William Dudley.

Grafton, Mr. Ephraim Shearman.

Peterham, Col. Ephraim Doolittle.

Westminster, Capt. Noah Miles.

Princetown, Mr. Thomas Parker.

Ashburnham, Mr. Nathaniel Harris.

Wimberdon, Dr. Israel Whittiers.

Niethbridge, Mr. William Park.

Fitchburgh, Dr. Joseph Goodrich.

On a motion made and seconded,
 voted, that the address of Congress
 be read.

After some time spent in general
 conversation on the address—a Com-
 mittee was appointed from the sever-
 al counties to take up the subject at
 large, and report.

The Committee having reported,

The following resolves, arrange-
 ments and address, were, after the
 fullest and most candid discussion,
 unanimously agreed to.

The Delegates from the several
 towns afore-mentioned, being con-
 vened in consequence of an applica-
 tion from the inhabitants of the town
 of Boston, to take into consideration
 the present distressed situation of the
 people at large, and particularly the
 excessive high prices of every article
 of consumption, and by tracing to
 their causes those evils, to discover
 and point out the safest and best re-
 medies—have carefully attended that
 duty, and have determined upon the
 following resolutions, calculated as
 they conceive, to answer the desired
 end, and founded on such principles
 as must make their operation equit-
 able and easy.

1. Resolved unanimously, as our
 opinion, that from and after the
 tenth day of August next, the fol-
 lowing articles of merchandize and
 country produce, be not sold at a
 higher price than is hereafter affixed
 to them, viz.

West India rum, 5l. 5s. per hhd.
 5l. 15s. 6d. per barrel, 6l. 6s. per
 gallon.

New England rum, 4l. per hhd.
 4l. per barrel, 4l. 16s. per gallon.

Molasses, 3l. 12s. per hhd. 3l. 19s.
 per barrel, 4l. 7s. per gallon.

Coffee, 15s. per hhd. 16s. 6d. per
 barrel, 18s. per lb.

Brown sugar, 50l. per hhd. 65l.
 per cwt. 11s.—14s. per lb.

Chocolate, 20s. per lb. per box,
 22s. per doz. 24s. per lb.

Bohea

Bohea tea, 4l. 16s. per chest, 5l. 6s. per doz. 5l. 16s. per lb.

Cotton, 1l. 1s. per lb. per bag, 33s. per doz. 36s. per lb.

German steel, 3s. per cwt. 33s. per bar, 36s. per single pound.

Salt, best quality, 9l. per bushel, by the single bushel or larger quantity.

	£.	s.	d.	
Indian corn,	4	10	0	} per bushel.
Rye,	6	0	0	
Wheat,	9	0	0	

Beef, till 1st September, 6s. per lb. after that 5s. per lb. per lot, or small quantity.

Mutton, 4s. per lb.

Lamb, 4s. per lb.

Veal, 4s. per lb.

Foreign beef, 60l. per barrel, containing two cwt.

Ditto pork, 70l.

Butter, 12s. per lb.

Cheese, 6s. per lb.

Milk, 2s. 6d. in Boston.

Hay, 40s. per cwt. in Boston, and other seaports in the usual proportion.

Bloomery iron, 30l. per Cwt.

Country pork, as it is not the season for it, to be regulated at the next Convention in October.

N. B. The above to be considered as the highest prices, at which produce and merchandize, of the best quality are to be sold in the seaports, free from all charge—except hay and milk, which are to be reckoned as the prices in Boston only.

2. Resolved, That if any person or persons, in town or country, shall, under any pretence whatever, demand or take more for any of the above articles, than is allowed therefor by the foregoing resolve, he or they shall be deemed as enemies to this country, and treated as such. And in order that the conduct of all such persons may be fully known to the good people of this State, it is hereby recommended to the Committee of Correspondence, and where

there is no such Committee, to the Selectmen of any town or plantation, where any such person or persons dwell, to publish his or their names in one of the public news-papers printed in this State.

3. Resolved, That for the more effectually carrying into execution the foregoing resolves, it be strongly recommended to the Committee of Correspondence of any town or plantation, and where there is no such Committee, the Selectmen of such town or plantation, where a breach of said resolutions may be made, by any person who is not an inhabitant of their town, that they immediately apprehend the person so offending, and him detain until his name and place of abode can be ascertained, in order that a return thereof, with a proof of his offence, may be made to the inhabitants of the town to which he belongs, that he may be dealt with according to his demerit.

4. Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of the trading towns to estimate the prices of European manufactures in an average proportion with the articles of West-India produce, as regulated by this Convention, and any possessor of those goods, who refuses to comply with such regulations, to deal with as an enemy to his country.

5. Resolved, That the inhabitants of the several towns in this State be desired to regulate the prices of innholders, their own labour, teaming, manufactures, and other articles, in proportion to the rates of the necessities of life, as stated in the above regulations, to keep a watchful eye over each other, that no evasion or infringement of these resolutions may escape notice—and to enter into such other regulations as they may think necessary, to carry into effect the doings of this Convention.

6. Resolved, That the buying and selling silver and gold, and the demanding or receiving either of them,

in part or in whole, for goods or rents, or in any way in trade whatever, has been one great cause of our present evils; it is therefore most earnestly recommended to the inhabitants of the several towns and plantations in this State, to adopt such spirited resolutions as shall prevent such wicked and pernicious practices in future.

7. Resolved, That as a gradual is far more safe, easy and equitable, than a rapid appreciation of our currency; and as loaning and taxing are the most effectual methods of producing such an appreciation, it is most earnestly desired by this Convention, that the inhabitants of this State would comply with the late requisition of the General Court, and lend to Government all the money they can possibly spare, and pay their taxes as soon as may be.

8. Whereas the clergy of this State, by their early attachment to the liberties of this country, and their constant exertions to promote its freedom and happiness, have manifested a spirit, which ought to endear them to the community. And whereas they have suffered greatly by the high price to which the necessaries of life have risen:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several parishes in this State, to make such provision for the support of their several Ministers as their situation in life, and the abilities of their parishioners, entitle them to.

9. Whereas the wisdom of our ancestors directed them in the infancy of this country to enact laws for the establishment of schools in the several towns in this Government, from whence great public advantages have arisen.—And as no people can reasonably expect the long enjoyment of the rights of freemen, unless the education of youth is attended to and encouraged:

10. Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the several towns in

this State, to the utmost of their abilities, to put in execution the good and wholesome laws which have been made from time to time for that purpose:

Resolved, as our opinion, That it will be expedient that a Convention of Delegates from the several towns in this State, be assembled at Concord, on the first Wednesday of October next, to take into consideration the prices of merchandize and country produce, and to make such regulations and reductions therein, as the public good may require. The good people of this State are therefore earnestly exhorted to make choice of suitable persons for that purpose.

11. Resolved, That the Delegates from the town of Boston, in this Convention, be a Committee to procure the printing the resolves and regulations of this body, and their address to the people, and to transmit copies thereof to every town and plantation in this State, for their consideration and adoption; and the inhabitants of said towns and plantations are desired as soon as possible, after the receipt of such copies, to act upon the same and enter into *such measures* as they may think necessary to give force and to carry into effect, the said resolves and regulations; and to make return of their doings to the said Committee, at Boston, who are desired to cause all such returns to be printed in the news-papers, that the good people of this State may be prepared to conform themselves thereto, on the day set for their regulations to take place, and to make application to the General Court for the payment of the expences.

12. Resolved, That Nathaniel Gorham, Esq. Elris Gray, Esq. and Mr. Stephen Higginson, be a Committee to write to the other New-England States, and to the States of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to communicate the proceedings of this Convention, and de-

fire

fire their concurrence therewith ; and to request them to transmit an account of their proceedings to said Committee.

13. Resolved, as our opinion, That the unanimity and brotherly love, with which the business of this Convention has been conducted, afford us the clearest evidence, that the jealousy and misapprehension which have of late been discovered between the seaport and the country towns, have principally arisen from the wicked and malevolent reports, industriously circulated by our internal enemies, the Tories and monopolizers, who seek equally the destruction of both.

Done in Convention at Concord, in the State of Massachusetts Bay by unanimous consent, July 17th, Anno Domini, 1779.

AZOR ORNE, President.

Attest. SAMUEL RUGGLES, Sec.

A D D R E S S
To the Inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

Friends and countrymen,

In obedience to the serious call of Congress, and you our constituents, we have assembled in Convention, to consider the alarming state of our public affairs, to examine the difficulties and dangers we are involved in, and which threaten us with immediate destruction.

With that attention which so important a business deserves, we have endeavoured to investigate the causes of our distress, and to discover the best method by which they may be removed.—We cannot but lament that we find our situation as critical as our fears had suggested, though we are happy in observing that safety is yet, under Providence, within our reach, and our security may be easily established.

In tracing the evils we so sensibly feel, we are led to one source, the constant depreciation of our currency—to render this of value therefore, and

to give it stability, is the object of our pursuit; to obtain it, we have formed such arrangements of the prices of the necessary articles of consumption and commerce, as has that immediate tendency.—We flatter ourselves that it will be permanent, as it is calculated so equally to effect the different interests of the community, that no class of men can be induced to counteract or evade it; and every practice opposed to it must be considered as arising from a disposition truly inimical to the good of this country.—We are at the same time fully aware of the extreme difficulty of conducting regulations of this kind, so as that every individual shall think his particular interest sufficiently attended to: this step, however, is not the only one to relieve us; we expect from loaning and taxation, greater benefits than can possibly be produced by any stipulation—as LOANING and TAXATION must bring money into greater demand, they will, if pursued, reduce the articles of sale to a still lower rate than that at which we have set them. The list of prices serves only to assure you of the highest point to which any thing may rise; and we cannot conceive it possible that the comparative value of all kinds of property to money, should continue so high as it now is, when, beside the large stock on hand of foreign importation and country produce, we have the pleasing prospect, from the success of our navigation, and the uncommon goodness of the season, of a still larger quantity.—It has been a general belief among us, that one great cause of depreciation in our money, was the excessive quantity Congress have been obliged to emit; this is, no doubt, true, and may, probably, account for one third of the fall of money: in whatever degree this cause may have operated, we think it will be easily brought back to the stage where that left it, as more money will be called out

but of circulation than the extraordinary amount of such emission: this, therefore, is an evil easily removed: but we consider another cause of the rapid sinking of our money, and that, the most powerful and dangerous to be a want of confidence in it, which has occasioned such a quick circulation, as can be accounted for on no other principle, than the idea of the possessor, that he suffers while the money rests in his hands; thus, the purchaser is actuated by a view to get rid of his money, rather than procure a commodity he wants: convinced of the truth of this, we think it evident the money passes from one to another, twice as often as it would do, were its value certain at any given rate; and therefore must be considered in the same light as if we had double the quantity of current money, whose value did not lessen.—This treatment of our paper medium, however unnatural and unwarrantable in a people, whose existence, as such, depends on its support, yet it is not to be wondered at, when we remark, that the diffidence, in a small degree, arising from the first natural depreciation, is since so improved and practised upon by a set of jobbers, harpies, and forestallers, as to become a science: these people, from their refinements in sharpening, have an advantage over the community, which enables them to prey on the vitals of it, by accumulating immense wealth, at the expence of the public credit, while they sport with and deride its distresses; to add, if possible, to their enormities, they have occasioned a distrust between the two most important interests of the State, which, had it been founded on any thing but the incorrigible wickedness of these wretches, must have been attended with the most fatal consequences to both—the fair merchant and honest farmer, especially those situated at a distance from each

other, by having little or no communication, except through such vile hands, have been equally misrepresented, and equally misunderstood; those who go between them, have considered their private gain as incompatible with the harmony and union which both wished to support, and have therefore given every colour to jealousy, their ingenuity could devise.—Our internal enemies, whose eagle-eyes are ever on the watch, have beheld with pleasure, this growing distrust, and sensible their wishes for our overthrow, could never be accomplished but by a disunion, have endeavoured to cherish it with the assiduous industry which might be expected from disappointed malice and unavailing resentments: to prevent any further mischiefs from these flagitious offenders, who are ever abusing the lenity of a free and generous people, you will attend to the measures we have now taken, and we trust readily and cheerfully carry into effect, any future provision that may be made against such detestable practices.—As we are persuaded that the fluctuation of our money, either directly or remotely, is the principal cause of our present calamities: so, in the hands of every bad man, it is the ready instrument with which he can injure us—A stability in the currency, therefore, in this instance, would be a privation of the means to do evil.

We are sensible the exchange of silver and gold for paper, or any kind of commodity, has a most pernicious effect on our medium, as it leads every man in the course of his business, to make comparisons and draw conclusions unjust as they are unfavourable—the comparative value of silver and gold can be no rule for the prices of any thing else, as silver and gold might be much more or less wanted than other articles, and of course so much dearer or cheaper.

If it be asked why we have fixed

the articles of consumption and commerce at so high a rate, we answer, that a sudden appreciation of money is not only more difficult, but would, in its operation, be productive of those insupportable evils which have attended its contrary course: it is, therefore, the opinion of this Convention, that it should be carried on by such just and easy, though slow and certain gradations, as will, in their effects, be the least injurious to individuals. We are the more induced to this, as we expect, before the meeting of a new Convention, such happy consequences from loans and taxes will be manifested, as must favour a further reduction of prices.

Beloved countrymen, we think ourselves justified in the presumption, that the doings of this Convention will so far approve themselves to the common sense and unbiassed judgment of every order of men, that all will unitedly exert themselves to carry them into effect: possessed with this belief, we submit them to you, with once more calling your attention to the most important concerns, among which, the welfare of our brethren in the field claims an immediate regard. Conducted as you have been, by the favour of Heaven, with honour and success, through the present contest, to this day, and just on the verge of establishing all for which you have contended, can you, for the sake of a little ideal wealth, expose yourselves to the power of those relentless invaders, with whom the untutored savage would disdain to rank himself; and who, while they boast their courage and humanity, are burning your defenceless towns, and murdering their helpless inhabitants?

We only add, that the perfect unanimity which has prevailed through all our proceedings, is a happy preface of that union in our constituents, which alone can give efficacy to our measures.

Done in Convention at Concord, in the State of Massachusetts Bay, by unanimous consent, July 17, 1779.

AZOR ORNE, President.

The business being completed, the Rev. Mr. Ripley, by special desire, returned thanks to Heaven, and the Convention was dissolved.

From the Pennsylvania Packet.

To extend our views beyond the present moment, and have our minds prepared for events which must sooner or later take place, is as prudent and necessary as to attend to the circumstances of the present hour. The conducting of the war is, it is true, the object of our more immediate attention. But a peace must one day or other succeed; and it will depend altogether on the terms which shall then be made, whether the lives which have been nobly sacrificed, and the millions which have been generously expended, shall ensure future happiness, freedom and security to these States. In our first negotiations in Europe, we happily connected ourselves with a power willing and determined to stipulate equal, safe and honourable terms. The Monarch of France has entitled himself to the character of the Protector of the Rights of Mankind, not more by undertaking to defend America from British oppression, than by laying the foundation in his treaty with her, for the deriving to every other power equal and reciprocal benefits. With respect to Great-Britain, a negotiation will be more delicate and more dangerous. Whatever we shall obtain, she will seem to lose; every concession on her part will affect the pride of that proudest nation on earth. There are however, some points which cannot be forgot in a treaty, but must be most explicitly fixed, otherwise independency will be but a name to us, and the sovereignty of those States but a shadow. Of these I shall now mention.

tion, the free right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. The importance of this fishery is great. Our right to enjoy it and ought to be made incontestible. If there can be any supposed property in the fishes of the sea, or any right to the emoluments of the ocean, that property and those rights must be invested in the inhabitants of America; for those fish swim on our shores, and that ocean washes our coasts. But unless we have that right expressly and unambiguously declared in terms which can admit of no explanation, Britain will tell us hereafter that she discovered and used that fishery before we were a people. She will proudly claim the dominion of the seas, and deny us that food and those immense advantages which the God of Nature has annexed to this Continent.

The importance of this fishery is, in some measure, understood; but it is not easy to obtain an adequate view of it. At this instant we feel the effects of that share which our brethren of New-England have enjoyed heretofore. It is with the men who used to fish on the banks, that the trade and piracies of our enemy are so much annoyed; it is by them so many captures are made, and daily carried into the Eastern ports: and it will be by their assistance only that we can have the least solid foundation to hope for security and peace to this country. It was from a foresight of this that the British Ministry very early in the present contest interdicted to the people of New-England the use of the fishery, and not barely from an impulse of an unmeaning passion, as some have supposed. The fishing voyages are short, and require many hands. A small schooner, I am told, will carry out twelve to fifteen. The employ makes the man hardy, strong and active. Hence we have an amazing nursery of seamen; they acquire an idea of pro-

perty and attachment to the country, because they are interested by shares in the voyage, by which they are enabled to maintain families on shore, and spend considerable part of their time on shore in curing their fish. These circumstances make them good citizens, and the reverse of sailors employed in other voyages.

With a long extended sea coast, and in carrying on an extensive commerce and distant voyages, a navy only can make us respectable, and safe from insults and injuries. A navy may preserve us in perpetual peace, and free from the horrors and expences of frequent wars, better than any military force on shore can do. Having no particular connections with any one power, but allied and friendly to all on terms of reciprocity and mutual advantage, the only object of the ambition of these States can be to render this country as free and happy as possible. The ocean appears to be designed by nature to bound our wants, and as a barrier against all the world besides. A navy is the natural and only defence of that barrier, and the fisheries must be the nursery and support of that navy.

Those powers of Europe, who have in latter times made the greatest figure at sea, have owed it greatly to their fisheries. Holland, without having any thing from her lands to export, has established herself as one of the most important commercial powers in a great means by immense fisheries. Britain, by improving her fisheries on her own coasts and in other parts, has long claimed to be mistress of the seas. France was later in attending to this great source of power and wealth, and could not contest the pre-eminence of Britain on the waters till her subjects became fishermen. After that, her contentions with Britain, on what was called Britain's own element, were respectable.

In short, whatever is obtained from the water, is as so much clear gain. The preparations for procuring it, employ many hands on shore, and the persons immediately engaged in procuring it, are a source of strength inconceivable, and not interfering with the culture of the field. They will man your fleets, and fight your battles at a distance from your families and your dwellings, and, having put you in security, will return again to their employ, and be useful in adding to the riches and strength of the country they protected.

The situation of this country makes the fisheries especially important. The southern and middle States have staple commodities, which other nations require. Their indigo, rice, tobacco, hemp and flour, are and will be commanding articles of export. The eastern States depend on the fisheries for the most valuable part of their foreign trade. Nature seems to have denied them, as it has other northern countries, even bread for their support from the land, that they might be driven to improve the advantages of the sea. This they have wisely observed; and have been ever satisfied to depend on the other States for flour and bread, rather than employ their people in the more laborious and less promising business of tillage. This good policy they will doubtless pursue, should the great article of the fishery be established by treaty on a secure footing. Hence the fishery will form not only the grand security of these States against foreign powers, but be the great means of connecting in interest and cementing them to each other. The eastern States, which from their situation will more naturally, and from their circumstances more necessarily, be driven to the fisheries, will depend on their southern neighbours for provisions for their fishermen, their circuitous

voyages and home consumption, and for tar and hemp, and iron for their vessels, and the whole union will feel much of its security and strength in them.

Besides, the interest which these States themselves have to enjoy the free right of the fishery, something is certainly due to our present and future allies in Europe, and to the principles on which we have professed to conduct the present contest. France, Spain, and several other nations in Europe, depend much on the American fishery. It is clearly their interest, not barely with a view to lessen the importance of the British nation, but for their own more immediate advantage that so great a branch of commerce and strength should not be left confined. It is their interest to take the fish they consume from the Americans, because the Americans can supply cheaper; and by supplying them with fish will be enabled and induced to take more of their goods in return. France has, it is true, been able, in some measure, to supply her own demands for this article, and it has been suggested that she can have no inducement to be with us in a question of this nature. It is otherwise. As Great-Britain has determined to make us as little useful to France as possible, by ravaging, burning and destroying—the herself point, out the great interest which France, in common with other nations, has in terminating this war on terms only which will leave us in a situation of becoming useful and powerful allies. The French fishery is restricted and embarrassed. Britain has, in a great measure, made her own terms on the Banks. If the American right is clearly ascertained, France will not, from this circumstance, be in the least injured; but she may derive opportunities and advantages. France has scarcely ever more than supplied her own wants

of fish. The Americans, in supplying other people, will not therefore interfere with her interest. The fish made by the French is necessarily of an inferior nature, because they have not the full advantages for curing, the best. The Americans have those advantages, and therefore will be able to furnish the best, should it be wanted.

This most important object is, doubtless, to the United States one of the most valuable jewels we have been contending for. It is to be hoped it will be considered and treated as such.—As the birthright of this country,—annexed and appertaining to it by the disposition of Heaven. Great-Britain's claim to the dominion of the seas, must be clearly ascertained as to this branch of it. Her early possessions of the fishery, and any idea she may entertain that the share we have hitherto had therein was held under her protection and right, and as her subjects, must be clearly explained in the first negotiations. To pass it in silence, or leave it to future events to determine the American right to a free fishery, is in fact to relinquish it, and to entail on this country another war: for it is as inconceivable that these States can consent to be excluded from the fishery, as that they can consent to leave Georgia, New-York, or Rhode-Island, or all of them, in the possession of their British foe.

Boston, Aug. 7. Nothing can be of greater moment to the new-born nation of America, in the negotiations for peace, than a proper care of the fishery. It is particularly the life of the New-England States; and we can no more do without it, than our brethren at the southward can without rice, indigo, tobacco and flour. But the importance of the fishery is not confined and partial; it is general, and extends to all the States: for

what is this nation without a navy? What are ships without men? And, what nursery of seamen is comparable to an extended fishery? It may therefore be relied on, that a branch of traffic so absolutely necessary to some States, and so essential to the grandeur and security of all, will be particularly attended to by those who have hitherto so gloriously conducted us through the war. Even those among us, who are most disposed to peace, scruple not to say, we had better continue the war indefinitely, and to the last extremity, than not secure the fishery to the extent we have always enjoyed it. France, and all the European powers who mean to trade with us, are deeply interested in this point. For the means of remittance, is the means of trade, and without the fishery, our commerce with Europe will be much confined. In this view, even Britain herself must wish for the sake of her own advantage, and the vent of her own manufactures among us, to see us in the full possession of such a branch of remittance.

We hear the American refugees in England have lost their hopes of returning in triumph to this country. They despair of having their former boasts accomplished, of seeing America under a British military government, and all the leaders of the Revolution hanged. They are accordingly retiring to the remotest corners of Britain, the bounty of tyranny not allowing them to live in splendour.

BON MOT, in allusion to the folly of Britain, first in oppressing America, and then commencing a war against her.

In the beginning of the war, an American cruizer having captured a rich British ship, the master coming on board the cruizer, and not having heard of any reprisals made by the Americans at sea, seemed in no little surprise, and asked the commander whether

whether he really meant and had authority to make prize of him; upon being assured that it was truly so, he cast his eyes upon the colours, and inquired further, what motto the flag had, and what was particularly intended by the STRIPES. Oh, Sir, replied the American commander, the meaning of our colours is to be found among the maxims of the wisest Prince that ever reigned--STRIPES for the back of fools.

Philadelphia, August 28.

Extract of a letter from the Honourable Colonel SMITH, of the Council, to the President, dated Paxtong, August 16, 1779.

16 SEP.

“ Last evening I returned from Northumberland county, and will just give a short account of our march, and also the situation of that county when I left it. On Thursday the 5th instant we marched from Sunbury and Northumberland towns with about 250 men, with a design to be on the frontier as soon as possible, in order to assist the inhabitants in preserving any cattle that had escaped the enemy; and also to assist them in putting up their fences, the dwelling houses and barns being generally burned: From within 11 miles of the town, the enemy had thrown open the fields on almost every plantation; and the cattle and hogs that remained, was completing the destruction. We wished also to make room for other parties we had accounts were hastening from different parts of Cumberland county to join us. On the 6th Colonel William Chambers, from near Carlisle, joined us with 107 men: that night we proceeded on for Freeland's fort; but being very wet, were obliged to stop here and in the neighbourhood, where some small houses and barns yet remained. That evening other parties joined us, chiefly inhabitants of the place, who had been to their ruined

farms. The 7th we marched to Fort Muncy: here Capt. M'Cay, from Sherman's Valley, joined with about forty men. That evening and night also rained heavy, and nothing to shelter us but sheds we made of rails, and covered with old straw that lay about the fields; the enemy have burned all Mr. Wallace's houses on their return from Fort Freeland, the fort with all the buildings, barracks, &c. had shared the same fate (I think, by the bye, a capital stroke to this part of the country.) We found all along, as we marched; horses, hogs, dogs, &c. killed by the enemy, as they either became weary or troublesome—the starch so great in many places, it was difficult to march or even breathe. We were in hopes the enemy would have made a halt at this place; but found, by every appearance, they had not halted more than a night. The morning of the 8th, we concluded to send forth a strong scout; accordingly 130 immediately turned out, with 15 horsemen to act as occasion might require, either in a quick pursuit in case a small party might be in their rear, or if a discovery was made of the main body having made a halt, then the horsemen to give us immediate intelligence. We could have moved the whole together to Lyoming, but Colonel Gibson, of Carlisle, with near 100 men, had not yet been able to join us; he had under his care a quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, that could not be got ready when we marched from Sunbury. Another reason was, some of the enemy was heard by the prisoners (who they suffered to return) at Fort Freeland, after the capitulation, that against that day week they must be at Shammung. The weather being very wet, a great number of our people were much fatigued, and with wading creeks as well as being constantly wet, many had their feet much blistered.

ered and otherwise out of order. From the above circumstances taken together, it was thought best to forward the scouts—If it was found the enemy had taken the Shamung path, by the way of Eel-Town, then we had no hopes of overtaking them; but if they had taken up the River path, then at all events we determined to follow them. The party went forward to Loyal Sock, found the enemy had taken their rout towards Eel-Town, the party pursued the path to that place, but there was no fresh appearance; they had a large camp at Eel-Town, and it appeared probable they had all collected here, as their camp was much larger than any of their encampments before; the party then turned down Lyoming towards the river, and on the west side of Wyoming, some fresh track was discovered, and a little lower, Captain Ferguson and two or three with him on the advance, saw an Indian at a considerable distance; he was instant gone. Here seventeen head of cattle were found, from this it was clear the main body had pushed in great haste, leaving only a small party to collect the cattle that might stray from them, and in case any body of troops was to follow them to give them early notice. Upon the whole, our situation considered, it was impossible to overtake them, and especially as we were not prepared to go forward more than two or three days, and it was very plain the enemy was at least six or seven days gone. It was now thought advisable to return and give the inhabitants all possible assistance till the militia should arrive. The people of Northumberland county have determined on an entire evacuation, without some speedy assistance; their situation is truly distressing, such that I could not advise them to remain any longer, and left them in the same melancholy situation, if not

worse than I found them. I would just add, all the mills betwixt the two branches are burned. Captain Hambright's and Mr. Bozely's excepted. If the inhabitants were to stay, they cannot get their grain ground."

Philadelphia, Sept. 8.

Extracts of several letters dated at Major-general SULLIVAN's Head Quarters, on Tioga, August 31, 1779, to a gentleman in Boston.

"Yesterday a general action ensued, in which the Indians and Tories got compleatly routed. The conflict was long, and I believe on their part was bloody, though only 11 dead bodies were found upon the field, and they, I suppose, would not have been left, if our troops had not pushed them at the point of the bayonet. Our loss was but trifling, I think five or six were killed, and between 40 and 50 wounded. The cannonade on our part was elegant, and gave the Indians such a panic, that they fled with great precipitation from the field. One Tory and one negro were taken prisoners, who gave information that their whole force were collected here. This settlement is routed, root and branch, all the houses burnt, and the corn fields destroyed. It is very remarkable General Sullivan has been twice successful on the 29th of August.

"I have just time to inform you, that on Sunday morning last our advanced parties discovered the enemy's breastworks between Chemung and Newtown; they immediately gave intelligence; their right flank was secured by the river, and their left by a high hill. General Poor's brigade was immediately ordered to wheel off and endeavour to gain their left flank, and if possible to surround them, whilst our artillery and main body attacked them in front—they stood a hot cannonade for more than

than two hours; but upon their discovering our intentions of surrounding them, the retreat halloo was given, and they retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving their packs, a number of scalping knives, tomahawks, &c. behind them. We pursued them upwards of two miles, took two prisoners, one white man and one negro; they crossed the river, and carried off a number of killed and wounded, as we found by the tracks of blood, and two canoes which we found covered with blood. I saw eight of their warriors' scalps taken on the spot, and I heard of fourteen more dead Indians that were found hid with leaves. Their breastwork was artfully and strong constructed, with logs and blinds made with boughs, and extended upwards of half a mile. The party was headed by the two Butlers and Brandt, and consisted of about 600 Indians, and 200 Tories, by the best intelligence we can get. Our loss is 4 killed and 32 wounded, mostly slight."

Extract of a letter from Wyoming, Sept. 2, 1779.

"At two o'clock this morning Doctor Kendall arrived at this place from Chemung, and brings the following intelligence:—"On Sunday morning last our army discovered a large breastwork in a narrow passage, about four miles above Chemung, where Messrs. Butler, Brandt and M'Donald had collected all their force. General Sullivan attacked them, the enemy returned the fire, and the engagement lasted near two hours, when the savages gave way, and were completely routed—25 of them were left dead on the field, some prisoners were taken. Our loss was one Lieutenant and four privates killed, and one Major, one Captain, and 33 privates wounded. Mr. Butler's commission and the

commission of another officer were taken, with several orderly books." *Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Baltimore, to his Friend in this City, dated September 4, 1779.* "Mr. Crockett, of this town, who has been at Augusta Springs, in Virginia, for his health, came home last night, and reports that Colonel Clarke has taken Fort Detroit, made 250 prisoners, and reduced that country. His informant saw some of the prisoners."

Philadelphia, October 14. The following address, letter, message and answer, are published by order of Congress:

The commander in chief informs the troops, that he used every effort to procure proper supplies for the army, and to obtain a sufficient number of horses to transport them, but he failed of obtaining such an ample supply as he wished, and greatly fears the supplies on hand will not, without the greatest prudence, enable him to complete the business of the expedition. He therefore requests the several Brigadiers and officers commanding corps, to take the minds of the troops under their respective commands, whether they will, (while in this country, which abounds in corn and every kind of vegetable) be content to draw half a pound of flour and half a pound of meat and half allowance of salt per day; and he desires the troops to give their opinion upon the proposal, with freedom and as soon as possible. Should they generally fall in with the proposal, he promises that they shall be paid for that part of the rations which is held back, at the full value in money. He flatters himself that troops who have discovered so much bravery and firmness, will freely consent to a measure so essentially necessary to accomplish the important purposes of this expedition, and

and to enable them to add to those laurels they have already gained. The enemy have subsisted a number of days on corn, without either salt, bread, meat or flour, and the General cannot persuade himself, that troops who so far surpassed them in valour and true bravery will suffer themselves to be outdone in that fortitude and perseverance which not only distinguishes but dignifies the soldier. He does not mean to continue this through the campaign, but only wishes it to be adopted in those places where vegetables may supply the place of part of the common rations of meat and flour; and he thinks with a plenty of vegetable, half a common ration of meat and flour will be much better than the whole without any.

The troops will please to consider the matter, and give their opinion as soon as possible.

To the Warriors of the Oneida Nation.
Brothers,

The enemies of the United States and of your nation, have often threatened to destroy you, and you have called upon us for assistance. You have said that our arm was long, and strong, and therefore called upon us for that protection which we ever wish to afford to our brethren, friends and allies; and you have promised to join us in our operations. The grand American Congress have thought proper to send a powerful army into this country, for the purpose of totally destroying the enemies to your peace, and have thought proper to entrust me with the command of the army, and the execution of their orders. It is with no small degree of surprise that I find only four of your warriors have joined me, though I have far advanced into the enemy's country, and those totally unacquainted with every part of the country through which I have

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yet passed. I would not wish to suspect your declarations of friendship to the American States, nor am I under the least necessity to ask your aid as warriors; but as your immediate joining my force is the best evidence you can give of the sincerity of your professions, I shall expect shortly to be joined by those of your people who are friendly to the American cause, and particularly by such who have a perfect knowledge of the country through which I am to pass. Unless this is complied with, I shall be compelled to think that the chief of your warriors (if not really unfriendly to us) are very inattentive to their own interest and safety, as well as indifferent with respect to the interests of the United States. Should you by joining with me, giving me the necessary information, and affording me every assistance in your power, give evidence of that attachment to the American cause, which I ever have, and now do believe you to possess, the army which I have the honour to command will be able totally to extirpate our common enemy, and leave you in a perfect state of tranquility, enable you to enjoy your possessions, and carry on with the Americans a commerce which will tend to the mutual advantage of both. The bearer of this letter, Oneigat, will inform you particularly of my progress thus far. I am, brethren, with the most sincere attachment for your peace and welfare,

Your most obedient servant,
JOHN SULLIVAN, M. G.

Brother Chief Warrior of the Western Army,

Sometime ago you sent me to Oneida with a message to the warriors of that tribe, and directed me to give them an account of the battle you had with Butler's party near Newtown. Brother, I have faithfully,

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fully executed your orders, as will appear from what took place on my arrival at Oneida. A council was immediately called, and your written speech publicly delivered; the warriors expressed great joy, both on account of your success and the opportunity now given them to testify their friendship to the American cause. Seventy of the Oneida warriors set out with me to join your army, agreeable to your desire; thirty more were to have followed the next day; near Onondaga we met our brother Conowaga on his return from your army, which he said he left at Konasadagea; this brother informed us, that you said they were too late; they should have met you at Konasadagea; that you had men enough, and did not want them; unless some good guides; the party then returned, though with reluctance, one chief warrior then delivered the following speech, to which I beg your attention:

Brother,

We have been informed by our brother of Conowaga, that you was disposed to shew clemency to the Cayugas, and had desired him to direct them to repair to Oneida, should he meet with any of that tribe on his way from your army. We are glad you manifest such a disposition, and are willing to make peace with them. We will assist you, and the rather as we know there is a party of the Cayuga tribe, who have ever wished to be at peace with their American brethren. We will endeavour to find them, as we are confident they are not fled to the enemy, but suppose them to be somewhere concealed in the country. We therefore request that you would not for the present destroy their corn-fields, as we cannot furnish them with provisions, should we be able to find them and bring them to our town, having already so many of the Onondagas to support. Tegatteronwane,

who is at the head of the party, is disposed for peace, and has delivered up four prisoners on General Schuyler's proposal of exchange; three more, who are sick, he will give up as soon as they recover their health. He had declared that he never would set his face toward Niagara; but on the approach of the American army, would take himself to the woods where they might find him, if he did not make his way down to the Oneidas. Brother, this is all we have to say.

Brothers, Warriors of the Oneida Nation,

I have heard your speech and attended to the message you have delivered from our brethren the *Warriors of the Oneida Nation*, and I not only am, but the Americans at large, are fully sensible of the friendship and attachment of our Oneida brethren. Their regular and uniform conduct from the commencement of the war, has fully evinced it, and had a single doubt remained in my mind, of their sincerity, your appearance and the movements of your warriors to join me (until turned back by a mistaken report) must have removed it.

I cannot help expressing the high sense I have of the zeal and soldierly conduct of our Brother Blue Beck, who bore my message to the Oneidas, and who, on several occasions, has proved himself the faithful friend and the brave warrior. Nor can I forbear expressing, in a particular manner, the grateful sense I have of the zeal you, our brother warriors, have discovered in joining this army.

The request made by the Oneida warriors, in favour of the Cayugas, for the preservation of their crops, is not only new, but very surprising, and the more so, as it is said to be in behalf of that friendly Cayugas. I can venture to assert, in behalf of the United States, that there is not a single instance in which the Cayuga Nation

Nation has manifested a friendship for the Americans. Early in the controversy between Great Britain and those States, the Americans requested the Six Nations not to intermeddle in the dispute, in which they all at that time apparently acquiesced. Thus, while they lured the Americans to sleep, by those peaceful professions, they all, (except the Oneidas, with whom I include the friendly Tuscaroras and Onondagas who have joined them) were making preparations to fall on our frontiers, rendered defenceless by the fallacious promises of those unpardonable miscreants. I am sorry to say the Cayugas were far from being inactive in this deception, or in the horrid cruelties which afterwards followed. The resentment of the grand American Congress being at length roused by this treacherous and barbarous conduct, they raised a powerful army, and honoured me with the command. They likewise instructed the Great Warrior, the American Chief, to direct me, totally to extirpate all the unfriendly nations of the Indians, to subdue their country, destroy their crops, and drive them to seek habitations where they would be less troublesome to us and our allies. While the great preparations were making for this expedition, our friends and allies the Oneidas followed that regular and friendly conduct, which has distinguished them from the commencement of the war; but the Cayugas, on the contrary, were furnishing their pretended friend Butler, with all the warriors they could possibly spare; and while there remained a possibility that Butler and his associates would prove successful, they not only neglected to make overtures of peace to us, but gave them every assistance in their power. When they found our army had proved victorious, that the enemy were flying like timid women before it, and that we were spreading desola-

tion even to the extremity of their country, then, and not before, did those Cayugas begin to profess their friendship for us, and perhaps solicit the interest of the Oneidas to save their country. If their friendship was sincere, why did they not, like the Oneidas, declare it in season, and act accordingly? Brothers! be not deceived, they were in great hopes that the forces of Britain, with their assistance, and that of the other unfriendly Nations, would be able to defeat the American army; and had this event taken place, you may be assured that the professions of friendship which they now make, would not then have been expressed, and that their language would have been that of insult and derision. I cannot therefore pay any regard to their pretensions of neutrality; for had they not been unfriendly as a nation, they would have discouraged and prevented their warriors from joining our enemies; nor can I admit the excuse from those who now solicit for peace, and say, they have not been personally engaged against us, your own reason must suggest the contrary.—Should a part of the Americans arm themselves, and attack the Oneidas, the honour, the faith and the dignity of America would compel us to declare them our enemies, and treat them accordingly: it would be a poor excuse for us to alledge, that they acted without our approbation, while we decline declaring them our enemies, chastising them as such, and banishing them our society. This, as well as every other evidence of a pacific disposition, they have neglected to give. I must therefore consider them as enemies, and chastise them accordingly; and should our Oneida brethren countenance or conceal them, I shall deem it a departure from that line of conduct which they have hitherto, and will, I hope, in future continue to observe.

Brothers! I am sorry to inform
you,

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you, that the message said to be delivered to our Conowaga Brother, is without foundation, for I never spoke to him on the subject. Your safety as our allies, and that of our frontiers, requires, that we should expel from the country all your and our enemies, and I am bound to perform this business. I can only advise, that those Cayugas, who would wish to be thought friendly, may come in with their families, and submit themselves to the directions of Congress. This will save the effusion of blood, prevent your being distressed for their support, and perhaps be the means of their being incorporated with your nation; and in future be considered by you as our brethren, friends and allies; but, should they neglect this advice, they may be assured, that the great Congress will take effectual measures to prevent them, as they surely will the other nations, from re-occupying any part of the country, which this army has conquered.

Brothers! this is all that I, as a warrior, can say to you, as warriors of the Oneida Nation. Should there be any national request from our Oneida brethren, it will be best for their Chiefs to make it to the Grand American Congress, who will doubtless do every thing they can consistently, to contribute to their safety and convenience.

JOHN SULLIVAN, M. G.

The ADDRESS of the COMMITTEE of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, to their fellow-citizens, through the United States.

Friends and Countrymen,

Necessity and convenience, having again called into being a body of men, hitherto known throughout the several parts of America by the name of the Committees; and we presume that when the several reasons, therefore, are collected, and considered, that their re-institution, at this time,

will not only be justified, but approved and followed.

However, in the tranquil hours of peace, we may admire, and confine ourselves to the guidance of written laws, yet in times of treacherous war, and more especially so in an invaded country, they will in general be found too slow in their operation, too uncertain in their effects.

The ingenuity of men in the invention of new crimes, the prostituted ingenuity of others, in screening criminality from legal punishment; the additional opportunities which a state of war affords to the subtle, the selfish, and disaffected, together with the impossibility of legally describing the numerous kinds of disaffection, practicable in an invaded country, render the revival of Committees during the present war, not only a convenient, but a necessary appendage to civil government.

There are offences against society, which are not in all cases offences against law, and for the prevention or punishment which no written laws can be timely constructed, or sufficiently applied. Circumstances may combine to prove a man undeserving the rank he may hold, or the residence he may enjoy among the citizens of this, or any other State; and yet, by some accidental defect of the laws in being, the perversion of a well intended clause, or even from the novelty of the crime, he may escape the punishment of a Court of Justice: in all such cases, therefore, or others of a similar nature, we hold this maxim, that where the offence is publicly dangerous or injurious, and the laws unable to relieve or punish, the community in its own defence, and for its further security, has a right to expect.

Formidable as the punishment of expulsion may appear, we nevertheless justify the right of using it on the grounds and principles of citizenship;

ship, and the admitted and immemorial custom of mankind. It is a right claimed and exercised by every separate society in this and all other countries, and as the community at large is an incorporate collection of the several parts, therefore, the right of the whole cannot be inferior to the parts of which it is composed.

It is inconsistent to suppose that the lenity of our laws, or the silence on crimes we can have no conception of, are to become a safe-guard to the disaffected in their acts of studied delinquency, or that no other offences are punishable in an invaded country, than what are to be found in the laws of a settled and well regulated society. We cannot construct laws that will reach all cases, and therefore we maintain the right, as well as the necessity of holding every man accountable to the community, for such parts of his conduct, by which the public welfare appears to be injured or dishonoured, and for which no legal redress can be obtained.

In times of war and invasion, we conceive it necessary that a discretionary power should exist somewhere; for as the authority of civil government cannot, without exceeding its bounds, or descending from its character, extend to all the circumstances that may arise, therefore a numerous race of subtle, or new invented offences, will, without the interposition of such a power, have a certain and extensive latitude to act in, unrestrained and unpunishable by law.

To blend such a power with the constitutional authority of the State, would, according to our ideas of liberty and conception of things, be unwise and unsafe; because being once incorporated therewith, the separation might, afterwards, be difficult, and that which was originally admitted as a temporary convenience, justified by necessity, might,

in time, establish itself into a perpetual evil, and be claimed as a matter of right.

The exertions which are sometimes necessary to be made by the inhabitants of an invaded country, for their own preservation and defence, are frequently of such a peculiar and extraordinary quality, that as they ought not to become the rule of legal government in times of peace, should not be mixed therewith, in times of war; for that, which in the community may be the spirit of liberty, introduced into the laws, would become its destroyer. Therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, permit our laws to be equivocally constructed, and discretionally applied, in order to fit and bend them to every new case, so neither ought we, on the other hand, to suffer the general interest to be sapped by a species of delinquents, who governed by avarice, or prompted by defection, are studying to evade what they dare not transgress.

It is to those evils, too amphibious to be defined, and too subtle, as well as too transitory, to become the object of established laws, that we wish to apply a remedy, capable of suiting itself to the variety of the offence, without opposing the rules of its institution, and this we conceive can be no other than the discretionary power of the citizens organized, and acting through a Committee.

The condition of an invaded country sufficiently proves the exercise of such power necessary, and we have already stated our reasons why it ought to be detached from the legal government. It is furthermore our opinion, that the exercise of discretionary powers for the redress of temporary evils, is best intrusted with temporary bodies; because when the necessity which called forth such powers shall cease, the occasion of such bodies ceases therewith, and the authority

thority of civil government, undisturbed and unattempted, continue its original channel.

We are likewise of opinion, that the laws already in being, would derive great support from the re-institution of Committees, and that such a reinforcement of power to the powers of government, is necessary in an invaded country. It is the best, if not the only mode, by which the community can conveniently throw in their portion of assistance; and contribute to the authority of the State. The fear of offending against the general interest, where a mode of punishment is provided, which can be easily and powerfully executed, is a forcible inducement to legal obedience, and operates with peculiar efficacy on those whom no public principle can restrain.

Such being our thoughts on the subject, we submit them to the consideration of our fellow citizens, in every part of the United States. And shall now proceed to give our sentiments on a matter to which the usefulness of Committees may with particular advantage be easily and extensively applied. We mean the reinstating and supporting the credit of our currency.

It is a well known maxim, that that which is every body's business, is no body's business. Each one looks with discontent at the other; the expectation is returned and continued, and every one is surprized that no one begins. Such has been the state of our currency for some considerable time past, and such it will continue to be, until it be put under the care of particular bodies, present in all places, who shall be empowered to watch against the means by which it has been depreciated, prevent their increase, and punish them on detection.

The hope of the enemy appears to be principally fixed on what they would stile the bankruptcy of the

Continent, occasioned by a failure of the currency. Every one among us seemed to apprehend its probability, and though all appeared to lay it to heart, no one sent his hand to prevent it. Every day made the matter worse, and the task heavier. We looked at one another, complained, murmured, and went away. Yet so mistaken and extraordinary have been our conduct, that while we dreaded the evil we invited it on, and hastened to meet the event we wished to avoid. At the rate we were going from January to May, a state of bankruptcy must have taken place in the space of a few weeks. A bankruptcy of a paradoxical kind. A bankruptcy produced, not by the want of money, but by the abundance of it. Such has been the condition we were unwisely exposed to, and such is now become the object that claims our attention.

By the efforts of the inhabitants of this city on the 25th of May, a stop has been put to the depreciation, and afforded us an opportunity of stating the case for the consideration of all.

For once we shall leave public spirit and public virtue out of the question, and address our arguments to the interest rather than the honour, to the avarice, rather than the patriotism of individuals.

To what end is it that we get money with one hand, and depreciate in the other? Let the planter, the merchant, the miser, and any or every other order of men reckon their wealth at this time, and they will find themselves poorer in value, though richer in quantity, than they were last Christmas or a year ago. Our avarice, in this instance, operates without its usual cunning, and we mutually impoverish ourselves to be a match for each other.

Were it possible that the property of America could fail, her lands become barren, her rivers dried up, agriculture

agriculture extinguished, and our population extinct, the currency would then want a foundation for its credit, an ability for its redemption; because in those cases, it would be a representation of nothing. Or did the credit of it depend on foreign loans, it would then, like all other matters of favour, be subject to interruption and disappointment. Besides which, we should by so doing only exchange one debt for another, less suited to our interest and more expensive to redeem. But the case now is otherwise. We are both debtor and creditor. We not only hold the money, but we possess the property by which it is to be made good, and nothing but our own consent is wanting to make it of what value we please.

Yet notwithstanding these advantages, the rage for raising prices will, unless it be put a stop to, become the ruin both of those who contrived it, and those who follow it. We shall descend from pounds to shillings, from shillings to pence, and from pence to nothing. It has long been said that trade will regulate itself, yet sufficient experience has shown that the maxim, though admittedly true in some cases, is not so in all. While monopolizers are suffered to exist, who by stepping in between the importer and the retail purchaser can produce a scarcity when they chuse, or by their transporting their goods backward and forward, from State to State, can occasionally create a want in any or in all, or while the retailer by laying on what profits he pleases, becomes regardless of what prices he gives, or how much they out-bid each other. In all these cases, trade is deprived of its chance, and becomes clogged with a disease, which left to itself will destroy its credit and produce its destruction.

By laying an additional price on what we have to sell, be it what it may, we lay a loss upon the money

we hand, more than equal to the advance we get; and while we are counting the profits of a sale, the depreciation upon the capital makes a balance against us: the instant one article rises another rises in double proportion against it, and the hope of him who made the first advance, is defeated by the practice of all around him. In short, we seem not to be sensible that we cannot raise our prices without running the tide of our own currency against us, which running faster and more forcibly down, than we are able to tow up, carries us deceitfully away, and all our labour turns to no account.

If for the sake of leaving a little trade to regulate itself, the whole community is to be impoverished, the public faith suspected and impeached, and the abilities of the States reduced and weakened, it is time to take the matter up on the most serious and determined grounds; for we had better be without trade, than exposed to the consequences it has hitherto produced.

Under proper regulations, and carried on with principle and honesty, it might render to us every advantage which, in times like these, we ought to look for; but left to itself, to find its own balance by no other practice than extortion, and to regulate itself upon the ruins of public credit, and at the hazard of national success, is an evil too dangerous to be admitted, too serious to be trifled with.

It is in vain that we complain of the currency, unless we comply with measures for restoring it; and which, if we do not, we shall assuredly sink in our own hands, the hoards and funds, that, if supported, would make us rich. The money is our own. No power is bound to make it good, if we, whose property it is, make it otherwise. Besides which, we ought to reflect that the public faith, or the United States, is but another name for ourselves, and that

while

while we individually undervalue the currency, we diminish the faith and abilities of the States, on whose credit it is uttered. Neither can we have any right to demand in one character a value, we deny to it in the other.

The means by which it has been depreciated are too numerous to be ascertained, and too intricate to be explained; but we in a particular manner caution you against those who affect to treat it highly, in order to give a colourable pretence to their own extortion, and clamorously cry out, "Why is it not made better?" neglecting at the same time to remember, that their own practices contribute to its unnecessary reduction.

Having said thus much on the subject, we shall conclude, with recommending it to our Sister States, to concur with us in measures, absolutely necessary at this time, for redeeming and supporting the credit of our currency, and, of consequence, individual prosperity. We wish to see Committees formed in every State and country, whose immediate business it shall be to watch against the depreciation, and promote the value of the money; and that whenever they discover any person or persons traducing the same, by demanding or giving more than a just and regulated price, that they summon a meeting of the inhabitants at some convenient time and place, to determine what portion of disgrace and disapprobation, such person or persons shall undergo. We have, for the present, proposed to reduce our prices month by month. But in order to carry the matter into extensive and effectual execution, by a rule that will agree to all places and things, we are of opinion that a universal regulation, capable of applying itself in all cases, may be formed on the following plan; each place, for itself, to ascertain what the prices of the several articles of produce and

importation were in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and to multiply that price by some certain number to be agreed upon for all the States, and the price so multiplied to become the regulated price.

In this regulation it is to be remembered, that the prices of imported goods are higher in war time, than articles of produce, and the exact difference is the expence of convoy, and rate of assurance. Therefore, whatever those are, are to be added to the price, such goods would otherwise be at, at the place of importation.

And, in order to confine the sellers of dry goods to some fixed rule, and to prevent the hitherto scandalous evasions and extortion practised by some of them, every seller of dry goods to write on the several articles he or she deals in, or on a paper affixed thereto, the price such goods were worth, or sold for, in the year 1774.

We likewise recommend to every State to open an office for the insurance of such vessels and cargoes only, as belong to persons resident in such State; and that no person shall ensure in any other office, or any person for him, than shall be established in the State he lives in. By this means the rate of insurance will be known, and one pretence of extortion cut off.

We furthermore recommend to retailers, or other persons who may have money to spare, to open subscriptions for raising funds for importing their own goods, under the management of persons to be chosen by a majority of the subscribers.

And in order to prevent the unnecessary removal of goods from one State to another, under various pretences, by which the prices are enhanced, it is hereby proposed, that the inhabitants of any State, whose ports may at any time be blocked up or rendered unsafe, shall have full privilege

privilege to import their cargoes into this port, and to remove the same under the management of a sworn agent of their own appointing; and this we presume will more effectually answer their purpose, than their depending too much on the purchases they may hope to make of goods already imported; because, by encouraging importation, we in a great measure prevent monopolizing.

It gives the well affected inhabitants of this city, and their Committees, great pleasure to find, that the measures lately adopted are so generally approved and so warmly supported. We can only call it a beginning, and hope to see it productive of universal benefit.

The Committee have already received letters of approbation and request from several of the neighbouring States, and we in a particular manner invite and call on all our fellow citizens of the State of Maryland, because we are persuaded that the contrivances which have been carried on between this city and Baltimore, have in an extraordinary manner contributed to undermine the value of our currency.

We are now arrived at a period at which nothing can hurt us but want of honesty, and in which, to be rich, or to be poor, depends on our own choice and consent; and such being truly our situation, we submit the further consideration thereof to the wisdom, justice, and patriotism of the States in union.

Signed in behalf, and by
order of the Committee,

WILLIAM BRADFORD, Chairman.
Committee-Room, July 26, 1779.

Philadelphia.

In Committee, September 18, 1779.
Resolved,

That the report of the Committee of thirteen, on the memorial of the merchants, be approved, that a copy thereof be signed by the chair-

man and sent to the merchants, and that the said report, together with the memorial be published.

Extract from the Minutes,

JARED INGHAM, Secretary.
To the Committee of the City of Philadelphia.

A Representation from the Merchants of the said City:

Gentlemen,

Having at the earliest commencement of this contest, in the time of the Stamp-act, taken a decided part in favour of our country, and persevered in the same line of conduct until the present moment, none will cast upon us the injurious reflection of being inattentive to her interests. We are not to learn, that the depreciation of our money is the most capital inconvenience which the now labours under, and we will not waste arguments to shew what you must be fully convinced of, that no set of men in America are more deeply interested in removing the ill effects which flow from that source. As we have not opposed the wishes of our fellow citizens in appointing a committee for the purpose of limiting the prices, so we shall at all times concur with them in any measures which may tend to the salutary purposes they have in view: but we hold it our indispensable duty to lay before you our sentiments upon the measures already taken, and those which may perhaps be further adopted.

The limitation of prices is in the principle unjust, because it invades the laws of property, by compelling a person to accept of less in exchange for his goods than he could otherwise obtain, and therefore acts as a tax upon one part of the community only. In the operation, it is still more unjust, because it is impossible for any man or set of men to be acquainted with all the circumstances necessary to determine with precision the prices which ought

ought, generally to be taken, and even in any particular case no man can tell what the change of those circumstances may be in a month, a week, or perhaps a single day, in a war like the present, where a victory or defeat at home or abroad so materially affects insurance, the value of our money, and consequently the labour and commodities of our own country, exchange, and every article which may have been already imported: we will venture to lay it down as a maxim, that no limitation of prices can be proportionate, much less just, for three days together.

But supposing the objections which lie against the injustice of this measure could be removed, it would then be unnecessary, because it would then bear that proportion which things in their plain and natural state must necessarily arrive at. To this indeed it may be objected, that engrossers have raised the prices of some commodities in an exorbitant degree. We know how great is the popular odium against men of this cast, and we would avoid saying any thing upon the occasion, if it were not necessary to convey to you in the fullest manner the just sentiments of our hearts. It must be remembered that these men relieved the necessities of Pennsylvania when the enemy were in possession of her capital, by introducing articles of consumption from the extremes of the continent. It is true they were prompted by the love of gain, but whatever may have been the cause, the effect certainly was to relieve the necessities of the people. Leaving this however out of the question, it will readily be admitted that the trade of an engrosser consists in hoarding up those articles which will probably become scarce and dear, to take advantage of that circumstance, creating thereby an artificial, previous

to a natural scarcity. By the high price consequent upon the artificial scarcity the actual consumption is lessened, the natural scarcity is lessened, and an actual want prevented. Thus the interested views of these men, like the provident foresight of a captain who puts his people on short allowance, prevents in both cases sufferings of the most alarming nature. However novel this doctrine may be, it is not the less true on that account, and will appear with the force of irresistible evidence if the stock of goods in America at the commencement of the war, and the importations since be compared with the stock now on hand, and the importations for an equal period in time of peace. If to this be added the further consideration that foreign commodities imported must be paid for by native productions exported, and the balance remain as a debt upon our country, the exertions for decreasing the consumption of foreign articles (on whatever principle) have tended greatly to the public advantage. And to prosecute this subject one step further we can affirm, that although some few persons may have amassed considerable fortunes in this way, yet many who have gained by it still hold much of their property in a nominal wealth, hourly decreasing, and that it is demonstrable by calculations on the prices of different articles (whether specie, bills, or the produce of our own country be taken as a standard) that the greater part of those lately engaged in monopolizing have been losers and not gainers by the business.

But our objections against the limitations of prices are not simply founded on the injustice of the measure; these are mentioned merely from our conviction of the weight they will have in your minds; others, equally strong, are derived from

from the impolicy of it. Whatever is unjust, must in the end be impolitic, because it saps and destroys that confidence which is necessary to support the dealings of men with each other. It cannot be denied that the hope of gain stimulates the exertion of merchants as well as of other people. If that principle of action be taken away, it is natural to suppose they will cease to act. But if it can be demonstrated that all their labour will be to a certain loss, no man can suppose they must incur it. Salt and woollens, therefore, already very scarce, and absolutely necessary for the approaching season, will, as well as other articles, be no longer imported, at least in any considerable quantities, and what may be the sufferings of the country if that should be the case, we would rather that you should conceive; than that we should attempt to describe them. That very little will be imported must be evident, for foreigners who are not within the effect of those determinations which you can make, will undoubtedly desist from sending any thing to a place where on the instant of its arrival, it would be taken from them at a price to be fixed by the purchaser, and where of consequence (not being able to examine thoroughly into motives and characters) they would apprehend every thing from the ignorance and injustice of those who they might conceive to be unacquainted with the true principles of commerce, and prompted by views of private advantage. We are sorry to observe to you, that the best intelligence obtained from abroad will shew that our ideas on the subject are too well founded.

That the American merchant would pursue a similar line of conduct was foreseen, and therefore an association is proposed by which we are to covenant, that we will order our vessels to this port, and confirm to your limitation. We cannot but

observe, that the proposal of such an association clearly demonstrates the impolicy of any limitation. Because it shews a conviction that we should have pursued a different line of conduct, and that those evils have taken place which are before hinted at. But the associations would be more unjust and impolitic than the limitation itself. For, first, as it is confessedly the only measure that can support the other, it is chargeable with the like injustice; secondly, it would direct our enemies where to cruise in order to intercept our supplies, and thirdly, it would oblige us to continue a commerce which we can demonstrate to be ruinous.

The measure of preventing exports from hence to the neighbouring States, which is considered as a means of supplying Pennsylvania at a cheaper rate, and more plentifully, will, we are persuaded, be found pernicious, in the same manner as all selfish plans of policy have ever been. We shall not dwell here on the conduct which gratitude ought to dictate, upon a consideration of the benefit derived from the commerce of others, when we were deprived of it. Neither shall we attempt to shew the evil consequences which might result from such a measure, as to that political union of the several States which is necessary for their safety, liberty, and happiness. But confining ourselves to consider it in a commercial light, we must observe, that it would naturally produce similar determinations among them, and preclude us from deriving any advantage by their abundance. European merchants will naturally, for the most obvious reasons, direct all their adventurers to Chesapeake-bay, North and South Carolina. This has generally been done, and that it has not been universally so, can only be attributed to those causes which the restrictions and regulations now in
agitation

agitation would effectually remove. Besides this, upon a supposition, that by adventitious causes, such as the success of our cruizers, any articles not absolutely necessary, should become plentiful here, Pennsylvania would be deprived of the benefit of exchanging it in the way of commerce with her neighbours, for articles more necessary, in which they perhaps might abound.

But this is not all. No principle can be more undeniable than that some things must be exported, in order to bring back others. Now it is a certain fact, that the only article we can export is the produce of other States; if, therefore, the intercourse with them is cut off, all the commerce of Pennsylvania is that instant at an end. Nor can we help observing in this place, that some credit is due to us for those exertions, by which, in the short space of a year, amid the many discouragements and losses we have experienced, such a number of fine vessels have been procured, and the trade so vigorously and actively extended without any one commodity of this State to support it.

And here we must advert to an argument unworthy of notice, but that it has been so often repeated, viz. that our commerce has injured the credit and value of the money. Paper money has no value further than as a medium of commerce, to estimate the value of other things. If all trade, of every kind, was stopped, the money would be worth nothing, because it could purchase nothing; and, on the other hand, the more commerce is extended, and the more things are bought and sold, and the more commodities there are for sale, the more necessary such medium becomes, and consequently the more valuable it is. For the truth of this, we can safely appeal to the experience of all commercial countries, and if it has not apparently been the case here,

we can attribute it only to one fact, that the emissions have been so great, and in such continued rapid increase, as to outgo any possible extent of our commerce in the same period of time.

We would wish you, gentlemen, further to consider what appears to us of no little consequence, that the value of paper money must greatly depend upon its credit. In this view every limitation of prices has a tendency to injure it, because the supposition on which they are founded, of some defects in its value, necessarily impairs the credit. Nor is this all: as the general prices in any given state of things will be the result of a comparison between the quantity of money, which is the representative of commodities in commerce, and the quantity of commodities so represented, and as any particular price will, in the same state of things, be the result of a comparison between the proportionate quantity of that commodity, and the proportionate quantity of all other commodities in commerce, relative to the demand for them respectively, it follows clearly, that the prices of every commodity in the country will bear a just relation to these three objects: 1st, the quantity of money; 2d, the quantity of commodities; and 3d, the demand for consumption: these are the natural prices; but if the first or third object be increased, or the second diminished, the natural prices must rise. The effect of any limitation of price is, first, to decrease the quantity of the limited commodity, by removing all temptation to supply the daily consumption; secondly, to decrease it further, by inducing individuals, to conceal a part of the stock at market; and thirdly, to increase the consumption, by enabling men to obtain, at a cheaper rate, what may be immediately in the power of those who limit: the limitation, therefore, has a direct tendency to raise

the

the natural prices. But as the actual price is fixed, the difference must, in the common course of things, be thrown upon other commodities, and that will proportionably rise, and equally distress the consumers. If, in such case, the limitation be extended, it decreases the quantity of so many more commodities, and raises the natural prices very greatly. A general limitation then appears to become necessary; but the instant it takes place, it again decreases the commodities in commerce, and unavoidably produces a redundancy in the circulating medium. That part of it, which cannot be employed in buying other things, becomes useless, and consequently worth nothing; the effect of this is to impair the credit, and lessen the value of the remainder; diffidence ensues, barter takes place of money purchases, and in this situation, one of two things becomes inevitable, either that the limitations will become, by unanimous consent, destroyed, or that the paper currency will be destroyed by a consent as unanimous. The former of these things hath happened, where the limitations have been tried, the latter we hope, and trust in God, never will happen.

But our objections to the particular limitation in question, do not terminate here. We are to observe to you, that if you wish to remove an effect, you must begin by removing the causes, and not hope to wither the causes, by lopping off their consequences. You think of limiting the prices of imported articles, but these prices depend upon various incidents. First, upon the price of our own productions, then upon the price of the labour to produce them; that upon the price of the necessaries of life to sustain it; those again, in a great degree, upon the quantity of our money; and all upon the winds, the seasons, the ravages of war, the

calls for militia, for carter, beau-
teu-men, horses, and a thousand
other contingencies, which it is not
in human prudence to foresee, to
obviate, to regulate, or to provide
for. Secondly, upon the prices of
vessels and their outfits, which rest
on the same fluctuation of uncertain-
ties with the former. And, thirdly,
upon the premium of insurance
founded on the risk of a voyage,
which is to be estimated by the events
of the moment. If then you would
limit the price of foreign articles,
you must enable a merchant to get
his goods freighted upon moderate
terms, fix the prices of goods he is
to export, and open an insurance for
a low premium. But until these
things be accomplished, you may,
indeed, by an act of power, force
away the property of men at such
rates as you may think proper to
allow; but like him who owned the
goose which laid golden eggs, you
will cut off the source of all farther
supplies, and like him too, when
you do repent, you will repent in
vain.

We are thus free with you, Gen-
tlemen, because we foresee the most
pernicious consequences, not only
to ourselves, but to our country in
general, and to convince you that
we do not proceed on any light
ground, we have subjoined calcula-
tions on the price of salt, rum, cof-
fee, and tea. These are two-fold,
first, on facts as they are, secondly,
on a supposition that the public
would cover our property at a more
moderate insurance; for as to the
limitations of freight, and our own
commodities, they are not only un-
just and impolitic, but we believe
utterly impracticable. We state the
following facts, which we think in-
contestible, first, that such a vessel
as might have been formerly bought
for 600l. or 700l. would now cost
upwards of 40,000l. secondly, that
the outfits of such a vessel, on every
voyage,

voyage, would be upwards of 5000*l.* that tobacco is at the rate of 25*l.* to 30*l.* per cent. besides charges; and, fourthly, that insurance is at the rate of 35*l.* to 40*l.* per cent. between this port and St. Eustatia. In our calculations, we state a vessel carrying eighty hogheads of tobacco at 40,000*l.* the outfits, wear and tare, at 5000*l.* the tobacco put on board at 25*l.* and the insurance at 33*l.* and one third. And suppose, in the second instance, insurance to be only 20*l.* and we take the prices limited at Philadelphia, 6*l.* 5*s.* for rum, 4*l.* 10*s.* for tea, and 15*s.* for coffee, it will, by these calculations, appear that the importer, when the insurance is as high as it now is, must lose, on a vessel with eighty hogheads of tobacco cargo, by importing rum 46,372*l.* by importing coffee 40,180*l.* and by importing tea 53,344*l.* or if the insurance could be had at 20*l.* per cent. he would lose on the rum 4122*l.* on the tea 12,094*l.* and on the coffee he would gain 1070*l.* It will also further appear, that on the first state, salt would cost here 40*l.* on the second 22*l.* 10*s.* We shall make no comments on these calculations, but assure you of our sincere wishes, that they could be rendered more favourable to America. We assure you further, that we should most readily co-operate in every measure that will tend to appreciate the currency of the Continent. We have already subscribed amply to the public funds, although they are by no means on such footing as they ought to be, in order to hold out proper encouragement to the lenders, and we will cheerfully pay three, four, or even five years taxes in advance.

Perhaps, we may be asked our opinion as to the measures which we conceive necessary for the purposes we have in view with our fellow citizens, and which it is so much our particular interests to prosecute.

We do not hesitate to give this question an immediate answer. The first thing necessary is to take off the embargo, and every other regulation and limitation of commerce, and to prevent the unnecessary purchase of wheat, flour, and other necessaries at remote places, by Commissaries and Quarter-masters. Secondly, to fix the value of the money borrowed by the Continent, and in so doing to give a sufficient advantage as an inducement to the lenders, that sums may be by that means obtained for the public exigencies without farther emissions. Thirdly, to enable merchants to make remittances abroad at a low rate in the way of exchange. And, fourthly, to levy taxes of one, two, or three pence in the pound monthly, upon the actual value of estates, estimated according to the prices of such articles, native and foreign, as may be taken for a standard in the following manner: The prices of those articles in the year 1773, to be taken as the first number, the value of an estate in lands, houses, &c. as they would have sold at the same period as the second number; the present prices of the standard articles as the third number; and the fourth number, which may be found in proportion to the three former, as the sum on which the tax should be levied. Measures like these, we will venture to say, would immediately arrest the depreciation in its present state, and daily restore our money by just degrees to its pristine value, without distressing the people, and render it the immediate, as it certainly is, the remote interest of every man to begin the lowering of prices with his own commodities, without setting arbitrary rules for his neighbours, and to induce them to lower theirs simply by refraining from the purchase of those things which are too dear. If after all, regulations should be necessary, they ought

ought to be laid on the necessaries and not on the luxuries of life. Nor can it at any time be justifiable to oblige one man to part with his property, merely to gratify the palate of another: still less can any reason be conceived for laying a ruinous tax on the industrious merchant, that drunkenness of the most dangerous and pernicious kind may be rendered cheap, yet such is the effect of a limitation on the price of rum.

Thus, gentlemen, we have taken the liberty to give you our sentiments at large on a subject of the utmost importance to us, to you, and our country in general. We have done this from a sincere desire to harmonize with you, in the fullest manner, that the measures to be taken may be wisely designed and vigorously executed. We lament those appearances of dis-union which have given hopes to our enemies and inspired our friends with doubts, jealousies, and apprehensions. But we hope, that whatever private differences, of lesser moment, may exist, the entire union of all ranks, on an occasion so important to the liberty and independence of America, will convince the world that we know how to bury in oblivion all little animosities, where the glorious cause of our country is concerned.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

And humble servants,

John Kean, George Kennedy, Philip Wilson, John Steinmötz, John Lardner, Isaac Moses, William Turnbull, John Purviance, Geo. Meade, Joseph Cowperthwait, Thomas Moore, Francis Lewis, junior, Charles Young, J. Shal-lus, Francis Gurney, John Donaldson, William Bell, Peter Freneau, John Campbell, James King, Thomas Franklin, Samuel Meredith, James Cochran, John Meafe, Patrick Moore, John Pringle, James Caldwell, An-

drew Hodge, junior, John White, Charles White, John Imlay, William Alricks, Samuel Inglis, and Co. James Totten, Andrew Bunner, Joseph C. Fisher, Benjamin Davis, junior, William Pollard, Alexander Tod, Matthew Duncan, William Lawrence, William Davis, Thomas Morris, John Ramsay, Isaac Cox, Thomas Barclay, Bertles Shee, Alexander Nelson, David Lenox, William Cross, John Nixon, John Benezet, John Wilcocks, David H. Conyngham, Alexander Foster, John Murray, John Boyle, Peter Whitefide, Joseph Carson, James Ash, James Vanuxem, Nicholas Low, Samuel C. Morris, Robert Bridges, Jonathan Miffin, John Patton, David Duncan, Robert Duncan, Francis C. Hassenclever, James Crawford, Cadwallader Morris, Lardne Clark, Samuel Caldwell, John Barclay, John M'Kim, James Meafe, Pelatiah Webster, Robert Morris, Alexander Nesbitt, Townsend White.

Circular Letter from the Congress of the United States of America, to their Constituents.

Friends and Fellow-citizens,

In governments raised on the generous principles of equal liberty, where the rulers of the State are the servants of the people, and not the masters of those from whom they derive authority: it is their duty to inform their fellow citizens of the state of their affairs, and by evincing the propriety of public measures, lead them to unite the influence of inclinations, to the force of legal obligation in rendering them successful. This duty ceases not, even in times of the most perfect peace, order and tranquility, when the safety of the commonwealth is neither endangered by force of seduction from abroad, or by faction, treachery, or misguided ambition from within. At this season, therefore, we find ourselves

felves in a particular manner impressed with a sense of it, and can no longer forbear calling your attention to a subject much misrepresented, and respecting which dangerous, as well as erroneous opinions, have been held and propagated; we mean your finances.

The ungrateful despotism and inordinate love of domination, which marked the unnatural designs of the British King and his venal Parliament to enslave the people of America, reduced you to the necessity of either asserting your rights by arms, or ingloriously passing under the yoke. You nobly preferred war. Armies were then to be raised, paid and supplied; money became necessary for these purposes. Of your own there was but little; and of no nation in the world could you then borrow. The little that was spread among you could be collected only by taxes, and to this end regular governments were essential; of these you were also destitute. So circumstanced, you had no other resource but the natural value and wealth of your fertile country. Bills were issued on the credit of this bank, and your faith was pledged for their redemption. After a considerable number of these had circulated, loans were solicited, and offices for the purpose established. Thus a national debt was unavoidably created, and the amount of it is as follows:

	Dollars.
Bills emitted an circulating,	
	59,948,880
Monies borrowed before the 1st of March, 1778, the interest of which is payable in France,	7,545,196 67-90
Monies borrowed since the 1st of March, 1778, the interest of which is payable here	26,188,909
Money due abroad, not exactly known—the balance not having been transmitted, supposed about	4,000,000

For your further satisfaction we shall order a particular account of the several emissions, with the times limited for their redemption, and also of the several loans, the interest allowed on each, and the terms assigned for their payment, to be prepared and published.

The taxes have as yet brought into the Treasury no more than 3,027,560, so that all the monies supplied to Congress by the people of America, amount to no more than 36,761,665 dollars and 67 cents, that being the sum of the loans and taxes received. Judge then of the necessity of emissions, and learn from whom and from whence that necessity arose.

We are also to inform you, that on the first day of September instant, we resolved, "that we would on no account whatever emit more bills of credit than to make the whole amount of such bills two hundred millions of dollars, and as the sum emitted and in circulation amounted to 159,648,880 dollars, and the sum of 40,051,120 dollars remained to compleat the two hundred millions above-mentioned, we on the 3d day of September inst. further resolved, that we would emit such part only of the said sum of 40,051,120 dollars as should be absolutely necessary for public exigencies before adequate supplies could otherwise be obtained, relying for such supplies on the exertions of the several States.

Exclusive of the great and ordinary expences incident to the war, the depreciation of the currency has so swelled the prices of every necessary article, and, of consequence, made such additions to the usual amount of expenditures, that very considerable supplies must be immediately provided by loans and taxes: and we unanimously declare it to be essential to the welfare of these States, that the taxes already called for, be paid into the Continental Treasury by the time recommended

for that purpose. It is also highly proper that you should extend your views beyond that period, and prepare in season as well for bringing your respective quotas of troops into the field early in the next campaign, as for providing the supplies necessary in the course of it. We shall take care to apprise you from time to time of the state of the Treasury, and to recommend the proper measures for supplying it. To keep your battalions full, to encourage loans, and to assess your taxes with prudence, collect them with firmness, and pay them with punctuality, is all that will be requisite on your part. Further ways and means of providing for the public exigencies, are now under consideration, and will soon be laid before you.

Having thus given you a short and plain state of your debt, and pointed out the necessity of punctuality in furnishing the supplies already required, we shall proceed to make a few remarks on the depreciation of the currency, to which we entreat your attention.

The depreciation of bills of credit is always either natural or artificial, or both. The latter is our case. The moment the sum in circulation exceeded what was necessary as a medium in commerce, it began and continued to depreciate in proportion as the amount of the surplus increased; and that proportion would hold good until the sum emitted should become so great as nearly to equal the value of the capital or stock, on the credit of which the bills were issued. Supposing, therefore, that 30,000,000 was necessary for a circulating medium, and that 160,000,000 had issued, the natural depreciation is but little more than five to one: but the actual depreciation exceeds that proportion, and that excess is artificial. The natural depreciation is to be removed only by lessening the quantity

of money in circulation. It will regain its primitive value whenever it shall be reduced to the sum necessary for a medium of commerce. This is only to be effected by loans and taxes.

The artificial depreciation is a more serious subject, and merits minute investigation. A distrust (however occasioned) entertained by the mass of the people, in the ability or inclination of the United States to redeem their bills, is the cause of it. Let us enquire how far reason will justify a distrust in the ability of the United States.

The ability of the United States must depend on two things: first, the success of the present revolution, and, secondly, on the sufficiency of the natural wealth, value, and resources of the country.

That the time has been when honest men might, without being chargeable with timidity, have doubted the success of the present revolution, we admit; but that period is passed. The independence of America is now as fixed as fate, and the petulant efforts of Britain to break it down are as vain and fruitless as the raging of the waves which beat against their cliffs. Let those who are still afflicted with these doubts consider the character and condition of our enemies. Let them remember that we are contending against a kingdom crumbling into pieces; a nation without public virtue; and a people sold to, and betrayed by their own representatives; against a Prince governed by his passions, and a Ministry without confidence or wisdom; against armies half paid, and Generals' half trusted; against a government equal only to plans of plunder, conflagration and murder—a government by the most impious violations of the rights of religion, justice, humanity and mankind, courting the vengeance of Heaven, and revolting from the protection of Providence. Against the

fury of these enemies you made successful resistance, when single, alone, and friendless, in the days of weakness and infancy, before your hands had been taught to war or your fingers to fight. And can there be any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safe through a sea of blood, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption unfinished, and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of oppression, from whose tyranny he hath mercifully delivered us with a stretched out arm.

In close alliance with one of the most powerful nations in Europe, which has generously made our cause her own, in amity with many others, and enjoying the good will of all, what danger have we to fear from Britain? Instead of acquiring accessions of territory by conquest, the limits of her empire daily contract; her fleets no longer rule the ocean, nor are her armies invincible by land. How many of her standards, wrested from the hands of her champions, are among your trophies, and have graced the triumphs of your troops? And how great is the number of those, who, sent to bind you in fetters, have become your captives, and receive their lives from your hands? In short, whoever considers that these States are daily increasing in power; that their armies are become veterans; that their governments, founded in freedom, are established; that their fertile country, and their affectionate ally, furnish them with ample supplies; that the Spanish monarch, well prepared for war with fleets and armies ready for combat, and a treasury overflowing with wealth, has entered the lists against Britain; that the

other European nations, often insulted by her pride, and alarmed by the strides of her ambition, have left her to her fate; that Ireland, wearied with her oppressions, is panting for liberty, and even Scotland displeased and uneasy at her edicts.—Whoever considers these things, instead of doubting the issue of the war, will rejoice in the glorious, the sure and certain prospect of success.

This point being established, the next question is whether the natural wealth, value and resource of the country will be equal to the payment of the debt?

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that at the conclusion of the war, the emissions should amount to 200,000,000, that exclusive of supplies from taxes, which will not be inconsiderable, the loans should amount to 100,000,000, then the whole national debt of the United States would be 300,000,000. There are at present 3,000,000 of inhabitants in the thirteen States; three hundred million of dollars divided among three million of people would give to each person one hundred dollars; and is there an individual in America unable in the course of eighteen or twenty years to pay it again? Suppose the whole debt assessed, as it ought to be, on the inhabitants in proportion to their respective estates, what would then be the share of the poorer people? Perhaps not ten dollars. Besides, as this debt will not be payable immediately, but probably twenty years allotted for it, the number of inhabitants by that time in America, will be far more than double their present amount. It is well known that the inhabitants of this country increased almost in the ratio of compound interest. By natural population they doubled every twenty years, and how great may be the host of emigrants from other countries can
not

not be ascertained. We have the highest reason to believe the number will be immense. Suppose that only ten thousand should arrive the first year after the war, what will those ten thousand with their families count in twenty years time? Probably double the number. This observation applies with proportionable force to the emigrants of every successive year. Thus you see great part of your debt will be payable not merely by the present number of inhabitants, but by that number swelled and increased by the natural population of the present inhabitants, by multitudes of emigrants daily arriving from other countries, and by the natural population of those successive emigrants, so that every person's share of the debt will be constantly diminishing by others coming in to pay a proportion of it.

These are advantages which none but young countries enjoy. The number of inhabitants in every country in Europe, remains nearly the same from one century to another. No country will produce more people than it can subsist, and every country, if free and cultivated, will produce as many as it can maintain. Hence we may form some idea of the future population of these States. Extensive wildernesses, now scarcely known or explored, remain to be cultivated, and vast lakes and rivers, whose waters have for ages rolled in silence and obscurity to the ocean, are yet to hear the din of industry, become subservient to commerce, and boast delightful villas, glided spires, and spacious cities rising on their banks.

Thus much for the number of persons to pay the debt. The next point is their *ability*. They who enquire how many millions of acres are contained only in the settled part of North-America, and how much each acre is worth, will acquire very enlarged and yet very

adequate ideas of the value of this country. But those who will carry their enquiries further, and learn that we heretofore paid an annual tax to Britain of three millions sterling in the way of trade, and still grew rich; that our commerce was then confined to her; that we were obliged to carry our commodities to her market, and consequently to sell them at her price; that we were compelled to purchase foreign commodities at her stores, and on her terms, and were forbid to establish any manufactories incompatible with her views of gain; that in future the whole world will be open to us, and we shall be at liberty to purchase from those who will sell on the best terms, and to sell to those who will give the best prices; that as this country increases in number of inhabitants and cultivation, the productions of the earth will be proportionably increased, and the riches of the whole proportionably greater: whoever examines the force of these and similar observations must smile at the ignorance of those who doubt the ability of the United States to redeem their bills.

Let it also be remembered that paper money is the only kind of money which cannot "make unto itself wings and fly away." It remains with us, it will not forsake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpose of commerce or taxes, and every industrious man can find it. On the contrary, should Britain like Ninevah (and for the same reason) yet find mercy, and escape the storm ready to burst upon her, she will find her national debt in a very different situation. Her territory diminished, her people wasted, her commerce ruined, her monopolies gone, she must provide for the discharge of her immense debt by taxes to be paid in specie, in gold or silver, perhaps now buried in the mines of Mexico or Peru, or still

concealed in the brooks and rivulets of Africa or Indostan.

Having shewn that there is no reason to doubt the ability of the United States to pay their debt, let us next enquire whether as much can be said for their inclination.

Under this head, three things are to be attended to :

1st. Whether and in what manner the faith of the United States have been pledged for the redemption of their bills.

2d. Whether they have put themselves in a political capacity to redeem them — and,

3d. Whether, admitting the two former propositions, there is any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith.

1st. It must be evident to every man who reads the journals of Congress, or looks at the face of one of their bills, that Congress have pledged the faith of their constituents for the redemption of them. And it must be equally evident, not only that they had authority to do so, but that their constituents have actually ratified their acts, by receiving their bills, passing laws, establishing their currency, and punishing those who counterfeit them. So that it may with truth be said that the people have pledged their faith of the redemption of them, that not only collectively by their representatives, but individually.

2d. Whether the United States have put themselves in a political capacity to redeem their bills, is a question which calls for more full discussion.

Our enemies, as well foreign as domestic, have laboured to raise doubts on this head. They argue that the confederation of the States remains yet to be perfected; that the union may be dissolved; Congress be abolished, and each State resuming its delegated powers, proceed in future to hold and exercise

all the rights of sovereignty appertaining to an independent state. In such an event, say they, the continental bills of credit, created and supported by the union, would die with it. This position being assumed, they next proceed to assert this event to be probable, and in proof of it urge our divisions, our parties, our separate interests, distinct manners, former prejudices, and many other arguments equally plausible and equally fallacious. Examine this matter.

For every purpose essential to the defence of these States in the progress of the present war, and necessary to the attainment of the objects of it, these States now are as fully, legally, and absolutely confederated, as it is possible for them to be. Read the credentials of the different delegates who composed the Congress in 1774, 1775, and part of 1776. You will find that they established an union for the express purpose of opposing the oppressions of Britain, and obtaining redress of grievances. On the 4th of July, 1776, your representatives in Congress, perceiving that nothing less than unconditional submission would satisfy our enemies, did in the name of the people of the Thirteen United Colonies, declare them to be Free and Independent States, and “ for the support of that declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, did mutually pledge to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.” Was ever confederation more formal, more solemn, or explicit; it has been expressly assented to and ratified by every state in the union.—Accordingly, for the direct support of this declaration, that is for the support of the independence of these States, armies have been raised, and bills of credit emitted, and loans made to pay and supply them. The redemption therefore of these bills, the

the payment of these debts, and the settlement of the accounts of the several States, for expenditures or services for the common benefit and in this common cause, are among the objects of this confederation, and consequently while all or any of its objects remain unattained, it cannot, so far as it may respect such objects, be dissolved, consistent with the laws of God or man.

But we are persuaded, and our enemies will find, that our union is not to end here, They are mistaken when they suppose us kept together only by a sense of present danger. It is a fact which they only will dispute, that the people of these States were never so cordially united as at this day. By having been obliged to mix with each other, former prejudices have worn off, and their several manners become blended. A sense of common permanent interest, mutual affection (having been brethren in affliction) the ties of sanguinity daily extending, constant reciprocity of good offices, similarity in language, in governments, and therefore in manners, the importance, weight, and splendor of the union, all conspire in forming a strong chain of connection, which must for ever bind us together. The United Provinces of the Netherlands and the United Cantons of Switzerland became free and independent under circumstances very like ours: their independence has been long established, and yet their confederacies continue in full vigour. What reason can be assigned why our union should be less lasting? or why should the people of these States be supposed less wise than the inhabitants of those? You are not uninformed that a plan for a perpetual confederation has been prepared, and that twelve of the thirteen states have already acceded to it. But enough has been said to shew that

for every purpose of the present war, and all things incident to it, there does at present exist a perfect solemn confederation, and therefore that the States now are and always will be in political capacity to redeem their bills, pay their debts, and settle their accounts.

3d. Whether admitting the ability and political capacity of the United States to redeem their bills, there is any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith?

It is with great regret and reluctance that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honour and dignity of America.

The enemy, aware that the strength of America lay in the union of her citizens, and the wisdom and integrity of those to whom they committed the direction of their affairs, have taken unwearied pains to disunite and alarm the people, to depreciate the abilities and virtue of their rulers, and to impair the confidence reposed in them by their constituents. To this end repeated attempts have been made to draw an absurd and fanciful line of distinction between the Congress and the people, and to create an opinion and a belief that their interests and views were different and opposed. Hence the ridiculous tales, the invidious insinuations, and the whimsical suspicions that have been forged and propagated by disguised emissaries and traitors, in the garb of patriots. Hence has proceeded the notable discovery, that as the Congress made the money they also can destroy it; and in that will exist no longer than they find it convenient to permit it.

From the London Gazette.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 12, 1779.

A letter from Captain Pearson, of his Majesty's ship Serapis, to Mr. Stephens,



Stephens, of which the following is a copy, was yesterday received at his office:

Pallas, French frigate, in Congress service, Texel, Oct. 6, 1779.

S I R,

You will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 23d ult. being close in with Scarborough, about eleven o'clock, a boat came on board with a letter from the Bailiffs of that corporation, giving information of a flying squadron of the enemy's ships being on the coast, and of a part of the said squadron having been seen from thence the day before, standing to the southward. As soon as I received this intelligence, I made the signal for the convoy to bear down under my lee, and repeated it with two guns; notwithstanding which, the van of the convoy kept their wind, with all sail stretching out to the southward from under Flamborough Head, till between twelve and one, when the headmost of them got sight of the enemy's ships, which were then in chace of them; they then tacked, and made the best of their way under shore for Scarborough, &c. letting fly their top-gallant sheets, and firing guns; upon which I made all the sail I could to windward, to get between the enemy's ships and the convoy, which I soon effected. At one o'clock we got sight of the enemy's ships from the mast-head, and about four we made them plain from the deck to be three large ships and a brig; upon which I made the Countess of Scarborough's signal to join me, she being in shore with the convoy, at the same time I made the signal for the convoy to make the best of their way, and repeated the signal with two guns: I then brought to, to let the Countess of Scarborough come up, and cleared ship for action. At half past five the Countess of Scarborough joined me, the enemy's ships then bearing down upon us, with a light

breeze at S. S. W. at six tacked, and laid our head in shore, in order to keep our ground the better between the enemy's ships and the convoy; soon after which we perceived the ships bearing down upon us to be a two-decked ship and two frigates, but from their keeping end on upon us, on bearing down we could not discern what colours they were under; at about 20 minutes past seven, the largest ship of the three brought to, on our larboard bow, within musket shot: I hailed him, and asked what ship it was; they answered in English, the Princess Royal; I then asked where they belonged to, they answered evasively; on which I told them, if they did not answer directly, I would fire into them; they then answered with a shot, which was instantly returned with a broadside; and after exchanging two or three broadsides, he backed his topsails, and dropped upon our quarter within pistol shot, then filled again, put his helm a-weather, and run us on board upon our weather quarter, and attempted to board us, but being repelled he sheered off; upon which I backed our topsails, in order to get square with him again, which, as soon as he observed, he then filled, put his helm a-weather, and laid us athwart hawse; his mizen shrouds took our jib boom, which hung him for some time, till at last gave way, and we dropt along side of each other, head and stern, when the fluke of our spare anchor hooking his quarter, we became so close fore and aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched each others sides. In this position we engaged from half past eight till half past ten, during which time, from the quantity and variety of combustible matters, which they threw in upon our decks, chains, and in short into every part of the ship, we were on fire not less than ten or twelve times in different parts of the ship, and it was with the greatest difficulty and exertion

exertion imaginable at times that we were able to get it extinguished. At the same time the largest of the two frigates kept sailing round us the whole action, and taking us fore and aft, by which means she killed or wounded almost every man on the quarter and main decks. About half past nine, either from a hand grenade being thrown in at one of our lower deck ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which running from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, blew up the whole of the people and officers that were quartered abaft the main-mast, from which unfortunate circumstance all those guns were rendered useless for the remainder of the action, and I fear the greatest part of the people will lose their lives. At ten o'clock they called for quarters from the ship alongside, and said they had struck. Hearing this, I called upon the Captain to know if they had struck, or if he asked for quarters; but no answer being made, after repeating my words two or three times, I called for the boarders and ordered them to board, which they did; but the moment they were on board her, they discovered a superior number laying under cover with pikes in their hands ready to receive them, on which our people instantly retreated into our own ship, and returned to their guns again until half past ten, when the frigate coming across our stern, and pouring her broadside into us again, without our being able to bring a gun to bear on her, I found it in vain, and, in short, impracticable, from the situation we were in, to stand out any longer with the least prospect of success; I therefore struck, (our main-mast at the same time went by the board). The first Lieutenant and myself, were immediately escorted into the ship alongside, when we found her to be an American ship of war, called the *Bon Homme Richard*, of

40 guns and 375 men, commanded by Captain Paul Jones; the other frigate which engaged us proved to be the *Alliance*, of 40 guns and 300 men; and the third frigate, which engaged and took the *Countess of Scarborough* after two hours action, to be the *Pallas*, a French frigate, of 32 guns and 275 men; the *Vengeance*, an armed brig, of 12 guns and 70 men, all in Congress service, and under the command of Paul Jones. They fitted out and sailed from Port l'Orient the latter end of July, and came North about; they have on board 300 English prisoners, which they have taken, in different vessels, in their way round, since they left France, and have ransomed some others. On my going on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, I found her in the greatest distress; her quarters and counter on the lower deck entirely drove in, and the whole of her lower deck guns dismounted; she was also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet water in her hold, which kept increasing upon them all night and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her, and she sunk, with a great number of her wounded people on board her. She had 306 men killed and wounded in the action: our loss in the *Serapis* was also very great. My officers and people in general behaved well, and I should be very remiss in my attention to their merit were I to omit recommending the remains of them to their Lordships favour. I must at the same time beg leave to inform their Lordships, that Captain Piercy, in the *Countess of Scarborough*, was not in the least remiss in his duty, he having given me every assistance in his power, and as much as could be expected from such ship, in engaging the attention of the *Pallas*, a frigate of 32 guns, during the whole action. I am extremely sorry for the misfortune that has happened, that of losing his Majesty's ship I had the honour

to command; but, at the same time, I flatter myself with the hopes, that their Lordships will be convinced that she has not been given away; but, on the contrary, that every exertion has been used to defend her; and that two essential pieces of service to our country has arisen from it; the one in wholly oversetting the cruize, and intentions of this flying squadron; and the other in rescuing the whole of a valuable convoy from falling into the hands of the enemy, which must have been the case had I acted any otherwise than I did. We have been driving about in the North sea ever since the action, endeavouring to make any port we possibly could, but have not been able to get into any place till to-day, we arrived in the Texel. Herewith I inclose you the most exact list of the killed and wounded I have as yet been able to procure, from my people being dispersed amongst the different ships, and having been refused permission to muster them: there are, I find, many more, both killed and wounded, than appears on the inclosed list, but their names as yet I find impossible to ascertain; as soon as I possibly can, shall give their Lordships a full account of the whole.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

R. PEARSON.

P. S. I am refused permission to wait on Sir Joseph Yorke, and even to go on shore. Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Captain Piercy, late of the Scarborough.

Abstract of the list of the killed and wounded.

Killed	—	49
Wounded	—	68

Amongst the killed are the boat-swain, pilot, 1 master's mate, 2 midshipmen, the coxswain, 1 quarter-master, 27 seamen, 15 marines. Amongst the wounded are the second

Lieutenant Michael Stanhope, and Lieutenant Whiteman, second Lieutenant of marines, 2 surgeons mates, 6 petty officers, 46 seamen, and 12 marines.

Pallas, a French frigate, in Congress service, Texel, Oct. 4, 1779.

S I R,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that, about two minutes after you began to engage with the largest ships of the enemy's squadron, I received a broadside from one of the frigates, which I instantly returned, and continued engaging her for about twenty minutes, when she dropt a-stern. I then made fail up to the Serapis, to see if I could give you any assistance; but upon coming near you, I found you and the enemy so close together, and covered with smoke, that I could not distinguish one ship from the other; and for fear I might fire into the Serapis instead of the enemy, I backed the main-top-fail in order to engage the attention of one of the frigates that was then coming up. When she got on my starboard quarter, she gave me her broadside, which, as soon as I could get my guns to bear, (which was very soon done) I returned, and continued engaging her for near two hours; when I was so unfortunate as to have all my braces, great part of the running rigging, main and mizen top-fail sheets shot away, seven of the guns dismounted, four men killed, and twenty wounded, and another frigate coming up on my larboard quarter. In that situation I saw it was in vain to contend any longer, with any prospect of success, against such superior force; I struck to the Pallas, a French frigate, of 32 guns and 275 men, but in the service of the Congress. I likewise beg leave to acquaint you, that my Officers and ship's company behaved remarkably well the whole time I was engaged. I am, with great respect,

spect, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

THO. PIERCY.

To Richard Pearson, Esq. late Captain of his Majesty's ship *Serapis*.

Admiralty Office, October 12, 1779.

Sir Charles Hardy, in his letter of the 9th instant, to Mr. Stephens, has inclosed a letter from Lieutenant George of the *Rambler* cutter; and Lieutenant Mitchell, the Regulating-officer at Dartmouth, has likewise inclosed, in his letter of the same date, a letter from Mr. Valentine, an Officer of the Revenue at Salcombe, giving an account of an engagement between his Majesty's ship the *Quebec* and a French frigate of 40 guns, of which the following are copies:

Rambler, at Spithead, Oct. 9, 1779.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that on Wednesday the 6th instant, being then in company with his Majesty's ship *Quebec*, Ullant bearing south 15 leagues, at day-break we discovered three sail to leeward in S. W. quarter. Captain Farmer made the signal for the *Rambler* to come under his stern, which I obeyed; he then asked me what I thought of them; I told him, a ship, a cutter, and a Dutch hoy; he replied, he would go down and see what they were, and ordered me to keep close to him. At half past eight we plainly perceived two of them to be a large French frigate, and a cutter; at nine the enemy's frigate began to fire at the *Quebec*, but at too great a distance to do any execution. At ten the *Quebec*, being within point-blank shot of the enemy, hoisted her colours, and returned their fire, still edging down to come to a close engagement till she was along-side the French frigate. I immediately hoisted my colours, and stood in between the French frigate and the cutter, with an intent to cut her off from her consort, and bring her to a close

engagement, which I effected; and began to engage her at eleven o'clock close along-side; (I then found her force to be sixteen six-pounders, and full of men:) we continued to engage her in the same position till within a few minutes of two o'clock, when she set all the sail she could croud, and bore from us, we not having had the luck to carry away any thing material; and the *Rambler*, having her garf shot away; her top-mast shot through, the top-sail hallyards, and most of her standing and running rigging gone, and the main sail rendered unserviceable, was incapable of following her with any hopes of coming up with her; at the same time seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the *Quebec* take fire, I endeavoured to get as near the *Quebec* as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but there being but little wind, and a large swell, found I could assist her no other way but by hoisting out our boat, which I effected, and sent the master and five men armed in her, who picked up one master's mate, two young-midshipmen, and fourteen more of the *Quebec*'s people. [the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. As the *Rambler* was a considerable distance to leeward of the *Quebec*, I thought it would be in vain to send a second time.

I want words sufficient to describe the noble and gallant manner of Captain Farmer's engaging the enemy for upwards of three hours and an half that he lay along-side the frigate, which carried twenty-eight eighteen-pounders on her main deck, and twelve guns on her quarter deck and fore-castle. The *Quebec* continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying, till six o'clock, when she blew up. I am much afraid, from the report of Mr. William Moore, one of the master's mates of the *Quebec*, that Captain Farmer, and his officers that were alive when

he left the *Quebec*, share† the fate of the ship.

I must beg leave, at the same time, to recommend to you, Sir, the officers and crew of the *Rambler*, who did every thing that might be expected, from Englishmen. I am happy to say our loss consists of only one man who has lost his leg, the pilot shot through the arm with a musquet ball, and several slightly wounded, as the enemy, aimed at our masts and rigging, in which they succeeded too well; from the cutter's not returning the fire for two or three broadsides before she bore away, and seeing but few men on her decks, concluded she suffered considerably.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES GEORGE.

To Sir Charles Hardy, *Knt. Admiral of the White and Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

Sakombe, Oct. 9, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

Last night was brought in here, in a *Topham* pilot-boat, thirteen of the crew of the *Quebec* frigate, *Capt. Farmer*, which was blown up in an engagement with a French forty gun ship, on the 6th inst. about 14 leagues S. W. of *Ushant*. They were taken from the wreck by a Prussian vessel, and put on board the pilot-boat, five leagues off the *Holt*. There were about 14 more poor souls left on another part of the wreck; but a heavy squall came on, which prevented the vessel from taking them up. The people saw the *Captain* leap overboard, and endeavour to swim to one of our cutters which was in company with them, but whether he was saved or not they cannot tell. The Frenchman had all three masts shot away. The *Captain's* clerk is one of the persons brought in here, who desires the *Regulating* *Captain* at *Dartmouth* may be acquainted with their situation; three of the men are greatly wounded.

I sent for a doctor from *Kingsbridge* to dress their wounds last night, and have taken all the care imaginable of them. The *Quebec* masts were all shot away before she blew up: they had about 80 men killed and wounded. The *Purser*, in endeavouring to swim to these poor souls, was drowned.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

RICH. VALENTINE.

P. S. I hope *Captain Mitchell* will send the poor souls some relief immediately, as they are almost naked. The engagement began about nine o'clock in the morning, yard arm and yard arm, and lasted till two, when the Frenchman ceased firing. The sails of the *Quebec* took fire from her own guns, which set fire to the vessel, and she blew up about six o'clock.

To the Collector and Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs at *Dartmouth*.

From the *London Gazette*.

Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1779.

Extract of a Letter from *Capt. DALRYMPLE, Commandant of the Loyal Irish Volunteers, to the Right Honourable Lord GEORGE GERMAIN, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Received Yesterday by Lieutenant Carden, of the 60th Regiment.*

St. Fernando de Omoa, Oct. 21, 1779.

Your lordship would be informed, that *General Dalling* had dispatched me to the *Musquito* shore to collect a force, and that he had also sent arms, artillery, and ammunition, for *St. George's Key*, being the principal settlement of the bay-men.

On the 27th of September, the day of our arrival at *Black River* on the *Musquito* shore, an *Advice-boat* came up from the bay with certain intelligence, that the *Spaniards* had, on the 15th of September, taken possession of *St. George's Key*,

Key, having a number of armed Petaguas and about 600 men. On this notice, having collected 60 Indians, and enlisted some volunteers on the shore, we sailed in the Porcupine sloop of war with three transports, for the relief and re-establishment of the Baymen. On the evening of our departure from Black River we fell in with Commodore Luttrell in the Charon, accompanied by the Lowestoffe and Pomona frigates, when we were informed that St. George's Key had been retaken by his Majesty's armed schooner Racehorse, and that the remaining inhabitants, with their slaves, had retired to Truxillo and Rattan. I intended to have consulted the baymen on re-settling Honduras, when I was informed, that his Majesty's ships had been at the Gulf of Dulce, and not finding the Register ships there, had proceeded to St. Fernando de Omoa, where they discovered them; that they had entered the bay, where some shot were exchanged between them and the fort, but not having a sufficient land force to attack on shore, they were obliged to leave it. Judging this a happy opportunity of adding lustre to his Majesty's arms, I waited upon Commodore Luttrell and offered to attack on the land side with the Indians and the detachment of the Loyal Irish, if he would reinforce me with the marines musquetry men from the ships. The Commodore agreeing in opinion that the fort might be taken by attacking by sea and land at the same time, it was accordingly determined on, and Truxillo was appointed as the rendezvous to collect the baymen with their slaves, where we met some people from the Musquito shore, who had been on an expedition against the Register ships. The Commodore immediately had the baymen collected, as I suggested it,

who were dispersed about the islands of Rattan and Bonacoa; they were formed by me into four companies, being invested with powers by General Dalling for that purpose; the slaves I officered by their proprietors. With this reinforcement of 250 men, added to the Loyal Irish, marines, musquetry-men from the ships, and Indians, our force amounted to upwards of 500 men. The Commodore having got in readiness at my request scaling ladders, issued out 200 stand of arms, exclusive of 70 stand issued by me of the regimental arms, and 150 sent down by General Dalling, which were intended for the bay. We sailed from the Bay of Truxillo on the 10th inst. and landed on the 16th, about eight o'clock at night, at Porto Cavallo. We were informed by our guides that Porto Omoa was only three leagues distant; and our intention was to have marched directly on in the night to surprise and escalate the fort; but the distance proving greater than was imagined, and the roads very bad which they passed, such as I may venture to affirm no European troops ever marched before in this climate, being obliged at times to walk (on account of impenetrable mangroves) out into the sea, which damaged their cartouches, and at other times through lagoons, morasses, and narrow foot-paths, over mountains, rendered almost impassable from the late rains, having precipices on each side, and forced to grope our way by lights made from cabbage-trees. We were not arrived within two leagues of the fort at day-break, having lost our rear, some lying down through fatigue, and others losing the line of march from the darkness of the night, and the difficulty of keeping up in paths only passable by Indians. In the morning the rear line was brought up by

Captain Carden, of the 60th regiment of foot, and, having refreshed the troops for two hours, we proceeded again through passes and defiles the same as the night before, the Indians skirmishing along the paths. We had taken two look-outs, from which some of the soldiers escaped and carried intelligence that an enemy was advancing, and, as they had seen our squadron the night before, and the Musquito crafts, imagined that Indians (only) landed from them were the enemy on shore, not thinking that Europeans would undertake such a march; and in order to favour this deception, the Indians were advanced in front and dislodged them from their look-outs, which prevented them from occupying the defiles and passes, until we arrived near the town, where they had placed an ambuscade. The Indians, who are extremely sharp as scouts, perceived them; they represented that the Spaniards were drawn up in force. A disposition of attack was immediately framed for the Loyal Irish and marines to force the pass in front in columns, and to advance rapidly with the grenadiers march, supported by the second line drawn up, and the Pomona's musquetry men of the first line were detached to gain a hill on the left, covered with wood, which commanded the pass: these orders being instantly executed, the defile was forced. We received a scattering ill directed fire from 50 or 60 Spaniards, which killed one soldier only of the Loyal Irish, and wounded a marine; and so great was their panick, that they fled on all quarters to the fort, woods, and town, evacuating the Governor's house, built with battlements, and terraced on the top; a post which, if defended by 20 British regulars, would have stopped our whole force. The gaining this hill, and that which the Pomona's men had af-

cended, gave us the entire view of the fort, commanding it, and the town in the bottom, the fort distant half a mile, and the town in close under the hill. The skirmishing continued from the town and galled us a little; being unwilling to set fire to it, I desisted upwards of an hour; but finding that I could not permit an enemy on my flank, the town forming a crescent under the hill, orders were given for its being consumed, which were carried into execution, the inhabitants flying to the fort and the woods: the property consumed in the town was estimated at 100,000 piaffres. The squadron came into the bay while the town was in flames; and, supposing it a proper time to batter the fort, went in abreast of it. A diversion was made by the land-forces in their favour from the hill. The scaling ladders were carried by the Honduras fusiliers; but their eagerness to engage in skirmishing, made them drop the ladders, and hasten to get up to the head of the column; which prevented the land forces from co-operating with the squadron (by storming) so heartily that day as could have been wished.

The Lowestoffe having got aground, and the other ships, as I imagined, observing the signal was displayed that the land forces could not co-operate, desisted firing. The Lowestoffe was much damaged, but got off.

The day following we passed in skirmishing, in securing the roads round the fort, and driving in cattle for the land forces. On the 18th, the squadron landed some guns to the westward; two four-pounders were got up that night, and a battery was immediately opened on them.

This battery incommoded them much, but never could have made any impression on the walls of the parapet,

parapet, as they were eighteen feet thick.

The Spaniards pointed that evening three more guns towards the land side, and in the morning dismounted one of ours. Observing there were some houses near the fort which the Spaniards had neglected to burn, parties of marines, baymen, and Indians occupied them, and kept up so incessant a fire on the embrasures of the fort, that the Spaniards fire from the guns was often silenced for hours, and we observed them throwing over the dead. This day six more guns were got up by the seamen and baymen, one of which General Dalling had sent for the baymen, three others being unfortunately swamped coming on shore. Captain Carden opened a battery of four six-pounders from the hill which the Pomona's men had gained in the first skirmish at the defile, which also commanded the fort.

Foreseeing that by a siege of this nature, before approaches could be made in a regular way, and a breach effected, a vast train of artillery would be required, and a length of time, after which we should be obliged to storm, having also the enemy in the rear all round; and having maturely weighed all these circumstances, and the disadvantage inevitably attending a siege, it was therefore determined to escalate the fort, as the ditch was found to be dry. And having consulted with the Commodore on the mode of attack, it was resolved that the Pomona should be towed close in, the heavier ships co-operating. The attack being determined on, the Europeans were formed into four columns in line, four men advanced with guides at the head of each column, in each column followed eight men carrying the ladders, who were followed by a few hand-grenade-men. Two columns consisted

of seamen and two of marines, with a few Loyal Irish. At three in the morning, this disposition being made, and our force consisting of 150, we moved down the hill, and there lay waiting for the signal of the Charon, which was to denote she had got under way, and would attack in 20 minutes. The signal being made a little after four o'clock in the morning of the 20th, we advanced under the fire of our own batteries, and were encouraged by observing that the Spaniards did not perceive our march, by the direction of their shot over us, pointed at our batteries on the hill.

The Pomona and fleet also attracted their notice by the fire from the sea-side; by this fortunate co-operation in profound silence, arms trailed, and in order to animate the troops, the parole was changed to bayonette, and the counter-sign *Britons strike home*. We advanced undisturbed under the Spanish sentries, who were every two or three minutes passing the word *alerto*. At the entrance into the ditch were two guns pointed from the flank of the bastion to scour it. We were perceived by their sentries, and their drum beat to the alarm posts. Our columns were staggered, and slept back; but instantly recovering themselves, they advanced to the wall, in height 28 feet, on which was a battery of five guns; they reared one ladder, a second, and a third; the first ladder was broke by the flank guns of another bastion, killing a Midshipman, and badly wounding five men; the other ladders were also wounded, but not broke; two seamen got up first by one ladder, and obeyed their orders in not firing, they presented at 60 Spaniards drawn up, but retained their fire until others ascended; and so great was the consternation of the enemy, that it seemed as if they had lost

lost the power of their arms, although their officers were at their head encouraging them.

The seamen scrambling up the ladders, down off the parapets they went, and, being reinforced by marines and seamen, the Spaniards fled to the casements, but they could not recover their panic, notwithstanding every exertion of their Officers: about 100 Spaniards escaped over the walls on the opposite side, and out of a sally port. The Governor and principal Officers then came and delivered up to me their swords, the garrison, and register ships, with the keys of the fort, and asked their lives. Inclosed is a list of the Spanish Officers, with the troops of the garrison, also a list of our killed and wounded, which is very inconsiderable. We found eleven Spaniards wounded, some of whom are since dead; they will not acknowledge the number they have lost, but it is thought it exceeds thirty.

As to the behaviour of the Officers and soldiers under my command, the British displayed that valour which is their known characteristic. The baymen and Indians were also of the utmost service in all duties of fatigue, in skirmishing and dragging up the cannon.

Your Lordship will pardon my mentioning an instance of an elevated mind in a British tar, which amazed the Spaniards, and gave them a very high idea of English valour: not contented with one cutlass, he had scrambled up the walls with two; and meeting a Spanish Officer without arms, who had been roused out of his sleep, had the generosity not to take any advantage; but, presenting him one of his cutlasses, told him, "You are now on a footing with me." The orders were, Not to spare while they resisted, but to grant quarter to all who requested it.—Only two Spaniards

were wounded by the bayonet in resisting, nor was any person pillaged or plundered.

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the greatest harmony has subsisted between the sea and land forces during the whole of this expedition; and that Commodore Luttrell and the Captains of the navy have, on every occasion, made the greatest exertions to forward the service on shore; and all underwent the most severe fatigue, in this hot climate, with uncommon alacrity.

Of this fortification your Lordship will judge of the importance, from the incredible expence the Crown of Spain has been at in erecting it, as the stone of which it is built is raised out of the sea, and brought twenty leagues.

The outworks are not finished, notwithstanding they have constantly employed one thousand men at work for twenty years. It is the key to the Bay of Honduras, and where the register ships and treasure are sent to from Guatimala in time of war. The morning of our arrival the treasure was conveyed into the country, so that what we have found in the military chest, and what belonged to the public, does not exceed 8000 piastrres, but the register ships must be very valuable, if they arrive in safety in England,

I send these dispatches, with the colours of Omoa, and also plans of the fortification, by Lieutenant Carden, of the 60th regiment, whom I appointed to act as Captain of artillery and Engineer to this expedition, and humbly beg he may be permitted to lay them at his Majesty's feet. His merit and activity in forwarding the works during the expedition, contributed to the reduction of this important fortress; and I solicit your Lordship will recommend him to his Majesty's protection. Your Lordship will find him intelligent relative to the Musquito

quid shore, and the state of this country. I also take the liberty of mentioning Lieutenant Wightman, of the mannes, who acted as my Aid de Camp, to be recommended to Lord Sandwich. This gentleman was wounded in reconnoitring the ditch, the evening before it was stormed. The prisoners taken amount in the whole to 365, exclusive of officers, as by the inclosed list.

Your Lordship will observe, that an agreement has been made to exchange them for the baymen, who were inhumanly carried away, with their families to Merida, and we have brought off two Priests and the Lieutenant-Governor, as hostages for the performance of this agreement. I have also obliged them to exchange two Musquito Indians, one of whom has been forced to dive at Carthagena, for many years, with irons on his limbs, and is confined in a dungeon every evening; and we have also released some unfortunate Englishmen, who were confined here, and made to work as slaves.

I have to mention to your Lordship, that Mr. Concannen, a young gentleman, a Midshipman, was the third who mounted the ladder, and Lieutenant Dundas, who was the fourth, agreeable to my orders, formed some men before he advanced on the Spaniards. I have also to take notice, that Lieutenants Walker and Dundas, who commanded the seamen, preserved that discipline and promptitude in obeying orders, which would do honour to veteran troops; and recommend that their services may be mentioned to Lord Sandwich, that his Majesty may know such Officers as have gallantly distinguished themselves.

Copy of the Convention between the Honourable JOHN LUTTRELL and WILLIAM DALRYMPLE, Esq. on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and Don SIMON DESNAUX and

Don JUAN DASTIEX, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, for the Officers and garrison of Porto Omoa, October, 24, 1779.

Don Simon Desnaux, Lieutenant-colonel of infantry, Engineer in second to his Catholic Majesty, and heretofore Commandant of the Fort of Omoa, and Don John Dastiex, Engineer, Commandant, and Captain of infantry, having earnestly solicited the Commanders of his Britannic Majesty's forces by land and sea, the Honourable John Luttrell, and William Dalrymple, Esq. to treat for the exchange of the Spanish garrison at Omoa, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, have set forth, that they are ready to treat on the part of his Catholic Majesty for the same. The said request is complied with upon the following terms and condition:

First, All the Spanish Officers, which bear his Catholic Majesty's Commission, shall be prisoners of war, and admitted upon their parole, that they shall not serve, directly nor indirectly, against the King of Great Britain, his subjects, or allies, during the present war, unless they are before exchanged.

Secondly, That all the said Officers shall be permitted to chuse their place of residence, provided that they are not found beyond the distance of sixty leagues from Omoa; nor nearer to Omoa than forty leagues, until they be exchanged in the manner hereafter set forth.

Thirdly, That all the Mulattoes and people of mixed colour, whether men, women, or children, as well as the artificers, shall have liberty to return home, provided none of them take up arms against the King of Great Britain, his subjects, or allies, or be found within thirty leagues of Omoa, until this agreement is fully accomplished.

Fourthly, That the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastiex,

tiex, doth engage for the Governour of Merida, in case the English prisoners captured in the Bay of Honduras are within his district, and if not, for the Governour of whatever Spanish district they may be in, that he shall return an equal number of Mulattoes or people of mixed colour, to those that have been liberated at Omoa; and of this number such as were taken in the Bay of Honduras by the Spaniards, shall have the preference. And it is further understood and agreed between the parties to this agreement, that all the subjects of the King of Great Britain, taken in the Bay of Honduras, and now in the custody of the said Governour of Merida, shall be exchanged, by giving Mulattoes for Mulattoes, men for men, women for women, and children for children; and this exchange to be made the moment the said Governour of Merida can be made acquainted with this convention, but at all events not to exceed the space of three months.

Fifthly, The serjeants and soldiers of the regulars shall be exchanged for an equal number of serjeants and soldiers of the British army; and if the King of Spain shall not have such in his possession, then to be exchanged for the principal merchants and traders, taken at George's Key in the Bay of Honduras; provided a sufficient number of white people cannot be sent from Omoa to exchange them, and a receipt to be given by the English Commissary, for such number of men as may have been captured by the Spaniards in the Bay of Honduras, as shall exceed the number delivered from the garrison of Omoa; such receipt for the surplus to be given by the Spanish Commissary, if the balance is in favour of England. The Spanish seamen to be exchanged in like manner for English seamen, as is

specified by the parties respecting the serjeants and soldiers.

Sixthly, The Honourable John Luttrell and William Dalrymple do covenant; that the Spanish garrison at Omoa, shall be embarked within the space of three days, on board of vessels properly provided, and shall be conveyed without loss of time to the castle of St. Philip, within the Gulph of Dulce, or to some adjacent Spanish post, and there delivered at the sole charge of his Britannic Majesty. And the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastieix do covenant, that the Officers, soldiers, merchants, artificers, Mulattoes, and people of white or mixed colour, subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who since the commencement of the present war with Spain, have been taken in the Bay of Honduras, shall be embarked within the space of three months, from the day the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastieix shall be landed in the Gulph of Dulce and sent to Omoa, or the next nearest English settlement, at the sole expence of the King of Spain; provided the said English prisoners, or any of them, are within the jurisdiction of the Governour of Merida; but should they have been sent to the Havannah, then the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastieix doth covenant, that the Governour of the Havannah shall embark them from thence, and land them at the expence of the King of Spain aforesaid, at Jamaica, within the space of six months from the date hereof. Provided always, that every article of this agreement is not strictly performed on the part of the Court of Spain, We, Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastieix, were fully bound for ourselves, and for all the Spanish Officers of the garrison, to repair without loss of time, and by the shortest mode of conveyance to Omoa,

Omoa; or to the nearest English settlement, there to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war. And for the further security hereof, the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don John Dastieix will deliver up as hostages, Colonel Antonio Fernandez, second commandant of the garrison, the Rev. Blas Mercenario, Chaplain of the register ship Saint Joseph, the Padre Antonio Mercurdetio, late Chaplain of Omoa, to whom we promise to give the ornaments of the church (which we refuse to ransom) upon condition that every part of this agreement is fulfilled by the court of Spain, within the time and in the manner before specified, but to remain till then in the hands of the English.

Signed on the part of his Britannic Majesty, at Omoa, the 24th of October, 1779.

(Signed) *John Luttrell*, (L. S.)

Wm. Dalrymple, (L. S.)

Signed on the part of his Catholic Majesty, at Omoa, the said 24th of October, 1779,

Don Simon Desnaux, (L. S.)

Don Juan Dastieix, (L. S.)

We the under-written, do ratify and confirm every part of this agreement, and hold ourselves bound for a due performance of it. Signed at Omoa, the 24th of October, 1779.

(Signed) *José de Cucilar*,

José Eusebio Mellendez.

Pedro Tolle.

Manuel de Clariat,

List of Officers taken Prisoners of War at St. Fernando de Omoa, the 20th of October, 1779.

Don Simon Desnaux, Governor and Engineer in second to his Catholic Majesty, and Lieutenant Colonel of infantry; Don Antonio Fernandes, Lieutenant Governor, and Lieutenant Colonel; Don Joseph Fivallier, Captain of Artillery; Don Emanuel Clairac, Lieutenant of artillery; Don Joseph Mellendez, second Lieutenant of artillery; Don

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Pedro Tolle, Lieutenant of dragoons; Don Juan Darcier, Commandant and Captain of engineers; Don Joseph Antonio Matornia, Commissary; Don Juan Galendo, Comptroller; Seignor Francisco Garrochier, first Surgeon to the hospital; Seignor Britango, second Surgeon; Don Antonio Mercadilla, Chaplain; Don Diego Martarrez, Store-keeper; two Captains of register ships; three Priests; ten serjeants of artillery; one ditto dragoons: 355 rank and file; also a town Adjutant, name unknown at present.

(Signed) *W. DALRYMPLE*,
Commander in chief of the land forces.

Return of Artillery and Stores taken at Fort St. Fernando de Omoa, O.A. 20, 1779.

Brass twenty-four pounders mounted, 6; twelve ditto, 2; four ditto, 6; four field pieces not mounted. Iron eighteen-pounders mounted, 10; twelve ditto, 8; three ditto, 1. Total mounted, 33.

Twenty-four-pounders not mounted, 1; four ditto, 4; three ditto, 8; 1 ditto, 10. Total not mounted, 23. Swivels, 100. Brass Mortars, 13-inch, mounted on brass beds, 2.

Shot. Brass eighteen-pounders, 127; four-pounders, 365; one-pounders, 107; iron twenty-four pounders, 36; eighteen-pounders, 4196; twelve-pounders, 2809; eight-pounders, 273; six-pounders, 195; four-pounders, 2990; three-pounders, 174, one-pounders, 832; bar shot, 18, weight 43lb. 14l.

Thirteen-inch shells, 390; hand grenades, 900; musquets, 472; swords, 100; pistols (pairs) 20; pickaxes, 300; hoes, 200; pit-saws, 3; ladles, 8; bullet moulds, 13; cask of bullets, 1; rounds of land-grage, 300; rounds of powder, filled for 33 guns, 20; twenty-four pounder carriages, old, 10; ditto new, 9; four pounder ship carriages, 4; chest of carpenters tools, 1; bolts

bolts, plates, pins, and other iron work for ten carriages; 50 quintals of gun-powder, mostly damaged.

(Signed) HANS CARDEN,

Capt. Artillery, and Engineer.

(Signed) W. DALRYMPLE,

Commander in chief of the land forces.

Return of killed and wounded acting on shore, at the Siege and attack of Fort St. Fernando de Omoa, Oct. 20, 1779.

Total.—1 Midshipman, 5 men, killed; 1 subaltern, 13 men wounded.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded.

Mr. Lloyd, Midshipman of the Lowestoffe, killed.

Second Lieutenant Wightman, of the Chatham division of marines, wounded.

(Signed) W. DALRYMPLE,

Commander in chief of the land forces.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 11, 1779.

Captain Pakenham arrived at this office yesterday afternoon, with a letter from the honourable John Luttrell, Captain of his Majesty's ship the Charon, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Omoa, the 27th of October, 1779, of which the following is an extract:

Charon, in the Harbour of Omoa, October 27, 1779.

S I R,

I am to request you will be pleased to acquaint their lordships, that, in obedience to the orders I received from Sir Peter Parker, I sailed from Port Royal early in the morning of the 8th of September last, and being joined in a few hours after by the Pomona, Lowestoffe, and Racehorse schooner, bore away for the Spanish main, which however I was not able to reach, owing to calms and baffling winds, until the fifteenth. The next day we got to Rattan; and being apprehensive that the enemy's Register ships might pass to wind-

ward, and along their own shore, in case I carried all the Squadron towards George's Key, I ordered Captain Nugent, who was well acquainted at that place, to take the Racehorse up to George's Key, to procure, as expeditiously as possible, the most skilful pilots for Omoa, and gulph of Dulce. Having so done, he was directed to join his ship at Key Boquel; then to repair to Glovers Reef, where I waited his arrival, having anchored the Charon and Lowestoffe there on the 19th instant. The Monday morning following I had the mortification to learn, by a boat which had escaped from George's Key, that it had been taken by the Spaniards five days, which made me very doubtful respecting the safety of Captain Nugent; but I was relieved from that anxiety a few hours afterwards by the Pomona and Racehorse schooner appearing in fight. Upon their joining me with the pilots I bore away for the gulph of Dulce, where we arrived in the evening of the 22d. There was no vessel of any nation to be seen in the gulph; I therefore, attended by the Captains Parker and Nugent, with the marines of the Squadron, and a party of seamen in the boats, pushed up the river, and landed at the Spanish warehouses before twelve that night, but found them totally abandoned and empty, except the remains of a few provisions, which seemed to indicate, that the people had not been long gone. On the 23d, in the morning, I lent a number of men from the ships to the Racehorse, and directed Lieutenant Trott to make the best of his way to Omoa, to reconnoitre the strength of the place, and to look for the ships which had sailed from Dulce, concluding that they would be found at that part. The next morning the Racehorse joined me at sea; from her I learned, that the three

three ships were at anchor under the fort; two of them with all an end, and the third with her yards and topmasts struck; and that the fortification did not appear to be a very strong one. Elate at the information, I made sail for Omoa; and getting close off the Port by twelve o'clock at night, would have persuaded the pilot to have carried us in, which he luckily refused; for the next day, when we came to approach the fortification, I found it was much too formidable an aspect to promise success by an attempt to force it: nor indeed would it have answered any good end, for the ships had all their yards and top-masts struck, and were lying up a creek, where we could not get at them, had we even silenced near forty pieces of cannon, which presented themselves to our view from the different batteries. The only hope therefore which remained of our being masters of these ships arose from a chance that we might catch them off Cape Antonio before our cruise terminated, which, in the possibility of events, I thought might happen; and I was making the best of my way with the ships to that station, stopping only two or three days to complete my water in the Bay of Truxillo, and to learn a further state of the English inhabitants in the Bay of Honduras.

I have now the pleasure to inform you of the fortunate escape of Captain Nugent out of the hands of the Spaniards, and of the subsequent services performed by him at George's Key, where he arrived in the Racehorse in the evening of the 19th, having left the Pomona, as I directed, at Key Boquel. Captain Nugent approached the shore in his boat, without the least suspicion that the Key was in the hands of the enemy; but before he could land, the boat was attacked by a number of batteaux; and when taken pos-

session of by the Spaniards was nearly sinking, having received three shot through her, luckily without hurting any body, but Captain Nugent and his people were made prisoners; and when he got on shore, there was a parade for execution, such as a scaffold, and a guard of soldiers, for it was understood to be the orders with which the Spaniards came to attack the settlement, that every body that was conquered, and had made resistance, should be put to death. But when they enquired, and found Captain Nugent, who had no arms in the boat, and did not resist, they contented themselves with blindfolding, stripping, and handcuffing him; he was confined with his boat's crew, in a close prison. During their operations, a great number of batteaux, assisted by an armed schooner, attacked the Racehorse, and attempted to board her; but she was so gallantly and obstinately defended by Lieutenant Trott, his officers, and people, that the Spaniards were repelled with great slaughter. On board the Racehorse two men only were killed, and three wounded. When the Racehorse had beaten off the Spaniards, she repaired immediately to bring up the Pomona from Key Boquel; and as soon as the frigate appeared in sight, the Spaniards, to the amount of about 500, took to their craft, and quitted the Key with great precipitation, leaving Captain Nugent, his people, and the inhabitants, in close confinement, from which they released themselves; and Captain Nugent in his boat retook possession of a brig, which was aground, and the Spaniards had captured when they came into the harbour. This brig, at the solicitation of the inhabitants who had furnished her with seamen, Captain Nugent armed, and sent to the river Belez to cover the embarkation of the property there belonging to the English settlers

tlers; with directions that she should, after performing that service, repair in quest of the ships under my command, and, in case of not meeting with us, make the best of their way to Jamaica. Thinking this information too incomplete to dispatch the Racehorse with to Jamaica, I directed Lieutenant Trott, as soon as we had quitted Omoa, to go in quest of the brig to the river Belez, and afterwards to repair to George's Key, and land the people who had served as pilots, and were desirous of being put on shore there; and after making such other enquiries as I thought necessary to direct him so to do, I ordered her to join the squadron in the bay of Truxillo, where she arrived the 4th of October, and informed me that the brig, armed by Capt. Nugent, had nearly collected the different settlers in the bay; that 70 of them were on board, and more than 200 under her escort in small craft: and that he had directed them to Truxillo, in their way to Black River. They however did not appear while I was there; and the King's ships being wooded and watered, I put to sea with them, having directed Lieutenant Trott to give every assistance in his power towards forwarding the brig with the baymen to Black-River on the Musquito shore, if they arrived at Truxillo while he was taking in his water. The pilots of the Racehorse carried to George's Key, finding no King's vessels there, or security for their persons, left it; and the inhabitants of every settlement we claim in the bay relinquished their property, not thinking it tenable against the superior numbers of the Spaniards, and were removing as fast as possible, some to Jamaica, but the major part of them to Black River on the Musquito shore. In this disagreeable situation were things in the bay of Honduras, when I left it upon the

4th of October; but on the 7th fortune changed her face upon us, and presented to our view the Porcupine sloop of war, having under her convoy a detachment of troops belonging to the Loyal Irish; and some Musquito Indians under the command of Capt. Commandant Dalrymple, who was as desirous as myself of making a land and sea attack upon the garrison of Omoa, and the Spanish galleons. I therefore took immediate measures to secure the services of these people, who had been driven from St. George's Key, by making sail myself for Truxillo, and dispatching the frigates to Bonacca, and Uilla, in quest of our vessels with the baymen. Lieut. Trott, of the Racehorse, I sent to Rattan on the same service. They all returned to me with expedition and success, bringing a reinforcement of 250 men. We forthwith set to work, made escalading ladders, fascines, sand bags, and every other requisite in our power, for carrying on a siege: having settled the plan of attack, I gave full instructions to the captains and officers who were to carry it into execution; and in the morning of the 10th of October I sailed with the Loweloffe, Pomona, Porcupine, Racehorse, three schooners, and a number of small craft, for Porto Cavallo bay, and anchored the fleet there close in shore.

On the evening of the 16th, Capt. Pakenham, to whom I intrusted the command of landing the troops, executed my orders in so officer-like and expeditious a manner, that the whole was formed and marched from the beach before eleven o'clock that night. From the intricacy of the roads, and other circumstances, our troops were prevented from making any great progress before the next morning, when they pushed forward with great alacrity to gain the commanding ground on the Governor's house; and hav-

ing driven away the Spaniards who contended for the possession of it, we occupied that very important post, but was so annoyed by the enemy's musquetry from the town, as to compel our troops to set fire to it. In the midst of the flames I arrived off the harbour of Omda; and the wind, I flattered myself, would have carried us close to the enemy's batteries. I therefore made the signal for the Lowestoffe to lead us to action; it was obeyed by Captain Parker with alacrity and spirit. When we opened the Eastern point, the enemy began to fire at the Lowestoffe, Charon, Pomona, and Porcupine; but no shot were returned, till their guns had so lulled the wind as to leave us little prospect of getting nearer to them; so that, rather to cover ourselves from their aim by smoke, than to look for success from a distant cannonade, the Charon and Lowestoffe began to fire: the Pomona was not able to get within reach of her guns; and as soon as I had the power, I laid the ship's head to the offing: a breeze springing up soon after to the northward, I made the signal to tack, thinking we should certainly fetch where we wished to do: in this however we were disappointed, the wind baffling and forsaking us. The Lowestoffe ran ashore, and received a heavy fire from the enemy, but she got off again: before our boats could get to their assistance, her hull, masts, and yards were so much disabled, as to oblige me to send her to anchor to leeward, and there rest. The Charon's rudder was choaked by a shot, which filled the space between it and the stern-post with splinters; part of her wheel was shot away, and the mizen-mast badly wounded. On the 18th, Captain Dalrymple being anxious for artillery being sent up to a battery he was constructing on the Governor's hill, I ordered the guns from the Porcupine to be landed:

they were drawn up by the sailors through a heavy road, and up a steep ascent, to a spot where they did notable execution; but our time being precious from various considerations, and the heat of the climate making this duty more fatiguing to our people, it was concluded on, between Captain Dalrymple and myself, to attempt an escalade the following morning; and the King's ships to co-operate, by cannonading the wall against the sea.—I made the signal settled for the attack; I weighed at three o'clock, the Pomona and Lowestoffe standing for the eastern, and the Charon for the western angle of the fort, which I began to cannonade; when Captain Dalrymple, in a most gallant and exemplary manner, stormed on the land-side with the seamen and marines, and subdued the enemy with the loss of little blood. We took immediate possession of two register ships richly laden, which, with the cargoes of other vessels of less note, will amount to the sum of three millions of piastres (or dollars). The fort is an amazing pile of building; the greatest part of it is an admirable sort of stone; the remainder is brick. It has cost to the Spaniards twenty-five years labour, and the lives of thousands of their subjects. Since it has been taken, we are astonished, from the strength of it, that it was so easily vanquished. The Spanish Governor is very solicitous to ransom the fort, and has offered three hundred thousand dollars for it. The two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, which came from Old Spain, and which we have now taken, the Spaniards would have bought at any price, saying, they would give double the value of it, because they should have no other means to work any of the valuable mines in the province. Their reasons for wishing it, determined me not to part from a single ounce of the quicksilver, nor would

would I consent to ransom the fort. The number of prisoners in the enemy's fort you will find, by the inclosed return, far exceeded the troops that stormed it; and whose undaunted behaviour has added so much lustre to the British arms. Their humanity has not been less conspicuous than their bravery; nor can there be a greater contrast than between the treatment received by the King's subjects at George's-key, which surrendered at discretion, and the Spanish garrison of Omoa though taken by storm: Captain Dalrymple's orders and my wishes have been punctually obeyed even by the Musquito men, and those of Honduras that received such ill treatment. Proper respect has been shewn to the Governor, Spanish officers, soldiers, and inhabitants; neither cloaths, watches, pocket money, or other effects have been taken from these prisoners. The ornaments of the church, the captors have agreed to give back, if the Spanish Court does punctually comply with the agreement respecting the exchange of prisoners. The uniform bravery and good conduct of all the officers and seamen under my command may make it appear ungracious to mark particular people; but the services rendered by Capt. Pakenham, and Lieutenant Trott, call for my most earnest recommendation of them to their Lordships favour. The former gentleman, who is the bearer of these dispatches, can give more perfect information respecting the reduction of this fort and settlement. Capt. Nugent has exerted himself upon every point of duty in a distinguished manner. I am not acquainted with the merits of individuals that served on shore, except that Commandant Dalrymple is certainly entitled to infinite honour and praise, for the gallant manner in which he led the troops to the escalade. Capt. Carden exhibited many proofs of his abilities as an

engineer and a soldier. I must leave it with Captain Commandant Dalrymple to give due praise to all those whose services on shore call for it: he will, I am sure, take notice of Lieut. Wightman of the marines, who was wounded under the enemy's walls, and of all those who have deserved it at his hands. I have the pleasure to assure their Lordships, that the most perfect harmony and co-operation have subsisted between the King's troops employed at sea and on shore; such services as have been in my power to render my country, I trust, will prove acceptable to his Majesty.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN LUTTRELL.

A return of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships Charon, Lowestoffe, and Porcupine, in an action against the Catholic King's fort of St. Ferdinand de Omoa, on the 17th of Oct. 1779.

Killed. Wounded.

Charon	1	-	-	6
Lowestoffe	3	-	-	5
Porcupine	1	-	-	0

A return of the killed and wounded on board the Racehorse armed vessel at St. George's Key, in the Bay of Honduras, the 13th of Sept. 1779. Racehorse, 2 killed.—5 wounded.

The return of the garrison, and of the artillery and stores are the same as printed above.

From the London Gazette.

Whitehall, Dec. 20, 1779.

This morning Captain Lloyd, one of Sir Henry Clinton's Aids-de-Camp, arrived in town from New-York with the following dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

New-York, Nov. 19, 1779.

My Lord,

As I was closing my dispatches yesterday for the packet, I had the pleasure, by the arrival of a private

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teer from St. Augustine, to receive letters from the Governor Tonym and Lieutenant-colonel Fuser who commands the troops in that garrison, communicating to me the very important intelligence, that the French troops, commanded by the Count d'Estaing in person, in conjunction with the rebel army under General Lincoln, were repulsed with very considerable loss in attempting to storm the lines at Savannah, in Georgia, on the morning of the 9th ultimo.

I have the honour to transmit copies of Governor Tonym's and Lieutenant-colonel Fuser's letters for your Lordship's information, together with copies and extracts of other letters from different persons, all confirming this most agreeable event.

The privateer having taken on her passage an advice boat with dispatches from General Washington, gives me also an opportunity of inclosing copies thereof; by which your Lordship will perceive that they had not confined their views to the southward, but had likewise made considerable preparations for the attack of these posts.

Captain Lloyd, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering my dispatches to your Lordship; and I beg leave to refer to him for any further particulars your Lordship may desire to be informed of.

I have the honour to be.

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

Extract of a letter from Governor TONYN to his Excellency Sir HENRY CLINTON, K. B. dated St. Augustine, O^r. 30, 1779.

By an express sent by some merchants to their correspondents here, which left Savannah on the 24th instant, we have the agreeable news, that the rebels and French army were repulsed in a general assault

upon that garrison on the 9th last past; that the former have since retreated into Carolina, and the French on board their ships; that this expedition has cost them 1500 men, and the rebels as many, that the Count d'Estaing commanded in chief, and summoned the General very haughtily to surrender to the King of France; that great disputes have happened between the new allies, from reciprocal reproaches since their defeat; and that they were upon the point of falling upon each other.

Although I have not as yet heard from authority of this happy event, there cannot be the least doubt of the fact, and I would not lose this opportunity of acquainting your Excellency.

I am sorry to mention, that his Majesty's ship the Experiment, Capt. Sir James Wallace, is taken by d'Estaing's fleet, and the Ariel, Capt. Mackenzie.

St. Augustine, O^rober 30, 1779.

Sir,

Give me leave to have the honour to congratulate your Excellency upon Count d'Estaing's having raised the blockade of Savannah. Though I have received no letter from General Prevost since the 11th of last month, I am convinced, by letters from several merchants at Savannah, dated the 22d inst. which arrived express from them yesterday, that he is re-embarked with all his troops.

As very likely your Excellency will not hear so soon from Major-general Prevost (the port of Savannah being still blocked up) I shall attempt to give you a narrative of what has happened during the blockade, as far as I can judge by the several letters which I have seen from thence; also from the report of the express who was at Savannah during the whole time; and though he is a Mulatto, appears to me to be a very intelligent man.

In the beginning of September last

last General Prevost was informed of M. d'Estaing, with the French fleet being on the coast.

On Wednesday the 8th the French landed their troops, and on the Saturday following the rebels joined them, and the blockade was completed: the French encamped between Savannah River and Sunbury Road, and the rebels from that road to the road leading to Augusta.

The 15th the Count summoned the town to surrender, and a proper answer was returned; in the mean time Capt. Moncrieffe was indefatigable in putting the place into a proper state of defence. There were not above eight or ten guns mounted on the day of summons, but in a few days they had no less than eighty or ninety mounted, borrowed from the shipping.

A few days afterwards the French and rebels began to throw up batteries upon the hills on the left of Tannall's, being within about 400 yards of our lines, when three companies of light infantry, commanded by Major Graham, went out, in hopes of drawing on a general action; but not being supported soon enough, they were obliged to retire with the loss of fifteen men. On the 17th, about midnight, Lieutenant-colonel Maitland arrived by water at Savannah from Beaufort, having fought his way through the enemy. The Vigilant man of war was left at Beaufort, and nobody knows what is become of her; indeed ships have been sunk to hinder the entrance of the river. After this our troops never attempted to interrupt the enemy, who were hard working every night.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 3d of October, they opened their batteries, consisting of 30 pieces of heavy cannon and ten mortars, and played incessantly upon the town; when on the 9th, about day-break, the united forces of France

and America, consisting of upwards of 4000 French, and as many rebels, attempted to storm our lines. The principal attack was in three columns upon the redoubts on the Augusta road. The Count in person began the attack with great vigour, but was soon thrown into confusion by the fire from our batteries and redoubts.

A body of French grenadiers came on with such spirit, to attack the old redoubt, upon the Ebenezer road, that if Captain Taw with a number of his men, and Captain Wickham, with the grenadiers of the 60th, had not thrown themselves in very opportunely, it must have been carried. The heat of this action lasted about 20 minutes, when the enemy began to retire in great confusion: The rebels could not be brought to charge again, and in that confusion (it is said) they fired upon their ally. Our loss is Captain Taw and 20 privates killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy cannot be ascertained; but Mr. Robert Baillie (who was a prisoner with the French during the whole blockade) says, that they own a loss of between killed, wounded, and sickness, of near 1500 men. The enemy confess to have lost 52 officers, and men in proportion. Count d'Estaing was wounded in the arm and thigh; and Count Polaski is very dangerously wounded with a grape shot.

On the 20th the last of the French troops re-embarked; and what is very extraordinary, our troops never attempted to harass them on their retreat: the rebels had retreated before them. Mutual animosities and revilings have arisen to such a height betwixt the French and rebels, since they were repulsed by us, that they were almost ready to cut one another's throats.

The Ariel man of war was taken some time ago, and the Experiment, from New-York.

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The 22d, a 28 gun French frigate remained within sight of the town, a little below Broughton's plantation, with two Carolina galleys, and several small vessels; ten frigates were at Tybee, and the grand fleet, consisting of 24 sail of the line, were in the offing.

It is surprising that a man of such ability and repute as Count d'Estaing is reckoned to be, should have delayed his attack until our out-work and battery was erected, and Lieutenant-colonel Maitland had joined; or that they should not have attempted to take that place by sap.

It was reported by a rebel that M. d'Estaing was in Charles-town, previous to his landing in Georgia, in order to consult measures with the rebels; that they told him that our army was very much scattered about the country, very sickly, without discipline, and commanded by a man of little experience in military affairs; and that by only shewing himself before the town, they certainly would surrender. If this report be true, M. d'Estaing was deceived, and very likely it made him neglect the precaution usual in sieges. It is reported also, that the rebels took umbrage at his summoning the town in the *French King's name only*.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Excellency's most humble, and most obedient servant,

(Signed) L. V. FUSER.

P. S. Since this was wrote, a rebel schooner, with 41 men on board, was cast away about forty miles to the South of this place, who confirmed the above account.

(Signed) L. V. FUSER.

Extract of a letter, dated Savannah, October 22, 1779.

After so complete a blockade as we have had here these six weeks past, and with such a formidable

fleet and army as we have been surrounded with, you will wonder to hear that Count d'Estaing has been obliged to raise the siege and taken his leave of us: he went on board his boat a few days since, and all his shattered army followed him from Colonel Mullryne's house and neighbourhood. An eight-and-twenty gun French frigate is however still in sight of the town, a little below Brown-ton's plantation, with two Carolina galleys, and several small vessels, which seem to be employed in watering the fleet. Ten frigates are at Tybee, and the grand fleet, consisting of twenty-three or twenty-four sail of the line, are in the offing; and if the wind that now prevails continues any time, they may remain longer upon the coast than they would wish. I must refer you to the account that will be published by authority, for the minute particulars of this important and very extraordinary siege. I will only say that the General was summoned by Count d'Estaing *only* to surrender to the arms of the *King of France* the 16th of September. They broke ground the 24th, and the 4th instant opened their bomb batteries in full force upon the town, which, with great guns, 12, 18, and 24 pounders, they kept almost incessantly upon us till Saturday the 9th instant, when they began their attack upon our lines; the Count himself, at the head of three thousand French, and the like number of Continentals and militia. The attack was apparently general round the whole lines, but the grand force was at the place called the Spring, at the end of the common, on the high ground leading to the western road; it was our weak side; the redoubt in that quarter was assigned to the Carolina Royalists; and they were most fortunately assisted well by a Capt. Taws, a brave man, with twenty-five of his company, who had the same redoubt

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assigned to them that very morning. This assistance, together with Capt. Wickham, at the head of the grenadiers, (who had great merit on this occasion) Colonel Hamilton, at the head of the North Carolinians, and Colonel Moore, with part of the militia and some others, who will, no doubt, be all properly taken notice of in the Gazette account, had the whole brunt of the French grenadiers, &c. &c. upon them. The affair lasted about two hours, when the enemy gave way, leaving behind them such a number of dead and wounded, some in the ditches of the redoubt, and many upon the redoubt itself, that, since the affair at Bunker's Hill, there has not been such a slaughter in any one engagement in America, since the first of this unhappy rebellion.

Count d'Estaing was himself wounded in two places; and it is confidently said, and owned by their own officers, that their loss was not less than 1500 killed and wounded. This account is just brought in by poor Mr. Robert Baillie, who, with some others, was taken prisoner at the Orphan House, in his way to St. John's River, on the first arrival of the French troops, and has been detained by them ever since. The Americans confess they have lost 52 officers; but how many men it is hard to say. They made but a very short stay after the morning of the 9th; and there is hardly one of them, it is said, on this side Savannah river. The French under the command of Count Dillon kept in their lines, amusing us with the parade, as if they meditated a new attack, but in reality to gain time to withdraw their artillery, and embark their men.

Your friend Captain Moncrieffe has got, I may say, immortal honour on this occasion. There were not above eight or ten guns mounted on the day of the summons on all the

lines; and, in a few days he had not less than eighty or ninety great and small, borrowed from the shipping. The French officers have complimented him highly upon his activity: they say his batteries rose upon them, from day to day, like mushrooms (champignons.)

I have told you of the loss of the enemy at the attack of our lines; but you will scarcely believe, that our loss hardly comes up to 40 or 42 killed and wounded. Poor Taws fell in defence of the redoubt under his charge; and my old and worthy friend Captain Simpson fell the day before in his redoubt by a cannon shot while he was talking with a friend: poor fellow, he is very much lamented by every one.

Some few people of the town were killed with the cannon shot; but none of any note. The houses are much damaged, but as we keep the ground, every other loss will soon be forgot. Ten thousand men, they will tell you (with the present lines and spirit of the troops) would make very little impression on them.

*From the London Gazette.
Admiralty-Office, December 21, 1779.*

Captain Christian, of his Majesty's armed ship the Vigilant, arrived here this morning with a letter from Captain Henry, of his Majesty's ship the Fowey, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Savannah river, Georgia, Nov. 8, 1779, of which the following is an extract:

I beg you will be pleased to communicate to the Right Honourable my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following important particulars:

That the French fleet, under the Count d'Estaing, consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates, arrived on this coast the 1st of September past, from Cape François, having on board a large body of troops, purposely for the reduction of this province; they failed

failed from the Cape on the 20th of August, and came through the windward passage, when they dispatched two ships of the line and three frigates to Charles-town, to announce their coming, and prepare the rebel force by sea and land to join the Count d'Estaing; these two ships of the line and frigates were seen from Tybee the 3d of September, when Lieutenant Lock, of the *Rose*, was sent to reconnoitre them, and brought word they were French.

Lieutenant Whitworth, who commands the *Keppel* armed brig, was ordered to get ready a fast sailing tender of his own, to proceed to New York with this intelligence, and sailed with his dispatches on the 6th, but was chaced in again by seven sail. On the 7th at night he made another attempt, wherein there is every reason to hope he was successful.

On the 8th, forty-one sail were discovered to the southward of Tybee, plying to windward, the wind being northerly, as it had been for some days past, drove them to the southward of this port.

Major-general Prevost at Savannah was immediately acquainted of their appearance, who went to work with every exertion to increase the fortifications of the town. Dispatches were sent to the Honourable Colonel Maitland, who was posted with part of the army on Port Royal island, and to Captain Christian, of his Majesty's ship *Vigilant*, to repair to Savannah as soon as possible, with the troops, ships, and galleys there.

The *Fowey*, *Rose*, *Keppel* armed brig, and *Germain* provincial armed ship, were so placed, that if the French ships came in superior, we might run up the river; and the leading marks for the bar were cut down.

On the 9th the whole French fleet anchored off the bar, and next day four frigates weighed and came to

Tybee anchorage. It was determined on their approach to run up the river with the King's ships, and join our force with the *General*, for the defence of the town; at this time the French were sending troops from their ships, which were first put into small craft from Charles-town, and run into *Offabaw Inlet*, from whence they were landed in launches at *Bowley*, thirteen miles from *Savannah*, under cover of four galleys; and their frigates were preparing to advance up the river.

From the 10th to the 13th, we were busy sending to town part of the *Fowey* and *Rose*'s guns and ammunition, in vessels sent by the *General* for that purpose. On the 13th, the *Fowey* and *Rose* being much lightened, sailed over the *Mud-flat* to *Five Fathom Hole*, three miles below the town, from whence were sent up the remainder of the guns and ammunition.

The *Comet* galley and *Keppel* armed brig were directed to place themselves so below the *Mudflat* as to cover the passage of Colonel *Maitland*, with the King's troops from *Port Royal*, through *Wallscut*, from whom we had not heard since our dispatches to him were sent, the communication with boats being cut off.

The 14th and 15th the seamen were employed landing the cannon and ammunition of the ships from the small vessels, and having done, the seamen were appointed to the different batteries, and the marines incorporated with the grenadiers of the 60th regiment.

On the 16th the Count d'Estaing summoned the *General* to surrender the town to the arms of his Majesty Christian Majesty: at the same time saying, his troops were the same who so recently stormed and conquered the *Grenades*; that their courage and present ardour were so great, that any works we should raise, or

any opposition we could make, should be of no import. Not intimidated with this language, the General called a meeting of field and sea officers, when it was resolved to take twenty-four hours to consider. In that time the troops from Beaufort arrived in boats from the Vigilant and transports (in Callibogic Sound) through walls cut under the direction of Lieutenant Goldesborough of the Vigilant; and now the Count d'Estaing had his final answer; That we were unanimously determined to defend the town.

The General, ever attentive to increase the defences of the town, with Captain Montcrief, our principal engineer, were now indefatigable, night and day, raising new works and batteries which astonished our enemies; and every officer, soldier, and sailor worked with the utmost cheerfulness: and I have the pleasure to inform their Lordships, the General has been pleased to express his particular satisfaction with the services of the officers and seamen of the King's ships and transports during the whole siege.

It being apprehended the enemy's ships might come too near the town, and annoy the rear of our lines, it was judged expedient to sink a number of vessels to stop the passage; his Majesty's ship *Rose*, making at this time seventeen inches water an hour, after sheathing her as low as we could at Cockspar, her bottom worm eaten quite through, and her stern rotten, as appears by a survey of shipwrights held on her a short time before, wherein it is declared she could not swim above two months, her men, guns, and ammunition being on shore, I thought her the most eligible to sink, as her weight would keep her across the channel, when lighter vessels could not, owing to the rapidity of the current, and hard sandy bottom,

which prevented the sticking fast where they sunk. The Savannah armed ship, purchased into the King's service by order of Commodore Sir James Wallace, some time before, was scuttled and sunk also; four transports were sunk besides, which blocked up the channel; several smaller vessels were also sunk above the town; and a boom laid across, to prevent the enemy sending down fire-rafts among our shipping, or landing troops in our rear.

The Fowey, Keppel brig, Comet galley, and Germain provincial armed ship, were got to town previous to sinking the vessels; the Germain, having her guns in, was placed off Yamairaw, to flank our lines.

Three French frigates were now advanced up the river to the Mudflat. One of them having twelve-pounders, with two rebel galleys, carrying each two eighteen-pounders in their prows, anchored in Five Fathom Hole; from whence the frigate sailed into the back river, with intent to cannonade the rear of our lines. She threw a great number of shot, which being at their utmost range, did no execution. The galleys advancing nearer did some damage to the houses. A few shot now and then from the river battery made them keep a respectable distance.

The French having now made regular approaches, and finished their batteries of mortars and cannon near enough to our works, on the 3d of October, at midnight, opened their bomb-battery of nine large mortars: at day-break they also opened with thirty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, landed from the fleet, and fired on our line and batteries with great fury. This lasted day and night until the morning of the 9th, when finding little notice taken of their shot or shells, at day-break stormed, with their whole force,

force, the Count d'Estaing at their head. This attempt proved most fatal to them, for they met with so very severe a repulse from only three hundred men, assisted by the grape-shot from the batteries, that from this day they worked with indefatigable labour to carry off their cannon and mortars, and descended to a degree of civility we had hitherto been strangers to. Their loss was very great, most of their best officers and soldiers killed and wounded; the Count d'Estaing among the latter.

On the night of the 17th the French entirely quitted their works, retreated to their boats, and embarked under cover of their galleys. General Lincoln, with the rebel army, retreated up the country with great precipitation, burning every bridge behind them; and we are told their army is totally dispersed.

The French have been favoured by the weather to their utmost wishes the whole time of being on the coast; their great ships lying constantly at anchor in fourteen fathoms, and the small craft from Charles-town employed watering them from this river. The only accident we know they met with, was losing one boat with 100 men.

When the French troops were all embarked, an officer was sent on shore to exchange prisoners: this being finished, they lost no time in returning down the river with their frigates and galleys to Tybee.

The Vigilant, with the Scourge and Vindictive galleys, the Snake half-galley, and three transports, were obliged to remain at Callibogie the whole siege; where Captain Christian, of the Vigilant, secured them all in so strong a position, and erected a battery on shore to protect them, that the French and rebels thought it most prudent to let them alone: they are now all at Tybee, the French fleet having left this

coast the 26th of October, and their frigates left this river the 2d of November.

On the 4th of November the Myrtle, navy victualler, who was taken by the French, and turned into a watering vessel, being blown out of this river a few days before they left it, returned to Tybee with a rebel galley, expecting to find their friends; they both fell into our hands. The galley is called the Rutledge, carries two eighteen-pounders in her prow, and four sixes in her waist; I have named her the Viper, and appointed Mr. John Steele, Master's-mate of the Rose, to command her, with an establishment similar to the other galleys, until the Admiral's pleasure is known. Mr. Steele's behaviour at the battery, on the spot where the French and rebels stormed our lines, deserves particular notice.

His Majesty's ship Ariel, of 24 guns, on a cruize off Charles-town (when the French came to this coast) was taken on the 11th of September, by the French frigate Amazon, of 36 guns. His Majesty's ship Experiment, having lost all her masts and bowsprit in a gale of wind, on her passage from New-York to Savannah, fell into the middle of the French fleet off this bar, and was taken on the 24th of September, together with the Myrtle navy victualler, and Champion store-ship.

I now beg leave to acknowledge the particular services of Captain Brown, of the Rose, before and during the siege, for his very spirited exertions on every occasion: Lieutenant Lock, of the Rose, and Lieutenant Crawford, of the Fowey, were very diligent, anxious, and spirited, during this whole business. Captain Fisher, who commanded the Savannah armed ship, acted as Brigade-major to the sea department; and, while he continued in health, did his utmost to forward the service.

Captain

Captain Knowles, agent to transports, so soon as he was exchanged as a prisoner, served at the batteries; and Lieutenant Goldebrough, of the Vigilant, by whose diligence and activity the King's troops were brought through Wallcut to Savannah, I have appointed to the Vigilant, in the room of Capt. Christian, who has the honour to present you these dispatches. Captain Brown, late of the Rose, was to have carried them, but his extreme ill health prevents it. The General having sent his dispatches to England, in a brig of the Commissary General's department, Captain Christian takes his passage in her also.

Captain Mowbray, of the German provincial armed ship of St. Augustine, who was stationed at Yamairaw to flank our lines, was very diligent in that service, and assisting Lieutenant Goldebrough in sinking vessels, and laying a boom across the river above the town. Mr. Tate, Master of the Nancy, and Mr. Watson, Master of the Tweed transports, have very particular thanks for their constant services at the batteries. Mr. Wilson, Master of the Venus, and Mr. M'Curdie, Master of the Neptune transports, have the same. I must beg leave to mention the very spirited services of Mr. M'Donald, Mate of the Esk transport, at this and former times.

The Fowey's cables that were worn were cut up for wads; the consumption being great from the constant fire from the batteries, and her sails were used for tents; a bomb fell into her cabin, which broke the mizen mast, and damaged her deck and stern frame, but not materially.

Part of the crews of the Experiment and Ariel, being sent on shore by the Count d'Estaing in exchange, will compleatly man the King's ships and galleys on this station, whose names are under:

Fowey - - Keppel armed brig.
 Vigilant - - Vindictive galley.
 Scourge galley - Viper galley.
 Comet galley - Hornet half galley.
 Snake half-galley.
 German armed ship
 and Thunder gal-
 ley from St. Au-
 gustine.

*List of the French fleet on this coast
 under the Count d'Estaing.*

First Division.

Mr. Bougainville.

Le Guerrier	- - - -	74
Magnifique	- - - -	74
Cæsar	- - - -	74
Vengueur	- - - -	74
Provence	- - - -	64
Marfeilles	- - - -	64
Fantastique	- - - -	64

Second Division.

Compte d'Estaing.

Le Languedoc	- - - -	96
Robuste	- - - -	74
Zélé	- - - -	74
Annibal	- - - -	74
Vailant	- - - -	74
Artizien	- - - -	64
Sagitaire	- - - -	54

Third Division.

Le Tonant	- - - -	80
Diademe	- - - -	74
Hector	- - - -	74
Fendant	- - - -	74
Dauphine Royal	- - - -	70
Refleché	- - - -	64
Sphynx	- - - -	64
Roderique storeship	- - - -	50

Frigates.

La Fortune	- - - -	38
L'Amazon	- - - -	36
L'Iphigene	- - - -	36
La Blanche	- - - -	36
La Chimere	- - - -	36
La Boudeuse	- - - -	36
La Bricole (heavy metal)	- - - -	36
Le Lys	- - - -	18

English ships taken.

Experiment	- - - -	50
Lively	- - - -	20
Ceres	- - - -	18
Alert. Cutter	- - - -	14

The

The land forces on board this fleet were the Irish brigade, (Dillon) the regiment of Foix, the grenadiers, the light infantry, and piquet of the regiments of Armagnac, Agenors, Biam, and Royal Rouffillon, and of the colony troops of Guadaloupe, Martinique, Cape François, and Port au Prince, with the marines of the ships, amounted to about 5500 men. They landed at first 4000, and at different landings after, 800 more; (the rebels had 3000) besides some hundreds of free Blacks and Mulattoes, taken on board in the West-Indies. The fleets very badly manned, very sickly, and the ships in very bad condition, short of anchors and cables, having no running rigging to reef, but what came out of the Champion storeship, from York, and intended for this port. We have every reason to believe this expedition cost them 2000 men.

Their destination, as we are informed from themselves, is, the Count d'Estaing, with eleven ships of the line, to France; four to Breſt, and seven to Toulon: La Motte Picquet, with five sail, to Cheſapeake, from thence to the Cape: De Grasse to Martinique, with six sail, and the troops: three frigates to remain at Charles-town; this is certain, under the Chevalier de Rommain.

Return of seamen and marines killed and wounded during the siege.

Powey. One marine killed; 1 wounded.

Rose. One seaman, 1 marine, killed; 6 marines wounded.

Keppel armed brig. One seaman killed; 5 wounded. Four seamen of the transports wounded.

Total seamen killed	2
Wounded	9
Marines killed	2
Wounded	7

I have the honour to be, &c.

Whitehall, December 25.

Extract of a letter from Major-general PREVOST, commanding his Majesty's forces in the province of Georgia, to the Right Hon. Lord Geo. GERMAIN, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Savannah, Nov. 1, 1779; received by Capt. SHAW, Aid de Camp to the Major-general PREVOST.

As I look upon it to be always of importance, and my indispensable duty; that your Lordship should directly be made acquainted with every material occurrence in this quarter, affecting his Majesty's service; and as it is probable, the very unexpected visit of the Count d'Estaing to this coast, with so powerful a squadron, and a considerable body of land troops, when known, would have excited some uneasiness for our safety; it is with very sincere pleasure I do myself the honour to inform you, that we have seen the last of the French fleet this day depart—we hope off the coast—got both them and their American allies off our hands, in a manner which we humbly hope our gracious Sovereign will not think unhandſome.

Sept. 4. When intelligence was received from Tybee, that five sail of French men of war, with some sloops and schooners, were off the bar, as it was impossible to determine whether this was a whole or only a part of a larger force; whether they had landed troops in Carolina, or this was their first appearance on the coast; orders were sent to all the out-posts to hold themselves in readiness to join; and as it was very possible that the enemy might push their frigates into Port Royal Bay; and cut off the communication with Beaufort, an order was sent to the Hon. Colonel Maitland, commanding there, forthwith to evacuate that place, and cross to Hilton Head Island, from whence, if he was not

Sept,

stop by a further order, he was to proceed to this place. The officer who was charged with this order was taken by the rebels, going through Skull Creek; but this accident was then judged of no other consequence, as the French disappearing, and their coming on the coast had been hoped, for various reasons, to be only accidental, Colonel Maitland was next day directed to remain; but embarking all his heavy baggage and other incumbrances, to hold himself in readiness to come away on the shortest notice: or if, through any other channel, he received intelligence which should induce that measure, he was immediately to adopt it, without waiting the ceremony of orders, as best for his Majesty's service; his great care being always to run no risque, possibly to be avoided, of being cut off from this place, which was our principal concern.

6th. The French ships re-appeared with one of addition, and from the northward. Captain Moncrief, the commanding engineer, with one hundred men and a howitz, was sent to Tybee to reinforce the post and battery there; and an order to be forwarded to Colonel Maitland to join without loss of time.

7th and 8th. The fleet of the enemy increased to forty-two sail, the greater part men of war.—Expresses to all the out-posts to join.

9th. Fifty-four vessels off the bar. Appoint the posts of alarm out of town, and make other necessary dispositions for sustaining an attack.—Repair and strengthen the abbatis.—A very superior force approaching to the bar, our ships, the Fowey and Rose, of twenty guns each, the Keppel and Germain armed vessels, obliged to retire towards town. The battery on Tybee destroyed, the guns spiked, and the howitz and stores carried off. Four large frigates came over the bar.

10th. All the out-posts in Georgia join. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger from Sunbury came by land with all his men able to march; his sick and convalescents he embarked on board an armed vessel to come inland.—By contrary winds they were detained 'till the passage was seized by the enemy. They however put up Ogeechey river, where, finding also the communication by land cut off, Captain French (commanding) landed and took post, and for many days continued to defend himself, until obliged, by want of provisions, to capitulate to a very superior force. Began new redoubts and batteries, and strengthen the abbatis. The troops encamped.

11th. Busy in landing cannon from the shipping.—Making fascines.—The engineer hard at work.

12th. Several French and rebel vessels come over Osiban bar.—At ten o'clock, evening, the French landed at Beaulieu.

13th. Having confined our views to the defence of the town, as our sole object, which we determined, by the blessing of God, to be vigorous, and worthy of British troops, continued our works with unremitting ardour. Captains Henry, Brown, and Fisher came on shore, their assistance being required in the defence of the place, on which every thing depended. They cheerfully agreed, and proceeded directly to land their whole force, men, guns, &c. Some Masters of transports, and a privateer with their men, made voluntary offers of their services. Captain Watson, of the Tweed, Tate, Nancy, Higgins, Betsey, Mr. Manley, Merchant of Jamaica, all had their posts assigned; the seamen on the batteries, the marines joined to the 60th grenadiers.—Report, that the rebels from Augusta were at Hudson's, and General Lincoln, from Carolina, approaching Zubly's Ferry.

14th.

14th. The engineer hard at work.—Certain intelligence that Lincoln was crossing at Zubly's Ferry, from intelligent spies, who crossed with him.—His numbers about 1500.—More on their way from all parts of Carolina.—Polaski, already crossed and joined by the horse from above, advanced to within eight miles of the town.

15th. Some French and Polaski's light horse appear in front. Force in a Subaltern's picquet, of which six are taken; they are forced to retire in turn with some killed, and an officer taken. No farther loss on our side, our men not being suffered to pass beyond the cover of our cannon.

16th. Receive a summons (No. 1.) from the Count d'Estaing, *to surrender to the arms of France*. No stranger to the unanimous opinion of the army; but, for form's sake, assemble the field officers at the Governor's.—We desire to know (answer No. 1.) what terms?—At noon Colonel Maitland with the first division arrives (about 400 men)—letter (No. 2.) from the Count, "that the besieged should demand terms, and that he would willingly grant all in his power." We believe him, but demand a truce for twenty-four hours to deliberate, which is agreed to.

17th. By noon, and in the night before, all the rest of the fit for duty from Beaufort arrive, and take their posts in the line. The enemy being in possession of the ship channel, Colonel Maitland had been obliged to come round Dawfuskie and land on the marshes; and, dragging his boats empty through a cut, got into Savannah river above the enemy, and so to this place. Again assemble the field officers sea and land, with the Governor, and Lieutenant-governor, in camp.—Unanimously determined to defend ourselves to the last man, which is

communicated to Count d'Estaing, (No. 3.) Our evening gun fired an hour before sun-set, to be the signal for re-commencing hostilities.—Review the troops under arms at their posts, all in high spirits, and the most pleasing confidence expressed in every face. The sailors not to be prevented from giving three cheers.

18th and 19th. We continue to work hard on redoubts and batteries.—Farther strengthen the abatis.

20th. A frigate and galleys at Four-Mile-Point. Captain Moncrief prepares fire-rafts. The *Rose* and *Savannah* sunk in the channel.

21st. A new work for seven 6 and 9 pounders begun in front of the barracks.—Hearing the rebels were making fire-rafts above the town, we get the boom across, and vessels ready to be sunk; a small galley and the *Germain* to cover the boom, and occasionally to cover Yamaicraw swamp on our right. Some houses and barns on our flanks, judged too near, are burnt, unfortunately property of friends.

22d. The enemy appear in force all along our front.—In readiness to fight, but continue our works.—Boats and other craft of the enemy go up Augustine Creek, probably with cannon and stores.

23d. As the day before,

24th. The enemy had been hard at work the whole night; and when the morning fog cleared off, were discovered to have pushed a sap to within three hundred yards of our abatis, to the left of the center.—At nine o'clock three companies of light infantry (97 rank and file) were sent out under Major Graham of the 16th, to give an opportunity of reconnoitering, and probably judging of the enemy's force, and to draw them exposed to our cannon. It had been once intended to send the whole light infantry with Major Graham, and to sustain with 150 of

the 2d 71st, and the corps of New-York volunteers; but knowing the ardent disposition of these troops, that though they are very easily led into action, they are by no means so to be brought off; and that from their probable obstinacy, and the vicinity of the French camp, which was discovered to be very near, there was reason to apprehend an affair more general than we wished for might be brought on; it was judged sufficient to draw the remaining three light companies along the abbatis, and the Highlanders concealed behind the barracks, in case the enemy should attempt to press in the rear of Major Graham. The conduct of the Major and his little corps was spirited and proper, almost above praise; dashing out with amazing rapidity, he was in an instant in the enemy's nearest work, which he kept possession of until two solid columns at length were very near gaining his flanks, and till the whole French camp was in motion. He then ordered a retreat, which, being as rapid as the advance, left the heads of the enemy's columns in an instant exposed to the fire of our artillery, which galled them severely, and soon obliged them to retire behind their works. Our loss, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, and 3 rank and file, killed; 15 rank and file, wounded:—That of the enemy, (as we have since been well informed) 14 officers, and 145 men killed and wounded, by much the greater part killed, and of their best troops.

25th. A good deal of firing with cannon and cohorns, to interrupt the enemy's workmen, with effect. Another sortie proposed; but the idea rejected; having certainly not men to spare; and it being our great object to gain time, and particularly to detain M. d'Estaing as long as possible from, perhaps, attempts of higher consequence on

the coast.—Faint attack upon our picquets on the left, without effect. The enemy fire from two eighteen-pounders *en barbette*, which they are soon obliged to quit.—At night 100 marksmen spread without the abbatis to impede the enemy's workmen.

26th. Works continued on both sides; the enemy's, however, not in advance, but on batteries, strengthening their lines, and extending from towards their rear to their left, to communicate with works carried on by the rebels; afterwards found to be a battery for nine mortars, and another for four guns.

27th. A little firing, and a great deal of work on lines to cover the troops of the reserve from the expected cannonade. We begin to unroof the barracks. At night Major M'Arthur of the 71st, with a party of the picquet, advanced and fired into the enemy's works; and, amusing them for some little time, drew off. Three men wounded. He set the French and Americans a firing upon each other. Their loss acknowledged above fifty.

28th. La Trinité, a French frigate, moved and anchored in the North Channel. Strengthen the river battery, and add the eight-inch howitz.

29th. The barracks levelled, the back wall to the ground, the front to a good parapet height from the floor, converted into a very respectable work in our center.

30th. As usual. A Captain of Polaski's wounded and taken in the night: two of his men killed.

October 1st. A new eight gun battery to the right of the East Road redoubt.

2d. The frigate and galleys cannonade our left, without other effect than to point out where to make traverses. Begin a new battery for fifteen guns to the left of the barracks,

racks, and strengthen our works to the left, where it is probable the French may assault.

3d. The fifteen gun battery begins to fire as the guns come on it. All the ditches are deepened, particularly on the right and left. At midnight the enemy began to bombard from nine mortars of eight and ten inch; continue about two hours.

4th. At day-light they open with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and sixteen from the water. Continue without intermission till eight o'clock, without other effect than killing a few helpless women and children, and some few negroes and horses in the town and on the common.—The firing reserved from time to time through the day. The Governor and Lieutenant-governor joined us in camp in the early part of the cannonade: they remained with us till the siege was raised, most cheerfully determined to fare as we might in every respect.

5th. The enemy prosecute their works to their left; and we repair, strengthen, and add.

6th. They throw carcases into town, and burn one wooden house. At eleven o'clock sent to Count d'Estaing for permission to send the women and children out of town on board of ships, and down the river, under the protection of a French ship of war, until the business should be decided. After three hours, and a great deal of intermediate cannon and shells, received an insulting answer in refusal from Mess. Lincoln and d'Estaing conjointly (No. 4.)

7th. Smart firing continued. Busy all night in repairing and adding.

8th. As the preceding.

9th. A little before day-light, and after a heavy (and, as usual, innocent) cannonade and bombardment, the enemy attacked our lines. The firing began upon the left of our

center in front of the French, and very soon after upon our left and right. It was still dark, and rendered still more so by a very thick fog, which made it impossible to determine on the sudden, where the real attack was intended, or how many. No movement was therefore attempted; but the troops coolly at their posts waited for the enemy. Those in the lines in readiness, agreeable to orders, to charge them wherever they should attempt to penetrate; and whilst entangled with the advanced redoubts, which, with the fire of the field artillery, placed to support them, gave a good chance of putting the enemy into some confusion, and a good prospect of success, to the charge of our reserve, taking them in that condition. The ground towards both our flanks, notwithstanding all a good engineer could do, was still favourable to the enemy.

—On the right a swampy hollow brought him under cover to within fifty yards of our principal works; on some points still nearer. On our left, though the approach was not so well covered, nor to such an extent, yet there was a sufficient; and the ground being firm and clear, it was that on which we rather thought regular troops would chuse to act; and here, therefore, we looked for the French, and the Americans only on our right. A real attack was here intended; however, the principal, composed of the flower of the French and rebel armies, and led by d'Estaing in person, with all the principal officers of either, was made upon our right; under cover of the hollow, they advanced in three columns; but having taken a wider circuit than they needed, and gone deeper in the bog, they neither came so early as intended, nor, I believe, entirely in the order. The attack, however, was very spirited, and, for some time, obstinately persevered in, particularly on the Ebe-

nezar Road redoubt. Two stand of colours were actually planted, and several of the assailants killed upon the parapet; but they met with so determined a resistance, and the fire of three seamen batteries, and the field pieces, taking them in almost every direction, was so severe, that they were thrown into some disorder, at least at a stand; and, at this most critical moment, Major Glasier, of the 60th, with the 60th grenadiers, and the marines, advancing rapidly from the lines, charged (it may be said) with a degree of fury; in an instant the ditches of the redoubt and a battery to its right in rear were cleared. The grenadiers charging headlong into them, and the enemy drove in confusion over the abbatiss and into the swamp. On this occasion Captain Wickham, of the 2d 60th grenadiers, was greatly distinguished. On the advance of the grenadiers, three companies of the 2d 71st were ordered to sustain them; but though these lay at no considerable distance, and advanced with the usual ardour of that corps, so precipitate was the retreat of the enemy, they could not close with him. A considerable body or column more to their left was repulsed in every attempt to deploy out of the hollow, by the brisk and well-directed fire of a militia redoubt; and Hamilton's small corps of North Carolinians on its right moved there with a field piece to take them obliquely: a sailor battery, still more to the right, took them in flank directly. It was now day-light, but the fog was not sufficiently cleared off to enable us to judge, with any degree of certainty, of the number or farther dispositions of the enemy in this quarter. On the left and to the center the fog, with the addition of the smoke, was still impenetrably close; and a pretty smart firing being still kept up there, it was judged improper to draw a num-

ber of troops sufficient for a respectable fortie, to take that advantage of the confusion of the enemy, which had we known all we have done since, we might have done: we contented ourselves with plying them with our cannon, advancing some field pieces to the abbatiss, as long as they were in sight, or judged within reach. They soon every where retired; those on the left were only heard, but not seen, from the closeness of the fog.—Lieutenant-colonel de Porbeck, of Weissenbech's, being field officer of the day of the right wing, and being in the redoubt when the attack began, had an opportunity, which he well improved, to signalize himself in a most gallant manner; and it is but justice to mention to your Lordship those troops who defended it. They were part of the South Carolina Royalists, the light dragoons dismounted, and the battalion men of the 4th 60th, in all about 100 men, commanded (by a special order) by Capt. Taws, of the dragoons (Lieutenant 71st) a good and gallant officer, and who nobly fell with his sword in the body of the third he had killed with his own hand. Our loss, on this occasion, 1 Captain, and 15 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 3 Subalterns, and 35 rank and file wounded: That of the enemy we do not exaggerate, when we set in, in killed and wounded, at 1000 to 1200. The French acknowledged 44 officers, and about 700 men; of the rebels, they not being so ingenuous, we can say less; but the invariable report of deserters and prisoners, (Gentlemen) since exchanged, made their loss above 400. Among the wounded, were Count d'Estains, (in two places) M. de Fontange, Major-general; Count Polaski since dead, and several others of distinction.

About ten o'clock a truce was declared by the enemy, and leave to bury

bury the dead, and carry off the wounded:—Granted for those who lay at a distance, or out of sight of our lines; those within or near the abbatis we buried, No. 203 on the right, on the left 28; and delivered 116 wounded prisoners, greatest part mortally. A good many were buried by the enemy; many were self-buried in the mud of the swamp; and no doubt many were carried off.—From this to the 18th nothing very material happened: a great deal of civility passed mutually between us and the French, and many apologies made for the refusal of sending the women and children out of town, laying the blame (to use the words of an officer of rank, Count O'Duin) on the scoundrel Lincoln, and the Americans.—The offer is now made with great earnestness:—Mrs. Prevost, her children, and company, to be received by the Chevalier du Romain, on board the *Chimere*:—To which was answered; That what had once been refused, and with some degree of insult, was not worth the acceptance.—The enemy we found were employed in moving off their cannon, mortars, &c. and in embarking their sick and wounded, of which they had a great number.—Many deserters came in to us.—On the 18th, the fog clearing off about nine o'clock, we were not much surprized to find the enemy had moved off.—Patroles of dragoons were sent out, in every direction, to gain intelligence; but finding all the bridges broke down, these soon returned, unable to proceed to any distance.—Others, both foot and horse, were then sent, in a kind of hope that something might be attempted on the rear of the enemy, either French or Americans, but they were all out of our reach.—The French embarked in Augustin Creek; the rebels God knows where; but supposed, from the route they had taken, to be at or

near Zubley's Ferry.—Till the country round about was properly reconnoitred, I did not think myself justifiable, circumstanced as we were, in making any attempt that had even the appearance of risk in it.—In this opinion all the officers concurred.

We had an exchange of prisoners with the French:—the ballance being against us one hundred and forty-one soldiers or marines and seamen, we have given receipts, to be hereafter accounted in this country or in Europe.

I believe, my Lord, it is not very necessary I should endeavour to say much of the behaviour of his Majesty's troops during the late very fatiguing, if not, as it turned out very dangerous service; though even, in respect of danger, it must be allowed that appearances at least were formidable. The noble and steady perseverance manifested by all ranks, in exposing themselves to every fatigue and to every danger; the cheerful, yet determined spirit with which they set all the threats of the enemy at defiance; and their firm resolution of abiding, to the last man, by every consequence of an obstinate defence, will, I hope, meet with the approbation of his Majesty, and do them honour with their country.—To mention in particular all those, whether British, Hessian, Provincial, or Militia, who either did, or ardently wished, to distinguish themselves, would be, in fact, to give your Lordship a list of the whole. But I must beg leave to acknowledge the great obligations we had to the very active and zealous services of Captain Henry, of his Majesty's ship *Fowey*, Capt. Brown, of the *Rose*, and their officers and seamen; particularly Lieutenants Lock and Crawford, in working the batteries, and in every other part of service where they could give their assistance.—I would also wish to mention Captain Moncrief, commanding

standing Engineer; but sincerely sensible, that all I can express will fall greatly short of what that gentleman deserves, not only on this, but on all other occasions, I shall only, in the most earnest manner, request your Lordship taking him into your protection and patronage, to recommend him to his Majesty as an officer of long service, and most singular merit:—Assuring you, my Lord, from my own positive knowledge, that there is not one officer or soldier in this little army, capable of reflecting or judging; who will not regard, as personal to himself, any mark of royal favour graciously conferred through your Lordship on Captain Moncrief. We have been greatly obliged to Major Frazer, of the 71st, acting Quarter-master General, for his zealous and indefatigable industry in landing and mounting upon the batteries the cannon, stores, &c. and constantly supplying all wants.—The extreme vigilance and attention of Captain Prevost, acting Adjutant-general, deserves to be known—Indeed the whole Engineers, and every other public department, were activity itself.

For further particulars respecting this, and every other part of the service, I beg to refer your Lordship to Capt. Shaw, my Aid-de-camp, who will have the honour to deliver this, and who is not uninformed, as he has been present on every active service in this country.

(No. I.)

TRANSLATION.

Count d'Estaing summons his Excellency General Prevost to surrender to the arms of the King of France. He apprizes him, that he will be personally responsible for all the events and misfortunes that may arise from a defence; which, by the superiority of the force which attacks him, both by sea and land, is rendered manifestly valid and of no effect.

He gives notice to him also, that any resolution he may venture to come to, either before the attack, in the course of it, or at the moment of the assault, of setting fire to the shipping or small craft belonging to the army, or to the merchants in the river Savannah, as well as to all the magazines in the town, will be imputable to him only.

The situation of Hospital Hill, in the Grenades, the strength of the three intrenchments, and some redoubts which defend it, and the comparative disposition of the troops before the town of Savannah, with the single detachment which carried the Grenades by assault, should be a lesson to futurity. Humanity obliged the Count d'Estaing to recall this event to his memory; having so done, he has nothing to reproach himself with.

Lord Macartney had the good fortune to escape from the first transport of troops who enter a town sword in hand; but notwithstanding the most valuable effects were deposited in a place, supposed by all the officers and engineers to be impregnable, Count d'Estaing could not have the happiness of preventing their being pillaged.

*Camp before Savannah, the
16th of Sept. 1779.*

(Signed) D'ESTAIING.
(No. II.)

*Copy of a letter from Major-general
PREVOST to the Count d'ESTAING,
dated Camp Savannah, September
16, 1779.*

S I R,

I am just now honoured with your Excellency's letter of this date, containing a summon for me to surrender this town to the arms of his Majesty the King of France, which I had just delayed to answer, till I had shewn it to the King's Civil Governor.

I hope your Excellency will have a better opinion of me, and of British troops, than to think either will surrender

surrender on general summons, without any special terms.

If you, Sir, have any to propose, that may with honour be accepted of by me, you can mention them, both with regard to civil and military, and I will then give my answer: in the mean time I will promise upon my honour, that nothing, with my knowledge or consent, shall be destroyed in either this town or river,

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. PREVOST.

*His Excellency Count D'Estaing,
commanding the French forces,
&c.*

(No. III.)

TRANSLATION.

*Camp before Savannah, September
16, 1779.*

S I R,

I have just received your Excellency's answer to the letter I had the honour of writing to you this morning. You are sensible that it is the part of the besieged to propose such terms as they may desire; and you cannot doubt of the satisfaction I shall have, in consenting to those which I can accept consistently with my duty.

I am informed, that you continue intrenching yourself. It is a matter of very little importance to me; however, for form sake, I must desire that you will desist during our conference together.

The different columns, which I had ordered to stop, will continue their march, but without approaching your posts, or reconnoitring your situation.

I have the honour to be,
with respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble,
and most obedient servant,

(Signed) D'ESTAING.

*His Excellency General Prevost
Major-general in the service
of his Britannick Majesty, and
Commander in Chief at Sa-
vannah, in Georgia.*

P. S. I apprise your Excellency that I have not been able to refuse the army of the United States uniting itself with that of the King.

The junction will probably be effected this day. If I have not an answer, therefore, immediately, you must confer in future with General Lincoln and me.

(No. IV.)

*Copy of a letter from Major-general
PREVOST to the Count d'ESTAING
dated September 16, 1779.*

S I R,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter in reply to mine of this day.

The business we have in hand being of importance, there being various interests to discuss, a just time is absolutely necessary to deliberate; I am therefore to propose, that a suspension of hostilities shall take place for 24 hours from this date; and to request that your Excellency will direct your columns to fall back to a greater distance, and out of sight of our works, or I shall think myself under a necessity to direct their being fired upon. If they did not reconnoitre any thing this afternoon, they were sure within the distance.

I am, &c.

(Signed) A. PREVOST.

*His Excellency Count D'Estaing,
&c. &c. &c.*

(No. V.)

TRANSLATION.

*Camp before Savannah, Sept. 16,
1779.*

S I R,

I consent to the truce you ask. It shall continue till the signal for retreat to-morrow night the 17th, which will serve also to announce the recommencement of hostilities. It is unnecessary to observe to your Excellency, that this suspension of arms is entirely in your favour, since
I cannot

I cannot be certain that you will not make use of it to fortify yourself; at the same time that the propositions you shall make may be inadmissible.

I must observe to you also, how important it is that you should be fully aware of your own situation, as well as that of the troops under your command. Be assured that I am thoroughly acquainted with it. Your knowledge of military affairs will not suffer you to be ignorant, that a due examination of that circumstance always precedes the march of the columns; and that this preliminary is not carried into execution by a mere shew of troops.

I have ordered them to withdraw before night comes on, to prevent any cause of complaint on your part. I understand that my civility in this respect has been the occasion that the Chevalier de Cambis, a Lieutenant in the navy, has been made prisoner of war,

I propose sending out some small advanced posts to-morrow morning; they will place themselves in such a situation as to have in view the four entrances into the wood, in order to prevent a similar mistake in future. I do not know whether two columns commanded by the Viscount de Noailles and the Count de Dillon have shewn too much ardour, or whether your cannoniers have not paid a proper respect to the truce subsisting between us; but this I know, that what has happened this night is a fresh proof that matters will soon come to a decision between us one way or another.

I have the honour to be,
With respect &c.

(Signed) ESTAING.

His Excellency General Prevost, Major-general in the service of his Britannic Majesty, and Commander in Chief at Savannah, in Georgia.

(No. VI.)

Copy of a letter from Major-General PREVOST to Count d'ESTAING, dated Savannah, September 17, 1779.

SIR,

In answer to the letter of your Excellency, which I had the honour to receive about twelve last night. I am to acquaint you, that having laid the whole correspondence before the King's Civil Governor, and the military officers of rank, assembled in council of war, the unanimous determination has been, that though we cannot look upon our posts as absolutely inexpugnable, yet that it may and ought to be defended; therefore the evening-gun, to be fired this evening an hour before sundown, shall be the signal for recommencing hostilities agreeable to your Excellency's proposal.

I have the honour to be,
(Signed) A. PREVOST.

His Excellency Count d'Estaing, &c. &c. &c.

(No. VII.)

Copy of a letter from Count d'ESTAING and Gen. LINCOLN to Major-General PREVOST, dated Camp before Savannah, October 6, 1779.

SIR,

We are persuaded that your Excellency knows all that your duty prescribes:—perhaps your zeal has already interfered with your judgment. The Count d'Estaing, in his own name, notified to you, that you would be personally and alone responsible for the consequences of your obstinacy. The time which you informed him, in the commencement of the siege, would be necessary for the arrangement of articles, including the different orders of men in your town, had no other object than that of receiving succour. Such conduct, Sir, is sufficient to forbid every intercourse between us which might

might occasion the least loss of time. Besides in the present application, latent reasons may again exist.— There are military ones, which in frequent instances have prevented the indulgence you request. It is with regret we yield to the austerity of our functions; and we deplore the fate of those persons who will be the victims of your conduct, and the delusion which appears to prevail in your mind.

We are with respect, &c. &c.
(Signed) B. LINCOLN.
ESTAING.

(No. VIII.)

*Copy of a letter from Major-general
PREVOST to Count d'ESTAING,
dated camp, Savannah, October 6,
1779.*

S I R,

I am persuaded your Excellency will do me justice; and that in defending this place and the army committed to my charge, I fulfil what is due to honour and duty to my Prince. Sentiments of a different kind occasion the liberty of now addressing myself to your Excellency: they are those of humanity. The houses of Savannah are occupied solely by women and children. Several of them have applied to me, that I might request the favour you would allow them to embark on board a ship or ships, and go down the river under the protection of yours, until this business is decided. If this requisition you are so good to grant, my wife and children, with a few servants, shall be the first to profit by the indulgence.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) A. PREVOST.

(No. IX.)

Return of the casualties of the different corps during the siege.

16th Regiment. 2 rank and file deserted.

60th Reg. 4 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 5 rank and file deserted.

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1st Battalion 71st. 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file killed; 17 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing; 1 rank and file deserted.

2d Battalion 71st. 1 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 4 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file deserted.

Trumbach. 4 rank and file wounded.

Wessenbach. 5 rank and file killed; 1 drummer, 2 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file deserted.

New York Volunteers. 1 serjeant killed; 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file wounded; 1 drummer missing; 1 rank and file deserted.

1st Battalion de Lancy. 2 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file deserted.

2d Battalion de Lancy. 1 ensign killed; 1 drummer, 1 rank and file missing; 1 drummer, 2 rank and file deserted.

3d Battalion Skinner's. 1 serjeant killed; 1 captain wounded; 1 drummer, 1 rank and file deserted.

South Carolina Royalists. 4 rank and file killed; 1 captain wounded.

North Carolina Volunteers. 1 rank and file deserted.

King's Rangers. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file deserted.

Georgia Loyalists. 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 11 rank and file deserted.

Marines. 2 rank and file killed; 6 ditto wounded.

Royal Artillery. 2 rank and file wounded.

Seamen. 2 rank and file killed; 9 rank and file wounded.

Georgia Militia. 3 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, wounded.

Total. 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 32 rank and file killed. 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 56 rank and file wounded. 2 drummers, 2 rank and file missing. 5 serjeants, 2 drummers, 41 rank and file deserted.

M

Name

Names of Officers killed.

Lieutenant Henry M'Pherson, 1st battalion 71st, 24th of September.

Lieutenant Taws of ditto, and Captain-Lieutenant of dragoons, 9th of October.

Captain Simpson, Georgia Loyalists, 8th of October.

Ensign Pollard, 2d battalion de Lancy's, 4th of ditto.

Names of Officers wounded.

Captain Coxens, 3d battalion Jersey volunteers, 24th of September.

Lieutenant Smallet Campbell, 2d battalion 71st; and Lieutenant of dragoons, 9th of October.

Captain Henry, of South Carolina royalists, 9th of October.

(Signed) A. PREVOST, M. G. Camp, Savannah, Oct. 18, 1779.

A return of Masters, Mates, and men of the transports, who were at the batteries during the siege.

Masters.—John Wilson, Archibald M'Carthy, John Higgins, Arthur Ryburn, Christopher Watson, John Tate.

Mates.—James M'Donald, — Steele, John Chapman, James Ryburn, — Coward, — Harri-
rison.

87 seamen.

Extract of a letter from Sir JAMES WRIGHT, Bart. Governor of the Province of Georgia, to Lord GEORGE GERMAIN, dated Savannah, November 5, 1779, received by Captain SHAW.

Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship last by the Cork victuallers, we have met with a very unexpected, alarming, and serious scene, especially in this part of the world; for no man could have thought or believed that a French fleet of 22 sail of the line, with at least 9 frigates, and a number of other vessels, would have come on the coast of Georgia in the month of September, and landed from 4 to 5000 troops to besiege the town of

Savannah. But, my Lord, amazing as this, it is certainly fact, for on the 3d of September an account came to Savannah that five large ships were in the offing, and the next morning advice came that they were French ships, and I concluded that they had been drove here by distress. However on the 7th, a letter was wrote by Captain Henry, Commander of his Majesty's ship Fowey, that forty-two sail of French ships appeared off Tybee-bar; and on the 8th, five of them, very large ships, came in over the bar, on which the Fowey and Rose ships of war were obliged to retreat, and come up the river; and on the 12th several of the French fleet went in at Offabaw, and at night began to land their troops at Bewlie; and on the 15th the Count d'Estaing sent a summons to General Prevost to surrender the town and province to the *King of France*; on which some messages and letters passed; and on the 17th the truce ended in declaring, that it was the unanimous opinion and resolution of the civil and military, that the town should be defended. This, my Lord, made me very happy; the particulars of the negotiation your Lordship will receive from General Prevost, and from this time hostilities began, and both sides were very active in raising redoubts and batteries, and opening trenches, &c. And now, my Lord, give me leave to mention the great ability and exertions of Captain Moncrief, the chief engineer, who was indefatigable day and night, and whose eminent services contributed to our defence and safety. And on the 3d of October, at half after eleven at night, the French began to bombard the town; and, at the firing of the morning-gun on Monday the 4th, they began a most furious cannonade, which continued more or less till Saturday the 9th, when just before break of day an
attack

attack was made by the united armies of the French and rebels; and we have it from very good authority that the flower of both armies, to the amount of 2500 French and 1500 rebels, came against us: the conflict was sharp, and lasted for about an hour and an half; and we were well informed by French officers who were wounded and taken, and also by some who came with flags, and by deserters and others, that they lost 700 killed and wounded; and some accounts mention 1000, amongst which are 63 officers—d'Estaing wounded in the thigh and arm, Polaski on the hip with grape shot, and since dead; and the rebels, it is said, had killed and wounded 500: astonishing to think—we had only 7 killed and 14 wounded. And I have it, my Lord, from several persons, who saw the condition of the French fleet when they were ready to depart from our coast, that

the ships were much out of repair, and the men exceedingly sickly.

Observations on the Memoire Justificatif of the Court of London, by PIERRE AUGUSTIN CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS, Armateur, and Citizen of France, dedicated to his country.*

Facit indignatio versum.—Juv. Sat. I. At London, at Philadelphia, and to be found every where. 1779.

First motive for writing these observations.

If an individual may be allowed to presume for a moment to intermeddle in the disputes of Sovereigns, it is when called upon by themselves to pass judgment on the *Memoires Justificatifs*, addressed to that public, of which he forms a part, he there sees himself personally quoted in matters of fact, which are perverted into reproaches of *perfidy* against the enemies of the respective Sovereigns;

* The King being informed that a printed paper had been circulated in public, entitled, "Observations on the Justifying Memorial of the Court of London, by Peter Augustine Caron de Beaumarchais;" his Majesty has remarked therein with surprize, besides several bold assertions, and venturesome qualifications, that the author has established as a fact, that there exists in the treaty of Paris of 1763, a stipulation, either public or secret, that limits the number of ships that France may keep up. That allegation being entirely contrary to truth, and contradicted, as well by the treaty, which contains no secret article, as by the acts which preceded and followed it, his Majesty thought he could not suffer so false and absurd an assertion to subsist.

Considering moreover, that that piece has been published and spread, in contravention to the regulations respecting books,

His Majesty being present in his Council, with the advice of the Keeper of the Seals, has ordered, and orders, that the said print having for title, *Observations on the Justifying Memorial of the Court of London, by Peter Augustine Caron de Beaumarchais*, be, and shall remain suppressed. His Majesty has, and does expressly forbid all booksellers, printers, hawkers, and others, to print, vend, hawk, or disperse the said paper. Enjoins all those who have any copies of it, to bring them within fifteen days at farthest to the Registry of the Council, there to be suppressed; his Majesty further ordains, that the present arret shall be printed, published, and fixed up wherever it shall be needful; enjoins the Sieur Lieutenant-general of the Police at Paris, to see the present arret put in execution. Done in the King's Council of State, his Majesty being present, held at Versailles the 19th of December, 1779.



AMELOT.

reigns; but which Memorials treated with a little more freedom, serve of themselves to justify the power, whose conduct is arraigned, and to render to every one that justice to which he is entitled.

Second motive.

If it be an established custom amongst Kings, to support at each other's Courts, at a vast expence, ostentatious inquisitors (spies) whose true merit consists as much in throwing light on what passes in the country where they reside, as in propagating, without scruple, the falsest ideas of events whenever that falsehood may contribute to the interests of their august employers; no man hitherto, at least, has seen a pompous Ambassador at any Court, push the hypocrisy, arising from his situation, so far, as to impose even upon his own country, in his ministerial dispatches, with the view of increasing the misunderstanding between nations, or of confirming his own consistency, and by that means paving the way for his advancement in the State.

This, however, is the conclusion naturally arising from the present examination of the *pretended facts* respecting the trade between France and America, mentioned in the *Memoire Justificatif*, of the King of England, on the false representations of Lord Stormont, whose name I have no scruple to use on this occasion, because he appears himself to invite me to it, by making my name, and the arguments I set out, subservient to his general accusations of *perfidy* against France.

Were it a part of my plan to investigate to the bottom the origin of the question which occasions at this moment a difference between the two Courts, I should be at no loss to establish, by particular facts which relate to myself, that not only our Ministers have shown more respect than they owed to

England, and to the nature of their actual connections, but that their complaisance for the Court of London kept them very far even from the moderate assertion of those rights, which are not disputed in the case of any indifferent, neutral power. It is by national facts, well known to all Europe, that I should destroy that reproach of *perfidy* so frequently applied to the conduct of France, in the *Memoire Justificatif*; and I should retort so victoriously upon the authors of that aspersions, that no room should be left to doubt, the truth of my assertions.

In fact, then, what is that nation which pretends at this day to fully our character with the suspicion of *perfidy*, by claiming of us, with so much assurance, both the honour and the faith of treaties? Is it not that very English nation, unjust to us by system, and whose morality with respect to us has been always comprised in this maxim, a thousand times applauded in London, when expressed by their great politician Chatham: *If we should attempt to be just towards France and Spain, we should have too much to suffer. To weaken them, or to go to war with them, is our only rule, and the basis of all our success?*

Is not this the very same people whose outrages and usurpations have been bounded only by their powers; who have always gone to war with us without declaring it; who, after having in 1754 assassinated Mr. de Jumonville, a French officer, in the midst of a meeting assembled in Canada, to establish a convention of peace, and to fix boundaries; without any apparent object, began the war of 1755, by the unexpected capture of 500 of our ships, in full peace, and concluded it in 1763, by the most arbitrary treaty, and the most intolerable abuse of those advantages which fortune had given them over us in that unjust war!

Is it not that usurping nation, by whom the most sacred and solemn peace is considered only as a truce granted to her weakness, and from which she always departs by the most atrocious acts of hostility? Who, in the year 1774, allowed her Governor of Senegal, Mr. Macnamara, to carry off a French ship belonging to Nanta, which has never been restored? Who, in the year 1776, after having outraged us in every shape in India, insulted on the Ganges three French ships, *La Sainte Anne*, *La Catherine*, and *L'Isle de France*, and fired upon them, at the passage of Calcutta, stopped them in their course, killed or wounded our sailors, and, crowning the atrociousness of the action with derision, sent them surgeons immediately to dress their wounded? An outrage, for which all the merchants of India, enraged and intimidated, have incessantly demanded justice and vengeance from the King of France.

Is it not likewise this same nation, who, steady to her system, had given orders, a year before the breaking out of hostilities, to attack us unprepared in India, and to drive us from all our possessions, as it is incontrovertibly proved by the date of their investment of Pondicherry in 1778; and who, immoveable in her arrogance, does not blush coolly to advance even at this day, by her affected Memorialists, "*that it is beneath the dignity of her King to examine facts, or epochs that are past,*" as if it was not acknowledged, that in every quarrel, the whole of the injury is entirely with the original aggressor?

Is it not that nation always provoking mischief, who, even during the time of peace, arrogating to herself the privileges of a general custom-house, and the right of visiting all ships upon the ocean, diverted herself with making experiments on our patience, by stopping, insulting, and harassing all our merchant

ships in the sight even of our own coasts?

Is it not a seaman of that nation, who is described by Captain Morchevais, of Bourdeaux, as having stopped him in March, 1777, at 130 leagues from the coast of France, who fired at him eight shot, stopped his course, and, after having sent four men and a mate on board, to examine his passports, and proved they were exact, yet had he the mortification to see ten rascals sent on board him, his hales of goods burst open, his whole ship ransacked, himself pillaged, made prisoner, and kept with six others on board the English ship, as long as they thought proper to make him swallow the poison of insult, and submit to the grossest outrages?

Was it not also by English captains, that, in this same time of peace, many Bourdeaux ships, amongst others, the *Medan* and the *Nancy* were seized on their departure from the Cape, and their crews most shamefully treated, although they were destined for France, and did not contain any warlike stores? That a Captain Morin was stopped at Preacher's Point, off Martinique, and sent to Dominica, notwithstanding the regular clearances for Cape François and St. Pierre de Miquelon. The registers of our Admiralty are filled with similar complaints and declarations made in 1776 and 1777, against the English, that people so rigid and just in their proceedings, who now take upon themselves to accuse us of *perfidy!*

They took from us our ships then, even in the anchorage of our islands. They chased their enemies quite upon our coasts, and cannonaded them so near, that their shot fell upon the land; and they made no scruple of answering by whole broadsides, the representation made by the Captains of our frigates, of the indecency of their proceedings. Witness the *Chevalier de Boisser*, who, unable

unable to suppress his indignation, thought himself called upon to chastise this insolence, near the *Ile à Vache*, by disabling, by a hot fire, an English frigate, and obliging her to retreat, in a shattered condition to Jamaica.

They fired upon ships after they had entered the ports of France; witness the merchant ship insulted in the pier of Dunkirk, by several cannon shot, and compelled to quit it at all hazards, to be visited by an English advice-boat, which impudently kept her in the road for that purpose.

Did they not carry their violence even to the attempt at burning the American shipping in our very bays? A studied insult at Cherbourg, and which could not be attributed to the error of any individual, because it was a King's cutter, the Captain in his uniform, and sent from Jersey by the express order of the Court, with the promise of 300 guineas, if he carried his insulting project into execution.

These and a thousand other similar complaints, were carried in from all quarters to the French Ministers, who being able, as perhaps they ought to have done, to raise a general clamour against England, for the commission of such irregularities, had nevertheless the moderation to confine their representations to the English Ministers, whose answers, as often full of derision as the conduct of their seamen was offensive, contained substantially no more than, that "either we were ill-informed, or the Captains complained of were drunk, or that it was some misunderstanding, or even that they were the traitorous Americans, under English colours." Never was there any other reason; still less was there a pretence of justice; and this, forsooth, is the conscientious neighbour, the candid friend, the mo-

derate and equitable people, who are now accusing us of *perfidy*.

To whom then does the writer of the *Memoirs Justificatif* pretend to ascribe the alteration of affairs in Europe? Is it to divert the attention of the English from the weak and stupid conduct of their own Ministry, that he has employed his pen in the condemnation of ours? In accusing our Ministers of having deceived the French nation and their King, does he think to stifle the cries of the English people, who make their murmuring with these tremendous words, "restore to us America and the blood of our brethren; restore us our trade and the millions which are swallowed up in this abominable war. It is not the *perfidy* of *obrivahs*, which has produced all their losses and misfortunes, it is yours. Alas! what share have the French Ministers had, in fact, in producing the independence of America—you have done it.

When France, at the last peace, put England in possession of Canada; when, a long time after that epoch, the clear-sighted Mr. Pitt had foretold, "*That if the Americans were allowed to make a single horse-shoe, they would soon break the bands of their obedience*;" when the same Lord Chatham still further, in the year 1762, predicted, "*that the cession of Canada by France, would occasion the loss of America to England*;" when the jealousies entertained by all the colonies, respecting the privileges granted to that new possession, and their anxiety on the establishment of an absolute monarchy, which seemed to threaten their liberty, gave rise to popular murmurs and disturbances; when exactions, and bad treatment, made the alarm be sounded through America, and drove them to throw off the harsh, intolerable yoke of England, by contracting the meanings

of that extensive word *commerce* to the limits of their Continent; did France interfere, on any account, in the motives of that rupture? Did her *intrigue* or *perfidy*, influence the English Ministers, or make them blind to the events and natural consequences, of that tremendous report which they affect to despise? The fire of discontent lay brooding through every part of America. But when at the moment of the Stamp Act, in 1766, the blaze lighted at Boston spread itself throughout all the towns of the North; when the bloody uproar of that town animated the inhabitants to demand, in a high tone, the recall of the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts Bay, when the affair of the sloop at Rhode Island obliged the English to recall those two officers, and to repeal that imprudent Act, the Stamp Act. Had the *intrigue* or *perfidy* of France at that time the smallest influence in the events, which laid the foundation of the emancipation of the colonies, an event, to which the English Ministry, with difficulty, at length condescended to open their eyes?

Soon after, the fatal tax on tea, the referring all causes of consequence to London, the appointment of Admiralty Judges named by the Court, and a variety of other attempts against the liberties of the colonies, obliged all the colonists to take up arms, and to form that illustrious body, which has since become so fatal to the English in Europe, *The Congress of Philadelphia*. Was this gross imprudence too, this blind folly on the part of the Cabinet at St. James's? Were they imputable to the *intrigue* and the *perfidy* of our Ministry, or to the force of gold? did we excite the insurrection of the young men, and the hostilities of General Gage, at Boston, the prohibition of tea in all the colonies, and all those great

movements which appalled the universe, that *the hour of America at length was come*; whilst the English Ministers, like the Duc d'Olivarez, so well known by the insidious account he gave to his King Philip, of the revolt of the Duke of Braganza, deceived their King GEORGE, and *perfidiously lulled him to sleep*, with the absurd hope of conquering America? Did the *intrigue* or the *perfidy* of France direct the vigorous efforts of a people rushing forwards to a state of liberty, in consequence of tyranny. When the English ships were sent back with such contempt to Europe, was it France then who inflamed the English obstinacy to send them back to America, and inspire the persevering obstinacy of the Americans to refuse them, and to burn their cargoes?

And when the open rupture between the two nations and their mutual armaments, the shameful affair of Lexington and that of Bunker's-hill, and the baseness of the English in *arming the slaves against their masters* in Virginia, and the still greater enormity of *counterfeiting the paper money*, in order to destroy its credit; a species of poison unknown to former times, and a multitude of other horrid circumstances, had reduced America to the necessity of publishing her independence, and of maintaining it by open force. Have all these proceeded from French *intrigue* or *perfidy*? or from the rapaciousness, the pride, the folly, or the insatiation of the English.

Does any person presume to say, that France availed herself of that ancient, deep, and well-founded resentment, which she is justified in retaining, to foment difficulties and revolt amongst her neighbours.

A passive spectator of what passed, she forgot every breach of faith, on the part of England, and the material interests of her own commerce, and the leading State maxim which allows,

allows, perhaps directs us, to profit by the discord of a natural enemy, to heighten his distress, or to attack his weakness, since the experience of more than an age has proved that there is no other method of compelling him to be just and equitable towards us. In like manner, although *St. James's*, by no means deserved, as it since appears, any of those tokens of regard which the Court of Versailles lavished upon her, on an opportunity so favourable, to her own interest, France nevertheless remained strictly passive, and indifferent to the intestine quarrels of her unjust rival; nay more, to pacify that turbulent rival, she declared that she should preserve the most perfect neutrality between the two people, and did, in consequence, religiously observe it, to the very moment when reason, prudence, the force of events, and, above all, the attention due to themselves obliged the French to make a total change of their public conduct, and to assume a different appearance.

But why does England, in the very instance of that neutrality, presume to regard it as a breach of faith in France, and to reproach her with it, as an infraction of the subsisting treaties? It is, because she knew very well, that the great question which stirred up the colonies to revolt, could not by any means be made to resemble those seditious movements, which are not to be justified even by success, and which the Prince has the right to punish in more absolute monarchies. It is, because the generic name of *King*, the latitude of which is so extensive, that none of those who are honoured with it, possess a similar establishment, power, situation, or privileges: it is, because that title, so difficult to support, having an acceptation totally different in countries under the government of one man, such as the tranquil monarchy of France, from what

it has in mixed and turbulent governments, such as the *Royal- Aristocracy of England*; the same procedure of the province of Languedoc, or of Alsace, towards France, which would have been justly looked upon with us, as a *crimen læsæ majestatis* is looked upon in no other light in England than as a simple question of right, open to the discussion of every free citizen. It is, because the refusal, on the part of the King, to do justice to America, and the redressing their grievances nevertheless by the mouth of the cannon, was viewed, as it ought to be in England, as one of the greatest abuses of power, as a total subversion of the laws of the constitution, and an usurpation of the most dangerous nature in a Prince of the *House of Brunswick*; for he ought not to forget, that the transfer of the Crown to his family was produced by an insurrection on similar principles, but with the express condition to wear it as became an *English King*, (*King Anglais*) and not in the same manner as the King of France, (*ou non à la manière du Roi de France*.)

It is, because the firm demand of the colonies to the right of not being taxed, without Representatives, and to a trial by a jury of their peers, had found so many partizans in England, that the nation was, and does still continue to be greatly divided on a subject so interesting to the civil rights of every English citizen. It is, because, even in the Houses of Parliament, the doubts upon this subject were carried to such a height, as to induce a question, — Whether the English are not, in some respects, greater rebels to the common charter of the constitution than the Americans?

It is, because *my Lord Abington*, one of the most upright and enlightened men in England, was upon the point of proposing, in full Parliament, and to record upon their journals,

journals, as the cause of their *secession* (a new word created purposely to express this national insurrection) that the Parliament and King had exceeded their constitutional powers in this war, that the Parliament in particular, composed of the Representatives of the people of England, ought by no means to have submitted to play the odious farce of *Valets-maitres*, nor have sacrificed the interests of their constituents to the ambition of their Prince and his Ministers. It is, because, he added, that in case of such an abuse, the people had a right to resume a power which was so ill employed; for the decision of such a question as the American war rested with them, in their capacity as supreme legislators, and the original founders of the English Constitution. But if, even in England, it was a moot point who was the greatest rebel to the Constitution, the Englishman or the American, the reason is still stronger, that a foreign Prince should not have given himself the trouble of examining a question which divided the two people, and for his remaining a calm spectator of their quarrel!

And this was the reasoning by which the King actually regulated his conduct.

This refusal to decide between England and America; (*l'ancienue et la nouvelle Angleterre*) this equitable and undisputed principle of the King of France once admitted; anticipated, and overturned, that crowd of subtle objections which have since occurred to the Logicians of Oxford, of Cambridge, and of London; Whether the King of France ought to open or shut his ports against the ships of the two nations at war; or only against one of them? Whether he ought not to restrain his own commercial privileges, out of complaisance to one nation, which pays no respect to the rights of any nation? And above

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all, whether he ought not to prohibit his own armed ships the advantage of the American ports, although he admitted the Americans into his? Questions which are evidently as absurd to propose, as their answers must be futile. For, in absolute right of his neutrality, the King owed nothing to the two nations but a fair and equal treatment, either in admitting or excluding their ships.

As it would be a manifest contradiction in France, if when she opens her ports to English, Dutch, and Swedish ships, she should forbid her merchants the liberty of trading with London, to the Baltic, to *Zuiderzee*, &c. So would it, if when she received American ships on the footing of all other nations, into her harbours, she should refuse her own adventurers the liberty of going to trade at Boston, Williamsburgh, Charles-town, or Philadelphia; for in this particular, every thing should be equal.

Such, in my opinion, were the consequences, strictly just, which France ought to have derived from her neutrality respecting her trade; and if the King of France, forgetting the rooted resentments of the persons who occasioned it, were even inclined to show some indulgence to his unjust neighbours at war with their brethren, his Majesty was bound by a much stronger tie, and found his *justice* interested in not subjecting his faithful subjects, the maritime traders, in times of full peace, to interdictions and prohibitions, which no Sovereign of Europe would think of imposing upon theirs. To leave our ports open and free to all nations not at war with us, and not to deprive the English of the privilege of draining us by commerce, of all kinds of French produce, by granting the Americans also the liberty of purchasing them of us! Was not this at the same time, preserving on the part of the King, that attention granted to all foreigners,

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fatiguers, and maintaining that protection which is essentially due from every just Sovereign, to the commerce of his dominions?

Well! but in declaring freely, and according to my own opinion, that such *ought* to have been the conduct of France, I am under the necessity of acknowledging, that whether from delicacy or austerity, in the morals of a young and virtuous Prince, whose heart is still unexperienced, he possesses not that anger and desire of revenging himself upon the English, which his grandfather retained, even to his grave; Whether it proceeded from a love of peace, or the compassionate feelings of our Ministers, for the embarrassed situation of unjust England, or a certain blind complaisance to the representations of Lord Stormont, who never ceased to tease them, the King's Ministers, still acknowledging, that the French merchants were well founded in their demands of protection for the trade they were desirous of opening with America, always conducted themselves in that respect with uncommon rigour. If any present circumstances ought to make them repent their condescension, it must be to see the *polite* writer of the *Memoire Justificatif*, attempting to establish as a *trait* of their perfidy, that anxiety occasioned only by a perpetual and most grievous struggle between their authority, which was exerted to repress it, and the very active efforts of a trade throwing new light over our real interests?

When to all those reasons contained in my representations, which militated in favour of the commerce of France, I added, with that freedom, which a genuine patriotism only could excuse; when I added, I say, that it would appear strange to all Europe, that the King of France should have the forbearance to suffer his tobacco farm to pay no less than *one hundred*

livres & quintal for that useful article, nay, to suffer it even to be unsupplied, whilst America was overstocked with it: that if the war between England and her Colonies should last two years longer, the King, for want of availing himself of the fairest privileges of his neutrality, exposed himself to the probability of seeing the twenty-five or thirty millions of his revenue, arising from the farm of tobacco, very greatly endangered; and this, because it was the pleasure of the English, who were no longer able to furnish us with that article, insolently to forbid us to purchase it in the only country in the world where it was cultivated in perfection: a species of presumption so intolerable, that even at London we were become their laughing stock, for our tameness and acquiescence!

When, by these and similar reasons, I urged our Ministers to open their arms to the commerce of France; as nobody can suppose that it was for want of understanding us thoroughly that they treated us with rigour, we must naturally conclude that an excess of condescension for our enemies made them deaf to our remonstrances! an excess, the more extraordinary and inexplicable, because at present we know by experience, that the Ministers on the other side of the channel, never had any good-will towards them.

However, if I have plainly shewn that after many ages of a well-founded resentment, and consistently with the principles of *natural right*, (*droit naturel*) under the regulations of which alone, people and kingdoms hold their respective relations to each other, France might without scruple avail herself of every opportunity of revenging herself on England, and of humbling her, in promoting the revolt of the Colonies, *and that she has not done it!* If I have clearly proved

proved, that in following the example, and imitating the proceedings of England, France might have taken advantage of the difficulties in which her natural enemies were involved by the American war, by falling unexpectedly upon their fleets of merchantmen, or upon their possessions in the Gulph; which, so far from involving us in a war, would have condemned England to an eternal peace; and that from a principle of delicacy, and a nice sense of honour, she did not think proper to do it!

There remains nothing farther for me to prove, unless respecting those passages of the *Memoire Justificatif*, which relate to my trade to America, my views; or the pretended concurrence of Ministers; it remains for me to prove, that Lord Stormont, contrary to truth, to his information, and his conscience, was continually transmitting to his Court, the falsest and most insidious representations of the conduct of our Court; and that is what I am now about to undertake.

I shall begin, by allowing freely and without evasion, that the French merchants, amongst whom I name myself, did certainly, notwithstanding the orders of the Court, send several cargoes of clothing, arms, and stores of every kind to America; and that, if they were not oftener repeated, it was on account of the rigour of our administration, which never ceased to obstruct their adventures; and I grant this, not only because it is the fact, but because I believe, that on this occasion the French adventurers were restrained by no other tie, than that of not injuring the political interests of the King of France, by their own private speculations.

They might likewise be ignorant, whether the King, through austerity, viewed their exertions with an unfavourable eye; for under so good and just a Prince, there is a wide difference between the misfortune of

displeasing, and the frightful crime of disobeying him. Besides, the English writer, who, in his *Memoire Justificatif*, so falsely applies the word *contrebande* to those commercial expeditions which we risked, does he not know, or does he pretend to be ignorant, that the merchandize, which is open to sale and barter in any kingdom, by no means becomes contraband, from the single circumstance that its exportation or destination may possibly prove injurious to a foreign power; and that the merchant, who is never consulted on treaties between Kings, ought not to pique himself on studying them, unless in points, which either counteract, or favour his speculations? On what grounds then does the *Armateur* owe any particular respect to rival foreigners, to the enemies of his trade? From the very nature of things, in a naval war, is not the unfortunate ship owner condemned solely to bear all the weight of the losses of the State, without ever obtaining the smallest compensation? In a land war at least, whilst persons paid by the Crown, dispute with cannon, or with musquetry, a territory, a town, a country, in short any fixed property, the revenue of which ought to indemnify the Prince who makes the attack, for those expenses incurred by the conquest; the Citizen, the Shop-keeper, the Bourgeois, who has not taken up arms, waits the event without apprehension, and remains the free possessor of his property, upon the sole condition of paying his old tribute to a new master, subject indeed, perhaps, to some abuses.

But as we are told that no man will fight for nothing; that if Man be born a Plunderer, War, and above all a Sea War, awakens in him that passion which nothing but the restraint of the laws could have lulled asleep; and since, in that Sea War, there is nothing fixed to conquer

which can repay the expences of subsidies, and the field of battle belongs always to the Fish, when the brave combatants are separated, dispersed, or gone to the bottom; All the Heroes of the ocean concur in indemnifying themselves as soon as possible, and with the morality of wolves, in commencing, by falling upon the unarmed vessels of a peaceful commerce, and by enriching themselves without shame, reason, or remorse, with the property of the merchant who makes no resistance; except by battling and tearing each others to pieces when they meet face to face. So that, at the return of Peace, when States, exhausted by war, forgive or do justice to each other, or on account of their successes, with a strong hand, reciprocally indemnify themselves for their losses; the poor merchant adventurer (*armateur*) about whom nobody has bestowed a thought, who has lost his All, and to whom nobody restores a farthing; he alone remains dispossessed of his property by the unpunished robbery he has suffered; he who was not at war with any man!

The result of this abominable state of things is, that the cruel violence with which the merchant is made the first victim in the quarrels between Sovereigns, must necessarily leave in his heart a most inveterate hatred against all the foreign enemies of his trade, and his property. It results likewise, that nobody without possessing a most infernal heart, can envy him the only resource left him against such an accumulation of dangers, that, of seizing every opportunity, and every means of rendering his speculations both prompt and lucrative.

We required, therefore, (and let it not displease *Lord Stormont*, who makes the French merchants the vile instruments of the *perfidy* of our Ministers) no other motive to induce us to assist America than the hope of

ballancing our risks by our advantages; and our calculations in that respect being much clearer than any ministerial hints, we were of opinion, as I have already said, that we were bound by no other obligation than that of not injuring, by our adventures, the avowed interest of the Prince who governed us. But certainly, and let it not displease *Lord Stormont*, the *English Cabinet*, or the *Writer of the Manifesto*, none of us ever entertained the absurd idea that we could be expected to shew so delicate a regard to unjust England, as to suppress our speculations in any country, because it was become her enemy. On the contrary, every body must have foreseen that the Americans, having the most pressing wants, on account of the English war, would give a higher price for the articles which were necessary for them: this has made France the general vehicle of that commerce. As for myself, whom an inherent love of liberty, whom a rational attachment to a brave people, who were the avengers of the universe against English tyranny, had inflamed: I avow with pleasure, that seeing the incurable folly of the English Ministry, who were attempting to enslave *America by oppression*, and to enslave *England through America*, I have ventured to foresee the success of the efforts of America for her deliverance; I have even dared to think that, without the intervention of any Government, or the *Maritime Colossuses*, with whom they have cemented an alliance, the *humiliation of haughty and overbearing England* might have been nearly effected by these *dastardly despicable cowards* (*ces vilis poltrons, si dedaignés*) of the other Continent, with the simple aid only of a few obscure merchants of this country.

I glory farther in avowing that, full of these ideas, I have dared by my conversation, by my writings, and

and my example, *first*, to set a going, and encourage our manufacturers, and our adventurers; and that I have never intentionally, whatever may be insinuated to the contrary, been wanting in my duty as a good subject towards my Sovereign, in promoting a maritime company, in establishing a permanent commercial correspondence between America and my House, in taking upon me to purchase and ship in Europe all the articles which could possibly prove of use to my *brave* correspondents, *the dastardly* towards of America.

But if I did not pretend to the protection of the Court, I own that I was far from thinking, that *Lord Stormont*, whose principal employment was to tease the Court, would have the credit by his clamorous application to induce the Ministers to establish a severe and unheard-of inquisition into the merchant's private compting-house, and to put a stop to his speculations. But since the object of his mission, which he has accomplished but too well, to the advantage of England, has unfortunately ruined the attempts and the enterprizes of the French merchant adventurers, Why has this ungrateful Lord, who, in his ministerial dispatches, lays so much stress upon nine or ten of my vessels, laden for the Americans, at the end of the year 1776, and who with so much finesse distinguishes them from my frigate *L'Amphitrite*? Why has he neglected to inform his Court, that our Ministry, stunn'd with his complaints, actually lost sight of that protection, which, *perhaps*, they owed us, and which so far from granting us, they overwhelmed the trade with prohibitions, and in particular, almost entirely smothered my rising general commercial company, by laying a general embargo on all my ships?

In vain did I represent then, that to be subject to the persecution of the English, who acted like Custom-

house officers (*Douaniers Anglois*) upon the seas, and to see one self expos'd to the loss of every thing without hope of reclaim, if one was taken on the coast of America, with goods prohibited by England, was surely to incur sufficient risque, without France lending her aid to restrain the projects of the merchants; the Ministry, inflexible to the representation, continued rigorously to insist, that all our ships should make their voyages to the islands, and should submit themselves by no means to trade with the Continent.

What motive then could induce this Ambassador to conceal from his Court the excessive marks of complaisance which he received from ours? Why has he concealed from it, that, upon *his information*, on the 10th of Dec. 1776, the Minister of the Marine actually gave orders to have all my ships stopped at *Havre*, and closely examined? That, in that port where *L'Amphitrite*, *le Romain*, *L'Andromede*, *L'Anonyme*, and several others were lying, if the first of these ships which was already launched into the main road, avoided the search, all the rest underwent it, and with such rigour, that they were all publicly unloaded, to the great injury of my expedition.

Why did he not add, in the exultation of his joy, that not being able to hope for an end, or to obtain any relaxation of these prohibitory orders, I was under the necessity of disarming all my ships; in fact, it is matter of public notoriety, that if some of these ships were able at length to get away, it was not until the months of April, May, and June, in the following year; even then too, it was necessary to change their names and their cargoes, and to give the most positive assurances, that they were going no where but to our islands in the Gulph; Will the Ambassador deny that they were even actually

so destined, since he knows that one of them, *La Seine*, as the price of my obedience, was taken at Preacher's Point, within soundings off Martinico, to the great disgrace of all the inhabitants who saw it, and carried to Dominica, where without other form of process, the English flag was immediately hoisted, and ours thrown into the sea, with three loud buzzas, and for me, most melancholy, *seux de joie*?

Why did not this profound Politician, this Ambassador, made Minister, write to his Court, that a similar embargo was put on all my ships at Nantz; and that *la Therese*, stopped in that port, was not allowed to leave it until June 1777, after the most rigid examination, and when it was clearly ascertained, that she carried no warlike stores; and after, the Captain was obliged to submit to go only to St. Domingo, where his ship, as well as *l'Amelie*, remained near twelve months, to my very great detriment; since, four small Bermudian vessels, which I had bought to convey to the Continent, the cargoes of these European ships, were all taken either in going or coming?

Why has he not told his Court, that in January, 1777, my *Amphibrite*, having put into l'Orient, the Ministry, at his request, stopped this ship under the pretext that several officers were on board her, with the intention of offering their services to the Americans?

How came he, on this occasion, to omit, in his dispatches, that the Court sent orders to the principal of these officers, to rejoin his corps immediately at Metz, there to give account of his conduct; and that on learning that the officer had evaded complying with the order, the Court dispatched a Courier express to l'Orient, with orders to arrest and break him, and to shut him up for the remainder of his life in the castle

at Nantz; a severity which he narrowly escaped by saving himself almost naked, without daring to return to the ship: how came he not to mention that the Ministry did not even permit my frigate to sail, without insisting upon a positive engagement in writing from the Captain that he would only go to St. Domingo, under the penalty of undergoing whatever punishment the Court should think proper to inflict, on his return, if he departed from his engagement.

But another reflection suggests itself, and I am called upon not to withhold it, since the writer for the King of England has neglected it. The Court of France, a foreign power, indifferent and neuter in the quarrel, opposed this noble manner in which many officers, principally foreigners, were desirous of employing their leisure, in favour of the Americans; but what was this to us, in whose behalf they were about to exercise their valour? And by what an excess of complaisance for the English Ambassador, did our Ministers establish such an inquisition against the partizans of America, when it is proved by the fact, that the nephew of the *Maréchal de Thonond*, and of *My Lord Clare*; that *Count Bulkley*, in short, the most zealous Englishman that ever was permitted to be in the service of France, obtained leave from them, without the smallest difficulty, to go to London to solicit employment in the service of that Court against America? If the solution of this problem escapes my discernment, what must strike all the world, as well as myself, is, that the comparison and the coincidence of these two proceedings, ought at least to find some favour for our very complaisant Ministers, in the eyes of this most terrible Ambassador; and that his zeal and his labours would not have appeared less important

important to his country; and would have recommended him equally to the Minister, before whom he burned with impatience to present himself, if, instead of calumniating our Court, he had rendered a faithful account to his own, of what came to his knowledge from day to day.

Although politics be throughout, at bottom, no more than a *sublime imposture*, nobody has ever hitherto seen an Ambassador take such extensive liberties under the sublimity of his imposture! it was reserved to *Lord Starmont*, to hold up a worthy example of it to the universe!—But it is France, says he, who sent these officers to America:—Oh! great *politician*, or rather *pedlar in politics*! are there many as deep reasoners as yourself in England? And do you think that the Congress, who did not conceive themselves bound by any of the engagements, made in my presence, by their own Agents in Europe, with the officers whom I sent out, who have even rejected the service of almost all those who got to America; do you think that Congress would have been so deficient in respect for our Court on this head, if they had imagined that these generous warriors, had been sent to them by a King whose friendship and assistance they were so anxiously courting? How do you think the King of France would have looked upon the sending back of these officers, if that Prince had been at all concerned in the arrangement of their departure? It is very fortunate when it seems to be able to reason falsely at London! This reflection alone is a *trait* of light which places us all in our true point of view, Englishmen, Frenchmen, labourers, and philosophers.

In truth, my ardent zeal for my new friends, might have been wounded by the small estimation in which those brave men were held by

them, whom I had myself induced to relinquish their country to serve them. My endeavours, my labours, and the sums I advanced on that head were immense. But my only concern was for our unfortunate officers; for even in the very refusal of their services by the Americans, a certain republican pride (*fierté*) won my heart, in shewing me a people so zealous to gain their freedom, that they were afraid of diminishing the glory of their success, should they permit foreigners to be partakers of the danger.

Thus it is that I compose my mind; amidst the greatest evils, it searches with industry the little good it can find within itself, as matter of consolation. Thus, whilst my efforts proved so unavailing in America, and the English were endeavouring to render them still less efficacious by contaminating all around me, some cowardly enemies accused me in my own country of being bribed by the Court of London, to inform them in time of the sailing of all our merchant ships, and to put her in the way of taking them. As for myself, borne up by conscious pride, I disdained an exculpation, and left these miscreants to the correction of their own shame, with the assurance of never sullying my paper with their names. The idle world in Paris envied my good fortune, and were jealous of me as a chosen favourite of fortune; whilst I, the melancholy sport of accidents, solitary, robbed of repose, lost to society, exhausted with want of sleep, and with chagrin, by turns exposed to suspicion, to ingratitude, to anxiety, to the reproaches of France, England, and America, labouring night and day, and pursuing my object with ardour through these thorny brakes; I emaciated myself with fatigue, and made very little progress. But my courage revived anew when I considered that a great people

people would very soon offer a delicious, and a free retreat for all the persecuted in Europe; that my country would be avenged of that humiliation to which she had been compelled to submit, *in fixing, by the treaty of 1763, the small number of ships which she was permitted to maintain*; that the dark veil, the funeral crape with which our port of Dunkirk was enveloped for the last 60 years, would be at length torn asunder; that, in short, the Ocean become free to all commercial nations, Marseilles, Nantz, Bourdeaux, might dispute the commercial palm with London, and become, in their turn, the marts of the universe. I was supported by the hope of a new system of politics, which was yet in embryo in Europe, and that England, once driven back to its true place in the scale, the French name would be beloved, cherished, and respected every where. I would add farther, that I was re-animated with the hope of seeing the present reign exalted to be one of the most brilliant of the French monarchy, if, in that severe and forcibly-directed order, I were not totally precluded all eulogium, even that of the young King, who flatters us with enlarged hopes, by the wisdom of his projects, and by his real and pure love of what is right, at an age when almost all men are distinguished by their follies, their absurdities, or their obstinacy. This pleasing prospect restored to me my courage, nay even my gaiety, insomuch that one of the English Ministers having done me the honour of saying, laughingly, to somebody, on the subject of *the Amphitrite*, that I was a good politician, but a miserable merchant, I answered in the same tone,—"that must be left to time, the event alone can shew us, which will be most successful, I in my *little trade*, or he in his *great administration*."

In such a state of things, one is very sensible that the cabinet of St. James's would have heard with joy from its Ambassador, that at the return of my frigate, *L'Amphitrite*, my Captain, accused of disobedience, had been shamefully arrested, and thrown into prison, although his journal proved, that he only gave way to circumstances; and that having been ninety days in his passage, and thirty-five without a reckoning, he was on the point of perishing on the instant that he was carried to the Continent; but his crime was, having dropped his anchor there; and as for myself, I am persuaded, that Lord North would have been pleased with the Ambassador, if he had learnt from him, that the terrible face he put on this affair to our Ministers, cost my unfortunate captain three months imprisonment, and myself two thousand crowns of indemnity, which I thought I owed him, and all this to pay for the whims of my Lord Stormont.

Thus it is, that every fact stated in the *Memoire Justificatif*, as far as it depends upon the representation of that Ambassador, is either *false, insidious, or forged*. Observe how he quotes it as a crime, that a ship of mine, *L'Heureux*, left Marseilles in September, 1777, and concealing at the same time from the Court, that this vessel *L'Heureux*, the most unfortunate of my ships, was six months in port, fitted out, laden, ready to sail, then stopped on the solicitation of this same Lord; in short, twice unloaded publicly by the Minister's order; and that it was not till after these scandalous and injurious public exposures, that this ship, which had almost ruined me by so long a delay, and such enormous expences, obtained permission to leave the port, with provisions only, and without any warlike stores. For if she stopped any where else to complete her lading, which was not above one third finished, it is a transaction

transaction utterly unknown to our Ministers, since it passed far from the kingdom, and out of the reach of their extended arms.

Thus, when this Memorial speaks of my armaments at Dunkirk, it takes care to acknowledge, that the Ministry, as severe towards me, as attentive to the complaints of the English Ambassador, gave express orders to search in that port all the ships marked by the Stormontine inquisition (*par l'inquisition Stormontienne*) and to unload them without pity, if they had warlike stores on board; that one of them, *la Marie Catharine*, at that time in the road, was able to escape their rigour, and to reach Martinico with a cargo of artillery, insured even at London; but that the others were searched, unloaded, and forced to go in ballast to look after a freight in America, without my being able to find another opportunity of re-embarking my military cargo; so great was the vigilance of the Government; so severe was it, and unremitting.

This is what *Lord Stormont* might have transmitted to his Court; he would, in that case, have done honour to his vigilance, without departing from the truth: but that is what men trouble themselves the least about in politics. He ought even to have added that, in my rage for what had befallen me at Dunkirk, having learnt that *Mr. Fraser*, the English Commissary, odious from the very nature of his employ, but *personally detested* at that port, had dared to bribe and send to England one of our best coasting pilots, and several French sailors, I procured legal proofs of this shameful fact; but that I could not get the Government to prosecute this insolent Commissary, for this *crimen læsæ nationis*; and I did not obtain my wish, I remember well, for this reason; because the pains which I took on this subject, might possibly be imputed to recrimination in me, by the English Ambassador; I will speak out; for

this is neither the time or place to flatter any body. A publication for the purpose of destroying the idle English tales contained in the *Memoire Justificatif*, ought not, in its turn, to be liable to the like imputation of a weak partiality for France.

But the completion of unfaithfulness in the reports of the English Ambassador, is the insidious account he gives to the Court of the *Hippopotame*, the ship which I have named *Le Fier Rodrigue*, and which has since had the honour of being thought worthy by the General Admiral d'Estaing (*Général Amiral d'Esbaing*) of contributing under his command to the success of his Majesty's arms off Grenada, which was not the *triumph of Gazettes*, nor the success of volleys from the press, as the honeyed writers of the *Memoire Justificatif* is pleased to call them, but brilliant and substantial successes from the mouths of our cannon.

The detention of so many ships in our ports; so many obliged to be unloaded by superior command; so many operations destroyed or suspended; so much time and money lost; and above all, the compulsory obligation of putting the prohibitory orders of the Court into strict execution, with respect to military stores, had at length changed my plans of fitting out.

Hearing very soon that the English had taken several ships from me, and that I had no other method left of escaping free, than by making myself formidable to privateers, I purchased at public auction, in April, 1777, the *Hippopotame*, a King's ship of the line, which was sold at Rochefort. She was soon refitted for the purpose of an armed ship of war, and to carry merchandize, and all her cargo, to the value of a million of livres, consisting of wine, brandy, dry goods, and without a single military weapon, or one single chest of stores, was immediately shipped at Rochefort, to sail without loss of time.

This is the fact alluded to in the insidious account he gives his Court of the *fourteen thousand musquets that I was to embark, and other military stores for the use of the rebels*, mentioned in the *Memoire Justificatif*; no armament having been more openly, more cruelly molested, out of complaisance to *Lord Stormont*. This is the fact; every body must draw their conclusion.

But this fatal Ambassador, whose great employment it was to injure our trade on land, whilst the privateers of his country outraged and pillaged it at sea; this profound politician, who divided his time between the pleasure of irritating our Ministers in France, and that of calumniating them in England, made at Versailles such lamentations so lamentable about this ship, by stating that I pretended to equip her for trade, when in reality I was arming a ship of war for the service of the Congress, that the Court was shaken by his representation.

Upon these *fresh whinnings (nouvelles trialleries)* the Minister absolutely ignorant that I had a share in that armament, which was made under a fictitious name, gave the most exact orders to the Commandant and Intendant of Rochefort to discover under-hand, the name and object of the true proprietor of the vessel: I was aware of the enquiries of the Court, and instead of the state of the armament, addressed the following memorial to the Minister of the marine under a strange signature. I subjoin it here, because its style and character will give, better than any reasonings of my own, a just idea of the connection which subsisted at that time between the Administration and the Commerce of France.

“ Monseigneur,

“ From the examination taken of our Commissary at Rochefort, by the Commandant of the marine, we are of opinion that it is only one of those

restless and roving English with which our ports are filled, who has spread so ill-timed an alarm against us, and inspired your Excellency by methods very familiar to them, with the design of instituting an inquisition hitherto unknown, into the counting-houses and speculations of the French merchants.

“ Monseigneur, the King's ship the *Hippopotame* was exposed to sale, apparently for any person who would buy it. We purchased it high, and have paid well for it; we have refitted her at a great expence, and we do not conceive that there is any thing in this contrary to the laws of commerce, nor which ought to subject us to the suspicion of wishing to counteract the pacific views of the government.

“ But if a ship of such measurement must necessarily be intended for very great speculation, is it not natural, Monseigneur, that we should put such ship in a state not to be afraid of seeing herself, in full peace, harrassed, fired at, searched, rammagèd, insulted, plundered, perhaps carried off and confiscated, in spite of the formal regularity of our expedition, (as it has happened to many others) if a yard of stuff is found in any of our cargoes, the colour or quality of which happens to displease the first dishonest Englishman who falls in with us, who after he shall have sufficiently insulted us, and made us lose the benefit of a profitable voyage, may perhaps escape punishment by the usual answer of the English Ambassador to any application—*that the Captain was drunk, or that it is some misunderstanding*. But your Excellency is well aware that if that stale and trivial excuse is sufficient to appease the vengeance of the French government, that useful member of society, the merchant, whose trade it is to trust his fortune to the waves; upon the faith of treaties, is not the less ruined, notwithstanding the promised compensation, of which it is

too well understood how to evade the accomplishment.

“ However, Monseigneur, the merchant trader, being of all others of the King’s subjects, the character which ought the most to be countenanced by treaties, is also the person who stands most in need of protection. Cast your eye upon the various situations of society, Monseigneur, and you will see that the Administration, the Exchequer, the Military, the Clergy, the Law, the terrible finance, (*la terrible finance*) and even the useful class of labourers, drawing their subsistence or their income from the interior of the kingdom, all live at his expence. The merchant alone, to increase *their* riches, or *their* luxuries, lays the four quarters of the world under contribution, and taking from you some useless superfluity, goes to exchange it at a distance, and enriches you at his return, with the spoils of the whole universe. He alone is the cement which approximates and reunites every people whose difference of manners, of habits, and of government, tends to keep them asunder, or make them go to war together.

“ If, therefore, the merchant finds himself compelled to give previous information of his speculations, the success of which depends entirely upon secrecy and dispatch, and which must be subject to changes of circumstances dependent on every political event, there is no longer either liberty, safety, or success for him, and the chain of commerce is broken to pieces.

“ Your Excellency will clearly perceive, that it is not to elude obedience that we make these remarks; but only because we are of opinion, that to establish an inquisition into the secrets of the merchants, out of complaisance for the rivals of the French trade, and the natural enemies of the state, is an exercise of authority liable to the most dreadful

consequences, of which it is the least melancholy and alarming; to throw a damp on trade (*dégouter le commerce*) and to extinguish emulation, without which nothing great can be effected. When our Commissioner, to whom it was adjudged in his own name, acknowledged the real owners of the *Hippopotame*, you were so good as to promise him, Monseigneur, the first King’s freight for the Colonies: deign to fulfil that promise; the performance of it is the best method of ascertaining the destination of our vessel. We trust, Monseigneur, that this wish alone contains all the explanation that your Excellency can desire. We are, with the most profound respect, &c. &c.”

This Memorial which was framed for the purpose of establishing the real destination of the *Fier Rodrigue*, and to disarm the Court, produced a very different effect, by discovering *me*: they imagined they saw *me* in this transaction, and the clamours of the Ambassador continuing incessantly, both against my ship and my person, the Minister, at the same moment that he took off the temporary embargo laid on all the other merchant ships, issued the most rigorous orders to stop mine in harbour, without leaving me the smallest hope of their being permitted to sail at any given period.

Having entertained the design of arming with brass cannon, because they were the most convenient for war, and as merchandise, I had purchased and conveyed, at great expence, as many of these cannon as I thought necessary, when a fresh order arrived, which obliged me to resell my artillery at a great loss, without procuring a relaxation of the embargo on my ship. In vain did I offer personally to the Minister to embark some of the King’s troops for St. Domingo on board, that there might remain

no doubt of her destination. In vain did I propose to submit my cargo to the most rigorous search, to ascertain the fact, that no part of the lading of the *Fier Rodrigue* consisted of warlike stores. In vain did I offer to submit, that the ship should return in six months, from a St. Domingo voyage, and with the produce of that island, under the penalty of the total loss both of ship and cargo, in case I failed in my engagement. The Minister was inexorable; and notwithstanding the complaints which such rigour extorted from me; notwithstanding the enormous expence attending a double purchase, double carriage, and the expensive charge of the artillery; notwithstanding the loss arising from the detention of a cargo worth a million (of livres) for a whole year, instead of her departure; notwithstanding the constant and ruinous disbursement for the equipment of a ship of that force, stopped in port for so long a time; notwithstanding, in short, the protestation which despair drew from me, of making the Administration answerable for my losses, before the King himself, and for which I am now in gratitude at his Majesty's feet; the Ministers, true to some, I know not what, promise, extorted from them by the English Ambassador, would never agree to take off the embargo from my ship; and I declare with grief, that I did not obtain even this tardy justice, until after the notification of the treaty of commerce between France and America, made in form at London, by the Marquis de Noailles, and the precipitate retreat of the English Ambassador; that is to say, a whole year after the lading and sitting out of the *Fier Rodrigue*.

This is what *Lord Stormont* took care not to write his Court, and which at this hour he dares not deny. I leave undetailed a multitude of other very distressing and

notorious facts respecting our trade. As for what relates to myself, this extract is sufficient to shew what credit ought to be given to the tales, or to the censures contained in the *Memoire Justificatif*.

When *Lord Stormont* resided at Paris, and propagated any political lie, any false news, unfavourable to the Americans, it is well remembered that the expressions of the Congress Deputies in answer to every body's questions, regularly were, Do not believe it, Sir, *It is a Stormont throughout, (C'est du Stormont tout pur.)*

So, reader, can we say as truly of the *Memoire Justificatif*; *it is a Stormont throughout*, except in the style, which, but for a little heaviness in the translation, would not be deficient in elegance, nor logical precision, if the writer did not continually forget that *Lord Stormont* furnished him with the documents, and that he writes in behalf of unjust England, whose usurpation, infidelity, arrogance, and despotism, have made her totally distinct from every other human society.

For, if kingdoms form great bodies, still more widely separated from their neighbours by the contrariety of their interests, than by their natural barriers, their fortifications, or the sea which incloses them; if their only relative connection are those of natural right (*droit naturel*) that is to say, such as their preservation, their welfare, and their prosperity imposes on each of them; and if these relations differently modified under the name of the law of nations, (*droit des gens*) have for their fundamental principle, even according to *Montesquieu*, to consult their own advantage, with as little detriment as possible to others; it appears that England, having exerted all her pride to free herself from this general law, has adopted for

for *her* fundamental principle, to make herself hated and feared by the whole world, whenever she can derive to herself any advantage from such conduct.

Add to this damnable principle, that convenience which always subsists with them, of infringing treaties, and of being deficient in the execution of agreements, under the pretext, that her King partaking only of an authority divided between himself, the people and the nobles, the engagements he enters into, cannot prevent that fiery nation from proceeding to *excesses*, which, however, are not the less so, when disavowed by the equity of the Prince, or his respect for his sworn faith. Put all these notions, I say, together, and you will still have but a feeble idea of that arrogant people, who accuse *us* at this day of *perfidy*. But then, if the King of England cannot *always* be made the guarantee of the infractions of subsisting treaties, by his subjects; with whom are we to keep our faith? What, Englishmen, do you bind yourselves with us, and yet consider yourselves as not bound? Extraordinary, and proud nation, whom one must admire for your patriotism and that Roman firmness, which you display in your changes of fortune, but whom it is high time to humble, in order to punish and restrain that abominable manner in which you are pleased to abuse your prosperity.

Infatuated step-mother! who pretendest a love for thy children, when thy only object in the connection is to drain the blood from out their veins, and employ it in thy own prostitutions! If the moment be arrived, when all nations may learn from thy fatal example, that there is nothing happy or permanent in politics, which is not founded on universal morality, and the reciprocity of duties and respects.

If thy Ministers, blinded by a

foolish ambition in their views and deceived in their measures, have imprudently introduced their oppressive system into the colonies, and compelled them, by taking up arms, to adopt for their motto, the terrible, but sublime and instructive verse of our great Voltaire :

(*L'Injustice à la fin produit l'indépendance.*)

And if, by a series of that restless arrogance which never allows thee to taste any other liberty, than that which builds itself upon the oppression of thy brethren, you will very soon too, O Englishmen! have to lament the loss of Ireland, so long and so unjustly abused by you; repent ye; smite your breasts; condemn *yourselves*, and cease to accuse your neighbours of promoting the storm, and those infinite mischiefs, which yourselves alone have drawn upon your unhappy country.

I have proved by your abominable proceedings toward us, that you had no right to expect any thing from us but anathemas and revenge; and yet, O Englishmen, you are the aggressors. I have proved, that if France had followed the impulse of her just resentment, she ought to have assisted America, to anticipate even, and hasten the hour of her independence; and yet, O Englishmen! you are the aggressors.

I have proved that converting the effects of their condescending attention to your embarrassed situation, into charges against the honour of our Ministers, you pretend to cover them with indelible ridicule, for having invariably stopped with one hand, what you accuse them of having encouraged with the other; and instead of thanking them for the relatively trifling advantage derived by America, from the feeble efforts of our commerce, you place these efforts to the account of their *perfidy*; even in that
you

you are the dishonourable and ungrateful aggressors.

I will not, however, make use of abusive language. It is *your* manner of defending yourselves, it is known to be so; and when one has got a bad reputation, there is certainly at least a title to enjoy the miserable privileges resulting from it. Every body knows, that in your style, O Englishmen! it is the same with the *perfidy* of France, as the *cowardice* of the Americans, who have made your troops lay down their arms, and have driven you from out their country. Are you then to be allowed to abuse all the world?

But to reason falsely, for the sole enjoyment of being insolent! To reason falsely in a solemn publication, submitted to the judgment of all the reasoners in Europe! Is not this improving upon all the methods of being insolent? For, in short, if the King of France had entertained the design of secretly succouring America, he would at least have wished to do it efficaciously; and in that case it requires no depth to discover, that in lending one million sterling to the United States, a kind of proportion at once established between the money and their paper currency, would have supported the general credit, and emulation; would have increased the ardour of their soldiery by the reality of their pay; and probably would have enabled the Americans, without any other support, to have put a speedy termination to the war. An oeconomy, or a liberality which would have saved us near four hundred millions (*of livres*) which our military protection of them has already cost us.

If, therefore, the moral principles, or the elevated policy of the King of France, prevented him from taking that part, it was, because the King, young and virtuous, would not connive at any thing which he could not properly avow. The whole of

his subsequent conduct is a proof of that assertion. But wherefore then has this Prince, confessedly so just, renounced so suddenly his neutrality, to form an alliance with America? Harken to me, reader, and weigh well my words.

After having remained a long time a passive and quiet spectator of the war, the King of France finding, by the debates of the English Parliament, and by the success of the American arms, that in spite of the efforts of the English, for three successive campaigns, the force of events at length had separated America from England. Finding also, that the best informed persons in England agreed in thinking, and in pronouncing, with a high tone, in the two houses, that it was become necessary to recognize the independence of the Americans, and to treat with them on the footing of equality. The King, no longer able to deceive himself about the real object of the English armaments, when he saw the people of England loudly calling for war against him, making offers of raising a national militia at their own expence, and of voluntarily furnishing, from every shire or county, a certain number of soldiers, on condition that they should be employed against France. Being well informed likewise, that the English Admirals, who had flatly refused to serve against America, were notwithstanding named to the command of squadrons, which could therefore no longer threaten that country. Too well apprized, in short, of the millions which England expended, and the efforts she was making to create divisions as well in the Congress, as between the deputies in France; and knowing above all, the secret expectation they had at London, of engaging the Americans, by the unexpected offer of independence, to reunite themselves to the English against France, to
punish

punish her by a bloody and combined war, for the three years of coolness she had shewn towards America, and for her refusal to enter into an alliance :

Urged by so many accumulated motives, the King resolved, but publicly and without disguise, and without declaring war against the English, still less, to make war without declaring it, as they have established the odious practice, without even attempting to, open negotiations prejudicial to the Court of London, and by a moderate adherence to that neutrality which he had adopted ; the King, I say, resolved at length to recognize the independence of America, to form a treaty of commerce with the United States ; but without excluding any person, not even the English, from a share of that trade.

But undoubtedly, if the rules of justice, of prudence, and the attention to his own security, did not allow the King to defer any longer that acknowledgement of an honourable enfranchisement, and of an independence, which the English flattered themselves they should be able to bring in aid, of their shameful intention against us ; it must be acknowledged, at least, that no act so interesting, so great, so national, could be conducted with more moderation, candour, nobleness, and simplicity ; each description of character, the very reverse of that *perfidy*, which English insolence, and the King in his *Memoire Justificatif*, has endeavoured to fix on France, without any proof.

As for myself, whose interest is lost, and vanishes before such important interests ; as for me, a feeble individual, but an enterprising citizen, a good Frenchman, and a sincere friend of the brave people who have just succeeded in securing their liberty ; if it be surprizing that my feeble voice mixes itself with the

mighty mouths of thunder, which plead their illustrious cause ; I answer that power is only necessary to maintain wrongs, and that a man is always strong enough when he relies on reason. I have suffered great losses ; they have made my labours less useful than I was in hopes they would have proved to my independent friends ; but as I ought to be judged less by my success than by my efforts, I dare put in my claim to the noble recompence that I still am promised, the esteem of three great nations,—France—America ;—nay, even England.

P. A. CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

York, December 30, 1779.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting, of the first persons of consideration and property in this county, held here this day, the following petition and resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled :

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of York,

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war ; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great Britain ; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes had been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary in every department of the State, your petitioners

petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamities and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the Crown has acquired a great unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of ANY INDIVIDUAL, but the welfare of the community; and considering that by the constitution of this realm, the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable House; beg leave further to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of an additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Your petitioners therefore, appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request, that before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

After which the following resolutions were proposed, and also unanimously agreed to, viz.

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting that before any new burthens be laid upon the country, effectual measures may be taken by that House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money: to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State, is approved by the meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a Committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, held by adjournment, on the Tuesday in Easter week next ensuing.

The following gentlemen compose the Committee:

Sir G. Armitage, Mr. Chaloner, Sir R. Hildyard, Mr. Morritt, Rev. Mr. Zouch, Sir. J. Norcliffe, Mr. Strickland of Boynton, Dean of Ripon, Mr. J. S. Smith, Mr. P. Milnes, Mr. Croft, Mr. Bell, Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Mr. Hill, Gen. Hale, Mr. Smith of Heath, Rev. Mr. Mason, Mr. Tooker, Mr. H. Duncombe, Mr. H. Thompson, Mr. Croft, jun. Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Strickland of Beverley, Sir William Milner, Mr. Hawksworth, Mr. Withers, Rev. Mr. Robinson, Mr. Foljambe, Major Ferrand, Mr. Farrer, Mr. James Milnes, Mr. Law, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Wilson. Mr. Jackson. Rev. F. Dodsworth, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Carver, Rev. Mr. Michell, Sir Watts Horton, Mr. C. St. Quintin, Dr. Dring, Rev. J. Robinson, Mr. P. Wentworth, Mr. St. A. Ward,

Ward, Rev. Mr. Cayley, Dean of York, Rev. Mr. Bourn, Rev. Mr. Comber, Mr. Marriott, Mr. G. Ellsey, Mr. Pool, Alderman Carr, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Thornton, Rev. Mr. Dealtry, jun. Mr. F. Smyth, Rev. Mr. Eyre, Mr. Baynes, jun. Mr. Garforth, and Mr. Hildyard.

3d. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the following Lords and Members of the House of Commons, who honoured it with their presence and support.

Duke of Devonshire, Duke of Rutland, Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Effingham, Earl Fitzwilliams, Earl of Egremont, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Lumley, Sir James Lowther, Sir George Savile, Lord Richard Cavendish, Lord G. H. Cavendish, C. A. Pelham, W. Stanhope, H. Goodricke, S. Finch, H. Peirse, W. Weddell, E. Lascelles, C. Turner, Sir J. Pennyman, G. Sutton, Sir T. Frankland, and T. Frankland.

4th. Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to the Tuesday in Easter week next ensuing.

5th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Mr. Wyvill.

6th. Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to William Chaloner, Esq. Chairman.

The above meeting was the most numerous and respectable ever known upon any occasion.

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

January 7, 1780.

A very numerous and respectable meeting of the first persons of consideration and property in this county, was held this day; pursuant to an advertisement from the Sheriffs, in the Assembly-room, at the Mermaid Tavern, Hackney.

Mr. Sheriff Wright opened the business, by informing the meeting,

that the Sheriffs had called a meeting of the county, in compliance with a requisition signed by a respectable number of freeholders, for the purpose "of considering of the propriety of entering into resolutions, and co-operating with the noble Lords who formed the Minority on the 7th and 15th of December, on the motion for the retrenchment of the Civil List, and for curtailing the public expenditure, &c." This letter being read by Mr. Constable, the Deputy Sheriff, the meeting proceeded to business, and called James Townsend, Esq. to the Chair.

Mr. Byng opened the business. He said he did not know till he had come to the place, that it would have fallen to his lot to make the propositions to the meeting, and therefore he was not prepared to address them; but he hoped he never should want words, when he was to speak there or elsewhere, for the purpose of maintaining the independence of Parliament. They were met, he said, for a most important purpose, and at a time when nothing but public spirit could save this devoted country; it gave him pleasure to see such a weighty body of freeholders assembled this day.

The county of York had taken the lead in this business, and Middlesex he saw with pleasure stand forth the second in the same pursuit. The amount of the public money, unprovocably squandered, was well known to every man; and he would spare the feelings of gentlemen by not adverting to the divisions that had weakened the empire, the separation of thirteen colonies; but he must call to their recollection the uses to which the public money was applied. The waste of three or four hundred thousand pounds a year, though a sum amply deserving the attention of the public, was not the principal grievance

ance and evil of which the people had to complain. It was the application of that sum towards the corruption of Parliament. It was the destroying the independence of the Representatives of the people; undermining the Constitution, and extending the influence of the Crown; of which the people did and *ought* to complain. The number of places and pensions were not known. The red book indeed gave a tolerably large account of the former, but it was a fact well-founded, that there were many more not enumerated there, nor known to the people. There was but too much reason to believe the report, which he had reason to believe was well-founded, that a paper, on which pensions and places were enumerated towards the close of each Session, with innumerable items, were annexed to it, fit only for the *Royal eye*, and on the instant of its receiving *the signature* was burnt. It was the duty of the people to provide against this fatal influence, by the means of which the Minister was enabled to render Parliament subservient to his purposes, and to defeat all the endeavours of those Members who, true to the interests of their constituents, called for estimates of services before they granted the money, and proofs of the just expenditure of what they had already given.

The conduct of the Minister, even in this Session, was a farther proof of the necessity of this measure. Vouchers and information had been called for previous to the granting of more money, but the request was treated with contempt—with silent, with insolent contempt—the question was called for, and powerful numbers defeated the endeavours of the honest few. He called to mind the partiality with which the county of Middlesex in particular was oppressed by the house tax and other grievous impositions. The free-

holders of Middlesex were in general charged fifteen shillings in the pound upon the whole of their property; surely then it was their business to take care of the remaining five. There was no means of truly securing themselves; no means of rescuing their country from the baleful effects of Court influence and parliamentary corruption but by withholding their money. This was the effectual remedy; for when the source and means of corruption failed, the corruption also must cease. This, he said, was no party measure—it was a measure of great public concern, and they only made it a party measure who withdrew themselves from it.

He then read the petition and moved, that it be presented to the House of Commons.

The following is an exact copy of the petition:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex,

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary, in every department of the State, your petitioners observe with

with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the Crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, must soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate Government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community, beg leave farther to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Your petitioners therefore do most earnestly request that before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Colonel Miles suggested an amendment. He said the words "thirteen valuable colonies having actually declared themselves independent," carried with them an insinuation of censure against those colonies for having withdrawn them-

selves from this country. Now he believed every man was sensible that America would never have withdrawn herself from Britain, unless driven to it by the madness and the folly of the present Administration. He therefore moved, that there be inserted after the above words, "driven thereto by the conduct of the present Administration."

Mr. Grieve intreated his worthy friend to consider, that unanimity was not only most desirable, but necessary in the present crisis, and that it would be very unwise to assume any degree of violence, that would tend to divide the friends of freedom. The county of York had made temper and coolness the rule of their conduct, and avoiding retrospection to past blunders; they had involved all descriptions of men in the resolutions to which they had agreed, and had taken up no measure that did not include the most evident tendency to future good. Retrospection to past folly, in this moment, could do no good.

He, for his own part, was convinced, as well as the Colonel, that the Americans were driven to independency by the present Administration. Many others thought so, but all might not think so. Many good men had differed in the outset of this unhappy war, and though they were generally convinced at last of its iniquity and madness, it might now be offensive to the feelings of some gentlemen who had been misled by the hired writers of the Court, who had been paid immense sums from the money extorted from the people, for the abominable purpose of deceiving them into their own destruction. Let us then, says he, give additional strength to our firmness by temper.

Let us invite all men to join us, and accept, with thanks, those who come at the latest hour. Ministers dared to call for unanimity in a bad cause;

cause; with how much more propriety and earnestness ought we to look for and court it in a good one? The proposition contained in the petition was plain, intelligent, and incontrovertible; it appeared, happily, to meet the general approbation, and include the sentiments, of every independent man.

Mr. Wood, member for Middlesex, rose to express his approbation of Mr. Grieve's proposal, and his wishes that the meeting would adhere, as closely as possible, to the resolutions of the county of York.

Colonel Miles withdrew his motion; and the question being put for the petition, it was carried, *se-mine contradicente*

Mr. Baker now addressed the meeting. He said, that, to give a validity and success to this petition, and that it might not be treated with insolent neglect, it was judged necessary to come to some farther resolutions, similar to those agreed to by the county of York. He said the reason why the former petitions of Middlesex and other counties had failed of success was, that they had not followed them up, and given them support, either by associations or resolutions of some strong nature. He therefore moved,

“ That this meeting do approve of a national association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to restore and secure to the people the freedom and independency of Parliament, as indispensibly necessary to the welfare of the State.” This resolution also passed unanimously.

He then moved, “ That a Committee of fifty-three gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition,

and to propose a plan for an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament. To be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, to be held by adjournment at Free Mason's Tavern, on Tuesday the 11th of April.” This resolution also passed unanimously.

The following gentlemen were proposed to be the Committee:

Mr. James Townsend, Mr. Tyssen, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Wood, Sir William Gibbons, Mr. Prescott, Mr. G. Foster Tuffnel, Mr. Galliard, Rt. Hon. T. Townshend, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Baker, Sir Philip Musgrave, Mr. Byng, Mr. T. Scott, Mr. W. Phillimore, Col. Miles, Lord Middleton, Sir James Pennyman, Mr. Cha. Woodcock, Mr. Colhoun, Mr. R. Mackay, Mr. S. Scott, Mr. Ben. Hayes, Mr. W. Scott, Mr. J. Horne, Mr. Byron, Mr. Bellas, Mr. R. Tayler, Mr. D. Crofts, Mr. Took, Sir Thomas Frankland, Mr. Treacher, Mr. Serj. Bolton, Rev. Dr. Hen. Allen, John Arnold Wallinger, Mr. Sprainger, Mr. Ladbroke, Mr. Grove, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Grieve, Mr. Baroneau, Mr. H. Berners, Sir Ben. Truman, Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Alaveine, Mr. W. Huffey, Mr. T. Wood, jun. Rev. Mr. Bromley, Sir Geo. Warren, Mr. Lovell, Mr. F. Byron, Mr. J. Vaughan, Sir J. Hales, Mr. Greenland.

Mr. Grieve now called the attention of the meeting to a very important proposition. He offered it, he said, with humility; it came from his own mere notion;—he had communicated it to no one, and he knew of no person who would second it, though he hoped and relied that it would not only be seconded, but accepted by the meeting at large. He said, the public were not to learn that hiring writers, and runners of Administration,

administration, were employed and paid to revile public virtue, and to laugh patriotism and zeal, for the preservation of our rights, out of countenance. These men, in their writings, which were circulated with the most criminal industry, dared to assert, in their endeavours to reduce all men to the standard of their own baseness and corruption, that there was not an honest man left in the kingdom. He had no delicacy in applying strong epithets to men, who, when they used such unworthy arguments, sealed their own eternal reproach. The arts, the practices of these wretched characters, were well known to this meeting;—they had poisoned the sources of information, and had deluded the public.

They had thrown the most abusive and shameful calumny on a set of men the most illustrious and respectable that ever stood forward in defence of their country. He, for his own part, had for a series of years attended to their conduct in a humble line indeed, and attached particularly to none of the great characters who composed that opposition; but, from the observations he had made, he was convinced that there never was a set of men actuated by nobler principles, nor better deserving the gratitude, the esteem, and the support of the public. He addressed the meeting now merely as one of the people.

Every man of honesty and discernment was called upon, by every tie of gratitude and justice, to counteract the aspersions that were falsely thrown upon those illustrious characters, who, in opposition to every temptation of avarice and ambition, nay, even combating with public error, had nobly struggled to save the people even in spite of themselves. He was fully convinced, that the great body of the people would have preserved the same uniformity of opinion throughout, had

not the utmost industry been exerted to abuse the public, and deceive them into the prosecution of those measures, which now came so fatally home to their feelings.

In proportion to the wicked industry of the enemies of the country, it became a duty on the friends of the constitution, as industriously to attract the public attention to the merits of these men, whose firmness and integrity had been proved, and who now offered the most solemn pledge of an essential reform, whether in or out of power. By their conduct they had given the public such assurance of their rectitude, as well as ability, that they had planted in the breasts of all thinking men, the highest sense of obligation, confidence and hope. It was therefore, he said, incumbent on every body of men to testify their approbation, and bestow their tribute of thanks where they were so justly due. He therefore moved,

“ That it is the sense of this meeting, that such Members of both Houses of Parliament, as have done justice to their country, by suggesting and supporting the above necessary measure, and shall continue to support the same, by giving that unequivocal proof of their sincere attachment to the welfare and interests of the people, are highly deserving the public gratitude and affection; thereby establishing the most solid claim to the applause and confidence of their country, and ensuring to themselves the ready concurrence and effectual co-operation of the freeholders of this county.”

Mr. Hayes seconded this motion, and said, that one proof out of many of the disinterestedness of their conduct appeared in this;—that several of the persons who composed this opposition had separated themselves from Administration, and given up places of high trust and emolument on account of their principles.

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The motion was received with the most unanimous concurrence and applause.

The following resolutions were passed *nem. con.*

“ That the thanks of this meeting be given to the following Noblemen, who have honoured it with their presence and support: his Grace the Duke of Portland, Earl Harcourt, Lord Craven, and Lord Beaulieu.”

“ That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Sheriffs and the Chairman.”

A motion was now made to adjourn the meeting to the 24th of February then to receive the plan for the association from the committee.

Colonel Miles said he hoped that only one plan would be adopted throughout England; and that it was not meant, by meeting previously to the meeting of York, to bring forward an unconnected plan.

Some conversation arose on this, which was concluded by Mr. Horne, who observed, in a short sensible speech, that, to reconcile the trifling difference of opinion, and at the same time to shew that it was the wish of the county of Middlesex to follow the county of York, who had the merit of leading the way in this important measure, he would propose the adjournment to be to some short day after the York meeting; and that, in the interim, the committee might commence their correspondence, and act in concert with that county.

This proposal was accepted, and the meeting stands accordingly adjourned to Tuesday the 11th of April, at the Free Mason's Tavern, Great Queen-street.

The meeting consisted of a body of men of the greatest opulence and consideration in the county, and there were many letters signifying the approbation of gentlemen who were unavoidably absent.

[Hampshire did the same, January 7, 1780.]

C H E S T E R.

At a meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county palatine of Chester, held at Norwich, in the said county, on the 13th day of January, 1780,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of a majority of this meeting, that it is expedient a petition be presented to Parliament.

A petition being proposed by Philip Egerton, Esq. was, with some alterations, agreed to.

Mr. Jodrell, the High Sheriff, mentioned with great propriety and eloquence, his reason for assembling the county. He recommended strongly to the gentlemen a perfect unanimity, and hoped no party spirit, or reflections on Ministers, would interfere with the business of the meeting; he then moved, that a Chairman should be appointed. Sir Harry Mainwaring was unanimously requested to take the Chair, which he accepted of. Mr. Egerton, of Oulton, then rose, and in a short and pointed speech, shewed the ruinous state of this country, and the necessity of every independent man exerting himself to save it. He proposed, that a petition should be presented to Parliament, that they would be pleased to abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and reduce all exorbitant salaries.

He desired the Chairman would read one he had in his hand, which, from its moderation, he imagined, could not meet with any opposition. Previous to the reading, Mr. Tolle-mache, in a very spirited manner, reprobated the idea, that Ministers, who had brought this country to the verge of destruction, should be exempt from censure. He declared himself an independent man, belonging to no party, but actuated merely by patriotic motives. He conceived,

conceived, a meeting of this sort quite competent to judge of the conduct of Administration, and that it was the duty of every man, in times like the present, to speak out. He attributed our distresses to the incapacity of Lord North, and the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, which governed a corrupt majority in Parliament. The High Sheriff rose again, and declared he did not mean to dictate to the county, and expressed his detestation of the conduct of Ministry.

The only objections to the petition, were the present critical situation of affairs; and that our expences considered, the saving of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, was an object not worthy attention. Mr. Tollemache agreed to the insignificance of the sum, when compared to the many millions we were wasting; but contended, that as it would weaken the enormous influence of the Crown, it would tend to restore the freedom of Parliament.

He was followed by Mr. Pennant, who in a clear and concise speech, in which he displayed an accurate knowledge of public affairs, easily refuted all his opponent's argument.

Sir Harry Mainwaring, the Chairman, then proposed, that a petition to effectuate the purposes above mentioned, should be presented to the House of Commons. This motion was received with the greatest applause. Mr. Crewe, the only county member present, (Mr. Egerton's health not suffering him to attend) then came forward, and professed his readiness to follow, in every respect, the directions of his constituents, and was unwilling to give any opinion, having attended the meeting merely with a view to receive their instructions, and obey their commands.

The petition was then read and signed by all present, six excepted:

Mr. Crewe then said, that if gentlemen were desirous that this refer-

mation should take place, he hoped a Committee might be appointed, from whom he might receive instructions, and to whom he might report the fate of the petition.

A Committee was accordingly appointed to sit on the 20th of April, at the Shire-Hall, in the Castle of Chester.

At the above meeting were numbers of freeholders, of considerable property, who, from the size of the room, could not gain admittance: They expressed the greatest approbation of the measure, and of those noblemen, and gentlemen, who exerted themselves to protect their rights and property.

Many gentlemen of property, who could not attend, expressed by letter, their approbation of the purpose of the meeting.

To the Hon. the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County Palatine of Chester,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, having taken into consideration the distressed state of this once flourishing empire, humbly beg leave to represent to Parliament, that under the many and heavy burdens with which your petitioners have been loaded, they cannot but observe with concern, that no attempt has yet been made to reduce unnecessary expences; either by the abolition of sinecure offices and unmerited pensions, or by any other means whatever; so that while the landholder, merchant, and every other description of independent men in this country, are every day feeling the distresses of this unfortunate war, the placeman and pensioner are the only persons exempted from the general calamity.

Your petitioners, therefore, implore Parliament, that they will not grant any farther taxes, before a strict attention

tion to economy, and a plan for the reduction of all places of exorbitant emolument, and the abolition of sinecure offices and unmerited pensions be adopted, and that the savings arising therefrom be applied to the expences of carrying on the war against the House of Bourbon, and other exigencies of the State.

Your petitioners also consider it impossible for our happy constitution to exist, unless Parliament be independent; and we cannot but feel the utmost uneasiness at those symptoms that have appeared to the contrary, and which prove the necessity of excluding certain descriptions of place-men, pensioners, and contractors. We also hope Parliament will take some measures to check the interference of Ministers in the election of Members to serve in Parliament.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

H E R T F O R D.

At a very respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Hertford, held on Monday, January 17, at the Shire-house in the town of Hertford, the following petition was resolved to be presented to Parliament:

[The Petition and two first Resolutions are the same as those of York. See page 104.]

The following gentlemen compose the Committee:

George Jennings, Esq. Lord Grimston, Lord Althorpe, Lord G. H. Cavendish, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Halsey, Sir Ab. Hume, Mr. Baker, Mr. Byng, Mr. Radcliffe, Mr. Lytton, Mr. R. Baker, Mr. Chifwell, Hon. Mr. Grimston, Mr. Scare, Mr. Hyde, Mr. W. Hale, Mr. N. Calvert, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Morland, Mr. Meekerke, jun. Mr. Carter, Mr. French, Mr. Mackay, Mr. J. Scott, Rev. Mr. Frollope, Rev. Mr. Street, Mr. Dunster, Mr. Phillimore, Mr. Gape, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Reading, Mr. Clitherow, Mr. Hale Wortham, Mr.

Culling Smith, Mr. G. Henkin, Mr. Warren, Mr. Fordham, Mr. J. Fordham.

Resolved, That this Committee do meet at the Shire-house in the town of Hertford, on Saturday the 29th instant.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff, for the readiness shewn by him in calling this meeting of the county, upon the requisition made to him for that purpose.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those gentlemen who made the requisition to the High Sheriff.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Plumer, and Thomas Halsey, Esqrs. Representatives in Parliament for this county, for their steady, upright, and independent conduct in Parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to George Jennings, Esq. the Chairman.

Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Monday the 17th of April next.

GEORGE JENNINGS, Chairman.

At twelve o'clock Mr. Sheriff Baker opened the business, by informing the gentlemen assembled, that he had called them together in consequence of a requisition made to him for that purpose, by fourteen gentlemen of the county.

George Jennings, Esq. was called to the chair.

Nicholson Calvert, Esq. stated what had been done at York and other places; and urged the necessity of doing the same in Hertfordshire. The times called for the interposition of the people. Ministers had been guilty of great misconduct; he condemned the American war: spoke highly of the late Lord Chatham, with whom he had sat many years in Parliament, and had supported his measures, which had raised this country to a rank of dignity, character, and respect unknown before. His successors

successors were men of opposite principles; they had weakened, impoverished, and dismembered the empire. The influence of the Crown was become alarming and dangerous; the integrity of Parliament was affected by it; the number of places in the gift of the Crown, enjoyed by members of Parliament, was sufficient to create a very just suspicion; but when it was recollected, that all the late measures, though directly contrary to the interest of the nation, were supported and carried on by a majority in Parliament, it was more than suspicion, that such majority was under the influence of the Crown, was corrupt, was bought. To shew that this majority was in the hands of the King, and not the ostensible Minister, he produced two or three instances where the Minister had been left in a minority; when any of the King's confidential friends had chose to take a leading part, and had not informed the Minister of their design. In former times, he said, if a Minister had been in a minority, that circumstance would have turned him out; but in these times, he was supported by the King alone. After enumerating the various placemen in the House of Commons, he came to the expenditure of the public money; which, he said, was prodigally thrown away; and mentioned the army extraordinary particularly; which, during the first four years of the American war, he said, amounted to a greater sum than the extraordinaries in the nine years war of King William, and the eleven years war of Queen Anne. Millions were yearly voted, and raised, without enquiring how they were expended. The country was greatly impoverished, and it was high time that the people should think of their own safety, and the safety of the little that was left. The petition he held in his hand was the same that the great county of York had agreed upon, after a due con-

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deration of the very alarming and indisputable facts he had mentioned, and of the calamities and distresses of the times. He read the petition, and moved that it should be presented to Parliament.

W. Hale, Esq. seconded the motion.

Lord Cranborne said, as to the petition itself, he had no objection to make; but wished to know whether any thing farther was intended.

W. Baker, Esq. said, he apprehended that some resolutions were intended to be offered to the consideration of the gentlemen present.

W. Plumer, Esq. said, if it was intended to go no further than just to present the petition, he should be against the petition; for he thought the measure would not be regarded; the petition would be ordered to lie upon the table of the House of Commons, and no farther notice would be taken of it.

Mr. Carter said the same.

Mr. French the same. He thought the applying the salaries of useless places, and unmerited pensions, to the public service, was supporting Government.

Mr. Prescott said the same. He thought the petition and resolutions of the county of York, highly proper and necessary; nothing he thought marked the public distress stronger. That an exorbitant interest had been given last year by the Minister for money, and that this year he must give the same, if not more; the difficulties in borrowing were increased. What security was there for the lender? Nothing but the land. The produce of the sinking fund was decreased this year one third. Consequently, where the security was small, and precarious, the interest must be high in proportion.

The Chairman put the question upon the petition, when every hand (there being about three hundred and forty of the principal persons of

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the county present) seemed to be held up for it; but upon the contrary being put, there were five hands against it; upon which, about half a dozen persons hissed, but Mr. Baker, and after him, other gentlemen blamed the rudeness of these few; which did not last above a moment; and the five gentlemen saw, that the persons who had taken the lead in supporting the petition, totally disapproving of it, no farther notice was taken of it.

Major Houbton said a few words in favour of carrying on the war.

The resolutions were then moved by Mr. N. Calvert, and were seconded by Mr. Hale.

J. Calvert, Esq. declared himself against the resolutions. He was for supporting Ministers in the prosecution of the present measures. Thought the war against France, &c. ought to be carried on. The country was far from being exhausted or impoverished; there were many and great resources in it. Spoke highly of the King, and his virtues; of his giving up the Civil List revenues, and condescending to accept eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, instead of them.

W. Baker, Esq. thought the last gentleman should have named the resources he had spoken of. For his own part, he thought the country to be in a very distressed and impoverished condition; and as a proof that it was so, the late taxes, he said, had all turned out to be unprofitable; either our resources were exhausted, or the Minister was so ignorant, he did not know them; for the taxes he had imposed, during the last two or three years, had fallen greatly short of the sums they were laid at.

George Byng, Esq. said, there was a system laid down, and regularly pursued by the Court, from the moment of his present Majesty's accession. The first step was doubling

the Lords and Grooms of the Bed-chamber, several of whom were Lords and Members of Parliament; and county Members, he believed, for the first time, were brought to accept of the post of Groom of the Bed-chamber.

This and many other instances of corruption, and the influence of the Crown over Parliament, he held to be dangerous to the honour, and destructive to the independence of Parliament. The Civil List he likewise remarked upon. The debts of the Civil List had been twice paid by the people, and the income of the Crown had been increased. Nobody knew how those debts were incurred, nor how the money was expended.

The article of secret service might be necessary for the purpose of gaining intelligence, paying spies, &c. but that belonged to the Secretary of State; yet in the papers, such as they were, which were produced to Parliament, and which he had examined, he found considerable sums paid to Mr. Robinson, the Secretary of the Treasury, for *secret services*. Paying for intelligence he approved of; but secret service money to Mr. Robinson, he reprobated and condemned.

Lord Cranborne said he opposed the whole business as unconstitutional, and as dangerous to Government. He said, he was an independent man, and would enter his protest against all that had been done, if he stood alone in it.

No farther opposition being made, the resolutions were severally put and agreed to, upon the thanks of the meeting being given to the Members for the county.

W. Plumer, Esq. declared he was extremely happy to find his conduct in Parliament had met with the approbation of his constituents; that they might be assured, he had no private interest to gratify, that his
future

future conduct should be like his past, perfectly disinterested, and strictly independent.

T. Halsey, Esq. made a declaration to the same purpose; happy, he said, that his conduct in Parliament had received the approbation of so respectable a meeting.

Mr. Byng said, that a report having been propagated, that one of the county Members (meaning Mr. Halsey) intended to decline at the General Election, he mentioned the report, he said, to give that gentleman an opportunity of confirming, or contradicting it.

Mr. Halsey said, he was exceedingly obliged to Mr. Byng, for affording him the opportunity of contradicting such report, by declaring he should think himself highly honoured, by continuing in the service of the county, in the next Parliament; and hoped, as his past conduct had received their approbation, he should again be esteemed worthy of their choice.

Both the Members were highly applauded. It was next moved, that an account of the proceedings of the meeting be printed, and signed by the Chairman.

The following is a copy of the Protest against the Hertfordshire Petition:

We, the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Hertford, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby protest against the proceedings of certain noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of said county, at a meeting summoned by the Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and held at Hertford this 7th day of January, 1780, for the following amongst other reasons:

First, Because we apprehend the true sense of the county cannot be collected, nor the matters proposed duly examined in a meeting of this nature, so new in its form, and so

void of regularity, or any known or established authority,

Secondly, Because many assertions are made in the petition proposed to be presented to the House of Commons, in support of which no proofs have been adduced at the meeting.

Thirdly, Because the petition appears to us to convey insinuations injurious and disrespectful to Parliament, and dangerous to the Constitution; and rendered more so, as it is accompanied by resolutions explanatory of the intentions and purposes of it.

Fourthly, Because that part of the petition which relates to the granting supplies appears to us to be an attack upon the rights, privileges, and freedom of the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled.

Fifthly, Because we conceive that the petition and resolutions are calculated to produce diffidence and suspicions in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, at a time when unanimity and confidence in Government are essentially necessary to support and invigorate the exertions of State, in our defence against the most formidable attack that has ever been made on his Majesty's dominions.

And, Sixthly, We do most particularly protest against the resolutions for appointing a Committee of Correspondence, apparently tending to over-awe the Legislature, by collecting and combining the factious discontents of the several parts of the kingdom into one system, upon which to found powers, and to introduce measures inconsistent with, and subvertive of, our present happy Constitution, and to establish a plan which appears to us to lead to the greatest calamities which can befall our country, viz. insurrection, confusion, and anarchy!

Cranborne, Melbourne, Sandwich,
Essex, E Clarendon, Marlborough,
Marchmont, Malden, Hyde, for the
2d, 4th, 5th and 6th, Lionel Lyde,
Q 2 Charles

Charles Cocks, Jacob Houblon, Rd. Emmott, Esq. Fred. Young, for the 5th and 6th, J. Church, William Strode, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th, Rd. Willis, Esq. Rd. Parkins, Wm. Baldock, F. C. Nicholls, sen. F. C. Nicholls, jun. H. Y. Worthan, J. Heavyfide, C. Deleat, for 5th and 6th, J. Bennet, J. Westhope. Rev. S. Hare, Rev. J. Rooke, R. Taylor, Rev. J. Strode, Rev. Mr. Cheshire, Rev. Mr. Thelwell, — Salisbury, Rev. Mr. Spooner, Rev. J. Leppeat, Rev. J. Wheeldon, J. Atkinson, Mr. Langford, Mr. Hare, Mr. T. Kitchen, Henry Edwards, W. Walley, J. Wilkinson, T. Fitzjohn, R. Capper, T. Deacon, J. Ailway, J. Dyson, G. P. Ehret, Rev. F. Evans, Richard Phrip, F. Clutterbuck, S. Smith, S. Salter, J. Kingston. S. Howard, D. Howard, E. Howard, C. M. Harding, W. Smith, J. Leman, J. Hunter, for 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th, Rev. Mr. Wilmot, A. Cutler, Alderman of Hertford, Rev. Dr. Bueford, Rev. P. Ellice, J. Mischee, for 5th and 6th, M. Bennet, Rev. T. Bathurst, G. Pembroke, Rev. Mr. Briggs, J. Handley, John Blackwood, Esq. Rob. Alfop, Esq. Alderman of London, Mr. Wm. Hanscomb, Ben. Rooke, Esq. with others.

S U S S E X.

Lewes, Jan. 20, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the county of Sussex, held at the Town-hall, in Lewes, this day, pursuant to notice given by the Lord Lieutenant, in the Lewes Journal, and other public papers, for that purpose.

The letter to the High Sheriff to call a meeting, and also the High Sheriff's answer thereto, were read.

Resolved unanimously, That William Frankland, Esq. be requested to take the chair, and he took the chair accordingly.

Resolved, That in the present situation of public affairs, it is expedient, that this county should petition the House of Commons for redress of grievances.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a petition to Parliament, consisting of the following gentlemen, viz.

Godfrey Webster, Esq. Rev. Mr. D'Oyley, William Green, of Findon, Esq. Sir Geo. Thomas, Bart. William Smith, Esq. Will. Green, of Lewes, Esq. Harry Peckham, Esq. Steph. Lushington, Esq. Rev. Mr. Tripp, Rev. Mr. Bayley, William Mill Leeves, Esq. George Thomas, Esq. John Aldridge, Esq. Thomas Kemp, Esq. John Serjeant, Esq.

The Committee then withdrew, and being returned, produced the following petition:

*To the Hon. the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled:
The humble Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Sussex.*

Sheweth,

That your petitioners cannot view the rapid decline of the British empire, without calling upon this honourable House, by every tie of honour, interest, and religion, to avert the ruin that menaces this lately prosperous and happy nation, by a timely exertion of those powers with which by the Constitution, this Honourable House is invested.

That among the many causes which have contributed to produce our present calamitous situation (all of which, we trust, this Honourable House will speedily investigate and redress) your petitioners beg leave to point out the neglect of public oeconomy as a grievance which is capable of receiving, and stands in need of, immediate remedy.

That your petitioners conceive the system of chance, as at present established, to be of most ruinous tendency

dency, the national debt being thereby so greatly augmented during war, and so little reduced during peace, that it increases without end, and cannot therefore be supported by any finite, much less by diminished resources.

That your petitioners are alarmed by the practise of Government, in laying false estimates before Parliament, by those estimates being constantly exceeded, and the passing the public accounts inconceivably delayed for many years by the extravagant waste of public money, the existence of pensions unmerited by public service, and the continuance of sinecure places and exorbitant emoluments of office, to an immense and still encreasing amount.

Your petitioners therefore lament, the disuse of the ancient practice of appointing Commissioners of accounts from time to time, for the examination of the public expenditure, which might have prevented the growth of those evils.

That your petitioners believe, that the undue influence of the Crown, deriving its greatest support from the uncontroled possession of the public purse, is a principal cause of our present calamities, and is highly dangerous to liberty.

That your petitioners think it their duty, to acquaint this Honourable House, with the distresses which your petitioners feel from the losses in trade, the decay of manufactures, the diminished value of lands, the high price of money, and the increase of taxes; they are so universal and so heavy, that unless the utmost frugality be exerted to keep our burthens within the strict limits of necessity, it will be impossible for the people to support those extraordinary exertions, which a vigorous prosecution of the war against France and Spain may require.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray and firmly expect that this

Honourable House, in discharge of the high trust reposed in them, will take effectual measures, that money supplied with so much difficulty from the private fortune or industry of the Subject, may be faithfully and frugally applied to the purposes for which it is granted; that such regulations may be established as shall bring the public expenditure to speedy and strict account; and that some plan for the reduction of all exorbitant emoluments of office, and the abolition of all sinecure places and unmerited pensions be adopted.

That by these means the dangerous and unconstitutional influence of the Crown may be diminished, and the burthens of the people alleviated.

And your petitioners further pray, that no fresh supplies may be granted, or new taxes laid on the Subject, until these, their just grievances, are redressed, in such manner as to the wisdom and justice of this Honourable House shall seem meet. And your petitioners shall ever pray.

Which, being read and seconded, passed in the affirmative, with only five dissenting voices.

Resolved, that the members of this county be requested to present this petition.

Resolved, That it be recommended, by this meeting, to every individual of this county, who wishes for a continuation of the liberties of the nation, to subscribe this petition.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed for giving every legal and constitutional support to this petition.

The said Committee to consist of the following gentlemen, viz.

William Frankland, Esq. Duke of Richmond, Lord Egremont, Lord Abergavenny, Lord George Lenox, John Luther, Esq. Charles Goring, Nathaniel Polhill, Esq. Tho. Hay, Esq. Sir Harry Featherstonhaugh, Bart. John Trayton Fuller, Esq. Sir Harry Goring, Bart. Hon. John

Trevelyan,

Trevor, Esq. James Goble, Esq. Hon. Thomas Pelham, Esq. Mr. Serjeant Kemp, Sir John Brewer Davis, Knt. Nath. Tredcroft, Esq. John Paine, Esq. John Challen, Esq. Tho. Steele, Esq. Richard Bettsworth, Esq. John Norton, Esq. Bingham Newland, Esq. Rev. Mr. Buckner, John Backshell, Esq. Rev. Mr. Webber, Walter Smyth, Esq. Charles Buckner, Esq. Rev. Charles Smith, Michael Dorset, Esq. Rev. Henry Peckman, Will. Richardson, Esq. Rev. William Woodward, Col. Harry Blunt, Samuel Blunt, Esq. Rev. Mr. Tredcroft, Hen. Jackson, Esq. Hen. Humphry, Esq. William Board, Esq. William Brereton, Esq. John Cranston, Esq. Rev. William Wheatear, Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart. Rev. Geo. Bethune, Rev. Mr. Shenton, James Lloyd, Esq. Rev. J. Atkinson, Major Bishop, Sir Tho. Miller, Bart. Hon. Ch. Wyndham, Hon. Mr. Neville, Hon. Mr. Geo. Neville, Geo. Lewes Newnham, Esq. Rev. Mr. Tripp, Steph. Luffington, Esq. Rev. Mr. Bayley, William Mill Leeves, Esq. Geo. Thomas, Esq. John Aldridge, Esq. Tho. Kemp, Esq. John Serjeant, Esq. Godfrey Webster, Esq. Rev. Mr. D'Oyley, William Smith, Esq. Will. Green, of Findon, Esq. Sir Geo. Thomas, Bart. William Green, of Lewes, Esq. Harry Peckham, Esq.

That the said Committee be desired to write to every Member of Parliament representing the city and borough of this county, to solicit their support in Parliament to this petition.

Resolved, That the said Committee be requested to consider of, and prepare a plan for a general association of this county, for supporting the grounds of this petition, and for restoring independency to Parliament.

Resolved, That the said Committee be desired to correspond with the Committees of other counties for this purpose.

Resolved, That seven of the said Committee do constitute a quorum; that they do meet this evening, and have power to adjourn, from time to time, as they shall think proper.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, for calling this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Egremont, the Lord Abergavenny, and to Lord George Lennox, Tho. Hay, John Luther, Charles Goring, and Nathaniel Polhill, Esqrs. who have honoured this meeting with their presence, and have steadily and uniformly persevered in supporting in Parliament the constitutional rights of the people.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Frankland, Esq. the Chairman, for his ready acceptance of the Chair; and also to Godfrey Webster, Esq. who moved the above resolutions.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this day be printed in the Lewes Journal, and such other papers as the Chairman shall think proper, authenticated under his hand.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned till Thursday the 13th day of April next, at the Town Hall in Lewes, in order to receive the report of the said Committee.

W. FRANKLAND, Chairman.

S U R R E Y.

January 21, 1780.

There was a large and respectable meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Surrey, at Epsom, this day, to consider of a petition to Parliament on the present situation of public affairs. At one o'clock, James Bourdieu, Esq. the Sheriff, opened the business of the meeting by reading the requisition made to him for calling it; who desiring the Freeholders to chuse a President out of their own body, Sir Francis Vincent

Vincent, Bart. by universal consent, was elected Chairman. Mr. Budgen then moved a petition, which being seconded by Sir Richard Hotham, was, on the question, unanimously approved of. Sir Robert Clayton, Bart. then moved a Committee of Correspondence, which was seconded by Mr. Trecothick, and met with universal approbation.

The names of fifty-six gentlemen, for such Committee, were then read, and approved of; after which the thanks of the county were given to the Sheriff, for his readiness in calling the meeting. Sir Robert Clayton then moved the thanks of the county to James Scawen, Esq. and Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. for their parliamentary conduct, which, being seconded, was also unanimously agreed to. The Members then returned thanks for the honour done them. The thanks to the Chairman were then unanimously given, and also to such Noblemen and Gentlemen of the two Houses of Parliament as attended the meeting; and the whole business of the day ended with the most perfect unanimity and concord, after first adjourning to meet again at Epfom, on Friday, the 14th of April next.

The above meeting was attended, amongst others, by the following Noblemen, &c.

The Earl of Suffolk, Lord King, Earl of Tyrconnel; Lord Viscount Bulkeley, Lord Viscount Middleton, Sir Francis Vincent, Sir William Abdy, Sir Robert Smith, Sir Mark Parsons, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Sir George Warren, Sir Richard Hotham, Sir Thomas Kent, Mr. Wood, Mr. Scawen, Mr. Jacob Wilkinson, &c. &c.

Sir Francis Vincent acquainted the gentlemen present, that he had just received a letter from the Earl of Effingham, which was read, expressive of his full approbation of

the meeting, and apologizing for his absence in Yorkshire.

The Committee then came to a resolution, empowering Sir Francis Vincent to transmit to the Chairman of the York meeting an account of the resolutions agreed to, and to express the readiness of the Committee to co-operate with such plans as shall be judged necessary to obtain the great objects recommended by their respective petitions.

The following is the petition and resolutions agreed to:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Surrey,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, in common with others, the proprietors of lands, and inhabitants of this kingdom in general, labour under the pressure of new and burthensome taxes, year after year, imposed for the purpose of discharging the growing interest of an already enormous, but still accumulating national debt.

That this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the consequences of these combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land rents of the kingdom; and that your petitioners are justly alarmed at the diminution of the resources of this country at a time when they feel their burthens daily and grievously increasing.

That they humbly conceive that of the enormous sums levied for the pretended necessities of Government,

a much smaller proportion would answer all the purposes of its real exigencies; and that, these extraordinary demands upon them are applied to (which they humbly submit therefore as the immediate and visible cause of their present grievances) the support of divers persons, whose emoluments of office are enormous, of divers others possessed of superfluous and unnecessary places, of a numerous list of undeserved pensions, and of many hitherto unexplained and unauthorised services, from which, at the same time that an enormous and unconstitutional influence is derived to the Crown, your petitioners conceive that no adequate benefit accrues to the public, and to the farther maintenance and support of which, under the present diminution of the rents of land-owners, and the otherwise impoverished condition of them, and of the inhabitants of the kingdom in general, they find themselves no longer equal.

Your petitioners therefore, sinking as they thus are, under burthens every day increasing, and the alarming consideration of their once ample resources, continually diminished, do humbly appeal to and implore the justice of this Honourable House, earnestly intreating them to interpose their authority on so momentous an occasion (before any farther burthens are laid upon this country) by enquiring into and correcting the many flagrant abuses in the expediture of public money, by a timely reduction of the exorbitant emoluments of many efficient offices of the State; by a total abolition of all unnecessary places and unmerited pensions, and by applying the produce thereof to the exigencies of the State alone, in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem best calculated for the purposes of its future support, and for effectually restoring its ancient dignity and vigour.

Resolved, That a Committee of fifty-six gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the objects of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable purpose, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, to be held by adjournment on Friday the 14th day of April next, and that any seventeen of them be a quorum.

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen compose the said Committee :

Names of the Committee.

Sir Fran. Vincent, Bart. Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Visc. Bulkeley, Lord Visc. Middleton, Sir William Abdy, Sir Robert Smyth, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Sir George Warren, Sir Rich. Hotham, Bart. Sir Thomas Kent, Mr. Wood, Mr. Bugden, Mr. Trecothick, Mr. Scawen, Mr. B. Bond Hopkins, Mr. W. Rowles, Mr. Atwood Wigfoll, Mr. J. Foster, Mr. R. C. Smith, Mr. Hollingworth, Mr. P. Hollingworth, Mr. Gill, Mr. Bellis, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Boulton, Rev. Mr. Manning, Mr. P. G. Webb, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Ruse, Mr. J. Bourke, Mr. Hodgkin, Mr. Chilton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Keene, Mr. J. Bourdieu, jun. Mr. T. Hurst, Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Rush, Mr. Hayes, Mr. J. D. Garthwaite, Rev. Mr. Cooper, Rev. Mr. G. Allen, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Rowed, Mr. Hamond, of Hayling, Mr. Thomas, Mr. J. S. Lomax, Mr. H. Gill, Mr. Petteward, Mr. T. Faffett, Rev. Mr. C. Green, Mr. Wilkinson, Rev. Mr. Wigfoll.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Sheriff, for the readiness shewn by him in calling the meeting of the county.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting

meeting be given to James Scawen, Esq. and Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. Representatives in Parliament for this county, for their steady, upright, and independent conduct in Parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, Members of both Houses of Parliament, who attended this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. the Chairman.

Mr. Budgen introduced the petition with an animated speech on the abuse of monies granted by Parliament in being squandered away on placemen and pensioners, instead of being properly accounted for, and concluded by reading the petition.

Sir R. Hotham said, I am of opinion, no period ever called more loudly for public œconomy; and the mode now meant to be pursued is open, candid, decent, and *truly constitutional*. Who will dispute the subject's right to apply to Parliament, or the authority of Parliament to interpose? I shall only beg leave earnestly to recommend good humour, unanimity, firmness, and strong *perseverance*; keeping fast hold, and full possession, of moderation. Thus, under Providence, we shall in due time conquer our *enemies*, aggrandize our country, and hand down *liberty and freedom*, won by our forefathers, who fought for them, bled and died for them, and dying, left them in charge with us to deliver to our children pure and untainted.

Mr. Trecothick was warm in support of the petition, and strongly recommended harmony, firmness, and resolution, as the only means of success in the present case.

Sir R. Clayton said there was an absolute necessity of petitioning, and not only so, but of associating, and carrying on a correspondence with

other counties, to endeavour, if possible, to prevent the improper expenditure of the public money; and moved, that a Committee be appointed to meet at stated periods. This was seconded, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Hayes said, he doubted not but that the Ministry would alledge, that corruption was necessary, and without it, Government could not be supported; but he hoped every nerve would be strained to reduce that corruption as much as possible.

Mr. Scawen, in reply to the motion of thanks for his parliamentary conduct, said he always had, and ever should, exert his abilities in support of public liberty.

Sir Joseph Mawbey took this opportunity to return thanks for the favourable opinion of the freeholders, in chusing him their Representative; he acknowledged his own inability compared to others, but declared no one could act more disinterestedly than himself, and that he was determined at all times to oppose any measure which appeared to him inimical to the privileges of the people; and as he was of opinion that the measures which have been, and are at this time, adopted, are injurious to the constituents of the nation at large, he should steadily and unremittingly oppose them.

Sir Joseph Mawbey laid great stress on the conduct of some Members of Parliament, who in private company had frequently declared their sentiments, which proved diametrically opposite to their votes in the House of Commons.

The principal gentlemen of the county afterwards dined at the Spread Eagle, where the healths of the members, success to the petitions, and many other toasts were drank.

The petition was signed by the greatest part of the company who dined at the Spread Eagle, and is to be left in different parts of the

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county,

county, to give an opportunity for all who approve to sign it.

An authentic account of the Meeting at Huntingdon.

Extracts of a Letter from Huntingdon, Jan. 20, 1780.

My dear old Friend,

I am just returned from our assembly-room, and sit down to give you an account of the county meeting, which your gout and the severe weather prevented your attending. You have seen, no doubt, the application to the Sheriff, which was in these words:—"Sir, The present state of the British empire, the alarming principles on which the government of this kingdom has of late years been conducted, the enormous burdens we labour under, and the exorbitant pensions and sinecure places granted to Members of Parliament, call loudly for redress. That the freeholders of this county may be enabled to consider of these matters, express their feelings, and signify their wishes to Parliament, we request you to call a general meeting of the county, as soon as it can be held with convenience."

The High Sheriff, Mr. Fellows, returned the following polite answer:—"The High Sheriff of the county of Huntingdon presents his respectful compliments to Sir Robert Bernard, and the other gentlemen who signed the request for a general meeting of the county, begs leave to assure the gentlemen, that a day shall be appointed for that purpose agreeable to their desires."

Soon after which, Mr. Fellows caused the following extraordinary advertisement to be inserted in the public papers:

"Huntingdonshire.—At the request of some gentlemen and clergy of the county of Huntingdon, notice is hereby given, that a meeting is appointed to be held on Tuesday the 20th day of January instant, at

the Assembly-room in Huntingdon, at eleven in the forenoon, to take into consideration the present state of public affairs, in order to form an Address to Parliament.

WILLIAM FELLOWS, High Sheriff."

The appearance and conduct of Lord Sandwich at the meeting this day, and the Sheriff's known connexion with his Lordship, left no doubt concerning the author of this little pitiful trick of an advertisement to *address*. That it was intended to mislead the county is evident; and that it had that effect is plain, from a letter which the Duke of Manchester received from Dr. Watson (the King's Professor of Divinity, at the University of Cambridge) and read this day at the meeting as follows:

Cambridge, Jan. 9, 1780.

"My Lord Duke,

"As Regius Professor of Divinity, I have no inconsiderable property at Somersham. I observe a meeting is advertised for an *Address* to Parliament. If the address be designed to convey the most distant approbation of the public measures, which have been carrying on for several years; I should be glad to have an opportunity of giving it a hearty negative. If a petition is meant on the plan of the Yorkshire petition, I wish it all possible success, and hope it will be properly attended to. I take the liberty of signifying this to your Grace, because indispensable business in the University, on the day appointed for the meeting, will prevent my attendance at Huntingdon; and if the opinion of an absent man can have any weight, I should be happy to have mine expressed by your Grace.

I am, &c.

RICHARD WATSON."

Notwithstanding the very severe and unfavourable weather, there was a very numerous and respectable meeting of this county. That you may

may judge of the attendance, I will give you as good a list of the gentlemen on both sides, as my memory can hastily furnish.

There appeared on the side of the petition, the Duke of Manchester, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Ludlow, Lord Geo. Cavendish, Lord Fred. Cavendish, Sir Robert Bernard, Sir Gillias Payne, Mr. Richard Reynolds, Mr. George Thornhill, Mr. William Pym, Mr. William Geary, Mr. Rogers Parker, Mr. John Green, Mr. Watson Powell, Mr. James Rust, Mr. James Townsend, Mr. Hufsey Aprice; Dr. Hopkins; Rev. Mr. F. Hopkins, Rev. Mr. Devie, Rev. Mr. Cranwell, Rev. Mr. B. Hutchinson, Rev. Dr. Dickens, Rev. Mr. Whiston, Rev. Mr. Pery, Rev. Dr. Negus, Rev. Mr. Maddock, Rev. Mr. Littlehale, Rev. Mr. Charles Sharrard; Cap. Barnes, Mr. John Gray, Mr. John Champion, Mr. Jonathan Gorham, Mr. Payne, Mr. Sam. Hopkinson, Mr. Thomas Woodward, Mr. E. Billett, Mr. Thomas Dexter, Mr. John Hawkins, Mr. John Saunders, Mr. John Allpress, Mr. Joseph Barnes, Mr. George Brighty, Mr. William Elger, Mr. T. Serocold, Mr. Beaumont, and very many other persons of property.

There appeared *against* the petition, Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Hinchinbroke, his son. Lord Browlow. Sir George Wombwell, Chairman of the East India Company, and Contractor. Sir Thomas Hatton. General Clarke. Mr. Peregrine Cust—of affidavit memory. Mr. Browne, son of the King's Gardener *Capability*. Mr. March. Mr. Dingley Askham. Rev. Mr. Cook, Chaplain of Greenwich hospital. Mr. Maule, of Greenwich hospital. Mr. Godby, of Greenwich hospital. Rev. Mr. Trollope.—He has two sons in the navy, one in the Kite cutter, another

in the marines. Mr. Hunt, Apothecary (Mayor of Huntingdon) Mr. Laurence, Alderman of Huntingdon. Mr. Arundell, Alderman of Huntingdon, and Receiver of Lord Sandwich's fee-farm rents. Mr. Desbrow, Alderman of Huntingdon. He has two sons in the navy department, and one in the post-office. Mr. Smith, Apothecary, Alderman of Huntingdon, and Receiver of the window lights. Mr. Green, Alderman of Huntingdon, and Purser in the navy. Mr. Godby, Alderman of Huntingdon, Steward to Lord Sandwich, and a *beef-eater* to the King. Mr. Palmer, Commissioner of the navy-office. Mr. James, Surveyor of window-lights. Mr. Jackson, Receiver of Waifs and Strays on the high seas, under direction of the Admiralty, and late *superfeded* Receiver for the county; together with a number of others, who, like the new-made Baronet, Sir George Wombwell, and the *Greenwich men*, have barely property enough in the county to qualify them to vote for Lord Sandwich's election purposes.

As soon as the room was full, the High Sheriff took the chair, which also, without appointment to it, he took care to keep throughout the meeting; not recollecting at that time (I suppose) that the badness of his sight made him very improper for that office. He opened the meeting by reading the advertisement.

Mr. Reynolds, with great modesty, but with becoming firmness, zeal, and ability, stated the condition of the country, its enormous increasing debts, the waste and profusion in the expenditure of public money, the unconscionable emoluments of office, sinecure places, corrupt and unmerited pensions, lavish contracts, &c. and their consequences; an all-grasping and fatal influence of the Crown, and withholding of the public accounts. He proposed and enforced, as a remedy, and as the only

probable or possible means of preventing mischief violence and bloodshed in the nation, a petition similar in all points to that of Yorkshire and Middlesex.

The petition was then read by the Sheriff, and was read a second time by Mr. Ruft.

Mr. Browne (a young Counsellor, son of *Capability* Browne, who was brought down by Lord Sandwich in his own coach, for the purpose) then stepped forward. He gave his hearty dissent to the petition; he condemned such meetings; he declared them to be, at least, highly improper, if not illegal and criminal; he said that the Parliament *alone* have a right to enquire into the expenditure of public money; he said there was no proof of any misconduct or profusion before them; there was no proof, or probable suspicion, of corruption in the country; it was a mere vague surmise: he said these petitions tended to anarchy and confusion: he said the people had intrusted their Representatives in Parliament; and since they were satisfied, the constituents ought to be so too; they had delegated their right of judgment, and ought to abide by the opinion of their Members.—[The young gentleman's brief must certainly have been deficient upon this point; it ought to have informed him, that the Members of this county hold diametrically opposite opinions.]—He said unanimity was absolutely necessary for the State; it was unfair to arraign Ministers before they had time to carry their plans into execution; that the Ministers had *excellent plans* (*excellent young man!*) but they had not yet time to mature them: he said that our arms had lately met with the most brilliant and important success: he bad them remember our triumph at Savannah, remember Omoah: he said that it was unanimity did every thing for us under

Mr. Pitt's administration; and therefore if the petition should be carried at this meeting, he would certainly enter his protest against it.

Lord Sandwich followed his young counsellor. He said the petition contained flat contradictions; it would have the war against the House of Bourbon carried on with vigour, and yet would stop the supplies to Government, by which alone it could be carried on. He said the petition tended to anarchy and confusion; though he did firmly believe that the motives and intentions of the gentleman who applied for the meeting were perfectly pure and disinterested, and he was ready to acknowledge what he confessed he saw, that a great majority of the property of the county was then present in the room. He also added that the present war had been a very successful one; and the meeting was improper and illegal.

Mr. Townsend expressed some indignation that the first Lord of the Admiralty should insult this county by telling its freeholders that they have no right to petition. He desired the gentlemen present to observe, that in the very last year *three millions* of money had passed through that noble Lord's hands, under the title of navy debt, or extraordinaries of the navy, unexplained and unaccounted for. He said he was glad his Lordship was now present either to contradict the assertion, or to acknowledge and explain it. He said there was not any contradiction in the petition; it only says to Ministers account clearly for the money you receive; spend it fairly; do not take it from our pockets to put it in your own. He said it was with a very ill grace that Lord Sandwich, who was one of the principal objects of the proposed inquiry, should attempt to baffle all inquiry. He said he was not however surpris'd at his conduct. The situation and connexions of the gentle-

gentleman (Mr. Smelt) who opposed the petition at York, and the situation of the noble Lord who now opposed it at Huntingdon, shewed plainly the sentiments of those who ruled the country, and were matter of serious alarm to the nation; an obstinate perseverance in those sentiments, and in this conduct, would infallibly and necessarily produce that anarchy and confusion which a compliance with the prayer of the petition could alone obviate and prevent.

Sir George Wombwell said the petition breathed flat contradictions, tended to create division, to stop supplies, to ruin the country. The leaders of these meetings, in the different counties, were very respectable, the divisions therefore the more dangerous; he believed the gentlemen meant well, but they were sadly mistaken he could assure them. He said very great things had been done already in this war. Pondicherry had been taken, the French were driven out of the East Indies; there was no French ship, no French flag at sea at this moment; the English fleet now rode triumphant and unmolested: were there ever greater successes in any war than had been had; he desired any one to mention them: out of 72 St. Domingo men, only 22 had got safe into the French ports; whilst we had 17 East-India ships lately arrived with an immense treasure. Gentlemen, (said he) I also speak of *facts*, there never was such a trade in this country as at present. We are masters of the East-Indies; we have a territorial revenue from thence of *four* millions a year. We are masters of the sea, the French dare not shew a flag. As for the emoluments of office, they ought to be ample, they have been well deserved. As for the extraordinary gentlemen talk of, they have been agitated in Parliament, which

is the only proper place, and every thing appeared very fair, though they were narrowly watched; we were very well satisfied in Parliament I assure you; and therefore I think this ought to be the first county to check these proceedings, and put a stop to petitions, which lead to nothing but anarchy and confusion.

Mr. March said he was a private freeholder; but he objected to the petition, because it interfered with the rights of Parliament men, and seemed to be a sort of directing them, and giving a law to them, which he thought was wrong.

Mr. Rust said, that the Ministry were more intent and more likely to destroy the liberties of their country, than to conquer its enemies; that placemen increased in proportion only to the increasing distresses of the country. He said he spoke his feelings. I apprehend, said he, that Mr. Wombwell is one of these contractors we have reason to complain of; I apprehend he is himself interested in the question, receives emoluments from Government as well as the noble Lord who first brought him into this part of the world.

Mr. Wombwell desired to know what the gentleman meant by this personal attack, and whether he meant him or not, and seemed very angry. Some of his friends told Mr. Rust, that he was Sir George Wombwell. Oh, I beg his pardon, said Mr. Rust, I forgot that he was made a Baronet--Well then, Sir George Wombwell.

The Duke of Manchester here interfered, and stopped all farther altercation. His Grace said, he had attended the meeting as a private freeholder, and being Lord Lieutenant of the county, should not have spoken a word there, had not the example been set him by the first Lord of the Admiralty. He said, there had often been bad ministers and bad measures in former times, but never

never such as the present. He had said it in the House of Peers, and he would now say it here; it was his sincere belief, and his persuasion, that if the present measures were persisted in, his Majesty's throne could not long stand. The people would do well to be temperate, but they must be firm and resolute. Gentlemen were very fond of the imputations of *anarchy* and *confusion*, they were the old cant words in all countries on similar occasions at all times: the petition, instead of tending to *anarchy* and *confusion*, pointed out the only means to avoid them, *fair dealing* and *a fair account*, the one as necessary as the other, and both equally the right of the people. The noble Lord, he said, had charged the petition with contradiction; because it would have the war carried on with vigour, and yet would stop supplies, till a clear and fair account is given of the expenditure. Yet the noble Lord knew enough of the Turf to be sensible of the advantage of taking off the weight; which, so far from impeding the course, added swiftness to the racer: profusion and misapplication of money clogged the wheels of government, not a fair account.

His Grace then introduced some letters, which he had received from gentlemen of considerable property in the county, but who were prevented from attending at that particular time. Amongst these, Dr. Watson's, of Cambridge, is particularly worth repeating to you. It was as follows:

Cambridge, Jan. 13, 1780.

“ My Lord Duke,

“ IT gives me real concern that the public business, which cannot be put off, requires my presence at Cambridge on the day fixed for the county meeting at Huntingdon. Would to God there may be virtue and good sense enough in the kingdom to second the endeavours of

those who are doing all they can to save their country. But the influence of the crown (which has acquired its present strength, more perhaps from the accidental increase of empire, commerce, and national wealth, than from any criminal design to subvert the Constitution) has pervaded, I fear, the whole mass of the people: every man of consequence almost in the kingdom has a son, relation, friend, or dependent, whom he wishes to provide for; and, unfortunately for the liberties of this country, the Crown has the means of gratifying the expectations of them all. I do not think so ill of mankind, but that some men of integrity may be found, who, in their public conduct, prefer the conscientiousness of acting right to every prospect of advantage; but their number is comparatively small, and is decreasing every day. The proposed petition to Parliament is so true in its principles, so divested of party prejudices, so temperative in its expressions, and every way so adapted to do good to the community at large, that I cannot question but it will meet with the approbation of the honest, the sensible, and the disinterested of all sides. For my part, I beg leave to give it, with all truth and good conscience, my most hearty concurrence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD WATSON.”

The Duke produced also letters, approving the meeting and petition, from Mr. Manning, Mr. Powis, Mr. Welby, Mr. Anderson Pelham, Mr. Leeds, Lord Beaulieu, Mr. Standley, Lord Spencer, Lord Sondes, and Mr. Blundell.

The Duke then observed that the unanimity and concurrence of all disinterested men in the kingdom seemed upon this occasion to be almost as complete as possible. That the unanimity of the nation under Mr. Pitt's administration followed from

from the grounds which that Minister gave to them for confidence. Among other instances of profusion, his Grace mentioned that the Governors, the Commissioners, the Officers of the Admiralty, &c. of America, and all the refugees (as Lord Sandwich, he said, well knew) all continued to receive their former appointments and pensions, instead of being promoted here to places already established; which he said they should be, if they deserved to be supported at all. He said also, that there were at one time three Commanders in Chief for America, all receiving at the same time ten pounds per day, and yet not one of them in America. General Gage, he believed, continued to this moment to receive the same emoluments as he did when Commander in Chief in America. He concluded with observing, that Lord Sandwich, who was present, knew that Lord Gower, late President of the Council, had declared in the House of Peers, that he had continued in office as long as any man of honour or conscience could possibly continue amongst them.

Lord Hinchinbroke then produced three letters which he had received, disapproving the petition: one from Mr. Shafto; one from a Dr. Watson, and one from *somebody*, whose name Lord Hinchinbroke chose to suppress.

[It is here necessary to inform you, for fear of mistakes, that Lord Hinchinbroke's Dr. Watson is a gentleman who was formerly a very ingenious Apothecary, and since that a successful Physician in London; but as there are several of the name, perhaps he will be better identified to you, by telling you that *this* Dr. Watson's daughter is married to Lord Bute's chaplain, who was also tutor to his children].

Lord Sandwich now bowed, and bowed again; thanked the noble

Duke for his candour; sincerely believed his Grace spoke from his heart, but must be excused for differing from him in opinion: he still feared *anarchy* and *confusion*; though he was sure the majority of the people would not sign these petitions. The majority of the land-holders in Hertfordshire, a very great majority, he was sure would sign a protest against the petition. He said, as for Lord Chatham, no man could revere him more than he did; but he at present heard of no such man, nobody could name any such man living. "If I could find such a man (said his Lordship) I would myself take him by the hand; but I have not heard of such a man at any of these meetings, nor can I see such a man here."

[Yet this, my old friend, is that very Lord Sandwich, whom you and I heard in the House of Peers, in the last debate but one before Lord Chatham's death, whom we heard, when Lord Chatham said, if there was a man with effrontery enough to contradict the important truths he uttered: if there was such a one, he wished to see the man's *forehead*; let him stand forth; let him shew his *forehead*. This same Lord Sandwich, which is the very man whom we saw produce that *forehead*, whom we heard contradict that venerable statesman, and ridicule those predictions which we have lived to see too sadly verified.]

Lord Sandwich then spoke of his own situation; he protested he had no advantages by being in office; on the contrary, he was a much poorer man for it: he sacrificed his whole time to the duties of his office. One thing he could with truth say, that he was deprived by it of that for which no emolument or advantage could make him a recompence; he was deprived of the greatest blessings of his life, the comforts of living in the neighbourhood

of Huntingdon, amongst the freeholders and burgeses of the town and county, which was the most desirable object of all his wishes.

He said he did not like public enquiries; they were dangerous: he had stopped them in Parliament; he would stop them every where, because they would convey information to the enemy. Enquires about the expenditure of public money he averred to be equally as senseless as if a man should set fire to his house, to avoid paying the window tax.

A Mr. Bailey, of whom I know no more than he is a very tall man, spoke a speech as long as himself; but of which I could collect no more than that we ought not to be angry with Ministry, any more than a criminal is with a hangman: for that they did not make the war, any more than the hangman makes the law, both of them being only, as he said, *executioners*.

Lord Sandwich now said, that if there were any hardships in the country, they might easily be removed; the gentlemen ought to *lower their rents*; and he moved to reject the petition.

Mr. Townsend required that the motion should be put into writing; he was curious to see such a motion made against such a petition, by the first Lord of the Admiralty, at a county meeting.

Lord Sandwich said he would write it; he had made the motion, and *would persevere in it*.

Mr. Brown then delivered the written motion to the Sheriff, and said that he (Mr. Brown) moved it, and that it was seconded by Lord Hinchinbroke.

The freeholders insisted that it was Lord Sandwich who moved; but it was abandoned by his Lordship, and Mr. Brown fathered it.

The question being put, the Sheriff declared it to be carried *against* the petition, although there were

notoriously *three* to *two* FOR the petition.

The Sheriff being urged to declare upon his honour, that it was carried *against* the petition, pleaded that he had *bad eyes*, and could not be positive; it was impossible to see. General Clark (though himself voting with Lord Sandwich) upon application to him, acknowledged the majority to be *for* the petition.

Lord Sandwich observed to the Sheriff that he could not keep order. The Sheriff echoed that he could not keep order. Mr. Wombwell repeated that the Sheriff could not keep order, and that he would in the House of Commons declare, that it was a scene of confusion. (Mr. Wombwell here forgot anarchy.)

The protestors withdrew, and near two hundred petitioners signed their names before they quitted the room. They then appointed a Committee of Correspondence, similar to that of Yorkshire and Middlesex, and adjourned the County Meeting to April next; when it is to be hoped a Chairman will be appointed, who has not bad eyes, and can keep order.

I am, &c.

BEDFORD MEETING.

Jan. 24, 1780.

The meeting held at this place, on Monday last, was one of the most numerous and respectable ever known in this county. After the occasion of the meeting had been opened by the Earl of Upper Ossory, the Lord Lieutenant, who had summoned the county, upon the refusal of the High Sheriff, William Gery, Esq; a respectable gentleman of large property in the county, was called to the chair: a petition and resolutions were moved by Charles Barrett, Esq; nearly similar to those of the counties of York, Middlesex, and Hertford, which met with no opposition, excepting from Lord Onghley,

one

one of the Members for the county, a steady supporter of Lord North, not long since created an Irish Peer; and Thomas Potter, Esq. a lawyer, brought into Parliament by Government for a Cornish borough, and one of the Welsh Judges. The petition and resolutions were warmly supported by the Duke of Manchester, Earl of Ossory, Sir William Wake, Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick, Geo. Byng, Samuel Whitbread, Robert Scott, J. Mulgrave, Esqrs. and several other gentlemen. Upon the question being put, only four hands were held up against it. A Committee of thirty-two gentlemen was appointed, effectually to promote the objects of the petition. The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Chairman, and to the Lord Lieutenant, for having assembled the county; and the meeting adjourned to the 22d of April. A letter was read from Lord St. John to the Lord Lieutenant, mentioning his regret at his being prevented from attending, by illness, and expressing the fullest approbation of the meeting.

At a very respectable and numerous meeting of the noblemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Bedford, held the 24th day of January, 1780, at the Sessions-house in the town of Bedford, the following petition was resolved to be presented to Parliament.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Bedford,
Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged, for several years, in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of

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Great-Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary, in every department of state, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public services, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great unconstitutional influence, which if not checked, must soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that by the Constitution of this realm, the national purse is entrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable House; beg leave farther to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and properties of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request, that before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money;

money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all insecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such a manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

After which the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to, viz.

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting before any new burthens be laid upon the country, effectual measures may be taken by that House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money: to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all insecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state, is approved by this meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a Committee of thirty-two noblemen and gentlemen be appointed to effectually promote the object of the petition: and that the following gentlemen compose the Committee.

William Gery, Esq. Duke of Manchester, Earl of Upper Ossory, Lord Viscount St. John, Hon. Rich. Fitzpatrick, Esq. M. P. Sir Wm. Wake, Bart. M. P. Sir Gilies Payne, Bart. Sam. Whitbread, Esq. M. P. Jn. Radcliffe, Esq. M. P. Geo. Byng, Esq. M. P. Rob. Scott, Esq. M. P. Charles Barnett, Esq. George Musgrave, Esq. Joseph Musgrave, Esq. Tho. Whetham, Esq. William Pym, Esq. Rev. Ed. Willaume, John Franklyn, Esq. Thomas Vaux, Esq. John Crawley, Esq. Samuel Crawley, Esq. John Nesbitt, Esq. Ed. Ashwell, Esq. John Payne, Esq. William Hale, Esq. Francis Moore, Esq. Thomas Alston, Esq. John Everitt, Esq. John Dilley, Esq.

Rev. John Hawkins, Rev. Thomas Sawell, Rev. — Littelhales.

Resolved, That this committee do meet at the Sessions-house in the town of Bedford, on Saturday the 5th day of February next, and that seven do constitute a quorum.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Upper Ossory, for calling this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Gery, Esq. the chairman.

Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Saturday the 22d day of April next.

WILLIAM GERY, Chairman.

Bedford, Jan. 25. Yesterday our county meeting was held in the Town-hall. Mr. Gery was called to the chair. Lord Ossory opened the business, and thanked the gentlemen for their attendance, especially at so short a notice, the Sheriff having refused. Mr. Barnett entered very fully into the present situation of public affairs, and shewed the necessity of measures being taken, by Parliament, for reformation, particularly in public employments, places, and pensions, and strongly recommended a petition.

Mr. Potter, in a very learned speech, objected to the whole proceedings, both as to the meeting and the petition; and explained the manner in which several emoluments of office were derived, and said such were due to persons holding the same; and gave it as his opinion, that a petition would answer no good end; and recommended unanimity and confidence in Government.

Lord Ongley said he approved very much of a petition, for the good purpose of trying to reduce exorbitant places and pensions; said he had given his opinion in Parliament, that all places should be put up to public auction, for the national advantage; and wished to see a reformation, which was much wanted: that he

came

came prepared to assent to a petition, if it was agreeable to him in other respects; and made an address to the freeholders, on his conduct in Parliament.

Mr. Whitbread commended Lord Ongley's public frugality, and mentioned an instance of it in Parliament, where it met with reproof, when it merited praise; and agreed that there had been the greatest abuses in the public expenditure; and thought that the saving that might be made in this, would exceed the highest expectations, from places and pensions; and took notice of the neglect at Plymouth, by the Board of Ordnance, who had such immense grants of money; said the emoluments from some offices were exorbitant; that they encreased as the national expence encreased, and increased the Exchequer, Paymaster, Treasurer of the Navy, and Board of Ordnance, and observed upon reversionary grants, as a great evil; that he considered pensions as comprehending rewards for real and public services, or acts of benevolence, both of which were laudable to a certain degree, and if in excess, should be restrained; but that liberality was annexed to the Crown; that the present mode of raising money was very injurious, and thought part of the supplies should be raised in the year, and desired that the petition might contain a request for an equal land-tax, which that county had a special reason to urge, as it paid four shillings in the pound, when some others did not pay sixpence in the pound; that he concurred in a petition, because he believed it would contain no other meaning than what it expressed, the redress of manifest grievances.

Mr. Byng supported the petition with zeal, recommended economy, and mentioned some gentlemen, to the number of thirty-one, who had bound themselves, upon honour, not

to accept even of the common emoluments of office, if they should be called to any. He was asked for a list of them.

The Duke of Manchester answered Mr. Byng, that he thought the zeal of those gentlemen carried them too far; the person that filled an office with integrity was intitled to the proper reward. His Grace then took occasion to say a few words upon the subject of the meeting, and that he thought it his duty to come as a neighbour, and approved of a petition.

Sir W. Wake made an apology for his attendance from another county; but that he thought it his duty as a member for the town of Bedford; and supported the petition with many forcible reasons.

The petition being read, Lord Ongley objected to signing, as he thought the words in the preamble, 'before any new burthens were laid,' were too strong.

Mr. Fitzpatrick said he wished a member might consider it as binding upon him.

Mr. Whitbread said he should sign the petition: for he did not apprehend, from those words, or the prayer of it, the least restraint was implied; nor would he be restrained from his free vote, upon supply, or any other question: that he would support the constitution of his King, Lords, and Commons, to the utmost of his abilities; and believed the spirit of the nation had made persons in office more attentive to business, and it appeared so by some late successes.

Lord St. John sent a letter to Lord Ossory, to give his Lordship's assent to a petition, with an apology for not attending, being very ill: the petition was agreed to almost unanimously.

The resolutions were then read. Mr. Whitbread objected to the words 'correspondence and association;' that he knew of but one association that is, of the Protestants, to which

he assented; and it was agreed to leave those words out. A committee of noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to attend to the petition, and the meeting was adjourned to the 22d of April, and every thing was conducted with the greatest harmony, and thanks were returned to Lord Ossory, for calling the meeting, and to the Chairman.

ESSEX.

At a meeting of the county of Essex, held at Chelmsford, on Monday the 24th of January, 1780, a petition and resolutions were proposed, and unanimously agreed to.

[The petition is, verbatim, the same as that from the county of Bedford. See page 129.]

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read, addressed to the House of Commons, is approved by this meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a committee of fifty-three gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association on legal and constitutional grounds; to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament; to be presented by the chairman of the committee to this meeting, held by adjournment, on Monday the 25th of April next.

3d. Resolved, That Lord Dacre, Lord Grimstone, Lord Waltham, Sir Robert Smyth, Sir William Wake, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Trench Chiswell, General Honeywood, Mr. Luther, Mr. Tufnell, Mr. Collins, Mr. Disney Fyich, Rev. Henry Green, Mr. Chevely, Mr. Sperling, Rev. Samuel Disney, Mr. Button, Rev. — Olney, Rev. Nicholas Toke, Mr. Baker, Mr. Wolfe, Mr. Raymond, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Heath, Mr. B. Heath, Mr. Holling-

worth, Mr. Ruffel, Rev. — Young, Rev. John Stevenfon, Mr. Judd, Rev. — Cheer, Mr. Turner, Mr. Smith, Mr. Read, Mr. John Wolfe, Mr. Griggs, Mr. Crisp Mollyneux, Mr. Brand Hollis, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Bullock, Mr. Wallinger, Rev. Tho. Weston, Mr. Pigott, Mr. Clark Jervoise, Mr. Harding, Rev. Randolph Ekins, Mr. Gee, Mr. Day, Mr. Parsons, Mr. J. Parsons, Mr. Johns, Mr. Pike, and Mr. Wright, be the members composing the above committee, and that any seven or more members be empowered to act, and that their acts be considered as the acts of the committee.

4th. Resolved, That the committee now chosen, be empowered to encrease the number when found necessary.

5th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those gentlemen who signed the letter to the Sheriff, requesting him to assemble the county, and particularly for their constitutional determination in advertizing this meeting in their own names, in consequence of the refusal from the Sheriff.

6th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Luther, Esq. one of the Representatives for this county, for his steady, firm, and independent conduct in Parliament; and also for the very ready support he has given to this present meeting, particularly for signing the letter to the Sheriff.

7th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Berney Brampton, Esq. the other Representative for this county, for his conduct in Parliament.

8th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to R. Mullman Trench Chiswell, Esq. Chairman of this meeting.

9th. Resolved, That the Chairman do publish these proceedings in the public newspapers.

10th.

10th. Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to Monday the 25th of April next.

R. MUILMAN TRENCH CRISWELL,
Chairman of the meeting.

S O M E R S E T.

The Sheriff stated, that he had called the meeting in consequence of a requisition by the gentlemen of the county, assembled at the quarter-sessions, and was going to leave the Chair when Mr. Coxe proposed, that he should continue in it as Chairman of the meeting, if he approved of it, which he accepted. Mr. Storde then read the petition (which is in substance the same as Yorkshire) and moved, that it be approved and read, which was seconded by Mr. Portman and Mr. Sturt, who spoke each a few words in favour of it, and of the necessity of persevering in those spirited resolutions. Mr. Canon Wilson made one or two trifling objections to the petition, which were soon silenced by Mr. Luders, whose speech brought about a happy unanimity in all present. The petition was then agreed to with joyful acclamations, and immediately handed about to be signed. Mr. Coxe then came forward and addressed the meeting upon the steps he had taken to bring it forward; said he was happy to see it attended by so many respectable characters, which gave him the most lively hopes that it would be attended with some good effect; the times called aloud for such reformation as the petition demanded, and he, for his part, should never be wanting in his endeavours, upon this and every other occasion, to support the interest of the county and his country. Mr. Phelps spoke to the same effect, and gave a short detail of his conduct in the House; said he had always voted for short Parliaments, the contractors' bill, and some others

that he named, on which occasions he flattered himself his conduct had always met with the approbation of his constituents. The company then dined together in perfect harmony at the Swan inn; and after dinner drank success to the petition, with three cheers.

The unanimity of the county meeting of Somersetshire is as decisive against the Ministry as the Hampshire election; for, though it is Lord North's own county, not a single hand was held up against the petition.

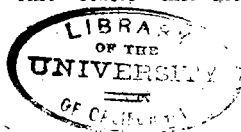
Wells, January 25, 1780.

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the Honourable the House of Commons, and requesting that effectual measures may be taken by that House, to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expensiture of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State, is approved by this meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a Committee of the following gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence, for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures, as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, to be held by adjournment at Wells, on Tuesday the 11th of April.

3d. Resolved, That the said Committee do admit any gentleman of the county of Somerset to be a Member of the said Committee.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Samuel Baker,



Baker, Esq. the Sheriff, for his ready and obliging compliance with the request of the gentlemen of the county for calling them together.

5th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to R. H. Coxe and Edward Phelps, Esqrs. for their conduct and explicit declaration of their sentiments on the occasion, and for their promises of future support.

6th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Strode, Esq. for the very active manner in which he has stood forth and exerted himself at this meeting.

7th. Resolved, That the above be published in the London, Bath, Sherborn, Salisbury, and Bristol papers.

8th. Resolved, That the following gentlemen do compose the Committee.

Rich. Hen. Coxe, Esq. Edward Phelps, Esq. Sir Thomas Ackland, William Helliar, John Old Goodford, Thomas Horner, John Strode, Hugh Somerville, Henry Wm. Portman, Humphry Sturt, John Collins, Richard Croffe, Joseph Harford, Peter Sherston, Alex. Popham, Bagborough, Alex. Popham, Inner-Temple, Benjamin Allen, George Lovell, Thomas Slocombe, Ch. Hip. Coxe, H. H. Coxe, John Lethbridge, Edward Halliday, Alexander Luders, Joseph Metford, Esq. Tho. Darch, Esq. William Hawker, James Tooker, Richard James Sandford, William Baker, Clement Tudway, Robert Tudway, Charles Tudway, Norton Knatchbull, John Billingsley, Levi Ames, Thomas Lediard, John Harvey, John Mallack, William Tuckett, Benjamin Hamet, Jacob Mogg, W. Rodbard, Philip Stevens, Thomas Wellman, John Ackland, Henry Strangeways, Simon Wellman, Thomas Coward, Joseph Jeffries, Ger. Martin.

NOTTINGHAM,

Jan. 21, 1780.

In consequence of a letter addressed to the Worshipful the Mayor, and signed by a great majority of the Hall, the Mayor and Burgeses of this town were this day assembled in common council, and resolved on the following petition to the Hon. the House of Commons.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the Mayor and Burgeses of the town and county of Nottingham, in Common Council assembled:

At the height of national calamity, We the Mayor and Burgeses of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, in common hall assembled, approach a British House of Commons with that respect which is due to the appointed guardians of our rights, and with that hope which it becomes us to entertain from those who are honoured with so great a trust. The growing and almost insupportable distresses of this injured and degraded country summon us into your presence, that you may know our sense of these distresses, of their cause and of their remedy: and find in the wishes of the people the best encouragement to an immediate and effectual interposition for their rescue.

Whether by crime, or by misfortune, or both, one great member of the British empire be gone; yet with such a diminution of wealth and power, to be engaged in the most complicated and formidable war, surely asks for the most rigid economy in every department of the State. But with grief and shame we observe, that a wasteful prodigality has dissipated our remaining strength, and by enfeebling our efforts, disgraced our arms, and multiplied our losses; while

while this very prodigality becomes the source of encreased demands, aggravates the burthens under which every rank and description of the people bow, and threatens in its progress a general ruin.

We look up to your Honourable House for a period to this dreadful progress, and that with the integrity and firmness of the Commons of Britain, you will make a severe enquiry into the expenditure of that immense treasure, which a liberality unknown in the most flourishing period has drawn from an almost exhausted nation. The magnanimity of a free people can give the last shilling in the cause of their country, but in no other cause; and this confidence, which shall dispose of them to the last exertions, can only be derived from your inquiry into those abuses, which may render such exertions necessary; they expect to know, that successive grants shall not find them less prepared to meet an elated foe, and facilitate the most awful of all calamities, the ruin of their liberties.

In this reduced and humble state of the nation, it is a farther pain to observe, the enormous sums which are diverted to no public good; the exorbitant emoluments annexed to real, and much more to nominal offices, with indiscriminate, unmerited pensions; which devour the public treasure, defeat the national efforts, degrade the spirit of Englishmen into sordid avarice, subvert the independence of Parliament, and act with a malignant influence on all that is dear to our country.

Under the impression of these awful truths, we beg leave to represent, that the redress of these ruinous abuses is the right of Britons, and that the only source from which hope can again be brought back to their country; and that till some wise and vigorous measures for the effecting this purpose be adopted, no addition can with wisdom, honour or safety, be

made to the pecuniary burthens of these kingdoms. We would respectfully observe, that such a conduct in times of danger, distress and apprehension, has been the distinguishing character of your Honourable House, that by which the very being of your House, and the being of our Constitution has been preserved; and that in no period has distress and apprehension more summoned the representatives of Britain to the exertion of their proper character, to the fulfilling every hope of their anxious constituents. With these abuses in all their magnitude, in all their operation before you, every grant beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be too wanton with the rights and property of the people, and betray the faith and dignity of Parliament.

It is our prayer, therefore, to this Honourable House, that all extravagant emoluments be reduced, all superfluous and nominal offices be abolished, and all unmerited pensions be resumed, and that the produce be appropriated to the necessities of the State. And that till this wise and necessary reform be adopted, and till effectual means be applied to enquire into and correct the abuses in the expenditure of the public money, whereby the fears and jealousies of the people may be appeased, and a well-grounded confidence diffused through the community. You will with that justice and patriotism which we promise ourselves from your Honourable House, withhold all grants of the public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes.

Trusting that this our just and interesting petition will meet with all favourable reception. We ever pray, &c. &c.

W I L T S H I R E.

Devizes, Jan. 26, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county

county of Wilts, held here this day, for considering of the present situation of public affairs, Robert Cooper, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair, a petition was read.

[The petition is the same as that from the county of York.]

After which the following resolutions were agreed on, viz.

1st. Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting that, before any new burthens be laid upon the country, effectual measures may be taken by that House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State, is approved by the meeting.

2d. Resolved, That a Committee of fifty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association on legal and constitutional grounds to support that laudable reform, and to take such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament; and the following Noblemen and Gentlemen are accordingly appointed for the said Committee:

Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Radnor, Earl of Shelburne, Robert Cooper, Esq. High-Sheriff of Wilts, Henry Penruddock Wyndham, Esq. of Salisbury, Peter Bathurst, Esq. of Clarendon Park, William Bowles, Esq. of Heale, Charles Penruddocke, Esq. of Compton Chamberlain, Ambrose Goddard, Esq. of Swindon, Richard Smith, Esq. of Chilton Folliatt, Richard Southby, Esq. of Bulford, William Hussey, Esq. of Salisbury, Hon. William Henry Bouverie, Sir William Jones, Bart. of Ramsbury, Rev. Mr.

Townsend, of Pewsey, John Awdry, Esq. of Netton, Rev. Dr. Warnford, of Sevenhampton, William Pierce Ashe à Court, Esq. of Salisbury, Rev. Dr. Harrington, of Salisbury, Henry Dawkins, Esq. of Standuich, Lovelace Bigg, Esq. of Chilton, Edward Poore, jun. Esq. of Tidworth, Samuel Cam, Esq. of Bradford, Thomas Bythessea, Esq. of Weekhouse, William Northey, Esq. of Lockeridge, Richard Attwood, Esq. of Bradford, the Hon. Charles James Fox, Henry Eyre, Esq. of Brickworth, Rev. Mr. John Bowle, of Idmilton, Edward Poore, Esq. of Wedhampton, Thomas Vilett, Esq. of Swindon, Thomas Calley, Esq. of Burdrod, Tristram Huddleston Jervoise, of Britford, James Montague, jun. Esq. of Lackham, Rev. Mr. Pocock, of Mildenhall, William Talk, Esq. of Salisbury, Robert Ashe, Esq. of Langley Burrell, Edward Horlock Mortimer, Esq. of Trowbridge, Rev. Dr. Kent, of Potterne, John Yerbury, Esq. of Bradford, Matthew Humphrys, Esq. of Chippenham, William Harding, Esq. of Swindon, Estmead Edridge, Esq. of Chippenham, John Reeve Edridge, Esq. of Chippenham, Rich. Long, Esq. of Rowde Ashton, Gaisford Gibbs, Esq. of Westbury, Thomas Liddiard, Esq. of Devizes, Rev. Mr. Pollhill, of Millstone, James Sutton, Esq. of Devizes, Thomas Goddard Vilett, Esq. of Swindon, William Dyke, Esq. of Sifencot.

3d. Resolved, That the said Committee do meet immediately at the Black Bear inn in Devizes, and that any seven, or more of them, do constitute the said Committee, and that they adjourn as they think proper; and that their proceedings be presented to this meeting, to be held by adjournment, on Tuesday in Easter week, next ensuing.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High-

High Sheriff, for his readiness in calling this meeting, and for his polite and impartial conduct at it.

5. Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Tuesday in Easter week next ensuing at Devizes.

G L O U C E S T E R.

At a meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Gloucester, held at the Boothall in the city of Gloucester, this 25th of January, 1780, for the purpose of signing a petition to Parliament, recommending national oeconomy, Sir G. O. Paul in the Chair, the following resolutions were unanimously entered into:

Resolved, That the petition now read and approved of, be presented to the House of Commons, and that the Members for the county be desired to present the same.

[The petition was the same as that from the county of York.]

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed for conducting and supporting this petition.

The said Committee to consist of the following gentlemen.

The Hon. Mr. Berkeley, Sir William Guise, Sir William Codrington, Sir G. O. Paul, Mr. W. H. Hartley, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Masters, Mr. Guise, Mr. Hyet, Mr. Savage, Mr. Snell, Mr. Pyrke, Mr. Bush, Mr. Crawley, Mr. Edgar, Mr. Probyn, Mr. Jones, Mr. Delabere, Mr. Morgan, Rev. Mr. Bishop, Rev. Mr. Small, Mr. Parker, Mr. W. G. Peach, Mr. Lane, Mr. Selfe, Mr. Purnell, Rev. Mr. Coxwell, Mr. Creswell, Mr. Cheston, Mr. Holbrow, Rev. Peter Hawker, Rev. Mr. Wynniatt, Mr. Champion, Mr. Joseph Harford, Mr. Lofcomb, Mr. Riddle.

Resolved, That the said Committee have power to add to their number if they think proper, and that

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any seven of the said Committee do constitute a quorum.

Resolved, That the said Committee be requested to consider of and prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform therein recommended, and for restoring the independency of Parliament.

Resolved, That the said Committee be desired to correspond and cooperate with the Committees of other counties and publick bodies for this purpose.

Resolved, The thanks of this meeting be given to the Lords and Members of the House of Commons who have honoured this petition with their appearance or support, and the thanks are according given to the Earl of Berkeley, Lord Craven, Lord Chedworth, the Right Hon. T. Townshend, Sir W. Guise, Sir W. Codrington, Sir G. Cornwall, Mr. W. H. Hartley, Mr. David Hartley, and Mr. Barrow.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for his ready acceptance of the Chair, and the propriety of his conduct therein.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Hon. George Berkeley, for his very spirited and proper opening the business of this meeting.

Resolved, That it is recommended by this meeting, to every freeholder of this county, who wishes to promote oeconomy, to subscribe this petition.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to Tuesday the 18th day of April next.

G. ONESIPHORUS PAUL,
Chairman.

H U N T I N G D O N.

At a very numerous meeting of the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of
T
Huntingdon,

Huntingdon, held at the Town-Hall at Huntingdon, on Thursday the 20th of January, 1780, the following petition was resolved to be presented to Parliament.

[The same petition as that of Yorkshire and of Middlesex.]

After which the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to :

Resolved, That this meeting do approve of a national association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to restore and secure to the people the freedom and independence of Parliament; as indispensably necessary to the welfare of the State.

Resolved, That a Committee of twenty-seven gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually pursuing the object of the petition, and to propose a plan for an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament. The plan for an association to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, to be held by adjournment at the Town-Hall, in Huntingdon, on the 20th of April, 1780.

Resolved, That the Committee consist of the following gentlemen, and that they have power to add to their number :

Duke of Manchester, Earl Ludlow, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Spencer, Lord Sondes, Lord Beauchieu, Lord Carisfort, Lord G. Cavendish, Lord F. Cavendish, Lord Preston, Cha. A. Pelham, Sir G. Payne, J. Payne, Rogers Parker, Richard Reynolds, Stanhope Padley, Peter Standley, Rev. Dr. Watson, D. D. Regius Professor, George Thornhill, John

Thompson, James Rust, Sir Robert Bernard, William Gery, James Phipps, John Hawkins, John Dawes, C. Sheppard.

Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Thursday the 20th of April next, at the Town-Hall, Huntingdon, at 12 o'clock.

Census In, Huntingdon, Thursday, January 27, 1780.

The Committee appointed to promote the objects of the petition of the county of Huntingdon, to Parliament, came to the following resolutions :

1. That Sir Robert Bernard be Chairman.
2. That Richard Reynolds, Esq. be Secretary.
3. That a letter be written by the Chairman of this Committee to the Chairman of the Committee of the counties of York, Middlesex, &c. &c.
4. That a letter be written to Earl Ludlow, to request that he will present the petition to the House of Commons.
5. That a letter be written to each of the Representatives of the county, requesting their support of the petition in Parliament.
6. That the Chairman, Secretary, and three Members, may call a meeting of the Committee, and any five Members of the Committee so called, constitute a meeting for transacting business.
7. That letters be written by the Chairman of the Committee to the Duke of Manchester, and to Earl Ludlow, to request that they will advertise a meeting at any place in London for the non-resident Huntingdonshire freeholders to meet and sign the county petition; and to request that his Grace or Earl Ludlow will take the Chair at such meeting.
8. That this Committee be adjourned to Saturday the 5th of February

bruary next, to receive the petitions.

R. BERNARD.

D O R S E T.

Dorchester, Jan. 27, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of this county, held here this day, the following petition and resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled :

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Dorset,

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged, for several years, in a most expensive and unfortunate war ; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain ; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary, in every department of the State, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public services, to a large and still increasing amount.

Your petitioners conceiving that

the true end of every legitimate Government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community ; and considering that by the constitution of this realm, the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this Honourable House ; beg leave farther to represent, that until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request that effectual measures may be taken to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money ; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments ; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions ; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

After which the following resolutions were proposed, and also unanimously agreed to :

1. That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, is approved by this meeting.

2. That a Committee of forty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures, as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented

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presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, held by adjournment, on Tuesday the 25th day of April next.

The following gentlemen compose the Committee :

Mr. Parry, Chairman, Mr. Sturt, Hon. L. Damer, Hon. J. Damer, Mr. E. Walter, Mr. Drax, Mr. Obrien, Mr. John Pleydell, Mr. Portman, Mr. Brown, Mr. Foy, Mr. Fitch, Mr. W. Frenchard, Mr. Piccard, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Churchill, of Henbury, Mr. Churchill, of Colliten, Mr. John Floyer, Mr. William Richards, Mr. George Gould, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Meech, Mr. Horner, Mr. W. Whittaker, Ogden, Mr. Burland, Rev. Doct. Sherive, Rev. Mr. C. Ruffel, Mr. W. Floyer, Mr. J. W. Burrough, Mr. S. Fawkner, Mr. W. Chafin, Mr. J. Richards, Mr. H. Churchill, Mr. Bennett, Mr. J. Toogood, Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Roe King, Mr. H. King, Mr. J. Randall, Mr. G. Milner.

3d. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to H. Sturt, Esq. one of the Representatives of this county, for his steady, upright, and independent conduct in Parliament, for his assiduous endeavours to procure this meeting and his truly constitutional conduct in wishing to take the sense of his constituents, in order to regulate his line of conduct in the House of Commons at this period, when matters of the utmost consequence to the kingdom in general are likely to be agitated.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Damer, Esq. Member for the borough of Dorchester, for his independent conduct in Parliament, and for his attendance and support this day.

5th, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Anthony Chapman, Esq. for having,

as Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, requested the Sheriff to call a meeting of the county in this alarming state of national affairs.

6th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to David Parry, Esq. Chairman.

7th, Resolved, That the Members for the county be desired to present the petition, and to support the same.

8th, Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to the 25th day of April next.

D. PARRY, Chairman.

C U M B E R L A N D.

Carlisle, Jan. 2, 1780.

In consequence of the High Sheriff's advertisement, a very numerous and respectable meeting was held. A petition was called for, and unanimously agreed to: a petition was then offered, of which the following is a copy :

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled :

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Cumberland,

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged, for several years, in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary

necessary, in every department of the State, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation; much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public services, to a large and still increasing amount.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request that speedy and effectual measures may be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

An amendment, which did not alter the object of the petition being moved, and supported by five gentlemen only, the original petition was unanimously agreed to by the other gentlemen present: after which the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.

Resolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting that speedy and effectual measures may be taken by that House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State, is approved by this meeting.

Resolved, That a Committee of the following gentlemen be appoint-

ed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of this petition, viz.

The Earl of Surrey, Geo. Edw. Stanley, Esq. Thomas Pattinson, Esq. J. O. Yates, Esq. W. Dacre, Esq. Joseph Liddell, Esq. John Losh, Esq. Thomas Story, Esq. C. Aglionby, Esq. T. Holme, Esq. Rev. Mr. Raincock, Rev. Mr. Huddleston, H. Birket, Esq. M. Ponsford, Esq. Humphrey Senhouse, Esq.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Williams Hasell, Esq. High Sheriff, for his great attention to the wishes of the county on this occasion.

Resolved, That thanks be given to Sir James Lowther, and Sir Michael le Fleming, Barts. for their attendance at this meeting.

Among the gentlemen who attended this meeting were, the Earl of Surrey, Sir James Lowther, Bart. Member for Cumberland, Sir Michael le Fleming, Bart. Member for Westmorland, John Pennington, Esq. the Rev. Dr. Graham, George Edward Stanley, Esq. Wilson Brad-dyll, Esq. &c. The meeting was the most numerous and respectable ever assembled in this county: among the great number of nobility and gentry present were the Duke of Portland, Earl of Egremont, Bishop of Carlisle, Henry Fletcher, Esq. Member for the county, and several other gentlemen, who were prevented from attending, desired that their concurrence and support of the measure might be generally known.

NORTHAMPTON.

Jan. 31, 1780.

Saturday last, in pursuance of the High Sheriff's advertisement, a most respectable meeting, consisting of noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, &c. assembled in the County-hall, in this town, to consider of such measures

measures as might be judged most proper to be taken in the present situation of public affairs; when Mr Thursby agreed to withdraw his motion, and to adopt an idea of Sir William Dolben's, which was, that instead of presenting a petition to Parliament the county should give proper instructions to their representatives. This was approved of; the instructions and resolutions, which are below, were unanimously agreed to; and the meeting broke up with great appearance of good humour and satisfaction. The principal speakers for the motion were Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Thursby, Sir Justina Isham, Sir William Wake, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Powys, and Dr. Hill; those against the petition, were Sir William Dolben, Mr. J. Robinson, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Kerr.

The following is a copy of the instructions of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Northampton, to their representatives in Parliament, Lucy Knightly and Thomas Powys, Esqrs.

Setting forth,

“ That this nation hath been, and is still, engaged in a most expensive war, which has unavoidably caused a great increase of taxes, the burthen of which makes the strictest frugality in every department of the state absolutely necessary; and that we, therefore, think it necessary to instruct our Members to represent to the Hon. House of Commons, how necessary it is to use the utmost exertion of economy to alleviate the burthen, by timely exerting those powers with which this Honourable House is invested.

“ And we recommend that some plan should be adopted for abolishing sinecure places, preventing in future the granting unmerited pensions, reducing exorbitant salaries, and annexing settled stipends to offices in lieu of perquisites of office; taking

into consideration what saving may be made, consistent with public dignity and justice, appropriating the same to the necessities of the State, in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet; which will, we conceive, be productive of such relief to the country, as will enable it to support the burthen laid on it— And being made sensible that a judicious attention is had to economy in the expenditure of public money, we shall with confidence and zeal, contribute to revenge the unjust and formidable attacks of our enemies, and not despair of seeing this again a formidable and happy nation.

To the above instructions were added the following resolutions:

“ Resolved, That the instructions be returned to the Sheriff's office, at Northampton, on or before the 15th of February next.

“ Resolved, That the Sheriff be requested to call a meeting of the gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Northampton, to be held at the County-hall, at Northampton, on Wednesday in Easter week, to receive the report of the resolutions and instructions delivered this day.

“ Resolved that the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff, for his great readiness to call this meeting; and that the same be inserted, with the instructions, in the Northampton and other papers.

ROGERS PARKER, Sheriff.
Northampton, Jan. 29, 1780.

N O R W I C H,

Jan. 29, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting held this day at the Shirehouse on the Castle-hill, the High Sheriff having explained the occasion of the meeting, by reading the letter signed by several respectable gentlemen, requesting him to call it; and having resigned the chair, Edmund Rolfe,

Rolfe, Esq. was desired to take it and the following petition and resolutions were almost unanimously agreed to:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Freeholders, Land-Owners, and Inhabitants paying taxes in the county of Norfolk;
Sheweth,

That your petitioners, alarmed at the still growing burthens of this country, notwithstanding the annual diminution of its supplies, feeling that the strictest oeconomy must be adopted in every rank of private life, must have lost every power of reflection not to discern, that the most rigid frugality is absolutely necessary in every department of the state. To this Honourable House then your petitioners look up for succour and protection: to you they apply as more peculiarly entrusted, with the controul of the national purse; and with all that sollicitude which the pressure of private distress, and the dread of public ruin can excite, earnestly request that this House would be pleased to make no grant of public money without the most palpable evidence of its necessity, and that they would be pleased farther to provide, by all the means with which the constitution furnishes, and with all that vigour and resolution with which zeal for that constitution can inspire them, that none of the public money, when granted, be improperly applied, or imprudently squandered.

Thus roused by effects to the investigation of their causes, suffer your petitioners still further to represent, that the time is now arrived, when it is become absolutely requisite, that all sinecure places and pensions unmerited by public service, should be abolished; and that the exorbitant emoluments, even of efficient places

should be reduced; and that such expenditures may no longer continue to increase the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation and to add a great and unconstitutional influence to the crown;—an accession of influence, which the best informed in the laws, the sincerest friends of Government, and the most loyal and faithful subjects to the King, have in the hour of calm reflection, unworped by interest, unbiassed by party, not only deplored, as inimical to the liberties of this country, but as tending to effect, what it soon may, the entire subversion of the whole fabrick of the constitution.

Your petitioners, therefore, appealing to the justice of this Hon. House, and confiding in your fidelity to the principles of your delegated trust, do not only most earnestly request that effectual measures may be taken towards redressing the oppressive grievances herein stated, before any new burthens be laid upon this afflicted country, but beg leave likewise to represent, that unless such measures be so taken, the grant of any public money beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and consequently derogatory from the honour and dignity of Parliament.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the petition now read and approved, be presented to the House of Commons, and that the Members for the county be desired to present the same.
2. Resolved that a Committee be appointed for conducting and supporting the petition.
3. Resolved, That the Committee be desired to correspond with the Committees of other counties.
4. Resolved, That the said Committee

mittee have power to add to their number, if they think proper, and that any seven of the said Committee shall constitute a quorum.

5. Resolved, That the following gentlemen be of the Committee:

Sir John Berney, Bart. Sir William Wake, Bart. Sir H. Harbord, Bart. Jacob Atley, Esq. Edmund Rolfe, Esq. John Buxton, Esq. Robert Fellowes, Esq. William Colhoun; Esq. Miles Branchwayte, Esq. John Micklethwaite, Esq. S. Cooper, D. D. Robert Lee Doughty, Esq. George Chad, Esq. Dixon Hoste, Esq. Martin Ristton, Esq. Edward Pratt, Esq. William Tooke, Esq. James Townsend, Esq. Miles Branchwayte, jun. Esq. John Kerrick, Esq. Thomas Kerrick, Esq. Crisp Mohineux, Esq. P. Wilkinson, Esq. Z. S. Girdlestone, Esq. Engle Knights, Esq. James Crowe, Esq. F. Thrushton, Esq. H. Repton, Esq. Wm. Manning, Esq. H. Gooch, Esq. S. Browne, Esq. D. Jones, jun. Esq. John Atley, Clerk. Ed. Howman, Clerk. W. Gibson, Clerk. T. Meux, Clerk. R. Browne, Clerk. Jn. Adey, Gentleman.

6. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. Lord Walpole, and also to the following gentlemen, Sir Edward Atley, Bart. Thomas William Coke, Esq. Sir Harbord Harbord, Bart. Thomas Pownall, Esq. Members of the House of Commons, for attending this meeting, and supporting the petition.

7. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff for calling this meeting.

8. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Edmund Rolfe, Esq. the Chairman, for his very firm, candid, and impartial conduct.

9. Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to Friday, April the 7th, at the White Swan-inn, in Norwich.

10. Resolved, That the Committee be desired to print these resolutions.

By order of the Committee,
JOHN ALDRAM, Sec.

NORFOLK PROTEST.

"We, the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby protest against the proceedings of certain noblemen, gentlemen, clergy and freeholders, at a meeting held at the Shire-house, Norwich, this 29th day of January, 1780.

"1. Because we apprehend that a meeting, desired at so short a notice, and at such a time of the year, cannot be thought to express the sense of the county.

"2. Because, although we are of opinion that the utmost economy is necessary in the expediture of the public money, yet we think that it is highly inexpedient, in the present time, to take any steps which may imply want of confidence in the constitutional powers, to whom the national defence, and the means of supporting it, are committed; and more especially when any delay in the public supplies may give the most fatal advantages to the enemies of our country. And,

"3. Because the resolutions create a committee with powers unknown and unconstitutional, distinct from those of the representatives of the people, implying diffidence of their conduct, tending to weaken their influence and privileges in Parliament, and, in consequence, to controul and over-awe their proceedings."

DEVON,

At a very respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Devon, held here this day, the following petition, moved by Lord Courtenay, and seconded by Sir Thomas Dyke

Dyke Acland, Bart. was resolved to be presented to Parliament.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the county of Devon,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners cannot view the declining situation of the British empire, without calling on this Honourable House, by every tie of interest, honour, and justice, to avert the ruin that menaces this once great and prosperous nation, by a proper and timely exertion of those powers, which, by the Constitution, this Honourable House is invested with.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and viewing with the greatest concern a large addition to the national debt, an heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land rents, of this kingdom, we are convinced that the most strict and exemplary frugality is now indispensibly necessary, in every department of state, in order to enable his Majesty to prosecute the war with the greater vigour.

Your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places, with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount, whence the crown has acquired an extensive and unconstitutional influence, which, if not restrained, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners therefore, appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request that effectual measures may

be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the raising and expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state, in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

After which the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to, viz.

1st. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Robert Lydston Newcombe, Esq. the High Sheriff, for his impartial conduct, and for the readiness shewn by him in calling this meeting on the requisition made to him for that purpose.

2d Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Courtenay, for moving, and to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Baronet, for seconding the motion for this petition, and to the Noblemen and Members of the House of Commons, who have honoured this meeting with their presence and support.

3d. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Parker, Esq. for his constant attendance and upright conduct in Parliament; and that he and John Rolle, Esq. our Representatives in Parliament, be desired to present and support this petition in Parliament.

4th. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, and promote œconomy in the raising and expenditure of the public money; and that they do meet and adjourn when they shall see occasion for so doing.

The

The following gentlemen compose the Committee :

Robert Lydston Newcombe, Esq. Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Sir John Chichester, Sir John Davie, Sir Thomas Carew, Sir John Pole, Sir Fred. Lemon Rogers, Sir Jacob Wolfe, Hon. Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Aricot, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Culme, Mr. Coffin, of Hexworthy, Mr. Hamlyn, Mr. Radcliffe, Mr. M. E. Parker, Mr. Nibbs, Mr. Troyte, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Doidge, Mr. Colman, Mr. Putt, Mr. Inlet Fortescue, Mr. Chichester, Mr. Short, Mr. J. Harris, Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Wm. Elford Ilbert, Mr. Southcote, Mr. M. D. Sanders, Mr. Cholwich, Mr. Gregg, Mr. C. Yonge, Mr. F. S. Newcombe, Mr. C. Harris, Mr. Bickford, Rev. Mr. Haller, Rev. Mr. Clack, Rev. Mr. Acland, Rev. D. Woolcombe, Rev. Mr. Newcombe, Rev. Mr. Andrew, Mr. A. Hamilton, Rev. J. Hayter, Rev. J. Bradford, Rev. J. Heywood, Rev. W. Ellicombe, Rev. H. Ellicombe.

5th. Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Tuesday the 4th day of April next, at this place, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and that the proceedings of this meeting be printed.

ROBERT LYDSTON NEWCOMBE,
Chairman.

B E R K S.

Jan. 31, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the first persons of consideration and property in the county of Berks, the following petition and resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

[The petition and two first resolutions were the same as those from the county of York.]

3d. Resolved, That the following gentlemen compose the Committee, and have power to add to their number if they think proper, and that seven of the said Committee do constitute a quorum.

Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Harcourt, Earl of Radnor, Lord Craven, Mr. Elwes, Mr. W. H. Hartley, Hon. P. Bertie, Mr. Annesly, Sir W. Stonehouse, Bart. Sir Jos. Andrews, Bart. General Smith, Mr. James, Sir Archer Croft, Mr. Blagrove, of Kingwood, Mr. Andrews, Mr. F. Cowslad, Rev. Dr. Popham, Hon. and Rev. Dr. Tracey, Mr. Collins, Rev. Mr. Loder, Mr. Archer, Sir Wm. Jones, Bart. Mr. Ben. Tomkins, Mr. Bullock, Mr. Keck, Mr. Joseph Tomkins, Mr. Thornhill, Mr. Head, Mr. Sloper, Mr. Blandy, Mr. E. Southby, Mr. Nath. Southby, Mr. Sam. Southby, Mr. Charles Pye, Sir Wm. East, Bart. Mr. Leigh Parrot, Mr. Blagrove, of Calcot, Mr. Blagrove, of Bullmarsh, Mr. Grant, Mr. R. Southby, Mr. J. M. Smith, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Martin, Mr. Bush, Mr. Potenger, Mr. J. Pottinger, Mr. Clarke, Mr. T. Price, Mr. Bellas, Colonel Miles, Mr. T. Cowslad.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the following Lords and Members of Parliament, who honoured it with their presence and support.

The Earl of Abingdon, the Earl of Harcourt, Lord Craven, Mr. Elwes, Mr. W. H. Hartley, the Hon. Per. Bertie, Mr. Plomer.

5th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High Sheriff, Richard Smith, Esq. for his ready compliance with the request made to him to call the county together, for his ready acceptance of the chair, and the propriety of his conduct therein.

6th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Elwes and Mr. Hartley, Members for this county, for their upright conduct in Parliament.

7th. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to all the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have truly, steadily, and uniformly supported the rights of the people.

8th. Resolved, That the Committee now appointed, do immediately sit at the New-Inn, in Abingdon.

9th. Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to the 21st of April next, at Abingdon.

The Committee at the York Tavern, in York, having obtained leave from Sir George Savile to publish a letter sent by him to William Chaloner, Esq. Chairman of the General Meeting, take this opportunity of communicating it to the public.

To WILLIAM CHALONER, Esq.
SIR, *Rofford, Jan. 11, 1780.*

I had yesterday the honour of receiving your obliging letter of the 7th instant, in which you transmit to me the resolution of the meeting held at York on the 30th of December, respecting the Members of both Houses of Parliament who were present at that meeting.

At the same time that I desire to express to you, Sir, how sensible I am of the part which falls to my share of that very honourable notice; give me leave to add, that as a servant of the county, I accept it as a mark of favour from my constituents, beyond what I had any title to look for or expect: for the opportunities are few, that the representative has of communicating with large bodies of his constituents on their most important public concerns, that it would be strange negligence indeed, not solicitously to embrace every opportunity of knowing their opinions, sentiments, and wishes respecting great public measures; but more particularly so on such an occasion as this, when not only a very large number of my electors were likely to be assembled, but where the professed object was to call for a reformation of abuses of the most fatal tendency; and at a time too when (considering the price we have paid) public affairs wear a very melancholy and unpromising aspect. When there-

fore a very respectable body, conceiving their properties to be sported with, and lavished to the worst of purposes, called out for some limits to be set to extravagance, and expressed their wishes that the sources of corruption might, at least, in some degree be diminished, it surely would have betrayed a strange forgetfulness of his duty in their representative, had he not attended and joined in the general voice for the attainment of such an object.

I most heartily wish, nay, I will venture to entertain some hopes, that the voice of a complaining people will be attended to; and that every beneficial consequence may ensue which the most sanguine can promise themselves from an application so constitutionally and so temperately made.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest regard,

SIR,

Your much obliged,
And most obedient servant,
G. SAVILE.

WESTMINSTER-HALL.

Feb. 2, 1780.

At a very large and most respectable meeting of the electors and inhabitants of this city and liberty, paying taxes to government, held here this day.

The Hon. Charles James Fox was unanimously voted in the chair, after which,

A motion was made and seconded, and the question being put, it was resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

That a petition, similar to that from the county of York, be presented to the House of Commons.

The petition was afterwards produced, read, and unanimously agreed to.

It was likewise further resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this meeting do approve of a NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, on legal and constitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of pub-

lic money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to restore and secure to the people the freedom and independence of Parliament, as indispensibly necessary to the welfare of the state.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That a Committee of one hundred and three be appointed, to carry on the necessary correspondence, for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare the plan of an *Association* on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform, and such other measures, as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, held here by adjournment, on *Thursday*, the 6th of *April* next.

Resolved, That the following noblemen, gentlemen, and inhabitants, compose the Committee.

Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, Lord Egremont, Lord Cholmondely, Lord Derby, Lord Craven, Lord George Cavendish, Lord King, Mr. James Grenville, Mr. Turner, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wilkes, Lord Richard Cavendish, Sir Charles Davers, Col. Barre, Lord Edward Bentinck, Mr. Rd. Hippeley Coxe, Lord Fred. Cavendish, Rt. Hon. T. Townshend, Mr. Wood, Mr. Byng, Hon. Colonel Fitzpatrick, Mr. Burke, Lord George H. Cavendish, Lord Bulkeley, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Robert Bernard, General Burgoyne, Mr. Crewe, Mr. Sawbridge, Lord John Cavendish, Sir Harry Fetherston, Mr. Hunt, Sir John Ramsden, Mr. Shuttleworth, Sir Charles Bunbury, Earl Verney, Mr. Hopkins, Sir W. Middleton, Sir Cecil Wray, Sir Thomas Frankland, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. W. Hartley, Mr. Baker, Mr. Colhoun, Mr. Blakiston, Dr. John Jebb, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Samuel Hartley, Mr. Topham Beauclerck, Mr. Wallinger, Mr. Phillimore, Mr. Vardy, Mr.

J. Brett, Mr. Tyssen, Mr. Wood, jun. Mr. Churchill, Lord Surrey, Mr. W. Scott, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Arthington, Mr. John Jennings, Mr. Richards, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Blair, Mr. Hume, Mr. Bush, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Payne, Mr. B. Wood, Mr. Beckford, Mr. Marfault, Mr. Frith, Mr. Glanvill, Sir Francis Vincent, Mr. Greive, Mr. Crompton, jun. Mr. Almon, Mr. Frogatt, Mr. Byron, Sir W. Gibbons, Mr. Adair, Mr. Adair, of Pall-mall, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Duckett, Mr. Brackenbury, Mr. Gibbord, Mr. Geo. Jennings, Mr. Harrop, Mr. Taster, Mr. Burton, Mr. Fladgate, Mr. Hussy, Mr. Harris, Mr. Alderman Burnell, Mr. Minier, Mr. Gray, Mr. James Ellis, Mr. Miles, Mr. Townley Ward, Mr. Tho. Grenville.

Resolved, That the said Committee have power to add to their numbers.

A motion being now made, and question put, it was resolved, *unanimously*, That the petition be presented to the House of Commons, by the Honourable Charles James Fox, the Chairman of this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have honoured it with their presence and support.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Gentlemen who signed the requisition to the High Bailiff, and who convened the meeting.

Resolved, That the Committee do meet this evening at the King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-Yard, at seven o'clock.

A motion was then made by Dr. Jebb, and seconded by Lord John Cavendish, and the question being put by an elector, it was *resolved unanimously*, That the Honourable Charles James Fox, the Chairman of this meeting, be requested to offer himself a candidate to represent the City and Liberty of Westminster

minister in Parliament, at the ensuing general election.

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman, and that the whole of these proceedings be published, signed by the Chairman.

Then the meeting adjourned to Thursday, the 6th of April next, in Westminster-Hall.

Signed by order of the meeting,
CHARLES JAMES FOX, Chairman.

• SUSSEX PROTEST.

We the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Sussex, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby declare our disapprobation of the proceedings of a meeting held at Lewes, the 20th of January, 1780.

Because, although in the present exigency of affairs, public œconomy is undoubtedly necessary, yet, trusting in the wisdom of Parliament to redress all grievances which do really exist, we conceive that the allegations in the petition proposed to be presented to the House of Commons, unsupported by proof, tend to mislead, and, together with the resolutions of the meeting, are calculated to produce diffidence and suspicions in the minds of the people, at a time when unanimity and confidence in Government are essentially necessary, to support and invigorate the exertions of the state against the most formidable attack which has ever been made on the British dominions. And we do most particularly protest against the resolutions of appointing a Committee of Correspondence, with the declared purpose of forming general associations, apparently tending to over-rule the Legislature, to introduce measures inconsistent with, and subversive of, our present excellent Constitution, and leading to confusion and anarchy.

(Signed)

Dorset, Ashburnham, Hampden,

Pelham, Gage, Montague, Dartmouth, Geo. Germain, Bishop of Chichester, Sir John Shelley, Bart. Sir James Peachey, Bart. Sir Cecil Bishopp, Bart. Sir Merrick Burrell, Bart. Sir Ch. Eversfield, Bart.

R E A D I N G.

February 3, 1780.

At a very respectable meeting of the electors of this borough, held this day in the Town-Hall, the following petition and resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled:

The petition of the Electors of the Borough of Reading,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, considering the vast sums of money that have been expended in the present unfortunate war, sensibly affected themselves by the heavy taxes already laid upon the subjects of this kingdom, and alarmed at the idea that others may be shortly imposed, humbly request your honourable House to turn their most serious attention to the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country.

Your petitioners conceive that in this time of general distress, it will be necessary to alleviate the public burthens, by abolishing sinecure and useless places, curtailing the exorbitant salaries and perquisites annexed to others, and resuming many unmerited pensions, the disposal of which, not only occasions a great waste of public treasure, but gives an unconstitutional power to the Ministers of the Crown, subverts the independence of Parliament, and operates with an undue influence on all that is dear to our country.

Your petitioners humbly conceive that the interposition of your honourable House in these points, and its diligent attention to a just and economical expenditure of the public revenue, by persons intrusted with

with it, may be productive of great national good, and enable this country, by properly directing and combining its resources, to prevail over its most powerful enemies.

They therefore presume thus to address their petition to your Honourable House, assuring them, that it does not in any wise originate from a spirit of party, but is dictated by the clearest conviction that the present situation of affairs requires the attention of every man, and his honest and speedy exertion of all possible means to promote and defend the public weal.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Resolved, That the two Members for this borough be desired to present the petition to the House of Commons, and that they be requested to support the same.

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman, and that the petition and the above resolutions be inserted in the Reading paper.

Extract of a letter from Reading, February 4.

"Yesterday there was a general meeting of the electors of this borough, to consider of an application to Parliament, when Henry Deane, Esq. was chosen Chairman, who opened the business in a short and sensible speech. A petition was proposed by Mr. Simmonds, and seconded by Dr. Nicholls. Mr. Andrews enlarged upon the purposes of the meeting, in such a manner as did him great credit. The petition was unanimously agreed to."

NEWCASTLE upon TYNE.

February 5, 1779.

In consequence of the advertisement of the Stewards of the incorporated companies of this town, a numerous and respectable meeting of the free burgesses, freeholders, and principal inhabitants of this place,

was held in the Guildhall here on Thursday, when Francis Forster, Esq. Mayor, was unanimously voted into the Chair. After opening the business of the meeting, Mr. Bowes, in a short pertinent speech, spoke to the purpose of these meetings, highly applauded the spirit of the people for persevering in such a constitutional manner for obtaining redress, and did not doubt but such means would, in the end, prove effectual. Dr. Rotheram followed Mr. Bowes, and exhibited a descriptive scene of the conduct of Administration; described, in the clearest manner, the Constitution of this country, shewing the right the people were invested with of applying to the Commons in Parliament for redress in every national concern: and very warmly commended the spirit of Englishmen for their attention, at this calamitous period, to the objects pointed out in the petitions. Several petitions were then read, and the following, similar to that of the Cumberland petition, was unanimously agreed to:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled:

The Petition of the Mayor, Burgesses, Freeholders, and principal Inhabitants of Newcastle upon Tyne,

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged, for several years, in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the consequence of these combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and landlords of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country,

country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary, in every department of the State, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public services, to a large and still increasing amount.

Your petitioners therefore, appealing to the justice of this Hon. House, do most earnestly request that speedy and effectual measures may be taken by this House to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

A Committee was afterwards appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of this petition; and the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due, in a particular manner, to Mr. Mayor, for his spirited exertions in favour of this petition, and the general wishes of the free burgesses.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Alderman Ackinson and Mr. Alderman Horaby, for their steady concurrence and support of the same.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be transmitted to the Rt. Hon. Lord Ravenworth, for his ready concurrence and approbation of the measure, signified by his Lordship's letter to the Stewards of the incorporated companies of New-

castle; and for his exemplary conduct in parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks be given to A. Robinson Bowes, Esq. for honouring this meeting with his attendance, and for his countenance and zealous support of the petition.

Resolved, That thanks be given to the Committee, appointed by the Stewards, for their care and assiduity in conducting and promoting this business.

SURREY PROTEST.

At Lord Onslow's meeting of the freeholders of Surrey, on Monday the 7th of February, at Epsom, the following protest was agreed to:

Sarvy.—Left the proceedings of the meeting called by the late High Sheriff of this county, on the 21st day of January last, should be considered as the general sense of the county, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, the Sheriff, Lieutenant, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Surrey, having taken into our serious consideration the said proceedings, do not object to the general prayer of the petition then agreed to, but we do, as good and loyal subjects, strongly protest against the resolution for an association and Committee of Correspondence, for the purposes therein mentioned; because we think such Associations and Committees of the most dangerous tendency, and, coupled with petitions, can, as we conceive, have no other meaning, than to over-awe and controul the free discussion and determination of the several matters contained therein by Parliament, the only power intrusted by the Constitution to judge and decide upon the same, thereby assuming a self-constituted power to over-turn the legislature, the establishment of which was the great object of the glorious Revolution.

It was a very thin meeting, and the business very dull.

A M E R I C A.

*Philadelphia.**Pittsburgh, Sept. 23, 1779.*

S I R,

I am honoured with your favour of the 30th of last month.

I take the liberty to inclose you the copy of a letter herewith sent to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, containing an account of the expedition I lately made against the Seneca and Muncy nations, and with the relation may give you pleasure.

I likewise send a return of the officers of the 8th P. regiment, with their respective claims to promotion, and beg you be pleased to send their commissions accordingly, and the arrangement of the Pennsylvania line.

I also inclose you the talks of the Delawares, Wyonnats, and the Maquichees tribe of Shawanese; and I flatter myself that there is a great share of sincerity in their present professions.

Since my last this frontier has enjoyed perfect tranquility, but the new settlement at Kentucke has suffered greatly.

I have the honour to be, with the highest regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD,

Col. commanding W. D.

*Hon. Timothy Pickering, Esq.**President of the Board of War.**Pittsburgh, Sept. 16, 1779.*

S I R,

I returned from the expedition against the Senecas and Muncy nations the 14th inst. and now do myself the honour to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month, with 605 rank and file, including the militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions (our all) which, except the live cattle, was transported by water, under the escort of 100 men, to a place called Mahoning, about fifteen miles a-

bove Fort Armstrong; where, after four days detention by excessive rains and the straying of some of the cattle, the stores were loaded on pack-horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Conowago, on the path leading to Cusickushing. At ten miles this side the town, one of the advance guards, consisting of fifteen white men (including the spies) and eight Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Harding, of the eighth Pennsylvania regiment, (whom I have before recommended to your Excellency for his great bravery and skill as a partizan) discovered between thirty and forty warriors coming down the Alleghany river in seven canoes. These warriors having likewise discovered some of the troops, immediately landed, stripped off their shirts, and prepared for action, and the advanced guard immediately began the attack. All the troops, except one column and flankers being in the narrows between the river and an high hill, were immediately prepared to receive the enemy; which being done, I went forward to discover the enemy, and saw six of them retreating over the river without arms, at the same time the rest ran away, leaving their canoes, blankets, shirts, provisions, and eight guns, besides five dead, and, by the signs of blood, several went off wounded; only two of our men, and one of the Delaware Indians (Nanowland) were wounded, and so slightly that they are already recovered and fit for action.

The next morning the troops proceeded to Buckloons, where I ordered a small breastwork to be thrown up of felled timber and fascines. A Captain and forty men were left to secure our baggage and stores, and the troops marched immediately to Conowago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past. Here the troops seemed much mortified, be-

cause

cause we had no person to serve as a guide to the upper towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the enemy some time past, and we continued marching on it about twenty miles before any discoveries were made, except a few tracks of their spies, but immediately after ascending a high hill, we discovered the Alleghany river, and a number of corn fields, and, descending, several towns which the enemy had deserted on the approach of the troops; some of them fled just before the advanced guard reached the town, and left several packs of deer-skins. At the upper Seneca town, we found a painted image, or war-post, cloathed in dog skin; and John Montour informed me, this town was called Yoghroonwago: besides this we found several other towns, consisting in the whole of 130 houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The troops remained on the ground three whole days, destroying the towns and corn fields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much thicker than is common with our farmers. The quantity of corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed 500 acres, which is the lowest estimate; and the plunder taken is estimated at 3000 dollars: I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the troops, and hope it will meet your approbation. On my return I preferred the Venango road. The old towns of Conowago, Buckloons, and Maghinquechahocking, about twenty miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of thirty-five large houses, were likewise burnt.

The greatest part of the Indian houses were greater than common,
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and were built of square and round logs, and frame work. From the great quantity of corn in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the whole of the Seneca and Muncy nations intended to collect to this settlement, which extends about eight miles on the Alleghany river, between one hundred and seventy and two hundred miles from hence; the river, at the upper town, is little, if any, larger than Kiskamantes Creek. It is remarkable, that neither man nor beast has fallen into the enemy's hands on this expedition. I have a happy preface that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford, and Northumberland, if not the whole western frontiers, will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every corps during the whole expedition; their perseverance and zeal during the whole march (through a country too inaccessible to be described) can scarcely be equalled in history.

On my return, I found here the Chiefs of the Delawares, the principal Chief of the Hurons, and now the King of the Maquichets tribe of Shawanese is likewise come to treat with me.

The Wyandots, and the Maquichets tribe of the Shawanese, promise very fair, and I have promised them peace, provided they take as many prisoners and scalps from the enemy as they have done from us, and on every occasion join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The bearer, Capt. M'Intire, has some private as well as public business to transact at Philadelphia; I have therefore directed him to proceed to Head Quarters, and he will have the honour to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem,
your

your Excellency's most obedient, and humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to build some block-houses at Coochoking for the protection of their women and children whilst they are out against the English and Mingoës, and I have agreed to send a detachment for that purpose, agreeable to the articles of confederation.

His Excellency General Washington.

Published by order of Congress,
CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Philadelphia.

The following are the Indian talks inclosed in Colonel Brodhead's letters, published in our last by order of Congress:

The Speech of DEONYONTAT, the Wyandot Chief, to MACHINGIVE KEESHUCH, Sept. 17, 1779.

Brother, Listen to me.

Brother, It grieves me to see you with the tears in your eyes. I know it is the fault of the English.

Brother, I wipe away all those tears, and smooth down your hair, which the English and the folly of my young men has ruffled.

Now, my Brother, I have wiped away all the stains from your cloaths and smoothed them where my young men had ruffled them, so that you may now put on your hat, and sit with that ease and composure which you would desire. (*Four strings of white wampum.*)

Brother, Listen to the Huron Chiefs.

Brother, I see you all bloody by the English and my young men. I now wipe away all those stains and make you clean.

Brother, I see your heart twisted, and neck and throat turned to the one side, with the grief and vexation which my young men have caused, all which disagreeable sensations I now remove, and restore

you to your former tranquility, so that now you may breathe with ease, and enjoy the benefit of your food and nourishment.

Brother, Your ears appear to be stopped, so that you cannot listen to your brothers when they talk of friendship. That deafness I now remove, and all stoppage from your ears, that you may listen to the friendly speeches of your brothers, and that they may sink deep into your heart.

(*Seven strings of white wampum.*)

Brother, Listen to me.

When I look round me, I see the bones of our nephews lie scattered and unburied.

Brother, I gather up the bones of all our young men on both sides, who have fallen in this dispute, without any distinction of party.

Brother, I have now gathered up all the bones of our relations on both sides, and will bury them in a large deep grave, and smooth it over so, that there shall not be the least sign of bones or any thing to raise any grief or anger in any of our minds hereafter.

Brother, I have now buried the bones of all our and your relations very deep. You very well know that there are some of your flesh and blood in our hands prisoners: I assure you that you shall see them all safe and well. (*Eight strings of white wampum.*)

Brother, I now look up to where our Maker is, and think there is still some darkness over our heads, so that God can hardly see us, on account of the evil doings of the King over the great waters. All these thick clouds, which have raised on account of that bad King, I now entirely remove, that God may look and see us in our treaty of friendship, and be a witness to the truth and sincerity of our intentions. (*Four strings of white wampum.*)

Brother, As God puts all our hearts right, I now give thanks to God Almighty,

mighty, to the Chief Men of the Americans, to my old Father the King of France, and to you, Brother, that we can now talk together on friendly terms, and speak our sentiments without interruption. (*Four strings of black and white wampum*).

Brother, You knew me before you saw me, and that I had not drawn away my hand from yours; so I sent you word last year by Captain White Eyes.

Brother, I look up to Heaven, and call God Almighty witness to the truth of what I say, and that it really comes from my heart.

Brother, I now tell you that I have for ever thrown off my Father the English, and will never give him any assistance; and there are some amongst all the nations that think the same things that I do, and I wish they would all think so.

Brother, I cannot answer for all the nations, as I don't know all their thoughts, and will speak only what I am sure of.

Brother, Listen to me. I love all the nations, and hate none, and when I return home they shall all hear what you say, and what is done between us.

Brother, I have just now told you, that I loved all the nations, and I see you raising up the hatchet against my younger brothers the Shawanese. I beg of you to stop a little while, as he has never yet heard me; and when he has heard me, if he does not chuse to think as we do, I will tell you of it immediately.

Brother, I intend to speak roughly to my younger brother, and tell him not to listen to the English, but throw them off, and listen to me, and then he may live as I do.

Brother, I thank you for leaving the fortress at Tuscarawas, and am convinced by that you have taken pity on us, and want to make us your friends.

Brother, I now take a firmer hold of your hand than before, and beg

that you will take pity upon the other nations who are my friends, and if any of them should incline to take hold of your hand, I request that you would comply and receive them into friendship. (*A black belt of seven rows*.)

Brother, Listen. I tell you to be cautious, as I think you intend to strike the man near to where I sit, not to go the highest way to where he is, lest you frighten the owners of the lands who are living through the country between this and that place.

Brother, You now listen to me, and one favour I beg of you is, that when you drive away your enemies, you will allow me to continue in possession of my property, which if you grant will rejoice me.

Brother, I would advise you, when you strike the man near where I sit, to go by water, as it will be the easiest and best way.

Brother, If you intend to strike, one way is to go up the Alleghany and by Prisqueille; another way is to go down this river and up the Wabash.

Brother, The reasons why I mentioned the road up the river is, that there will be no danger of your being discovered until you are close upon them, but on the road down the river you will be spied.

Brother, Now I have told you the way by Prisqueille, and that it is the boundary between us and your enemies; if you go by Wabash, your friends will not be surpris'd.

Brother, You must not think that what I have said is only my own thoughts, but the opinion of all the Huron Chiefs, and I speak in behalf of them all. If you grant what favours I have asked of you, all our friends and relations will be thankful and glad as far as they can hear all round.

Brother, The reason why I have pointed out these two roads is, that when we hear you are in one of them,

we will know your intentions without further notice, and the Huron Chiefs desired me particularly to mention it, that they may meet you in your walk, and tell you what they have done, who are your enemies and who are your friends, and I in their name request a pair of colours to shew that we have joined in friendship. (*Fourteen strings of black wampum*).

Brother, The Chiefs desired me to tell you, that they had sent Montour before to tell you their intention, and they leave him to go with you, that when you meet your brothers you may consult together, and understand one another by his means.

Head-quarters, Pittsburg, Sept. 19, 1779.

MAGHINGIVE KEESHUGH to DOONYONTAT, Principal Chief of the Wyandots.

Brother, Yesterday I had the pleasure to hear you speak, but when I had heard all, and you had taken no notice of what I mentioned to you before against the English, I could not tell what to think.

Brother, The Chiefs of the Wyandots have lived too long with the English, to see things as they ought to do. They must have expected, when they were counselling, that the Chief they sent to this Council fire, would find the Americans asleep, but the sun, which the Great Spirit has set to light this island, discovers to me they are much mistaken. (*Four strings of black and white wampum*).

Brother, I will tell you why they are mistaken; they must have thought that it was an easy matter to satisfy us, after doing all the mischief they could. They must have heard, that the English were getting weaker, and the Americans stronger, and that a few flattering words would, with giving up our prisoners, secure to them their lives, the lives of their women and children, and their lands, and the wicked Shawanese, who have so often

embrued their hands in the blood of the Americans; and that in my military operations, they had a right to mark out the road I should march on. (*Six strings of black and white Wampum*.)

Brother, I, however, thank you for wiping away the blood, and burying the bones of our young men, and for casting off that bad Father, the King of Britain, over the great lake, (*Three strings of white wampum*.)

Brother, I left the fort at Tuscarawas, because it gave uneasiness to several of the Indian nations, which I pitied, and promised to save, if they would do what was right before God, and I still intend to do it: but I have said they must do what is right, and they must send some of their great men to me, to remain as hostages, until they have complied with the terms. If this is not done, all words will be considered as wind, and no regard will be paid to them. And though I love peace, and could wish to save the lives of my countrymen of this island, I am not afraid of war. (*Four strings of black wampum*).

Brother, I will now tell you what I conceive to be right, and I will leave it to all the world to judge of it: I think the nations you mention, and wish me to receive into friendship, ought to send hostages to me, as I said before, until they have killed and taken as many from the English and their allies, as they have killed and taken from the Americans, and return whatever they have stolen from their brothers, together with their flesh and blood, and on every occasion join us against our enemies. Upon these terms, which are just, they and their posterity may live in peace, and enjoy their property without disturbance from their brethren of this island, so long as the sun shines, or the waters run. (*A black belt* rows.)

Brother, I have now spoke from my heart. I am a Warrior as well

as a Counsellor. My words are few, but what I say I will perform. And I must tell you, that if the nations will not do justice, they will not be able, after the English are driven from this island, to enjoy peace and property. (*Four strings of black wampum*).

Brother, When I go to war, I will take my choice of roads. If I meet my friends, I shall be glad to see them; and if I meet my enemies, I shall be ready to fight them.

Brother, You told me you had not yet spoken to the Shawanese. You likewise say that you had not yet let slip my hand, if so, why did you not speak to them? They have heard their grandfathers, the Delawares, and they have heard me. I sent them a good talk, but they threw it into the fire.

Now, brother, I must tell you, that I cannot now prevent the Shawanese being struck by Col. Clark; I hear he is gone against them, and will strike them, before I can send to call him back. But if the Shawanese do what is right, as I have told you, they shall enjoy peace and property.

This best confirms my words.

(*A white and black belt, rows*).

KELLELEMAN to MACHINGIVE
KEESHUCH, September 21, 1779.

Brother, I told my grand-children, the Shawanese, when they came to me yesterday, to remain with their grand-fathers, until they had spoken to their brothers, the Americans. They answered they would comply with the request of their grand-fathers. This our grand-children spoke to us, and said, grand-fathers, we are humble, and are now come unto you—Now I am come to you, I take my hands and wipe your eyes, that you may clearly see the light, and that these are your grand-children who now appear before you, and likewise remove every obstruction from your ears, that you may hear and un-

derstand me. I also compose your heart, that you may be disposed to pity your poor grand-children, as your ancient Chiefs used to pity their grand-children, the Maquichees, when they were poor or humble before them. Now my grand-fathers, I tell you to pity your grand children, the Maquichees, and whatever you direct them to do, will be done. Now you have heard your grand-children speak, and you will judge what to say to your brother Maghingive Keeshuch. (*Two strings of white wampum*).

Now grand-fathers, here is a little tobacco to fill your pipes, that you may consider and pity your grand-children Maquichees.

Keeshmattfee, to his grand-fathers, the Delawares.

Grand-fathers, I now take my Chief and Counsellor Nimwha, and set him down on the ground before you, that he may assist you in considering the distressed situation of your grand-children

Killbuck to Colonel Broadhead.

Brother Maghingive Keeshuch, Listen to me.

You always told me, that when any nations came to treat of peace, I should first speak to them, and tell you my sentiments of them, which I am now come to do, in regard to my grand-children, the Maquichees.

I told them I was much obliged to them, for clearing my eyes, my ears, and composing my heart, and that it was time, that many bad things enter into my ears.

I remember you told me to pity you, and it is true, I have pitied you, my grand-children, the Shawanese.

Now, I tell you, my grand-children, it is very well you put me in mind of my wise ancestors, who, out of pity to you, took you up, and placed you before them.

My grand-children, the Maquichees, it is true, you have done no harm, but I see some itains of blood upon you, which the mischief and folly

folly of some of your young men have occasioned.—Now, my grand-children, I will advise you how to be cleaned from your bloody stains; deliver to our brother Maghingive Keefnuch, all his flesh and blood which are prisoners in your hands, and the horses you have stolen from the Americans. My grand-children, when you have done this, you will then be clean, your flesh and heart will be the same as mine, and I can again take you up, and set you down before me, as our wise Chiefs formerly did.

Now, my grand-children. I tell you, for several years past you have been fraught with lies, which I am tired of hearing, and in future you must tell me nothing but truth.

Now listen to me, my grand-children, you see how dreadful the day looks, and how thick the clouds appear; don't imagine this day to be like that on which you first came to your grand-fathers. I tell you that I have finished the chain of friendship. The Thirteen United States and I are one. I have already assisted my Brother, in taking the flesh of the English and the Mingoes. You told me just now, that whatever I told you, you would do; now I offer you the flesh of the English and Mingoes to eat, and that is the only method I know of, by which your lives may be preserved, and you allowed to live in peace, (delivering them a string of wampum and two scalps.) They received the string and scalps, and said they were glad to know this, and as they had before said, whatever their grand-fathers told them, they would do, so they told them again on receiving the scalps. They said, now grand-father, I am very glad to hear what you have said; I have got in my hand what you say will save my life, and immediately sung his war-song. The Speaker, having danced, delivered the scalps to the King, who likewise rose and

sung the war-song, and said, Now my grand-fathers, although you have often sent good speeches to the other tribes of the Shawanese nation, yet they would not receive them, but still took up the tomohawk to strike your brothers, I will now go and deliver them what I have in my hands, which I suppose they will receive.

Delaware Chief to Maghingive Keefnuch.

Brother, We are come to let you know the result of our Council, respecting the Maquichees.

Brother, Listen. This is the way I have considered the matter, and if I am mistaken, I am very sorry for it. Brother, let us both consider of it, I thought, when I looked in his eyes, that he was sincere.

Brother, I think the Maquichees are honest. In former times they were the best of the Shawanese nation. I think we may take them by the hand; and you know, you told me, that any nation I took by the hand, you would also receive.

Philadelphia.

Teoga, September 30, 1779.

SIR,

In mine of the 30th ultimo to his Excellency General Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, I gave an account of the victory obtained by this army over the enemy at Newtown, on the 29th of August. I now do myself the honour to inform Congress of the progress of this army, and the most material occurrences which have since taken place.

The time taken up in destroying the corn, in the neighbourhood of Newtown, employing the army near two days, and there appearing a probability that the destruction of all the crops might take a much greater length of time than was at first apprehended, and being likewise convinced, by an accurate calculation, that it would not be possible to effect the destruction of the Indian country,

country, with the provision on hand, which was all I had in store, and, indeed, all I had pack-horses to transport from Teagoa; in this situation I could think of but one expedient to answer the purposes of the expedition, which was to prevail, if possible, on the soldiers, to content themselves with half a pound of flour, and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, rather than leave the important business unfinished. I therefore drew up an address to them, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose you, which being read, was answered by three cheers from the whole army. Not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. I had then on hand, from the best calculation I could make, twenty-two pounds of flour, and sixteen pounds of beef per man; the former liable to many deductions by rains, crossing rivers and defiles; the latter much more so, from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle, when suffered to range the woods at night for their support. I was, however, encouraged in the belief, that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories, by this truly noble and virtuous resolution of the army, or which, I know not, whether the public stand more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes, and rendered persuasion unnecessary. I sent back all my heavy artillery on the night of the 30th, retaining only four brass three-pounders, and a small howitzer, loaded the necessary ammunition on horseback, and marched early on the 31st for Catherine's town. On our way we destroyed a small settlement of eight houses, and a town called Knawaholegah of about twenty houses, situated on a peninsula, at

the conflux of the Teagoa and Cayuga branches. We also destroyed several fields of corn. From this Col. Drayton was detached with his regiment and the rifle corps up the Teagoa about six miles, who destroyed several large fields of corn. The army resumed their march, and encamped within thirteen miles and a half of Catherine's town, where we arrived the next day, although we had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp, nine miles in extent, and almost impervious. We arrived near Catherine's town in the night, and moved on in hopes to surprize it, but found it forsaken. On the next morning an old woman of the Cayuga nation was found in the woods, who informed, that on the night, after the battle of Newtown, the enemy having fled the whole time, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women, they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed, and vast numbers wounded. She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connections. In addition to this, she assured us, that some other warriors had met Butler at this place, and desired him to return and fight again. But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer, for as they observed, "Butler's mouth was closed." The warriors, who had been in the action, were equally averse to the proposal, and would think of nothing but flight and the removal of their families, that they kept runners on every mountain to observe the motion of our army, who reported early in the day on which we arrived, that our advance was very rapid; upon which all those who had not been before sent off, fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape. She said, that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teagoa in canoes. I was from

from many circumstances, fully convinced of the truth, and sincerity of her declaration, and the more so, as we had, on the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms, and accoutrements, thrown away in the road, and in the woods on each side of it. Besides which, we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who had died by wounds. Those circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead in the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, were sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended.

I have never been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown; but from the best accounts I have been able to collect, and from the opinion of General Poor and others, who had the best opportunity of viewing their numbers, as well as from the extent of their lines, I suppose them to have been fifteen hundred, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the numbers at any post but their own, as well as of the enemy's disposition, estimate them only at eight hundred, while they allow that five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations, were collected at this place. In order to determine their force, with as much accuracy as in my power, I examined their breast-work, and found its extent more than half a mile. Several bastions ran out in its front, to flank the lines in every part. A small block-house, formerly a dwelling, was also manned in front. The breast-work appeared to have been fully manned, though I suppose with only one

rank. Some part of their works being low, they were obliged to dig holes in the ground to cover themselves in part. This circumstance enabled me to judge the distance between their men in the works. A very thin scattering line, designed, as I suppose, for communicating signals, was continued from those works to that part of the mountain which General Poor ascended, where they had a very large body, which was designed, I imagine, to fall on our flank. The distance from the breast-work to this, was at least one mile and an half. From thence, to the hill in rear of our right, was another scattering line of about one mile, and on the hill a breast-work, with a strong party, destined, as it is supposed, to fall in our rear. But General Clinton being ordered so far to the right, occasioned his flank to pass this mountain, which obliged them to abandon their post. From those circumstances, as well as from the opinion of others, I cannot conceive their numbers less than what I have before mentioned.

The army spent one day at Catherine's in destroying corn and fruit trees. We burnt the town, consisting of about thirty houses, and the next day encamped near a small scattering settlement of about eight houses, and in two days after reached Kendaia, which we also found deserted. Here one of the inhabitants of Wyoming, who had been last year captured by the enemy, escaped from them and joined us. He informed, that the enemy had left the town in the greatest confusion, three days before our arrival. He said he had conversed with some of the Tories, on their return from the action of Newtown, who assured him, they had great numbers killed and wounded, and there was no safety but in flight. He heard Butler tell them, they must try to make

a stand at Kanadasaga; but they declared, they would not throw away their lives in a vain attempt to oppose such an army. He also heard many of the Indian women lamenting the loss of their connexions; and added, that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teoga in water craft, which had been provided for that purpose in case of necessity. It was his opinion, the King of Kanadasaga was killed, as he saw him go down but not return, and gave a description of his person and dress, corresponding with those of one found on the field of action. Kendaia consisted of about twenty houses, which were reduced to ashes; the houses were neatly built and finished. The army spent near a day at this place in destroying corn and fruit trees, of which there was great abundance; many of the trees appeared to be of great age. On the next day we crossed the outlet of the Seneca lake, and moved in three divisions, through the woods, to encircle Kanadasaga, but found it likewise abandoned. A white child, of about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, was found here and carried with the army.

A detachment of four hundred men was sent down on the west side of the lake to destroy Gothesseun-queau, and the plantations in the same quarters; at the same time a number of volunteers, under Col. Harper, made a forced march towards Cayuga lake, and destroyed Schoyere, while the residue of the army were employed in destroying the corn at Kanadasaga, of which there was a large quantity. This town consisted of fifty houses, and was pleasantly situated. In it we found a great number of fruit trees, which were destroyed with the town. The army then moved on, and in two days arrived at Kanandaque, having been joined on the march by

the detachment sent along the Seneca lake, which had been almost two days employed in destroying the crops and settlements in that quarter. At Kaniandaque we found twenty-three very elegant houses, mostly framed, and in general large. Here we also found very extensive fields of corn, which having been destroyed, we marched for Hanneyaye, a small town of ten houses, which we also destroyed.

At this place we established a post, leaving a strong garrison, our heavy stores and one field piece, and proceeded to Chinesee, which, the prisoners informed, was the grand capital of the Indian country; that Indians of all nations had been planting there this Spring; that all the rangers and some British had been employed in assisting them, in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them while destroying our frontiers; and that they themselves had worked three weeks for the Indians when planting. This information determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbade the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack-horses, and in the passage of creeks and desiles; and twenty-seven of the cattle had been unavoidably lost. We, however, marched on for the Chinesee town, and on the second day reached a town of twenty-five houses, called Kaneghsaws. Here we found some large corn fields, which part of the army destroyed, while the other part were employed in building a bridge over an unfordable creek, between this and Chinesee.

I had the preceding evening ordered out an officer with three or four riflemen, one of our guides, and an Oneida Chief, to reconnoitre the Chinesee town, that we might, if possible, surprize it. Lieutenant

Boid,

Boid, of the rifle corps, was the officer intrusted, who took with him twenty-three men, volunteers from the same corps, and a few from Col. Butler's regiment, making in all twenty-six, a much larger number than I had thought of sending, and by no means so likely to answer the purpose as that which had been directed. The guides were by no means acquainted with the country, mistook the road in the night, and at day break fell in with a castle, six miles higher up than Chinsee, inhabited by a tribe called Squatehaskas. Here they saw a few Indians, killed and scalped two; the rest fled. Two runners were immediately dispatched to me with the account, and informed that the party were on their return. When the bridge was almost completed, some of them came in and informed, that Lieutenant Boid, and most of his party, were almost surrounded by the enemy; that the enemy had been discovering themselves before him for some miles; that his men had killed two, and were eagerly pursuing the rest, but soon found themselves almost surrounded by three or four hundred Indians and rangers. Those of Mr. Boid's men, who were sent to secure his flanks, fortunately made their escape; but he, with fourteen of his party, and the Oneida Chief, being in the center, were compleatly encircled. All the light troops of the army, and the flanking divisions, were immediately detached to their relief; but arrived too late, the enemy having destroyed the party and escaped.

It appeared that our men had taken to a small grove of trees, the ground around it being clear on every side for several roods, and there fought till Mr. Boid was shot through the body, and every man killed except one, who, with his wounded Commander, was made prisoner. The firing was so close

before this brave party was destroyed, that the powder of the enemy's muskets was driven into their flesh. In this conflict the enemy must have suffered greatly, as they had no covert, and our men were possessed of a very advantageous one. This advantage of ground, the obstinate bravery of the party, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe their loss must have been very considerable. They were so long employed in removing and secreting their dead, that the advancing of General Hand's party obliged them to leave one along side the riflemen, and at least a waggon load of packs, blankets, hats and provisions, which they had thrown off to enable them to act with more agility in the field; most of them appeared to have appertained to the rangers. Another reason which induces me to suppose they suffered much was, the unparalleled tortures they inflicted upon the brave and unfortunate Boid, whose body, with that of his equally unfortunate companion, we found at Chinsee. It appeared they had whipped them in the most cruel manner, pulled out Mr. Boid's nails, cut off his nose, plucked out one of his eyes, cut out his tongue, stabbed him with spears in sundry places, and inflicted other tortures which decency will not permit me to mention; lastly, cut off his head, and left his body on the ground with that of his unfortunate companion, who appeared to have experienced nearly the same savage barbarity. The party, which, it seems, Mr. Boid fell in with, was commanded by Butler, and had been posted on an advantageous piece of ground, in order to fire upon our army when advancing; but found their design frustrated by the appearance of this party in their rear.

The army moved on that day to the castle last mentioned, which consisted of 25 houses, and had very extensive

extensive fields of corn, which being destroyed, we moved, on the next day, to Chinesee, crossing in our rout a deep creek and the Little Seneca river; and after marching six miles we reached the castle, which consisted of 128 houses, mostly very large and elegant. The town was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat which extends for a number of miles, where the most extensive fields of corn were, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived. The whole army was immediately engaged in destroying the crops. The corn was collected and burned in houses and kilns, that the enemy might not reap the least advantage from it, which method we have pursued in every other place. Here a woman came to us who had been captured at Wyoming. She informed us the enemy had evacuated the town two days before; that Butler, at the same time, went off with three or four hundred Indians and Rangers, as he said, to get a shot at our army. This was undoubtedly the party which cut off Lieutenant Boid. She mentioned, they kept runners constantly out, and that when our army was in motion the intelligence was communicated by a yell, immediately on which the greatest terror and confusion apparently took place among them. She said, the women were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace, and that one of the Indians had attempted to shoot Col. Johnson for the falsehoods by which he had deceived and ruined them; that she overheard Butler telling Johnson it was impossible to keep the Indians together after the battle of Newtown; that he thought they must soon be in a miserable situation, as all their crops would be destroyed, and that Canada could not supply them with provisions at Niagara; that he would endeavour to collect the warriors to assist in the defence

of that fort, which he was of an opinion this army would lay siege to, and the women and children he would send into Canada. After having destroyed this town, beyond which I was informed there was no settlement, and destroyed all their houses and crops in that quarter, the army having been advancing seventeen days, with the supply of provisions before mentioned; and that much reduced on the march by accidents, and the Cayuga country being as yet impenetrated, I thought it necessary to return as soon as possible, in order to effect the destruction of the settlements in that quarter. The army therefore began its march for Kanadasega, the eighteenth day from its leaving Newtown. At Kanadasega I was met by a Sachem from Oneida, and three warriors, one of whom I had sent from Catherine's with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose Congress; they delivered me a message from the warriors of that nation respecting the Cayugas; copies of that, and my answer, I also enclose. From this place I detached Colonel Smith with a party down the west side of Seneca Lake, to destroy the corn which had been cut down, and to destroy any thing further which might be discovered there. I then detached Col. Ganfwarth with one hundred men to Albany, to forward the baggage of the York regiments to the main army, and to take with him such soldiers as were at that place. I directed him to destroy the lower Mohawk castle in his route, and capture the inhabitants, consisting only of six or seven families, who were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When the Mohawks joined the enemy, those few families were undoubtedly left to answer those purposes, and to keep possession of their lands.

lands. The upper castle, now inhabited by Orkeskes, our friends, he was directed not to disturb. With him I sent Mr. Dean, who bore my answer to Oneidas. I then detached Colonel Butler with six hundred men, to destroy the Cayuga country, and with him sent all the Indian warriors, who said, if they could find the Cayugas they would endeavour to persuade them to deliver themselves up as prisoners; the chief of them called Tegattelawana, being a near relation to the Sachem. I then crossed the Seneca river, and detached Col. Dearborne to the west side of the Cayuga lake, to destroy all the settlements which might be found there, and to intercept the Cayugas, if they attempted to escape Col. Butler. The residue of the army passing on between the lakes towards Catherine's. Col. Dearborne burnt in his rout six towns, which, including one which had been before partly destroyed by a small party; destroying at the same time large quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women prisoners; one of the women being very ancient, and the lad a cripple, he left them, and brought on the other two, and joined the army on the evening of the 26th. Col. Cortland was then detached with 300 men up the Teago branch, to seek for settlements in that quarter; and, in the space of two days, destroyed several fields of corn, and burnt several houses. Col. Butler joined the army on the 28th, whereby a complete junction was formed at Conowalohala, on the 29th day after our leaving Newtown. Here we were met by a plenty of provisions from Teago, which I had previously directed to be sent on. Col. Butler destroyed, in the Cayuga country, five principal towns, and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number, exceedingly

large and well built: he also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn, with a number of orchards, one of which had in it 1500 fruit trees. Another Indian settlement was discovered near Newtown, by a party, consisting of 39 new houses, which was also destroyed. The number of towns destroyed by this army, amounts to 40, besides scattering houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. Every creek and river have been traced, and the whole country explored in search of Indian settlements; and I am well persuaded, that, except one town, situate near the Alleghany, about 50 miles from Chinesee, there is not a single town left in the country of the five nations.

It is with pleasure I inform Congress, that this army has not suffered the loss of forty men, in action or otherwise, since my taking the command, though, perhaps, few troops have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country, abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountains, morasses and desiles, we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides, and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erroneous, that they serve not to enlighten but to perplex. We had not a single person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance doubtless arose from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. We had much labour in clearing out roads for the artillery, notwithstanding which, the army moved from
twelve

twelve to sixteen miles every day, when not detained by rains, or employed in destroying settlements.

I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition. Though I had it not in command, I should have ventured to have paid Niagara a visit, had I been supplied with fifteen days provisions, in addition to what I had, which I am persuaded from the bravery and ardour of our troops would have fallen into our hands. I forgot to mention that the Oneida Sachem requested me to grant them liberty to hunt in the country of the five nations, as they would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where their settlements must ever be in our power. I, in answer, informed him, that I had no authority to grant such a licence; that I could not at present see reason to object to it, but advised them to make application to Congress, who, I believed, would, in consideration of their friendly conduct, grant them every advantage of this kind that would not interfere with our settlement of the country, which I believed would soon take place. The Oneidas say, that as no Indians were discovered by Colonel Butler at Cayuga, they are of opinion they are gone to their castle, and that their Chiefs will persuade them to come in and surrender themselves on the terms I have proposed. The army began its march from Conowalohala yesterday, and arrived here this evening. After leaving the necessary force for securing the frontiers in this quarter, I shall move on to join the main army.

It would have been very pleasing to this army, to have drawn the enemy to a second engagement, but such a panic seized them after the first action, that it was impossible,

as they never ventured themselves in reach of the army, nor have they fired a single gun at it on its march or in its quarters, though in a country exceeding well calculated for ambuscades. This circumstance alone would sufficiently prove, that they suffered severely in their first effort.

Congress will please to pardon the length of this narration, as I thought a particular and circumstantial detail of facts, would not be disagreeable, especially as I have transmitted no accounts of the progress of this army since the action of the 29th of August. I flatter myself that the orders with which I was intrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement, or field of corn, in the country of the five nations, or is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. Messengers and small parties have been constantly passing, and some imprudent soldiers who straggled from the army, mistook the rout and went back almost to Chinesee without discovering even the track of an Indian. I trust that the steps I have taken with respect to the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, will prove satisfactory. And here I beg leave to mention, that on searching the houses of those pretended neutral Cayugas, a number of scalps were found, which appeared to have been lately taken, which Colonel Butler shewed to the Oneidas, who said that they were then convinced of the justice of the steps I had taken. The promise made to the soldiers, in my address at Newtown, I hope will be thought reasonable by Congress, and flatter myself that the performance of it will be ordered.

Colonel Bruin will have the honour of delivering these dispatches to your Excellency. I beg leave to recommend him to the particular notice of Congress, as an officer who, on this, as well as several other campaigns,

paigns, has proved himself an active, brave, and truly deserving officer. I have the honour to be, with the most exalted sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient,
and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency John Jay, Esq.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec.

An Address of the Inhabitants of Northampton County, to the Honourable Major-general SULLIVAN, Commander in Chief of the Western Army.

We the subscribers, of Northampton County, beg leave to congratulate your Honour on your success against the confederate Indians of the Western country. With sentiments of affection we welcome your return, and being conscious of the exertions you have made to secure our happiness, we offer you those thanks which arise from the warmth of gratitude.

We are no strangers to the innumerable difficulties and hardships you have laboured under, and are fully acquainted with the many inconveniencies which attended the expedition, but the unparalleled perseverance, and firmness of the officers and soldiers under your command, have enabled you to surmount every obstacle with credit, and justly calls for the applause of a grateful country.

By order and in behalf of the inhabitants of Northampton county, we have the honour to subscribe ourselves very respectfully, the General's

Most obedient, and most
humble servants,

THOMAS SILLYMAN,

SAMUEL REA,

ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, jun.

PETER KACHLEIN,

ANTHONY LEICH, sen.

The General's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my sincere and cordial thanks for your very polite and flattering address. The approving voice of so respectable a number of my fellow citizens, who were deeply interested in the event of the expedition I had the honour to command, cannot fail to afford me the highest satisfaction. The accumulated difficulties accompanying, and the fatigues which naturally attended this expedition, are more than compensated by your unanimous approbation, and the very polite manner in which you have been pleased to signify it. If my well-meant endeavours have contributed to secure peace to the frontiers of this and the neighbouring States, it must afford me that pleasure which every friend to his country enjoys, when instrumental in adding to the peace and tranquility of his countrymen.

While I feel myself deeply impressed with gratitude, for your pleasing address, I cannot forbear expressing my obligations to the inhabitants of Northampton county, whose spirited and patriotic exertions have enabled me to accomplish an expedition which, I flatter myself, will for ever secure your frontiers from the ravages of a cruel and savage enemy.

JOHN SULLIVAN, M. G.

Philadelphia.

To the Honourable Major General SULLIVAN, Commander in Chief of the Western Army.

We the officers of Artillery congratulate you, on your safe and happy arrival, with the troops under your command at Easton.

We can't help expressing the pleasure we feel, in reflecting on the many difficulties and dangers in the course of a campaign, through a large extent of a savage enemy's country.

country, which, we have been enabled, by your great abilities and military knowledge, to surmount.

We present to you our sincerest thanks, for the care and attention you have taken in making a comfortable provision (notwithstanding your many disappointments) for your army, in general, and, in particular, for your generosity to the corps in which we have the honour to serve.

We beg your acceptance of our best wishes, for the restoration and continuance of your health; and are, with the greatest esteem,

Dear General,

Your most obedient and very humble servants,

(In behalf of the Corps),

THOMAS FOREST,

Lieut. Col. Commandant.

Easton, October 16th, 1779.

General SULLIVAN'S Answer.

Gentlemen,

Your very polite and friendly congratulations on my safe arrival at this post, with the troops I have the honour to command, have my most sincere and cordial thanks.

The difficulties attending the late expedition against a savage, secret, and desultory enemy, far exceeded any idea which could possibly be formed by those who were unacquainted with the country; and were such, as no exertions of mine could have surmounted, if, the unparalleled and persevering virtue of the officers and soldiers of the western army, had not enabled me to completely overcome them.

The testimony you are pleased to give of my attention to the troops in general, and to your corps in particular, cannot fail to afford me the highest satisfaction. All the troops had a great claim to every possible attention, and the particular exertions of your corps, in transporting the artillery through a country be-

fore deemed impassable, could not fail of obtaining, in return, every mark of generosity and gratitude in my power.

I thank you sincerely for your generous wishes for the restoration of my health, which if re-established, I mean to devote, with unremitting ardour, to the service of my country.

I have the honour to be with very particular respect,

Gentlemen, your most obedient,
and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

An Address from the Corps of Light Infantry to the Honourable Major General SULLIVAN, Commander in Chief of the Western Army.

Impressed with sentiments of esteem and gratitude, the Light Infantry under your honour's command, beg leave to congratulate you on the success of the expedition under your immediate care and inspection, which they are confident has terminated in such a manner as to reflect the highest honour upon you as the commander, and merit you the applause of every friend to his country. Confident they are, had it not been for your unparalleled actions and determined resolution, to fully answer the expectations of your country, and secure the peace and tranquility of the frontiers, the obstacles would never have been surmounted, and the end of the expedition remained unanswered. With sincere wishes for your happiness, and a speedy restoration of your health, I have the honour to subscribe myself, in behalf of the Corps,

Your honour's most obedient
and very humble servant,

Easton, ADAM HUBLEY, Jun.
October 17. Lieut. Colonel.

The Honourable Major General Sullivan.

To this Address the General returned the following Answer :

Gentlemen,

I sincerely thank you for your very polite and flattering address, and for your congratulations, on the success of the expedition entrusted to my care. I am happy in being favoured with such pleasing evidence, that my conduct has given the officers and soldiers of your corps, that satisfaction which such brave and virtuous troops undoubtedly merit.

However sensible I may be that your generosity has attributed more to my exertions than I can persuade myself I am entitled to, I cannot help acknowledging the satisfaction I feel in the testimony you have been pleased to give, of my having exerted those talents with which nature has furnished me, to answer the expectations of my country, to secure peace to its frontiers, and to give satisfaction to the brave troops I had the honour to command.

Your wishes for the restoration of my health demands my warmest thanks, and add to those feelings of gratitude with which your faithful and virtuous services have inspired me.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Gentlemen, your obedient,
and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

In Congress, Philadelphia, Oct. 20,

1779.

The Hon. House of Assembly having taken into consideration the meritorious services of Gen. Wayne, and the troops of the Pennsylvania line under his command, particularly in the attack on Stoney-Point, on the sixteenth day of July last, have come to the following resolve, to wit.

In General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Oct. 10, 1779.

“ The Assembly of Pennsylvania taking into their consideration

the services performed by General Wayne, and the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, in the attack on Stoney-Point, and the recommendation of the Supreme Executive Council,

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to General Wayne, and the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, for the courage and conduct displayed by them in the attack on Stoney-Point. The honour they have reflected on the state to which they belong, the clemency they shewed to those in their power, in a situation, when, by the laws of war, and stimulated by resentment, occasioned by the remembrance of a former massacre, they would have been justified in putting to death every one of the garrison, will transmit their names with honour to the latest posterity, and will shew that true bravery and honour are inseparable.

Resolved, That this resolution be transmitted to the Supreme Executive Council, and that they be requested to transmit the same to General Wayne, to be by him conveyed to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, under his command in the attack above mentioned.

Signed by order of the House,

JOHN BAYARD, Speaker.”

Which has been duly communicated to this Board, and thereupon

Resolved unanimously, That the Supreme Executive Council do cheerfully concur therein, and give their thanks to General Wayne and the troops of the Pennsylvania line, for the bravery, humanity and good conduct displayed on the above occasion, in which they not only acquired most deserved applause, but have reflected honour upon the state to which they belong.

Extract from the Minutes,

T. MATLACK, Secretary.

AN

An Act for raising the additional sum of five millions seven hundred thousand dollars for the current year, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

Whereas Congress, by their resolution dated the twenty-first day of May last, have required in addition to the sums heretofore by them required, that the further sum of forty-five millions of dollars should be raised within these United States, and paid into the Continental Treasury on or before the first day of January next, and have assigned the sum of five millions seven hundred thousand dollars thereof as the quota of this state :

And whereas it is the desire of the representatives of the freemen of this state to comply with the said resolution of Congress :

Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, by the representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that the said sum of five millions seven hundred thousand dollars shall be raised, levied, collected and paid within the current year over and above the sum of four millions of dollars required to be raised by an act intitled " An act for raising the supplies for the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and shall be raised, and assessed and taxed in the city of Philadelphia and the several counties of this state according to the method and proportions following, that is to say, for the city and county of Philadelphia the sum of seven hundred and nine thousand and seventy-five pounds nine shillings and seven-pence; for the county of Bucks, the sum of one hundred and forty thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds seven shillings and six-pence; for the county of Chester, the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-three pounds fourteen shillings; for the county of Lancaster, the sum of

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three hundred and four thousand six hundred and ninety-three pounds and three-pence; for the county of Northampton, the sum of eighty-eight thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds ten shillings and one penny; for the county of Berks, the sum of one hundred and fifty-three thousand two hundred and forty-five pounds seven shillings and eight-pence; for the county of York, the sum of one hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds twelve shillings and two-pence; for the county of Cumberland, the sum of one hundred and fifty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-five pounds two shillings and six-pence; for the county of Bedford, the sum of forty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty-three pounds eight shillings and seven-pence; for the county of Northumberland, the sum of eighty-two thousand two hundred and forty pounds sixteen shillings and five-pence; and for the county of Westmoreland the sum of fifty nine thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds two shillings and six-pence.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners and assessors of the city and county of Philadelphia, and of every county in this state, shall meet together on or before the second day of November next, at the usual place of meeting, and shall then and there issue their warrants under their hands and seals, to the township, ward or district assessors of each township, ward or district within their respective counties, requiring him, the said township assessor, to make a fair return in writing, on a certain day to be by them appointed, of the names and surnames of all the taxable inhabitants and single freemen within their respective townships, wards or districts, together with a fair and true return of all the estates, real and personal, and in what county situated, made taxable by this act, and to whom

Z

whom

whom such estates respectively belong. And to enable the Commissioners and county assessors to do the strictest justice in quotaing the several townships, wards and districts, within the city and each county of this state, the said assessors are hereby impowered and required to administer to each taxable person within their respective township, ward or district, an oath or affirmation in the following words:

" I, A. B. do swear, (or solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm) that the return which I have made is a just and true return of all my taxable property, real and personal, and in what county situate: and that the sum of money by me now returned is all the ready money which I have in my hands or possession, or which any person or persons has in his or her hands or possession for me, to the best of my knowledge and belief; and that I have not directly or indirectly parted with or disposed of any ready money or other property on any condition expressed or implied to have the same returned to me, with intention to avoid paying the tax thereupon." And if any person or persons shall refuse or neglect to give in a return as aforesaid, every such person or persons so refusing or neglecting shall for every such offence forfeit and pay a sum equal to the tax at which such persons shall be rated by this act, to be levied and collected by the collector of the proper township by virtue of a special warrant, which the Commissioners of the city and proper county are hereby impowered and required to grant, and shall be paid into the Treasury of this Commonwealth.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person shall neglect to make returns upon oath as aforesaid of all and every tract or parcel of land he or

she shall possess within this state, to the township assessor of the place where such person shall dwell or reside, so that the same cannot be taxed according to the true intent and meaning of this act; all such lands so omitted shall be liable and subject to pay all such taxes the next or any subsequent assessment, which the same lands ought to have paid had they been duly assessed as by this act is directed, and if any such tract or parcel of land so returned shall be situated out of the city or county where such person and township assessor shall dwell, then the Commissioners of such city or county, or some one of them, shall as soon as conveniently may be, transmit a copy of such return to the Commissioners of the county where such land shall lie.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners of the respective counties shall have power to appoint township assessors, in case of removal by death, disability, refusal or neglect, or where the townships neglect to elect.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when the Commissioners and county assessors shall receive the returns of the township, ward or district assessors, as before directed, they the said Commissioners and county assessors shall forthwith proceed to quota their several townships, wards and districts in the city of Philadelphia and several counties, in proportion to the quantity and quality of the property returned as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners of the city of Philadelphia and several counties, shall within six days after quotaing the townships, wards and districts as aforesaid, furnish the assistant assessor of each township, ward or district, with a true and fair transcript of the quota or sum of money justly chargeable upon

upon such township to which such assistant assessor doth belong.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the township, ward or district assessor of each township, ward or district, within this state, with the assistance of two freeholders of the proper township, ward or district appointed by the Commissioners and county assessors of the city and proper county, for that purpose, shall, within three days after the said assessor shall become possessed of the quota or sum of money so assessed, levy and assess the same equally and impartially on all and every person, and on all the estates, real and personal, within their township, and made taxable by this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the following enumerated articles shall be and are hereby made taxable, and no other, viz. the time of servitude of all bound servants above the age of fourteen years; all negro and mulatto slaves above the age of twelve years; all horses and mares above three years old; all horned cattle above three years old; ready money in hand, plate, pleasurable carriages, and all lands held by deed, warrant, location or improvement, houses and lots of ground, all grist-mills, saw-mills, fulling-mills, slitting-mills, hemp-mills, oil-mills, snuff-mills, and paper-mills; all forges, furnaces, bloomaries, distilleries, sugar-houses, breweries, tan-yard, tanned leather, ferries, and all wares and merchandize, and all professions, trades and occupations.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the enumerated articles aforesaid, shall be valued at, and for so much as they would, bona fide, sell for or are worth (ready money in hand excepted) and such a rate or rates levied and assessed thereon, as will amount to the sum of money quotaed upon the city of Philadelphia,

and the several counties, townships, wards, and districts within this state.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That each single freeman, not otherwise taxed by this act, who is of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and has been out of his apprenticeship six months, shall pay a sum not exceeding thirty pounds, nor under five pounds; and that all trades, professions and occupations, (ministers of the gospel of all denominations and school-masters only excepted) shall be rated according to the discretion of the commissioners and assessors of the proper county, having due regard to the profits arising from them.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all ready money shall be liable to, and pay, three-pence in the pound; and the sums arising on the tax upon money shall not be considered as part or included in the several quotas, but shall be considered as a separate fund for supplying deficiencies, if any be or can happen; any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, and shall be paid into the public treasury, to be hereafter disposed of by some future assembly.

And be it further enacted, That the state treasurer shall have for his trouble in receiving and paying the same, the sum of seven shillings and six-pence for every hundred pounds; and the county treasurers shall have fifteen shillings for every hundred pounds, and the said two freeholders in each township, ward, or district in this state, shall have for their trouble and expence in performing the duties by this act required, the sum of sixteen dollars per day, and no more.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the commissioners and county assessors within the city and several counties in this state, and the assessors of the

several townships, wards and districts of the city and several counties, shall have for their time and expence in performing the duties required of them by this act, as follows, viz. the commissioners the sum of twenty dollars, the county assessors the sum of twenty dollars, the township assessors the sum of sixteen dollars, per day, and no more. And the collector of each township, or district, shall have for his trouble and expence in collecting the monies to be raised by virtue of this act, the sum of six-pence for every pound.

And whereas sundry persons had let their houses and lands on long leases, which are not yet expired, and have reserved rent thereon payable in current money, which by reason of the depreciation thereof are not in any cases sufficient to pay the taxes laid on the demised premises: for remedy whereof.

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where leases have been made of any lands or tenements before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, which are not yet expired, and when the rent is payable in a sum of money, the tenant shall, over and above the rent in the said lease reserved, pay all public taxes which the leased premises shall be liable to pay during the continuance of such lease.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the act for raising supplies for the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and every article, clause, matter, and thing therein, except what is herein altered or supplied, shall be and is hereby declared to be and continue in full force and virtue, 'till all and every the sum and sums of money hereby imposed shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid.

JOHN BAYARD, Speaker.

Enacted into a law at Philadel-

phia, on Sunday the tenth of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

JOHN MORRIS, junior.

Clerk of the General Assembly.

TRANSLATION of an EDICT issued by the King of France, concerning the escheat of places and offices of perquisites, &c. in the King's and the Queen's households.

Given at Versailles in the month of January, 1780.

Registered, in the Court of Accounts, on the 29th of the same month and year.

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre: To all present and to come, greeting; Occupied to introduce into the expences of our household that order and œconomy, which are consistent with the dignity of our Crown, we have considered, that one of the means to obtain this end, would be to unite to our domains all the offices of our domestic household, some of which had been alienated by the Kings, our predecessors, under the denomination of perquisites, to the great detriment of the revenues of our Crown. Thus becoming alone interested in the number, and the value of these offices, we shall be more at liberty to reform those which shall appear unto us unnecessary, to determine the emoluments of others more precisely, and lastly, to consult nothing in that respect than our general views of administration. We, however, reserve unto ourselves, to examine in our justice, what indemnification may be due to our great officers, and to those of the Queen, our dear beloved Spouse and Royal Consort, for the privation of these perquisites, from which they can derive no addition to the dignity of the high offices conferred upon them. We moreover preserve all the divers privileges of these offices,

offices, and they shall henceforth, the same as at present, be essentially distinguished, as well by the rank, as by the dignity of the persons whom we shall entrust therewith. For these reasons, and others known unto us, by and with the advice of our Council, and from our special grace, certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have, by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable Edict, said, declared, and ordained, and do say, declare, and ordain, and are pleased to will, as follows :

Article I. From this day henceforth, we declare all the places and offices of our household, and of that of the Queen, our dear beloved Spouse and Consort, united to our escheats (*parties casuelles*) as belonging to the domains of our Crown; and we expressly forbid all persons, of what rank and condition soever, to sell any of the said offices, or to purchase any of them, of whomsoever, except of the Treasurer-general of our revenues of escheats, and after the estimation and register which shall be made and fixed in our Council; reserving unto us, to explain ourselves more particularly concerning the manner of proceeding, for the future, in the sale and acquisition of these offices.

Article II. We do not mean, by the disposition of the preceding Article, to exempt those who intend to acquire any office of our household, from obtaining first the approbation of the different superiors of these offices, to whom we confirm the right to give the same; and it is our will, that no patents be made out to such purchasers, but upon producing such approbation in writing.

Article III. Neither do we mean, by this present union to our domains, to alter or diminish any rights and privileges acquired by the different officers of our household;

and it is also our will, that the reversions, patents, and expectations, granted, as well by the late King, our much-honoured Lord and Grandfather, as by ourselves, since our accession to the Crown, shall remain in their full force and effect. We therefore hereby enjoin our beloved and trusty Counsellors and others, holding our Court of Accounts at Paris, to cause this present Edict to be read, published, and registered, and the contents thereof to be kept, observed, and executed fully, peaceably, and perpetually, ceasing, and causing to cease all troubles and impediments whatever, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, FOR SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE; and in order that it may be permanent and irrevocable for ever, we have caused our seal to be set to these presents.

Given at Versailles, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and the sixth of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed) AMELOT.

Visa. HUE DE MIROMESNIL.

Read, published and registered in the Court of Accounts, after hearing the requisition of the King's Attorney-general, to be executed according to its form and tenor. All the members in office meeting, the 29th of January, 1780.

(Signed) MARSOLAN.

TRANSLATION of an EDICT issued by the King of France for the suppression of the places of Comptroller-general of the King's Household and Household Treasury; of Intendant Comptroller-general of the Furnitures of the Crown; of the offices of Intendants Comptrollers-generals of the Horses; of those of Intendants Comptrollers-generals of the Plate; of the Privy Purse and of the affairs of the King's Chamber; and of the two places of Comptrollers-

Comptrollers-generals of the Queen's Household; and for establishing a General Office of Expences of the King's Household. Given at Versailles, in the month of January, 1780, and registered in the Court of Accounts, on the 29th of the same month and year.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, &c. Having perceived, that without some essential and constitutional alterations in the direction of the expences of our household, it would be difficult to effect any efficacious and permanent improvements, we have began the remedy, by reducing the too great number of pay offices into one only. We have afterwards, by our Edict of this day, united all the places and offices of our household to our domains; and now, to continue the accomplishment of the plan which we have prescribed to ourselves, we have thought proper to suppress the places of Comptrollers-generals of our household and household-treasury; that of Intendant and Comptroller-general of the furniture, &c. of the Crown; the offices of Intendants and Comptrollers-generals of our horses; those of Intendants and Comptrollers-generals of the plate, of our privy purse, and the affairs of our chamber; and the two places of Comptrollers-generals of the household of the Queen, our dear-beloved spouse and royal consort. And it is our will and pleasure that provision be made for the reimbursement and indemnification of these divers offices, in ready money, according to proper estimates, which shall be made. At the same time we have thought proper and convenient to supply the divided functions of these different officers, by the establishment of one sole board and office under the denomination of the *General Office of Expences of the King's Household*, which shall consist of two Magistrates selected from our Court of Accounts and of five

Commissioner-generals, experienced and properly qualified for that office, and who in uniting different talents, may, notwithstanding, conduct in the same spirit, and upon uniform principles, the whole detail of the expences of our household. This board shall immediately proceed to the examination of all its branches, in order to introduce clearness and good order, and to propose the various improvements of which the whole shall be susceptible; and it shall deliver, from time to time, exact accounts of their proceedings and operations, as well to the Minister of our household, as to the Minister of our finances. By means of an establishment thus founded, the reforms and useful alterations, to the execution of which the actual circumstances might as yet form obstacles, will be immediately perceived, prepared, and put into execution; and our general administrations will at all times be enabled to draw from that board, common to, and depending from them, all the informations necessary for the accomplishment of the various plans which we shall approve.

We maintain, notwithstanding, our great and first officers in the honourable right of taking our orders directly from us, to transmit them, and to see them executed. But called to serve us in our provinces and in our armies, and prevented thereby to enter at all times into the particulars of finances and œconomy, which require an assiduity and constant inspection; we have thought, that they would not be displeas'd with seeing that part of administration henceforth separated from their noble sanctions near our person; and we have sufficient proof of their zeal and attachment, to be fully persuas'd, that they will strenuously assist us in the general plans which we have formed for the maintenance of good order, &c. in our finances, and

to convince our loyal subjects, the more and more, that we have no desire of imposing any new taxes, till after we have exhausted all the resources, which order and economy can offer. For these reasons, and others known unto us, by and with the advice of our Council, and from our special grace, certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have by this present, perpetual and irrevocable Edict, said, declared and ordained, and do say, declare, and ordain, and are pleased to will, as follows:

Article I. We have abolished and suppressed, and by these presents do abolish and suppress, the two places of Comptrollers-generals of our household, and household treasury; that of Intendant and Comptroller-general of the furnitures of the Crown; the two offices of Intendants and Comptrollers-generals of our horses; the three offices of Intendants and Comptrollers-generals of the plate, of the privy purse, and of the affairs of our chamber; and the two places of Comptrollers-generals of the household of the Queen, our dear beloved spouse and royal consort.

Article II. The possessors of the said places and offices, hereby abolished and suppressed, shall continue their functions until the first day of April next, they shall make up their accounts for the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, in the present usual form, and shall enjoy the salaries and other emoluments belonging to them, until the said first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

Article III. The said places and offices shall be reimbursed to the proprietors in ready money, according to a proper estimation which shall be made in our Council, conformable to the edicts of their creation, the receipts for the capitals advanced as security, deeds of insurance, and

other titles and documents which shall be produced to that effect.

Article IV. We have established, and by these presents do establish a board and office, under the title of the *General Office of the King's Household*, which shall be composed of two Magistrates of our Court of Accounts, and of five Commissioners-generals, whom we shall choose in preference from among such persons, as are the most experienced in the management of the different expences of our Household, in order that the service may not be impeded by any delay or interruption. The first Clerk Comptroller of our Household, and the same of our finances, shall assist at that Board, and it shall be presided by the Minister of our Household, and by the Minister of our Finances, or, in their absence, by one of the Magistrates of our Court of Accounts, hereabove mentioned.

Article V. The said five Commissioners-generals shall take the oath appointed to be taken, before our dear beloved and trusty Knight, the Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals of France; and patents shall be made out for them, sealed with our seal, which they shall cause to be registered in our Court of Accounts.

Article VI. The said Commissioners shall deposit the sum of five hundred thousand livres each, into our Royal Treasury, as a kind of security, which sum shall be reimbursed unto them, in case of their dismissal, or other change, or unto their heirs, in case of their decease.

Article VII. The said Commissioners shall receive five per cent. interest for the capital deposited, which interest shall not be subject to the tenth of amortisation, the hundredth penny, or any other deductions whatever; and they shall likewise receive the sum of fifteen thousand livres each, for their salaries, maintenance, and emoluments whatsoever.

Article VIII. We assign unto the said Board, the exclusive right and privilege

vilege to investigate, pursue, and judge definitively all expences of our Household, and of that of the Queen, and to order the payment of the same under whatever title and denomination they may have been incurred. To this effect we hereby repeal all powers of what nature soever, delegated either by the Kings our predecessors, or by ourselves, to all persons of whatever rank and condition they may be, which shall cease to take place for the future, to reckon from the first day of April next, and which powers we also expressly give up by this present edict.

Article IX. All expences of what kind soever, shall be reported to the said Board, to be there examined, discussed and judged definitively; and they shall afterwards be entered into the bills and registers of the household expences (*écroues et cabiers*) which shall likewise be verified by the said Board, before they are presented to our Court of Accounts by the Treasurer-general, on the passing of his account.

Article X. All the contracts of what nature soever, after having been properly published and notified, and the different proposals examined by the said Board, shall be publicly adjudged to such persons as offer the cheapest terms; and none shall be vallable without being signed by the five Commissioners, and approved of by the Minister of our Household and the Minister of our Finances.

Article XI. The bills containing the ordinary expences, and the registers which contain the extraordinary expences, as well as the account of the Treasurer-general, shall be signed by the Secretary of State for our Household, and by the five Commissioners-generals, before they are presented to our Court of Accounts.

Article XII. No current or extraordinary expence whatever, except such as are included in the establishments of our Household, shall be

payable to any officer, or tradesman, but upon an order, mentioning what it is for, signed by the five Commissioners-generals; which orders shall be produced to the Board by the Treasurer-general, as justifying pieces of his account, which shall also be there examined, verified; and signed, before it is presented to our Court of Accounts.

Article XIII. To facilitate the execution of our orders, or such as shall be issued, in our name, by the great officers and other superiors of our Household, each of the five Commissioners shall have a particular department assigned to him, in which he shall direct and manage the expences, and make his report to the Board. And we hereby authorise the Treasurer to pay, to the amount of ten thousand livres, upon the signature of one sole Commissioner, for objects concerning the department in which that Commissioner particularly manages the expences, and which may be unforeseen, and require immediate advances; provided, however, that the said Treasurer shall exchange, within the space of one month at farthest, the said particular order, against another from the whole Board.

Article XIV. We reserve unto us to fix, by a separate regulation, the particulars of this administration; and we also propose to give farther orders concerning the form of accounts of the Treasurer-general of our Household.

XV. In the mean time we enjoin our beloved and trusty Counsellors, and others, holding our Court of Accounts at Paris, not to allow to the said Treasurer-general, in his accounts, any article of expence, which is not contained in the bills and registers signed by the Secretary of State of our Household, and by the five Commissioners-generals, conformable to the eleventh article of this present Edict, and authenticated by the

the proper documents, usually necessary on the passing of accounts.

Article XVI. The regulation of the expences of buildings requiring more particular information and study, we do not mean to alter any thing for the present, in the actual order established for that purpose; but it is our will, that the Treasurer shall deliver every month to the Board, a copy of his book of expences for the departments of buildings, together with the copies of expences of the other departments, and also a copy of the whole account for the whole year, which shall be examined and registered at the Board, as being part of the general account of expences of our household. *We therefore hereby enjoin our beloved and trusty Counsellors, and others, holding our Court of Accounts at Paris, to cause this present Edict to be read, published and registered, and the contents thereof to be kept, observed and executed, fully, peaceably and perpetually, ceasing, and causing to cease all troubles and impediments whatever, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding. FOR SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE; and in order that it may be permanent and irrevocable for ever, we have caused our seal to be set to these presents. Given at Versailles, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and the sixth of our reign.*

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed)

AMELOT.

Visa. HUE DE MIROMESNIL.

Read, published and registered in the Court of Accounts, after hearing the requisition of the King's Attorney-general, so be executed according to its form and tenor; provided that the reimbursements of the capitals of the offices hereby suppressed, shall not be inferior to the evaluations which may have been made by the present incumbents, conformable to the Edict of the month of February, 1771. All the

4 VOL. IX.

Members in office meeting, the 29th January, 1780.

(Signed)

MARSOLAN.

TRANSLATION of an ARRET of Regulation, issued by the French Council of State, concerning the General Farms, and the Administration of his Majesty's Finances, Given at Versailles the 9th of January, 1780.

Extra'ed from the registers of the Council of State.

The period of the expiration of the lease for the General Farms, is an object which has long since fixed the King's attention. It was undoubtedly important to profit by a revolution, which only occurs every six years, to endeavour to improve, by new and useful arrangements, the Administration of the King's revenues connected with the General Farms, and to introduce the principles of œconomy and moderation which his Majesty has adopted, and from which he has, since some time, drawn so very considerable advantages. But the great reimbursements required to accomplish this undertaking, the sense of justice and good faith, which always guides his Majesty, even in such operations as most concern his love for the public welfare; in short, various difficult circumstances and powerful obstacles, seemed at first to debar his Majesty from all other means, than that of simply renewing the lease for his farms, &c. in the same manner and form, as had hitherto been customary. His Majesty, averse to the idea which deferred for such a long space of time, improvements so essential to the State and to his finances, and which, at that period, would be equally subject to difficulties, which either persons or events might occasion, could not but with satisfaction behold the plan that was proposed to him, to obviate the obstacles which had appeared to oppose his views, and that proved con-

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ducive to create, in the midst of war, a constitution, which should have been the work of a profound peace, and be preserved for ever.

It was, however, necessary, that the examination of various objects should precede the King's determination. Considering first the multiplicity and progressive increase of the revenues administered by the Farmers Generals, his Majesty was amazed to behold the extent of the particulars, and the functions intrusted to one single company. The King was sensible, that the collecting of such duties as are immediately connected one with the other, such as the duties upon salt, tobacco, exports or imports, (*les Gabelles, le Tabac, les Traites*) and several others, should not be divided, because the same precautions by which they are recovered, serve also to prevent frauds and contrebands. But the Aids (*les Aides*),* and domainial duties, (*Droits domaniaux*),† having no connection with these first mentioned impositions, and the knowledge and means required to collect them, being totally distinct, no advantage whatever can result from the union of objects so different one from the other; it is, on the contrary, weakening the natural care and attention of the co-interested, in separating them, one from the other, by the too great difference of their proceedings, and the necessary talents required for their employment.

It is well known, that within these twenty years, divers particular Administrations have been established; but these new establishments, being more the offsprings of occasional events and want of money, than of a general and well digested plan, far from remedying any of the above-mentioned inconveniencies,

have, on the contrary, produced many others. Indeed, the duties collected by these new established companies, being of the same nature with those recovered by the Farmers Generals, it was necessary, either that these chose their collectors in the different provinces, from among those employed in the general farms, and then, in case of any neglect, having no sufficient authority over them, the King's interest naturally suffered; or else, these new Companies were obliged to keep their own collectors, and in that case, the expences for collecting the revenues were greatly increased, the fruitless occupations of the Company were multiplied, and the King's subjects were the more frequently disturbed and alarmed by the greater variety of tax-gatherers, with whom they had to treat for nearly one and the same object.

His Majesty has, moreover, observed, that the Aids, that essential part of his revenues, could not be contracted for, but with great disadvantage to his own finances; because, their product being susceptible of important variations, on account of the intemperature of the seasons, the Farmers could not engage for these events, otherwise than by means of a great latitude in the price of the contract proportionable to their risks. Thus the King paid, unnecessarily, a considerable premium of insurance, just as if in a great Administration, some occasional variations in the products which, in a small number of years, will always come to the same rate, was an accident sufficiently important to justify the guarding against, at such enormous prices. Nevertheless, it has been on account of this guaranty, and the certainty, to receive every month a fixed and determined sum of money, that such great sa-

* Duties upon liquors, candles, soap, and some others, which in England are called *Excise*,

† Duties arising from different objects of the King's domains, such as quit-rents, passage-money, bridge-tolls, &c.

crifices have been made for this long while. But his Majesty sensible of the importance to free himself from this ancient dependency upon that assistance of his finances, not only in this part, but in many others, has endeavoured, notwithstanding the present circumstances, to establish the General Administration of his finances, in a manner conformable to the plan adopted for that purpose; and in keeping constantly a reserve of ready money, as well as other negociable effects in his Treasury; his Majesty will find in his own precautions, sufficient resources against accidental deficiencies. This end once obtained, the only object of his Majesty's attention, in renewing the lease for his General Farms, may be, to establish conditions proportionable to the hazards and costs in their administration; an expence which will be easily ascertained; whereas such a great and too much extended guaranty can never be valued exactly; and this is undoubtedly the cause which has produced too great advantages and benefits to the Farmers; for even at the time when the highest price was put upon this guaranty, it only existed by virtue of a convention, which, in case of any extraordinary misfortunes, would have been easily modified by the known mildness and equity of a great Monarch.

His Majesty, determined by these several reflections, has therefore thought just and right, that in exposing nobody to any loss with him, in withdrawing from his farms such objects as are liable to great variations in their products, in separating the administrations which have no connection one with the other, in uniting those which are analogous in their nature, and in thus remedying the general confusion which now prevails throughout the whole, he would efficaciously accomplish the useful design which has so long ingrossed his attention.

It is also endeavouring to obtain that end; that his Majesty has resolved to reform an abuse long since existing in the General Farms, and whereof the present lease furnishes many striking examples. This abuse consists in the partnerships (*Croupes**) pensions and other interests connected with, or granted upon the places of Farmers Generals, to persons who are totally strangers to that Administration; an abuse which, in admitting so many different classes of the society to a share in the benefits of the Farmers, must have given weight to their pretensions, and naturally augmented the obstacles which always present themselves to projects of reforms and improvements; an abuse, moreover, which gives strength to persons of intrigue, against those of real talents, in favouring, among the several candidates for places in the finances, such men as are the most ready to make any sacrifice; to the great prejudice of those, who might justly think themselves authorized to rely on their capacity, and the merits of their former services; an abuse, lastly, which hides from the eyes of the Sovereign the extent of the many favours he bestows, especially as these gifts have often been represented as simple shares in the interest, and no ways detrimental to his Majesty's finances; though it is easy to perceive, that all these shares in the benefits of the Farmers Generals fall at last upon the price of the contract, and thus diminish the King's revenues.

In short, the King, animated by a great motive of public interest, and by his love for his subjects, is fully sensible that in intrusting one single Company with the receiving of all duties, and binding himself in a rigorous contract, he would himself prepare obstacles to the design he has formed, to make, in several parts, many essential alterations for the ease of the contributors

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* *Croupes*, Money-lenders, or secret Co-partners with some Farmers Generals.

in general. It is, therefore, after many important and mature considerations, for the welfare of the State, for the advantage of his finances, and for the public faith, that his Majesty has thought proper to seize upon the present occasion to modify and to improve, by useful regulations, the General Administration of his finances, but without occasioning the least commotion, and in observing the most exact rules of justice.

Division into three Companies.

In consequence thereof, his Majesty has forthwith resolved to divide the whole Administration of his finances into three Companies, whose functions will be totally different and distinct from each other, and the object of their management will amount to about two hundred and fifty millions; a sum undoubtedly sufficient to give each of these three companies a great consistency, and to enable them to assist the general views of Government in many respects. By the effect of this very disposition, his Majesty prevents, in forehand, the inconveniences which might result in time, by means of various circumstances, from a too powerful body of the finances, upon whom alone such a considerable circulation should depend.

General Farm.

The first Company, under the denomination of GENERAL FARM, (*Ferme générale*) will be charged with the recovery of such revenues as arise from the importation and exportation of all foreign and national merchandizes, and from exclusive privileges and duties payable, as well upon the frontiers of the kingdom, as on the barriers of the capital, and on the limits of such provinces which either are as yet foreign, or reputed as such.

General Administration.

The second Company, under the denomination of GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, (*Régie générale*) will

be charged with the recovery of all duties called Excise, and which chiefly arise from the preparation, the sale, and the consumption of liquors, and from the manufactures of several objects of commerce. A part of these revenues, under the denomination of Aids, is included in the present lease of the General Farms; and another part under the titles of Reserved Duties, or United Duties (*Droits réservés, ou Droits réunis*) is at present managed by the General Administration.

General Administration of the King's Domains, and Domainial Duties.

The third Company, under the denomination of GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE DOMAINS AND DOMAINIAL DUTIES, (*Administration Générale des domaines & droits domainiaux*) will be charged, not only with the recovery of the revenues, which are at present under the care of the Administrators of the domains; but also with the receiving of all the domainial duties, included in the present lease of the general farm. Though several parts of the domainial duties, under the management of these two Companies, are of a different kind; the one originating from a property in the land, and the others from duties imposed; there are at the same time some, which are nearly of the same nature, such as the fines of alienation (*lods & ventes*) received by the Administrators of the domains, and the hundredth penny exacted by the General Farm upon the sale of estates; the duties upon exchanges, amortisations, and new purchases of estates or immoveables, upon free fee-farms (*franc fiefs*) together with many others. Besides the difference of principles, and the variety of talents required for the administration of these two species of the domains, does not hinder the advantage which arises from uniting, in a common interest, persons equally intrusted

intrusted with his Majesty's confidence.

Another decisive motive is this, that the Administrators General of the domains chiefly make use of the same persons to collect their duties, as are employed by the Farmers of the domainial duties; thus the union of these two Companies is at least more natural and more economical than the present association of the Farmers of the domains with those of the Aids, and the duties upon salt and tobacco. Moreover, it is in the registers of the Comptrollers of the Aids, which are under the subordination of the Farmers of the domainial duties, where the Administrators of the domains are to look for certain instructions, which are necessary for their superintending the reception of casual duties, and especially the effects of the changes of properties. His Majesty shall also charge this Company with the recovery of all fees of registres and mortgages, at present under the care of the General Administration, and thus united, by a strange medley, with the receipts of the Aids and the Excise.

Table containing the objects assigned to the three companies.

But as besides these great objects, the division of which has been mentioned here above, there are many others which must be separated and distributed more properly than they are at present; his Majesty has thought proper to cause a table to be annexed to this present regulation, containing the enumeration of all the objects, of which the recovery shall be assigned to these three Companies, and which table will be equally useful to the receivers and to the contributors.

Number of persons of which they shall be composed.

His Majesty fixing afterwards his attention upon the number of persons, and the sums necessary to be advanced by these Companies, as well to diminish the number of unnecessary Agents, as to reimburse exactly the

capitals of the suppressed places, without subjecting the Royal Treasury to any important advances; his Majesty has seen, that there are at present

Sixty places of Farmers General, and twenty-seven Adjoints.

Twenty-five places of Administrators General, resulting from the different Administrations suppressed and reunited into one only, in the year 1777.

Nineteen places of Administrators of the King's domains, accruing from the suppression of all the Administrators and Receivers General of the domains, which took place in 1778.

And his Majesty has found that the service might be perfectly well done, with forty Administrators for the first company.

Twenty-five for the second, notwithstanding the reunion of the Aids.

Twenty-five for the third, notwithstanding the annexation of the domainial duties.

Perhaps his Majesty might have reduced these several Administrators to a smaller number, if the rights of an ancient possession, and especially the necessity of preserving, as yet, large funds of advance, had left to his Majesty, in his choice, that entire liberty which he may probably procure at the expiration of the next lease for his farms, &c.

Reimbursement of the twenty suppressed Places of Farmers General.

To reimburse the funds of the twenty suppressed places of Farmers General, his Majesty does not augment those of the forty which are preserved, as they amount already to one million five hundred and sixty thousand livres; but his Majesty raises to one million of capital each, the places in the two other Companies of the Aids and the Domains; and it is by this augmentation, that his Majesty finds exactly, within a million or two, the sums necessary for the reimbursements which he is obliged to make.

Division of the Funds.

His Majesty, in maintaining, without alteration the actual funds of the forty places of Farmers Generals, and raising those of the General Administrations much higher than He would have done at other times, has thought proper to reserve unto himself the means of diminishing these advances, as soon as circumstances shall permit. In consequence thereof his Majesty divides this sum of one million five hundred and sixty thousand livres, as the actual stock of each of the Farmers Generals, into two parts; the one of one million and two hundred thousand livres, which shall not be reimbursable, but upon the product of the last year of the lease; and the other, of three hundred and sixty thousand livres, which his Majesty shall be at liberty to reimburse at the end of the war, after giving six months notice; and until that time, his Majesty will pay, for this last mentioned capital of three hundred and sixty thousand livres, five per cent. interest per annum, and two per cent. by way of dividend; a sacrifice, which his Majesty makes to the present circumstances, to his fidelity in his engagements, and to the impossibility wherein he finds himself at present, to diminish the funds of the places in the finances, without turning his means and ways of credit from the great supplies requisite for the support of the war, which at present chiefly engage his attention.

His Majesty shall adopt a like division for the funds of the places of Administrators Generals in the other two Companies, and of which two hundred thousand livres shall be likewise reimbursable before the expiration of the six years of Administration.

Emoluments.

The intention of his Majesty is, to insure to the Farmers Generals, upon the product of their recoveries,

the interest of five per cent. for the capital of one million and two hundred thousand livres, which shall not be reimbursable before the end of the lease, and thirty thousand livres as a fixed retribution, free from all deductions, duties and fees whatever. His Majesty has thought this treatment as moderate as circumstances would permit, considering especially, the great capital required, the recent remembrance of very different conditions, and the augmentation of the necessary labour, in proportion to the smaller number of Agents. But his Majesty has also been sensible, that he could not have adopted this economical plan, if he required from the Farmers Generals an engagement which might expose them to any loss; in consequence of this his Majesty has endeavoured to secure their funds against unfortunate events, without, however, deviating from the customary forms, or weakening the interest, which the Farmers Generals ought to reap from the success of their administration. And it is to accomplish this design by an easy mean, that his Majesty intends to fix the price of the contract very low, so that the Farmers Generals themselves may not be under any possible apprehension of loss; but not to admit them to any share in the benefits; till after a higher sum is cleared: thus there will be no farther pretext for confounding in the same contract, the pretensions for the value of risks, and of a rigorous engagement, with the merit of labour and application. And by the effect of this very arrangement, the Farmers Generals will not be beholden any farther to insure a price of the contract susceptible to any hazards; their funds of advance will become a pledge completely secured; and the success of the loans, which some of them may intend to procure, will be so much the easier.

In short, as his Majesty will have
withdrawn

withdrawn from the management of the Farmers Generals, such objects as are susceptible of great variations in their products, he will be the more justifiable not to secure unto them but a reasonable part in the augmentations, which shall however always be sufficient to encourage their zeal and activity; and his Majesty is informed, that different improvements, as well as a more strict economy in the whole management, offer several important objects of emulation, but which on account of the too great extent of the General Farm, as well as the customary certainty of great benefits, have hitherto been neglected.

The conditions of the two other Companies, of which the funds are less, shall be regulated nearly in the same proportions. And the King proposes even to grant some particular mark of his satisfaction to such of his Farmers and Administrators Generals, who, in distinguishing themselves by their application and the superiority of their talents, shall promote the farther views, which his Majesty may conceive, for a better modification of all taxes, and for the greater welfare of all his contributing subjects.

Adjoints.

His Majesty in suppressing all the Adjoints, reserves to himself, notwithstanding, to maintain the sons of those whom he shall appoint as Members of these Companies, in the adjunctions which they enjoy at present, according, however, to the information he shall receive of their age, their conduct, and their application. His Majesty thinks it meet to preserve to those persons, who shall serve him with distinction in his finances, the hopes of being succeeded in their places by their children; because, independent of the motives of indulgence which may determine his Majesty therein, he has considered, that these expecta-

tions given to the fathers of families, will engage them the sooner to be satisfied with moderate profits; and that thus such a disposition may become favourable to the King's finances.

Co-partnerships and Pensions.

His Majesty, for reasons already explained, suppresses all Co-partnerships (*Croupes*) and Pensions, without distinction, either connected with, or granted upon the places of Farmers Generals; but he reserves to himself to examine, whether among the different persons, who at present enjoy these advantages, there be any who are entitled to some indemnification, more or less considerable, either on account of their high and title of possession, or their former services; but all what his Majesty may be pleased to grant, can for the future be no otherwise than publicly, and upon his royal treasury.

Presents and Stamp Duty.

His Majesty exempts these three Companies from all kinds of the customary presents or fees of bargain and stamp-duties (*Pots-de-win & droits de contrôle*) which formerly were allowed to the Ministers of his finances, upon renewing the leases of the Farms and the General Administration.

Appointment to places.

His Majesty being informed, that the contrarieties which the Farmers and Administrators Generals have often met with in the appointment of their servants, had occasioned many inconveniences, it is therefore his will, that the three Companies shall, for the future, enjoy an entire liberty in that respect, and that the influence of the Minister of his finances shall go no farther than to take cognizance of the motives of their choice, so as to prevent that no persons of favour or protection are brought into these Companies, contrary to the good of the service. His Majesty confirms only what he

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has ordained by his ARRET of the 10th of January, 1779, namely, to secure unto such persons as were reformed by the effect of general operations, a preference due to their position, whenever it is consistent with the equality of merit and talents.

Choice of Members of the three Companies.

His Majesty hath seen with pain, that, in order to reduce the number of the Farmers Generals to forty, whilst there are at present sixty, and twenty-seven Adjoints, most all of them co-interested, he was under the necessity of occasioning several deprivations; but it is to lessen the effect of this regulation, as also from a sentiment of equity, and for the good of his service, that his Majesty hath resolved, that one and the same person shall not be admitted into two of these Companies, nor hold a place in one of them conjointly with any other important place in the finances; and this wise regulation the King proposes to maintain constantly for the future.

His Majesty is, moreover, disposed to grant the places which shall become vacant, to the persons included in these reforms, as far, however, as that preference shall be reconcilable with the good of his service. For, at the same time, when the King thought proper to diminish successively the benefits of finance, which have long since become an object of criticism and envy, his Majesty never lost sight of a matter well worthy his attention, namely, the choice of persons, who, in superintending the management of his revenues, should not recover his duties and taxes, but with that justice and prudence which concur with the tranquility and the confidence of his subjects. His Majesty has no doubt, that the persons distinguished in that department, and capable of perceiving the general

principles of public Administration and good order which direct his Majesty, will look upon these conditions, the foundation of which has been sufficiently explained in this regulation, as very reasonable; and that, forgetting their former benefits, they will join a sense of moderation in their pretensions, to the other qualifications which shall determine his Majesty in that preference.

Lastly, the King has seen, with the greatest satisfaction, that, as well by the effect of these divers arrangements, as by the increase of the product of several duties since the date of the present lease, his Majesty's revenues will probably be augmented for near fourteen millions, independent of the important part which his Majesty shall reserve unto himself in the annual increases, and independent also of the benefits which his Majesty will receive, when he shall be able to reimburse that part of the funds of advance, for which he consents to pay seven per cent. interest and dividend. It is, without doubt, a result infinitely favourable; and this increase of riches, as it is not the effect of new taxes, becomes so much more precious to his Majesty. And, in looking over all the progressive improvements, which of late have been made in his finances, his Majesty feels no other grief than that he hath not been able to apply them for the relief of his people; but they have served, at least, to preserve them from contributions which the war would otherwise have made necessary long ago, and to secure, the more and more, the tranquility of that numerous class of the King's subjects, who, by their fortunes, are concerned in the public debt. His Majesty, however, entertains the flattering hope, that, at the end of the war, many other means of benevolence for the relief of his people,

people, will offer, and these will always be the dearest objects of his wishes.

WHICH MEANING TO ENACT, the King, being in his Council, after hearing the report, has ordained, and, by these presents, does ordain, that immediate proceedings be had for the formation of three Companies, under the denominations of *General Farm*, of *General Administration*, and of *General Administration of the Domains and Domainial Duties*, which Companies shall be

charged with the recoveries enumerated in the table here annexed, agreeable to the principles established in this present Regulation, and conformable to the lease which shall be made out, or according to the resolutions of Council which shall be published on that subject.

Done in the Council of State, holden at Versailles, present the King's most excellent Majesty, on the ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

(Signed) AMELOT.

DISTRIBUTION of the Recoveries of all Duties, which are levied in the kingdom, between the three Administrations, the consistency of which is determined by the Regulation of the 9th of January, 1780.

GENERAL FARM.

FIRST DIVISON.

Duties upon Salt of the Ocean.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm. } I. The duties called the *Thirty-five pence (sous) of Brouage*, as well primitives as additional, such as they are comprised in the present lease.

Withdrawn from the General Administration of the Domains. } That part of the said additional duties, formerly enjoyed by the late Prince of Conti, and by him made over again to his Majesty.

Withdrawn from the General Administration. } The eight-pence per livre received for the King's profit, as well upon the said part, as upon those of which the alienation still subsists.

Withdrawn from the General Administration. } The duties which are levied at *Mareennes*, conjointly with the aforesaid duties of *thirty-five pence of Brouage*, by commutation of part of those fixed for the reserved free-gift.

Withdrawn from the General Administration. } The pence per livre received for his Majesty's profit, over and above the duties called *Ostroi* upon the salt, at *Mareennes* and at *Oleron*.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm. } II. The Gabels of France, or *Grandes Gabelles*, according to their consistency in the present lease, with the parts thereof at present administered by the Farmers Generals for the King's account, including the pence per livre received for his Majesty's profit, over and above the duties upon salt, granted under the title of *Ostroi*, or others, in the whole extent of the said Farm of the *Grandes Gabelles*.

Recoveries withdrawn from the General Administration. } The duty levied upon the salt sold at the salt magazine at *Richelieu*, by commutation of part of the duties fixed for the reserved free-gift.

Recoveries withdrawn from the General Administration.

The duties levied upon salt in the cities of *Saint Valery-en-Caux, Fécamp, Harfleur, Eu* and *Tréport*, for the municipal *Oârois*.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

III. The duties payable at *Brioux*, those of the Provoostships (*de Prévôté*.) of import and export upon the river *Charente*, and the re-trenched third part (*Traite de Charente & Tiers retranché*) of convoy, as well as those payable for the transit into *Flanders*, and on the arrival at *Boulogne, Calais, and Estaples*, and generally all the duties, as well principals as pence per livre, levied on the export, the entry, or passage from province to province, upon all salts of the ocean, in all provinces, districts, and places, which are not subject to the gabels.

The duties upon salt, and salt fish, in the province of *Haynault*, being part of those of the ancient farm of the domains of the said province.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The like duties, being part of those known under the denomination of duties of the four Members of maritime *Flanders*. (*Droits des quatre Membres de la Flandre maritime*.)

The eight-pence per livre, for the King's profit, over and above the additional duties of import and export upon the river *Charente*, for what is received upon salts.

SECOND DIVISION.

Duties payable upon the Salt of the Mediterranean, and its exports to foreign parts.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

The small gabels (*Petites Gabelles*) such as they are comprised in the actual lease, with the recoveries at present administered for the King's account, and the duty of export from the kingdom, upon the salts formed in the salt-marshes of the port of *Cette*.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The duties which are levied over and above the gabels at *Perpignan*, for the municipal *Oârois*.

THIRD DIVISION.

Duties payable upon the Salts of salt mines, and its exports to foreign parts.

Of the actual consistency of the General Farm.

The gabels of salt mines, and the export to foreign parts of the salts accruing therefrom, such as they are comprised in the present lease, together with the recoveries at present administered for the King's account, excepting the domainial duties of *Alsace*, which do not belong to the gabels.

FOURTH

FOURTH DIVISION.

Tobacco, Snuff, &c.

Of the actual consistency of the General Farm.

The sale of tobacco, snuff, &c. of all kinds, in the provinces where the exclusive privilege takes place, the province of Lorraine included; as well as the right of selling in competition, and the duty of *thirty pence* principal per pound of foreign tobacco, snuff, &c. in the provinces where the exclusive privilege does not take place.

FIFTH DIVISION.

Duties of Exports and Imports, and others payable in the same circumstances.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

I. All the duties which are at present under the Administration of imports and exports, including those upon foreign commodities, &c. (*Droits de Foraine & Haut-conduit*) of the provinces of Lorraine and Barr, the different tolls of Alsace, and the new duty of ten livres per head on negroes.

II. The duties of all kinds upon oils and soaps, on the entry into the kingdom, and the passage from province to province.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The duties upon irons, payable under the same circumstances.

III. The duties and tolls payable on the river *Rhône*, retroceded to his Majesty, as well by the late Prince of Conti, as by the Marshal Prince of Soubise.

Objects withdrawn from the General Administration of the Domains.

The domainial duties of imports and exports (*Traite domaniale*) of the province of *Bretagne*, which formerly constituted a part of the alienation to the States of that province.

Those upon live stock at Nantz, (*Traite vive de Nantz*) retroceded to his Majesty by the Dukes of Phalaris.

The compounding made with *MONSIEUR*, the King's Brother, for the eight-pence per livre of the duties called *Droits de Trépas de Loire, & de Traite par terre.*

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

The duties upon foreign commodities, (*Droits de Foraine*) in the generality of Auzh, which at present constitute a part of the Administration of the stamp duties, and others thereto annexed.

The duty upon sea coals, on their entering from Austrian Haynault into French Haynault.

The duty called *Pas de Penas*, upon all cattle exported from French Haynault to foreign parts.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The like duty, called *Vidangle*, upon all cattle exported from maritime Flanders into foreign countries.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

IV. The eight-pence per livre, received for the King's profit, over and above that part of the duties of customs (*Droits de Coutume*) at Bayonne, which are now received by the Duke of Gramont.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The additional *pence per livre* also levied for the King's profit, over and above the duties of imports and exports, and of those upon oils and soaps, in the jurisdiction of the Seneschal of Bourdeaux, as well that which is paid as municipal *Odrois*, as those levied by virtue of the Edict of the month of November, 1771.

The *pence per livre*, likewise levied for the King's profit, over and above the duties of the Admiral of France, of those for ballasting and unballasting of ships, of the halfpenny per livre of the imports and exports upon the river *Charente*, different from those upon salts, of the *Odroi* of the merchants of *Rouen*, of the duties of the Chamber of Commerce at *Marseilles*, of that of *thirty-five pence* upon oils of *Italy*, &c.

SIXTH DIVISION.

West-India Domains.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm.

The duties of the West-India domains (*Droit du Domaine d'Occident*) in France, and in the West-India islands, as well in principal as *pence* per livre, such as they were farmed out to *Laurent David*, the present lease-holder.

Recoveries withdrawn from the General Administration.

Also those of the additional *pence per livre*, in the jurisdiction of the Seneschal of Bourdeaux, which are received over and above the duties of the West-India domains, the same as of the proper duties of imports and exports.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Entries at Paris and relative duties.

The duties of all kinds whatever, upon the different sorts of provisions, cattle, and other commodities, payable as well on the entry, as in the suburbs, precincts, and jurisdictions of the Court of Subsidies of Paris, (*Election de Paris*;) excepting those which are received in the markets at *Sceaux* and at *Poissy*. Comprehending:

For the City of Paris.

Of the consistency of the present lease of the General Farm.

I. All those of the said duties which are farmed out to *Laurent David*, the holder of the present lease, such as they are received by virtue of the said lease, including the *River Duties*.

Duties accounted for by the General Farm.

II. The duties at present administered by the Farmers Generals, for his Majesty's account.

Duties

Duties withdrawn from the General Administration. } III. The duties reserved from the free-gift, and those upon papers and paste-boards, on the entry of the city of Paris.

For the flat country of Paris.

Of the present consistency of the General Farm. } I. Those of the same duties which take place within the jurisdiction of the Court of Subsidies of Paris, such as they are likewise farmed out to the said *Laurent David*.

Duties withdrawn from the General Administration. } II. The duties reserved from the free-gift; those upon papers and paste-boards; those of Inspectors of the Shambles, Municipal Octroi, and pence per livre, received for the King's profit, over and above the duties of *Octroi*, or others granted in the cities, towns, and places, subject to, and within the jurisdiction of the Court of Subsidies of Paris.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION,

Of the Aids of the Provinces, and the duties annexed, received by way of Excise, or on the Entries of cities, boroughs, and other places subject thereto.

FIRST DIVISION.

Duties payable chiefly upon liquors, on the entries, at the Excise, &c.

Duties withdrawn from the General Farm. } I. The Aids and duties annexed thereto, in the provinces and generalities where they take place, the principality of Dombes included, such as they are farmed out to *Laurent David*.

II. The duties upon liquors in the province of Alsace, called *Masphening*.

III. The duties reserved from the free-gift, in the cities and boroughs where they are levied by effective recovery.

Of the present consistency of the General Administration. } IV. The duties known under the denomination of *Municipal Octrois*, wherever the effective recovery takes place.

V. The pence per livre received for his Majesty's profit, in execution of the Edict of the month of November, 1771, and the anterior declarations, upon the principal duties granted or alienated.

SECOND DIVISION.

General duties payable on the entries of Cities and places subject thereto.

Of the present consistency of the General Administration. } I. The duties payable upon papers and paste-boards.

II. The duties of Inspectors of the Shambles and Slaughter-houses in all places subject thereto.

Of

THIRD DIVISION.

Duties of manufactures received at the Excise.

The duties payable on the manufacturing of divers objects, in all places and circumstances where they are to be received by way of excise, namely :

- Of the present consistency of the General Administration.*
- I. The duties of the mark upon skins and hides, in all circumstances.
 - II. The duty of the mark upon gold and silver.
 - III. The duty upon Starch.
 - IV. The duty upon Cards.
 - V. The duties upon the manufactories of oils, in the provinces and places where they are to be received by the Excise, either from the manufacturers or dealers in oils.
 - VI. The duty of the mark upon irons, received by the Excise, at the forges and furnaces.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Local Duties.

- Of the present consistency of the General Administration.*
- I. The duties known under the denomination of the Four Members of Maritime Flanders, (*des Quatre Membres de la Flandre maritime*) excepting the duties upon salt and salt mines, and those upon cattle exported from that province, called *Vidangle*.

The commerce of distilled spirituous liquors in the said province, annexed to the recovery of the duties upon liquors in general.

- Withdrawn from the General Farm.*
- II. The commerce of distilled spirituous liquors in the province of French Haynault, and the different duties which formerly constituted a part of the ancient farm of the domains of that province; excepting likewise those as mentioned hereabove, and reserved for the General Farm, the duties of commonage, and those called the Twentieths, and Hearth-money, &c. (*Vingtièmes, Feux & Cheminées.*)

- Withdrawn from the General Administration of the Domains.*
- III. The duties arising from the customs, crossing of rivers, bridge-tolls, passage-money, and others of the like nature, those of the principality of Dombes included, which are received for his Majesty's profit, upon highways and rivers, different from those of which the recovery is joined to that of imports and exports.

The pence per livre received for the King's profit, over and above the duties of the same nature, with those mentioned here above, and of which the principal does not belong to the King's revenues.

FIFTH DIVISION.

Compoundings.

Some are of the present consistency of the General Administration, and some are withdrawn from the General Farm and the Administration of the Domaines.

The recovery of the compoundings made for certain duties, prices of particular farms and fixed sums, payable by virtue of the Arrêts of the Council of State, or decisions of his Majesty, by the Duke of Orleans, and by the States, Provinces, Cities, or Corporations, in lieu of the product, as well principal as pence per livre, of those duties which are mentioned here-above, or particularly described in the different Provinces, Cities and Districts, where the effective recovery thereof is not made for the King's profit; including also the compoundings made with the States of the Province of Macon, as well for the duties upon gaging and brokage, as those of the antient Aids of the said province which are at present under the Administration of the Domaines.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

OF THE DOMAINES AND DOMAINIAL DUTIES.

FIRST DIVISION.

Receipts for Woods.

The receiving, pursuit, and recovery of the sums arising from the sales of the King's woods, and the duties belonging to the King's Domaines upon the sales of the woods of the regular and secular corporations; together with the allowances and other products accruing therefrom.

SECOND DIVISION.

Domaines properly so called.

Of the present consistency of the Administration of the Domaines.

I. The administration, pursuit, and recovery of the revenues of crown lands, and those arising from the domaines, lordships, and fiefs, as well fixed as casual, at present in the possession of his Majesty; including those which take place in Alsace; the right of Seisin, and other prerogatives.

II. The Exercise of the power of redeeming, recovering, and re-entring in possession of the domaines, and domainial duties, which are either mortgaged, alienated, usurped, concealed, or neglected.

THIRD DIVISION.

Duties upon Estates, upon Aids and Indentures, or such as are relative thereto.

The administration and receiving of the duties hereafter mentioned, being at present included in the lease granted to *Laurent David*, namely :

I. The Stamp Duties upon acts and indentures, those of registering, and the hundredth penny upon purchases of estates, &c. wherever the effective recovery takes place; including the seal-fees, in the provinces of Lorraine and Barr.

The receipt of the first four pence per livre upon the principal of those of the said duties, which are at present enjoyed by the Duke of Orleans.

Withdrawn from the General Farm.

II. The duties upon amortisations, free-tiefs, commonage, and new purchases of estates, &c. including those of the province of Lorraine, and the duties of commonage, in the province of Haynault.

The duties of exchanges and counter-exchanges of properties, payable to the King, in the extent of particular lordships.

III. The duties called the Twentieth, Hearth-money, (*Vingtièmes, Feux & Cheminées*) in the province of Haynault.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

IV. The duties for the preservation of mortgages, wherever the effective recovery thereof takes place.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Copies of Summons, Writs, Warrants, Executions, &c.

I. The duties upon all summonses, copies of writs, and warrants of all kinds, as well in Paris as in all provinces where they take place, the province of Lorraine included.

Withdrawn from the General Farm.

II. The stamp duties upon warrants of execution, and seizures of goods and effects, including likewise those of the province of Lorraine, and of the principality of Dombes, and the eight-pence per livre upon those parts of the said duties which are mortgaged.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

III. The duties of one third part of a penny (*quatre deniers*) per livre upon all appraisements and sales of household goods, together with the duties of the common purse of the Tipstaffs of the province of Brittany.

FIFTH DIVISION.

Duties accruing from Judgments and Judicial Acts, &c.

I. The duties of small seals, as well upon sentences of the Royal Jurisdictions, as upon the expeditions of ancient acts of Notaries which remain subject thereto, those of the principality of Dombes included.

Withdrawn from the General Farm.

The eight-pence per livre upon those parts of the said duties which are alienated, or mortgaged.

II. The

II. The fines decreed in the Councils, Courts of Judicatures, and Royal Jurisdictions.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

The duties upon registers, or Court fees, belonging to the King, as well in principal as pence per livre; including the pence per livre upon the duties of registers and Court fees, of the Courts of Admiralties.

The reserved duties in the Courts of Royal Jurisdictions.

III. The intermediate salaries of vacant offices.

The emoluments of Chanceries not alienated.

SIXTH DIVISION,

Compoundings.

Withdrawn from the General Farm.

The compoundings made with, and payable as well by the Duke of Orleans, for the second four-pence per livre, as by the States, Cities, and Corporations of the Provinces of *Artois, Cambresis, Flanders, Haynault*, and the country of *Labour*, for the principal and eight-pence per livre of the Stamp Duties of the Acts and Indentures of registering and small seals.

Withdrawn from the General Administration.

Those of the Province of *Alsace*, which are in lieu of the duties for the preservation of mortgages, and the third part of a penny per livre of the amount of appraisements and sales of goods, effects, &c.

Done in the King's Council of State, holden at Versailles, on the ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

(Signed).

AMELOT.

[By an accident in printing the last leaf in the last volume of this work, an essential mistake has happened, by which a material passage has been totally omitted. To remedy this mistake as effectually as possible, we here reprint the last fifteen lines in page 384, to the end of the volume; which corrects every error completely.]

It is sufficient here to remark, that France cannot take any advantage of the injustice with which she reproaches the Court of London, without introducing into the view of Europe, maxims, as new as they are dangerous, without supposing that any dispatches which may arise in the bosom of a sovereign independent state, are submitted to the

jurisdiction of a foreign Prince; and that that Prince can summon before his tribunal, his allies and their revolted subjects, to justify the conduct of a people who have absolved themselves from the duties of lawful obedience, The Ministers of the Most Christian King may, perhaps, one day perceive that ambition hath made them forget the rights of every sovereign. The approbation that the Court of Versailles hath given to the revolt of the English colonies, will not permit it to blame an insurrection of its own subjects in the new world, or those of Spain, who may have more cogent motives to follow the same example, if they were not averted from it by a sight of the calamities in which these wretched colonies

colonies have plunged themselves. But France herself appears to feel the weakness, the danger, and the indecency of these pretensions; when, in the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles, as well as in her last Manifesto, she quits her hold on the right of Independence: she is content to maintain, that the revolted colonies enjoy, in fact, that independence they have bestowed on themselves: that even England herself, in some sort acknowledges it, in suffering acts of sovereignty to subsist, and that therefore, France without any violation of peace, might conclude a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States of North America. —Let us see in what manner Great Britain had acknowledged that independence, equally imaginary in right, as in fact. Two years had not yet elapsed from the day in which the rebels declared their criminal resolution of shaking off the yoke of their mother country; and that time had been occupied by the events of a bloody and obstinate war. Success had hung in suspense, but the King's army, which possessed the most important maritime towns, continued always to menace the interior provinces. The English flag reigned over all the American seas, and the re-establishment of a lawful dependence, was fixed as the indispensable condition of the peace with Great Britain offered to her revolted subjects, whose rights, privileges, nay even whose prejudices she respected. The Court of Versailles, which announced, with so much openness and simplicity, the treaty signed with the pretended States of America, which it found in an independent situation, had alone contributed, by its clandestine succours to foment the fire of revolt; and it was the dread of peace that engaged France to employ the rumour of that alliance, as the most effectual means to inflame the minds of the people, who began already to open

their eyes upon the unfortunate consequences of the revolt, the tyranny of their new leaders, and the paternal disposition of their lawful sovereign.

Under such circumstances, it is impossible, without insulting in too gross a manner both truth and reason, to deny that the declaration of the Marquis of Noailles, of the 13th of March, 1778, ought to be received as a true declaration of war on the part of the Most Christian King; and the assurances "that he had taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain a freedom of commerce," which had so often excited the just complaints of Great Britain, authorized the King, from that moment to rank France in the number of his enemies. The Court of Versailles could not avoid acknowledging that the King of England, after having "recalled his Ambassador, denounced to his Parliament the measure taken by his Majesty, as an act of hostility, as a formal and premeditated aggression." Such was, indeed, the declaration which both honour and justice demanded from the King, and which he communicated, without delay, to the Ministers of the different Courts of Europe, to justify beforehand the effects of a lawful resentment. From then it is useless to seek for orders that were sent to the East-Indies, to remark the precise day when the fleets of England or France quitted their respective ports; or, to scrutinize into the circumstances of the action with the *Belle Peule*, and the taking two other frigates, which were actually carried off in sight of the very coasts of France. Hence the reproach made to the King of having so long suspended a formal declaration of war, vanishes of itself. These declarations are only the measures that nations have reciprocally agreed on, to avoid treachery and surprize; but the ceremonies which announce the terrible exchange of peace for war; the

the Heralds declarations and manifestos are not always necessary, are not always alike. The declaration of the Marquis de Noailles was a signal of the public infraction of the peace. The King directly proclaimed to all nations, that he accepted the war which France offered; the last proceedings of his Majesty were rather the spring of his prudence, than his justice, and Europe may now judge if the Court of London wanted means to "justify a declaration of war, and if she did not dare to accuse France, publicly, of being the aggressor."

Since the alliance of France with the revolted colonies of America, was a manifest breach of the peace, and a lawful motive of war, the Court of Versailles might naturally have expected, that on the first proposal for an accommodation of the two crowns, the King would insist on a just satisfaction on so important an object; and that France should renounce those connections which had compelled his Majesty to take arms. The affected surprize that the Ministers of the Most Christian King show at present at the steadfastness of the Court of London, is agreeable enough to the pride that dictated conditions of peace which the greatest success could have scarcely justified; and the proposition which they ventured to make, to engage the King to withdraw his troops from America, and to acknowledge the independence of his revolted subjects, could not but excite his Majesty's astonishment and indignation. The little opening which the Court of Versailles found to such a vain hope, obliged it soon to turn in another manner. It proposed by the intermediation of the Court of Madrid, a scheme of accommodation less offensive, perhaps, in form, but inadmissible in its foundation. The Catholic King, with the consent of France, communicated to the King's Ministers a proposal for a truce of

many years, or a general and indeterminate suspension of all hostilities, during which the revolted colonies, the pretended United States of North America, should be treated as independent, in fact. The most trifling reflection would be sufficient to unveil the artifice of this insidious scheme, and justify the King's refusal to the eyes of Europe. Truces for years, and cessations of arms between sovereigns, who are at war, but acknowledge each other, are mild and salutary means to smooth the difficulties which oppose the entire conclusion of a peace, which may be referred to a more favourable moment, without disgrace or danger. But in the domestic quarrel of Great Britain and her colonies, the sovereignty itself, the independence both in right and in fact, is the object of dispute. And the King's dignity will not permit him to accept of those proposals which, from the very beginning of a negotiation, grants all that can satisfy the ambition of the rebellious Americans, whilst they exact from his Majesty, without any stipulation in his favour, that he should desist for a long and indefinite term, from his most lawful pretensions. It is true, the Court of Versailles vouchsafed to consent, that the Court of London might treat with the Congress, either directly, or by the intervention of the King of Spain. His Majesty, certainly, will not so much demean himself as to complain of that insouciance, which seems to grant him as a favour, the permission of treating directly with his rebellious subjects. But the Americans themselves are not blinded by passion and prejudice, they will see clearly in the conduct of France, that their new allies will soon become their tyrants, and that that pretended independence, purchased at the price of so much misery and blood, will be soon subjected to the despotic will of a foreign court.

If France could verify that eagerness which she attributes to the Court of London, to seek the mediation of Spain, a like eagerness would serve to prove the King's just confidence in the goodness of his cause; and his esteem for a generous nation which hath always despised fraud and perfidy. But the Court of London is obliged to own, that the mediation was offered to it by the Ministers of the Catholic King, and it claims no other merit, than that of having shewn on all occasions, a lively and sincere inclination to deliver its subjects, nay even its enemies from the scourge of war. The conduct of the Court of Madrid, during that negotiation, soon shewed the King that a mediator, who forgets his own dearest interests, to give himself up to the ambition, or resentment of a foreign power, must be incapable of proposing a safe or honourable accommodation. Experience confirmed these suspicions: the unjust and inadmissible scheme just mentioned, was the sole fruit of this mediation. In the same instant that the Ministers of the Catholic King offered, with the most disinterested professions, his capital, his good offices, his guaranty, to facilitate the conclusion of the treaty, they suffered to appear from the bottom of obscurity new subjects for discussion, particularly relative to Spain, but upon which they always refused to explain themselves. His Majesty's refusal to accede to the ultimatum of the Court of Madrid, was accompanied with all convenient precautions and respect; and unless that Court will arrogate to itself a right to dictate conditions of peace to an independent and respectable neighbour, there was nothing passed in that conjuncture, which ought to have altered the harmony of the two crowns. But the offensive measures of Spain, which she could never cloath with the fairest appearances of equity, will soon shew that she had already taken her resolutions; and that these reso-

lutions had been instigated by the French ministry, who had only retarded the declaration of the Court of Madrid, from the hope of giving a mortal blow to the honour and interests of Great Britain under the mask of friendship.

Such are the unjust and ambitious enemies, who have despised the faith of treaties, to violate the public tranquillity, and against whom the King now defends the rights of his crown and people. The event is yet in the hands of the Almighty; but his Majesty, who relies upon the divine protection, with a firm but humble assurance, is persuaded that the wishes of Europe will support the justice of his cause, and applaud the success of his arms, which have no other object than to establish the repose of nations on a solid and unshaken basis.

In page 39 of the present volume, is the first part of the Circular Letter from the Congress, the following is the remainder of that paper.

It is not surprising, that in a free country, where the tongues and pens of such people are and must be licensed, such political heresies should be inculcated and diffused, but it is really astonishing, that the mind of a single virtuous citizen in America should be influenced by them. It certainly cannot be necessary to remind you, that your representatives here are chosen from among yourselves; that you are, or ought to be acquainted with their several characters; that they are sent here to speak your sentiments, and that it is constantly in your power to remove such as do not. You surely are convinced, that it is no more in their power to annihilate your money than your independence, and that any act of theirs, for either of those purposes would be null and void.

We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to ad-

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duce many arguments to shew the baseness, or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations, like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. The pride of America revolts from the idea; her citizens know for what purposes these emissions were made, and have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed; they must, therefore, entertain a high opinion of American credulity, who suppose the people capable of believing, on due reflection, that all America will, against the faith, the honour, and the interest of all America, be ever prevailed upon to countenance, support, or permit so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure. We are convinced, that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice, and the suggestions of chagria and disappointment, at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a by-word among the nations. Apprized of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honour, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed.

If then neither our ability or inclinations to discharge the public debt, are justly questionable, let our conduct correspond with this confidence, and let us rescue our credit from its present imputations. Had

the attention of America to this object been unremitted, had taxes been seasonably imposed and collected, had proper loans been made, had laws been passed, and executed for punishing those who maliciously endeavoured to injure the public credit; had these and many other things equally necessary been done, and had our currency, notwithstanding all these efforts, declined to its present degree of depreciation, our case would indeed have been deplorable. But as these exertions have not been made, we may yet experience the good effects which naturally result from them. Our former negligences therefore should now animate us with hope, and teach us not to despair of removing by vigilance and application the evils which supineness and inattention have produced.

It has been already observed, that in order to prevent the further natural depreciation of our bills, we have resolved to stop the press, and to call upon you for supplies by loans and taxes. You are in capacity to afford them, and are bound by the strongest ties to do it. Leave us not, therefore, without supplies, nor let in that flood of evils which would follow from such neglect. It would be an event most grateful to our enemies, and depend upon it, they will redouble their artifices and industry to compass it. Be therefore upon your guard, and examine well the policy of every measure, and the evidence of every report that may be proposed or mentioned to you before you adopt the one or believe the other. Recollect that it is the price of the liberty, the peace and the safety of yourselves and posterity, that now is required;—*that* peace, liberty and safety, for the attainment and security of which, you have so often and so solemnly declared your readiness to sacrifice your lives and fortunes. The war, tho' drawing fast to a successful issue, still rages: Disdain to leave the whole business

business of your defence to your ally. Be mindful that the brightest prospects may be clouded, and that prudence bids us be prepared for every event. Provide, therefore, for continuing your armies in the field till victory and peace shall lead them home, and avoid the reproach of permitting the currency to depreciate in your hands, when, by yielding a part to taxes and loans, the whole might have been appreciated and preserved. Humanity as well as justice makes this demand upon you, the complaints of ruined widows, and the cries of fatherless children, whose whole support has been placed in your hands and melted away, have doubtless reached you—take care that they ascend no higher. Rouse, therefore; strive who shall do most for his country; rekindle that flame of patriotism, which, at the mention of disgrace and slavery blazed throughout America, and animated all her citizens. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously.—Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent, than she became insolvent, or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring the splendor of her rising. By the unanimous Order of Congress,

JOHN JAY, President.

Philadelphia,

Sept. 13, 1779.

Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh, October 5, 1779.

The officers of the line and staff in the western department, having long beheld with concern the growing evils produced by the avaricious and grasping trader, now commonly known and distinguished by the disgraceful epithet of speculator, find

themselves under the necessity of forming and adopting a system of regulations, similar to those formed and adopted by their brother officers, with the main army. And in doing this—

We the officers of the western department, beg leave to declare that our motives are pure and disinterested. We have no sinister views. Our happiness is to see our country happy; our pride to give her peace and safety; and our glory is to render her independent. In this we have happily succeeded, and were it not for the encouragement held out to our hardened, obstinate and inveterate enemy, by the depreciation of our money—in a great degree, if not wholly occasioned by the wicked arts of the disaffected, and the mean tricks of speculators, the olive branch would long e'er this have happily expanded its influence over this bleeding land: nor should we now have seen our towns inflamed; nor heard of ravished, virtuous, insulted matrons, nor of British bayonets being pointed at the breasts of our patriots. Similar causes will ever produce similar effects; to prevent the latter, the former must be removed.—Mischiefs of such enormity, can no longer be winked at, or dispensed with. The soldier and the citizen, who have sacrificed their all; who have fought, and bled, and conquered; who have humbled the arrogant and haughty Briton, as well as the fierce and barbarous savage, cannot now tamely submit to see their well-earned laurels unwove, and all their great and good deeds blasted, overturned, and undone, by caterpillars of state, and muck-worms of royalty; such are the insects that are preying on the vitals of America, and who are living and fattening on the core of her credit; and therefore we are determined, with the blessing of God, and the approbation of our Commandant, to effectually remove and smother them, so that they shall

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no longer feed on the fair and tender blossom of freedom, nor hereafter be a pest to our posterity.

The civil laws have been found inadequate to the removal of these growing evils. Therefore to stop the rapid progress of such despoilers of their country, as well as to support the credit of our currency, and give it a fixed and permanent value, we have at last found it absolutely necessary to call a meeting of officers of the line and staff, when after some deliberation a committee was moved for, which met with unanimous concurrence; a motion was then made for the nomination of a chairman, which was also agreed to, and Colonel John Gibson, of the ninth Virginia regiment, was appointed. The committee accordingly met on Tuesday the 5th October, and proceeded to business; and as the prices of every article were daily, rapidly, and shamefully increasing; and some time must necessarily elapse, before the necessary papers, town regulations, and traders invoices could be procured, so that a reasonable and living profit might be allowed them, on the regulated sale of their goods. Therefore resolved, That a select committee be appointed to collect all papers, and get what information they can possibly obtain, relative to the regulations which may have taken place down the country, and by them endeavour to ascertain the prices of goods as they ought to sell at this place, and lay them with what other matters they may conceive necessary, before the committee at the next meeting.

Resolved, That two gentlemen of the committee, viz. Captain Tannahill, and Captain Fridlay, be deputed to wait on the traders of Pittsburgh, and acquaint them that the sale of their goods were prohibited and forbid by the committee, till the regulations could be formed with accuracy, and transmitted them, under the

pain and penalty of being held up as inimical to their country, as well as forfeiting the countenance, protection and trade of the army, whereupon the committee adjourned.

Wednesday the 6th of October, the committee being met, and the select committee having made their reports, the following resolutions were agreed to, viz.

Resolved, That at the present enormous prices, unless dire and absolute necessity compels to buy, shall be deemed as criminal as to sell, and should the traders refuse to sell at the regulated prices, agreed on and fixed by this committee.

Resolved, that the Commandant of the western department be waited upon by a committee, and earnestly requested for the good of the community as well as the army, that said traders be immediately ordered to withdraw themselves and property from this post, being fully determined to have a reasonable trade or no trade, and live upon our rations and what our country can afford us; and should it be necessary, cloath ourselves with the produce of the forests, rather than live upon the virtuous part of the community, to gratify our sanguinary enemies, and enrich rapacity; and as it is the unanimous opinion of this committee, that the specious designing speculator's a monster of a deeper dye, and more malignant nature than the savage Mingo in the wilderness, whose mischiefs are partial, while those occasioned by the speculator, have become universal.—The trade of a Mingo is blood, and they are in alliance with Britons. But speculating monsters, who are deemed and treated as citizens of America, and partake of her benefits, sweep all before them; tears up our credit by the root; travels like a pestilence; and carry destruction to every corner of the continent. And in a time of public danger, like the present, when the subjects of a free state can have but

but one interest, and ought to have but one wish and one sentiment.

Resolved, That any person whatever, holding a commission, place or employment under the United States, who shall directly or indirectly be concerned in trade or speculation of any kind, shall not be kept company with, or even spoke to by any person in the public service, that is on the footing of a gentleman, excepting at such time when necessary duty may require: And those who countenance a speculator shall be deemed by this committee as accessory, and held up to the world in the same colours, and be treated with the same degree of scorn and contempt.

The invoices of the traders being produced to the committee, they were carefully perused and maturely considered, and after some debate thereon, the committee at last unanimously determined, that from the exorbitant prices affixed to the greatest part of the different articles contained therein, no regulations could be made on said invoices: Therefore,

Resolved, That said traders be not permitted to sell any part of said merchandize specified in said invoices, at any post or garrison, on this side the Alleghany mountain.

And this committee particularly considers the conduct of such traders as injurious, by their engrossing and forestalling large quantities of grain, thereby enhancing and raising the price thereof: in order to prevent the evil consequences, that must naturally flow therefrom, as well as to prohibit trade in general, till a reasonable trade can be obtained, and traders become satisfied with a moderate profit.

Resolved, That a guard be placed over the stores of the traders of Pittsburgh, and that they be not permitted to sell to any person on any account whatever, and that circular letters with the resolutions of this committee, be transmitted to the princi-

pal gentlemen of the different counties on this side the Alleghany mountains, requesting their approbation, assistance, and concurrence therein.

And this committee wishing to deal tenderly with all, to avoid, (as much as in their power) injuring any, and to act on such principles as may convince all mankind of their impartiality, as well as to prevent future adventurers from making use of the plea of ignorance,

Resolved, That until such times as traders will conform to the regulations entered into and published by the virtuous part of the community at Philadelphia, Boston, and the generality of the principal trading towns on the continent, no goods whatever shall be purchased, or offered for sale, at any post or garrison, on this side the Alleghany mountain; and that all trading adventurers, who wish for the countenance, protection and trade of the army, are hereby required by this Committee to obtain a permit as well as a certificate, specifying the regulated prices, at the time of purchase, from the Secretary of the Committee, previous to the opening of their goods for sale, and they shall also confine themselves to such profits on their sales, as were formerly allowed ample at this place. And provided trading adventurers will comply with the regulations and restrictions;

Resolved, That they shall be treated with the respect due to worthy citizens, and friends to their country, and shall meet with every indulgence the commandant at this post, and the committee can possibly grant them, and all those of different complexions, what ever appellation they may chuse to assume, whether monopolizers, forestallers, engrossers, or speculators, are hereby cautioned and advised not to cross the Alleghany mountain, as this Committee cannot answer for the conduct of an insulted public, nor for the resentment of the army.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE JUSTIFYING MEMORIAL OF THE COURT OF LONDON. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL, printed at the Royal printing-office at Paris.

THE Court of London hath just published, under the title of a *Justifying Memorial*, a Ministerial answer to the Exposition of the Motives of the King's Conduct relative to England. If facts supposed or perverted, if principles false or wrong applied, if sophistry and reproaches, are sufficient to justify the procedure and the excuses of Great-Britain, then it must be acknowledged, that the English Ministry have done the work perfectly well: but the impartial judges to whom they have appealed, persuaded that the King regards his honour, his reputation, and his glory, will have, doubtless, suspended their judgment until his Majesty hath either avowed or defeated the accusations, which have been allowed to be enumerated against him.

The King might, certainly, have consigned to silence and oblivion, all those errors and invectives which form the basis of the King of England's defence; and it is with the greatest repugnance that he feels himself obliged to recall them to mind; yet his Majesty thinks it a duty to himself to annihilate them, by establishing the truth of facts, and by exposing the designs which have directed all his steps. But the King will be far from taking the stile and tone of the Court of London, for his model: as he will speak only the language of justice and reason, his expressions will be as simple, as his sentiments are moderate; and he flatters himself, that the single force of the truths which he is about to lay down, will fix, irrevocably, the opinion of every Power.

According to the writing of the Court of London, the King hath

forgotten the faith of treaties, the duty of an Ally, and the rights of Sovereigns, to employ himself only in profiting of circumstances, which appeared favourable to his ambitious projects; he hath DEBASED HIS DIGNITY in forming secret connections with the Americans, and, after he had exhausted every INFAMOUS resource of PERFIDY and DISSIMULATION, he hath dared to avow the solemn treaty which his Ministers have concluded with the obscure Agents of the English Colonies.

Such are the chief accusations which the Court of London have formed against that of Versailles. To enable the public to judge, from knowledge, of the causes, it will be necessary to enter into the particulars of the King's conduct, and to put it in a parallel with that of the Court of London; to unfold the principles which have directed both the one and the other; to destroy the pretended facts of the English Ministry; to re-establish those which they have perverted; to relate those which they thought proper to omit: in a word, to bring to the test of truth, a cause which interests all nations, and which the Court of London hath rendered unnatural, in the strangest manner.

Every power in Europe must be obliged to own that the King hath been hitherto faithful to the pacific assurances that he gave incessantly to them: and the King of England, even more than any other Sovereign, may give him that testimony, because there are particular proofs of the sincerity of his Majesty's wishes to preserve the general tranquility; and he may recollect the repeated steps which were taken to confirm the good understanding which subsisted between the Courts of Versailles and London. But that Prince, or rather his Ministers, who had their faults to conceal, thought it agreed better with their views, their personal interest, and, perhaps, their safety, to

sacrifice the truth, and their own opinion, to the necessity of representing all the King's measures as so many proofs of his perfidy; by accusing him of having fomented, supported, and completed the revolt of America; and by reproaching him with having taken the advantage of the circumstances which that revolt offered, to execute his pretended ambitious designs.

That every nation to whom the King appeals, as well as the Court of London, may be in a condition to rate the value of this list of pretended crimes, a faithful relation of the principles which have guided the King's conduct, and in what manner, at what time, in what conjuncture, and with what views his Majesty connected himself with the United States of North America, shall be made known with the most scrupulous exactitude.

Every one knows that when the King took the reins of Government, the Americans had already risen up against the enterprizes of their Mother Country; and every one foresaw from thence, that the Americans would either shake off the English rule, or that they would yield only to the superiority of the force which would be employed to subject them.

This reflection could not escape the King's sagacity, and that it afforded him infallible means to have satisfaction for all the injuries with which he might reproach England. But his Majesty did not suffer himself to be dazzled by such a seducing appearance: he remained a quiet spectator of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies; and his distance from every thing that might have raised a suspicion of his taking any part in it, hindered him even from having the least connection with the Americans. Nevertheless, the King, without subjecting himself to be justly accused of sacrificing every thing to his ambition, injustice, and perfidy,

might have taken into some consideration, that which is called *reason of State*; struck with the advantages which the approaching independence of America seemed to offer, he might have thought that it was not only his interest to favour it, but even his duty; taught by the example of England, in circumstances less favourable than those in which the colonies found themselves, he might have thought himself authorized to follow it: convinced by a long train of facts, that English politics had no other foundations than self-interest, the most exclusive convenience, and an envious and tyrannical ambition, he might have thought himself obliged to have taken away its power, by diminishing the means of carrying it into action. If his Majesty had effectively followed the path that England had just traced out, is there one intelligent and unprejudiced judge, who would have dared to condemn him, or handed him down to posterity as an unjust and perverse Sovereign, as an enemy to human kind?

Meanwhile the insurrection made the most rapid progress; the spirit that had raised it, spread through all the English colonies, they ran to arms on every side, and the troops which the Court of London had sent out to quell it, met with a resistance which they could not surmount. This state of affairs must have augmented the courage of the insurgents, in shewing them that they might rely, with confidence, on their own strength.

Whilst the Americans had their arms in their hands, and held, as we may say, the English cooped up in Boston, they, nevertheless, made a last effort to lay their grievances before the King and Parliament; they asked redress in a manner that no faithful subject would disavow, and which even, it dare be said, was very different from the tone in which the English are wont to demand

mand justice from their Sovereign : it would be doubtless superfluous to remind the Court of London of the manner in which it received the remonstrances of the Americans.

The conduct of the English Ministry, in an occurrence as important as it was delicate, destroyed the little hopes that the colonies had hitherto entertained, of a just and lasting reconciliation ; and only offered them the cruel alternative of either submitting, like men guilty of leze Majesty, or of supporting their rights and liberties at the expence of their fortune and their blood. It was easy to foresee that they would determine for the latter ; and that great resolve, which the English Constitution authorises, and the Ministry of London had rendered necessary, fastened the bands which had already re-united the different colonies ; and that produced the famous Act of Confederation, by which the Thirteen Provinces, which now compose the United States, mixed their interests, and leagued against their metropolis, which they no longer behold but as their oppressor.

This Act was soon followed by another of infinitely more importance, that is to say, the Act by which the Americans declared themselves independent on the Sovereignty of Great Britain, there is no one but must recollect that the patriotic party in England had incessantly foretold that event ; because they looked upon it as the infallible consequence of the anti-constitutional measures which the Council of St. James's persisted in employing. France had not the least share in the ever-memorable procedure of the Americans. The King, at the time when it took place, had not the least connexion, directly or indirectly, with them. His Majesty had not even an emissary in America. He had no knowledge of the Declaration of Independence, but by the way of England,

and afterwards from the Sieur Deane, who had just arrived in France.

The residence in France of that American led to a new train of events, because it was at that period when the Court of London began to unfold its principles, and its pretended causes of complaint : it took umbrage at the presence of the Sieur Deane, before even it had one equivocal measure to alledge : it not only persuaded itself that that American was charged with a secret commission ; but, seduced by its own principles, it also suspected that the King had lent an ear to his propositions ; it is that, doubtless, which it would say, when it accuses his Majesty with not being ashamed *to debase his dignity by forming secret connexions with rebellious subjects.*

It is true, that Sieur Deane was charged with two commissions ; the one to establish commercial connections between the King's subjects and the Americans ; the other, to propose to the King, not only a Treaty of Commerce, but also an Alliance, conceived in the most extensive terms.

The King might certainly, without debasing his dignity, without violation of treaties, without injury of the rights of Sovereigns, have heard the overtures of the American agent : his Majesty did actually hear them ; but he let the Sieur Deane know, that he had no intention to form any political connections with the colonies. He refused not only to receive the plans of a treaty which that American had presented to him, but also to acknowledge the quality of Commissary, which the Congress had given him : and he went no farther than to grant to the Sieur Deane, as an individual, the same refuge and protection, which every stranger who dwells in the kingdom enjoys. This conduct could not displease the Court of London, and it had the less right to censure it, as it yet hath, actually, *a Chief of rebels* in its pay. Nevertheless,

theless, the English Ministry regarded it as an infraction of treaties; and their irritated pride blinded them so far, that they ordered Viscount Stormont to claim the Sieur Deane, as a rebellious subject; or, at least, to insist on his expulsion from his Majesty's dominion: the public will, of its own accord, characterize such an inconsiderate measure, and the King hath, doubtless, no occasion to justify the refusal contained in his answer.

The English Ambassador, exasperated by the King's decision, though it was what he ought to have expected, gave, doubtless, the stamp of his ill-humour to the reports he made to his Court: at least, it is certain, he gave it to his conduct; for he established in every part of the kingdom, an indecent, scandalous, and unexampled train of spies; every vessel that was fitted out; every article of cloathing, or warlike stores that was bought, was, according to his emissaries, for the Americans. The perpetual complaints, which were made in consequence of these Informations, were verified with as much speed as precision, they were almost always found void of foundation; and the very few of which proof was given, were followed by an immediate reparation.

This is the proper place to explain the nature of the complaints and demands of the Court of London.

That Court began with demanding, that the King should forbid his

subjects to have any kind of connection or commerce with the Americans; that he should especially forbid the selling to them any arms or ammunition; that he should punish a transgression of this order; that he should prevent the American privateers from selling their prizes; and should even treat them as pirates, by forbidding them the entry into his ports.

So much did the King desire to support a good understanding between him and the Court of London; and so far was he, at that time, from treating with the Americans, that he admitted the greatest part of the above demands. His Majesty very severely prohibited the exportation of arms and war like ammunition, as far as they were destined for North America; he forbade the American privateers to sell their prizes in France, and his subjects to buy them; and he would not permit these same privateers to stay in the ports of his kingdom, any longer than the time prescribed by the Treaty of Utrecht; and under the express conditions contained in that treaty. Nothing could prove more the exactness with which the King's orders were executed, than the repeated representations of the Deputies of the Congress; and the discontent which, amongst others, the Sieurs Hodges, Cunningham, and Weeks, carried to America (a).

But whilst the Court of London heaped complaints upon complaints, and the King hastened to satisfy them,

(a) The Sieur Cunningham, an American privateer, after having distressed the English trade, came into the port of Dunkirk; there he disarmed his ship, and declared, that he would load for the ports of Norway. As this declaration appeared suspicious, security was required from Cunningham. He offered Messrs. Hodges and Allen, two Englishmen. Cunningham then sailed from Dunkirk, without arms; but in the night he got, clandestinely, seamen, cannon, and ammunition on board his ship, which came to in the road; he then sailed on a cruise, and presently took the *Prince of Orange*, an English packet. As soon as the French government was informed of the fraud of Cunningham, they seized, and sent to the

them, not only by acts of justice, but even by acts of complaisance, which it was his system to carry to the highest degree; the English commanders behaved in the most violent and arbitrary manner towards the French vessels. Instead of conforming to the forms prescribed by treaties, they forced them, by firing shot, to bring to (b), they took their Captains by dint of arms (c), and not content with the regularity of the

the *Bastille*, the *Sieur Hodges*, one of the bail, and the packet was restored to the Court of London, without any formal process, because the fault of *Cunningham* was evident and public.

In regard to the *Sieur Weeks*, an American privateer, he had taken two very considerable prizes; but before he had brought them into the port of *Nantz*, he had opened the hatches, in order to know what the merchandizes on board were, or to sell them clandestinely. As this procedure was contrary to the letter of the treaties, and the ordonnances, the two ships were confiscated to the King, but his Majesty ordered them to be restored to the proprietors.

(b) When men of war meet any vessels in the open sea, which appear suspicious, custom authorizes the summoning them to bring to, by firing a gun, with powder only; and it is disobedience alone, and that even when presumed to be voluntary, that can authorize the firing with shot. But the English officers, accustomed to an arbitrary conduct, and presuming on impunity, daily transgressed that rule; and such intolerable behaviour excited complaints, more frequent, as they almost always produced excess and accidents; but the English Ministry, far from allowing their justice, and paying any regard to them, on the contrary, approved the conduct of the English officers, by maintaining, against notoriety, that the custom of firing with ball at first, was allowed, and even innocent. It is left to all commercial nations how to rate such jurisprudence.

(c) To estimate properly this grievance, it is necessary to call to mind the *twenty-fourth article* of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.—It is this:

“ That if the ships of the said subjects or inhabitants of their Most Serene Majesties, on the one or the other part, should be met, holding their course, on the coasts, or in the open sea, by any ships of war of their Most Serene Majesties, or by any ships armed by individuals; the said man of war, or individual privateer, shall, for the avoiding all disorder, remain out of gun-shot, and may send their boats on board of the merchant ship that they have met, and enter it, to the number of only two or three men, to whom the master or captain of the said ship or vessel, shall produce the sea-papers which contain the proof of the property of the vessel, and conceived in the form inserted in the present treaty; and the vessel that hath produced the papers, shall be at liberty to continue her voyage, without its being permitted to molest her, or search her in any manner, either by giving chase, or by turning her from the place of her destination.”

It is by these arrangements that the following facts must be judged:

1st. The *Sieur Ango*, Captain of the *Renommée* brig, was met on the 4th of September, 1777, by an English merchant ship laden with merchandize, and armed as a letter of marque, who sent on board the French ship, her surgeon and six men, armed with musquets, pistols and cutlasses, who seized the crew, and took away the captain; during whose absence, the

the sea papers, as settled by the treaties, they searched, overhauled, and

the ship's company underwent the severest treatment; they broke the bulk-heads of the Captain's cabin, the lockers, chests, and packages, ransacking them and taking away sundry effects. These outrages continued for the space of four hours; after which they set Captain Ango at liberty. Information of this injury was made to the Court of London, on the 7th of November following.

2d, On the 13th of July, 1777, the Sieur Tercenier, Commander of the ship *Marie*, of Dieppe, met, off the Cape, with an English long-boat, with between thirty and forty men, who, after a continual fire of small arms, came along-side. Fourteen or fifteen of the men boarded the French ship, armed with pistols and cutlasses, and obliged the crew, by beating them with the flats of their sabres, to retire between decks. An English officer took the command of the *Marie*, and made use of her to give chase to another ship, for two hours; then took her down to an English frigate, about four leagues to leeward, who searched her, and did not set her at liberty till at the end of sixteen hours.

3d, The Sieur Chandeau, Captain of the ship *Philippe*, met, on the 23d of August, 1777, with an English vessel, who, when she came within gun-shot, hoisted French colours, but immediately after, hoisted English colours, which she confirmed by a shot. She precipitately fired three balls, which were followed by six others, which cut the rigging. They hailed the French ship to send her boat on board, whilst the English vessel continued to fire shot, from time to time. The French boat was sent to the English vessel with four men, the Master, and an officer; these six were immediately put down into the hold, and the French boat returned with armed Englishmen, who ordered Captain Chandeau to go on board the English vessel, or they would sink him; whilst that Captain was on board the English ship, the English Commander sent to plunder the *Philippe*: they took away musquets, swords, papers, cannon, provisions, sugar, coffee, gold, and silver, as also the effects found in the Captain's chests, to the value of six thousand five hundred and sixty-five livres. The Captain was then put on board his own ship, but not before the English Commander had dragged his watch out of his pocket; and when the Sieur Chandeau came on board, he found the English spiking the three guns they had left.

4th, The Sieur Maffié, Captain of the *Bon Pasteur*, coming from Martinico, was met, on the 21st of December, 1777, off Cape de Gatte, by the English frigate the *Westmoreland*. That frigate, after having fired a shot, came up to the *Bon Pasteur*, sent her boat with six men, each armed with a cutlass and two pair of pistols; having boarded the French ship, they clapt a pistol to the throat of the steersman, seized the helm, took command of the ship, and forced the Captain to go into the boat, ordering him to take all his papers with him. The Commander of the English frigate having received the papers from the Sieur Maffié, instead of examining them, put them into his bureau, saying to the French Captain, that he was persuaded he did not come from Martinico, but from New-England, that his cargo must consist of tobacco, rice, corn, &c. and that he would carry him into Mahon, to make a proper search of his ship.

It is to be remarked, that the Baron d'Arbaud de Jouque, Major-Gen-
ral

and plundered the cargoes; (*d*) scarce one vessel came from the French islands, but was subject to this despotic inquiry: a multitude of sentences, pronounced in the English islands, adjudged to the English captors, prizes whose illegality was evident (*e*). The Vice-Admiralty of those islands had gone so far as to declare, as good prizes, ships, some

of which were laden with commodities bought in the French islands, because the same goods were presumed to be the growth of North America (*f*); and the rest (seized in the open sea) had inoffensive commodities, but which might suit the Americans (*g*). The English privateers have violated the King's territories in Europe (*b*) and in America.

ral of Martinico, was passenger on board the *Bon Pasteur*. This officer was ordered on board the frigate, where they made him undergo an interrogatory, and offered him half the cargo, if he would acknowledge the ship had New-England merchandize. At last the English officer resolved to send back the Baron d'Arbaud, and Captain Maffié; but when that Captain came on board, he found his ship in the greatest confusion. This affair was complained of to the English Ministry, who referred it to the Admiralty.

(*d*) See the preceding note. To the facts contained therein may be still added, the depredations and plunder which were sustained by

1st, The Sieur Lainé, Captain of the ship *Victor*.

2d, The Sieur Falouard, Captain of the ship the *César*.

3d, The Sieur Vincent, Captain of the ship *l'Espérance*.

4th, The Sieur Bodinet, Captain of the ship *l'Incognita*.

Add to these, twenty-three declarations of Captains plundered and ill-treated.

(*e*) 1st, The ship *la Providence*, Captain Poitevin, departed from the Cape the 16th of August, 1777, was taken the next day, and was adjudged, at Jamaica, as a lawful prize, under the pretext, that a quantity of wine, that was on board, was intended for the Americans.

2d, The ship the *Traiteur*, dispatched from St. Domingo for Martinico, was taken, in the latitude of Jean Rabel, on the coast of St. Domingo, and carried into Jamaica, where sentence of confiscation was pronounced.

3d, The *Postillon*, Bateau, taken a league from St. Domingo, and the cargo sold.

4th, The ship the *Joli-Cœur*, laden at St. Domingo, carried into New-York.

5th, The ship the *Pompéé*, taken in the latitude of Cape Finisferre, and carried to Gibraltar.

6th, The goëlette *l'Espérance*, dispatched from Saint Pierre to Martinico, carried into New-York.

7th, Twenty others vessels taken and condemned on mere suspicion.

(*f*) The ship *l'Amiable René*, laden with tobacco and indigo.

(*g*) These ships exceed twenty in number, none of them laden with either arms or warlike stores. They were all bound to the French islands in America.

(*b*) An English privateer, who had hoisted American colours, took, about the end of the month of August, 1777, eighteen American vessels, in the river of Bourdeaux. In informing the English Ministry of this violation of territory, it was observed, that such an outrage could not be too speedily repressed,

rica (i). A great number of French vessels have been confiscated merely because

repressed, and that by tolerating it, a very bad example would be given to the Americans. The British Ministers will judge themselves, that the affair merited the most serious attention; nevertheless the representation of the King's Ambassador did not produce any redress.

2d, In December, 1777, a privateer of Jersey, called the *Revenge*, took an American vessel, near the point of Croisic. This was complained of to the English Ministry, as a manifest violation of the law of nations, and an insult offered to the King's Sovereignty, and the American vessel was reclaimed, but the King did not obtain any satisfaction on either one or the other head.

(i) In the course of the month of December, 1777, the English frigates the *Maidstone*, and the *Squirrel*, having driven an American vessel on shore, in the Bay of Jean Rabel, in the Island of St. Domingo, they fired a shot on a guard-house, and on the fishermen's huts. Thirty men stationed in a boat, kept a continual fire of small arms on the guard; they landed, seized a battery, whose cannon they dismounted; advanced, in land, in pursuit of the Americans, and burnt the bark which they had driven on shore. The two frigates were under French colours, and did not hoist those of their own country till the very moment that the American bark was on fire.

A third English frigate, about the same time, was guilty of a like violation of territory, in chasing an American vessel on the coast of Guadaloupe; and in landing men to pursue the crew, who had quitted their ship. Of these facts, and several others of nearly the like nature, informations were given to the English ministry, but without any effect.

A French ship called *l'Amitie* laden at St. Pierre, with cod, salmon, and some other unsuspected commodities, bound to Saint Lucie, was chased even to the Cul-de-Sac of that island, by an English frigate, who fired twelve balls at her, within half cannon shot of a field-piece, without having shewed her colours; and without having notified her country. The French bark, being, on the 5th of April, 1777, in the road of the Cul-de-Sac, the English commander sent two boats to bring her off, which the boats crews did, by cutting her cables; they fired several small shot on one of the King's chaloupes, which had gone, but too late, to the assistance of the bark. This fact also was complained of to the English Ministry; Lord Weymouth agreed that it required a signal reparation, but that never took place, for it was confined to a simple restitution of the vessel that had been carried off.

Captain Keeler, Commander of the *Lynx* frigate, took two barks, of his own nation, which were at anchor at the head of the Road of Saint Pierre in Martinico. On the 28th of June, 1776, a demand was made, that that officer should be punished. The English Minister promised to examine, into the offence: he was again put in mind of it, he made fresh promises, yet there was no reparation made.

The English ships stationed in the West-Indies, carried on their cruizes even to the entrance of our roads. They hovered daily, near our ports, without showing their colours; they chased the American vessels even under the cannon of our batteries, and they fired on our own boats to make them bring to. The declaration of these facts was followed by the most positive promises of punishing the culpable officers; but there is reason to believe they were not even reprimanded, for they never changed their conduct till the King's ships forced them to retire.

because their lading might be suitable to the colonies, (*k*) and there did not exist any means of appeal to procure redress from the iniquitous sentences of the Vice Admiralty Courts. The establishment of a Commission of Appeals was incessantly promised, but always without effect (*l*). Behold what the Author of the *Justifying Memorial*, calls "general and equivocal accusations, whose studied obscurity bears the character of shame and artifice," behold that which is styled "vague and obscure complaints!"—Behold "the phantoms which have not been thought worthy of being combated!"

The King might naturally suppose that his exactness in doing justice to the grievances of the Court of London, when they were proved, would have led to an imitation of his example; and we are, doubtless, tempted to believe that his Majesty hath nothing to require in that respect, after the assurance in the *Justifying Memorial* "that it would be easy to give, or rather to repeat the satisfactory answers that have been made, and, to demonstrate thereby to the eyes of France itself, the moderation of the King of England, his love for justice, and the sincerity of his dispositions to maintain the general tranquility of Europe." But that Court instead of holding that conduct which it has presumed to attribute to itself; a conduct that justice prescribed to it; and, it may be said, that circumstances seemed to point out to its prudence; that Court confines itself to vague and fruitless assurances of its good-will; and in the room of ordering such reparations as the King had a right to expect,

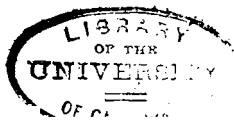
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the English Ministry uniformly referred to the Admiralty, to be there buried and forgotten, all the representations made by the King's Ambassador. What is astonishing; is, that whilst the Court of London paid so little regard to the King's just demands, it ordered its Ambassador to his Majesty to make fresh denunciations against the pretended favours granted to the Americans. According to him, the *Reprisal*, the *Lexington*, and the *Dolphin*, three American privateers, had brought into the ports of France, ships taken on the English coasts; they had put to sea again, after having repaired their damages; they had re-entered the French ports with fresh prizes; they had been permitted to sell them publicly; other privateers had obtained leave to arm in the ports of the kingdom:—in a word, Lord Stormont made a re-capitulation of all the grievances that he had already laid before the King's Ministry, although he received, on each of them, answers which ought to have left nothing for his zeal to desire. It is in speaking of all these false or exaggerated facts, that the English Ministry affirm, *that the Agents of the Colonies, encouraged by the French Ministry, had formed and executed the audacious project of establishing a place of arms in the kingdom; that their partners have fitted out ships, and armed them, to cruise even on the coasts of Great-Britain; that, to preserve appearances, the Captains of these privateers hoisted the pretended American flag, although the crew was always composed of a great number of Frenchmen, who entered with impunity, even under the eyes of the Governors, and other officers, of the maritime provinces, who*

E c did

(*k*) See the note (*g*).

(*l*) No Commission of Appeals was established, at the time when the Marquis de Noailles withdrew from the Court of London.



did not act thus but with the design of conforming to the views of the Ministry.

According to the English Memorial, Lord Stormont, in executing the above-mentioned orders, forgot the deference and respect due to the King, so far as to call upon him to explain his conduct and his intentions, without delay or subterfuge; and to offer him, in the name of the King, his Master, the alternative of peace or war. It is true, Lord Stormont expressed himself with warmth, it may, indeed, be said, with a heat very little suitable to the place wherein he spoke; but the Count de Vergennes stopt him, by observing, with the greatest coolness, that if what he said was the object of his Commission, and that his Court had ordered him to make a declaration of war, he should immediately go and acquaint the King; adding, that Lord Stormont was too well informed of the rights and dignity of Sovereigns, not to foresee, what his Majesty's answer would be. This language, pronounced with as much firmness as moderation, brought Viscount Stormont to himself, and, struck with the friendly lesson he received, he besought the Count de Vergennes, with the most lively intreaties, to regard what had passed as if it had not happened; and he resumed, in a tone suitable to his character, and that of the King's Minister, the matter that was the object of his mission. This scene took place the 8th of July, 1777. It is with regret that this is mentioned, but the King's dignity, as well as truth, demanded it.

Besides, it can scarce be conceived from what motive, and with what design, the English Ministry could look upon the arrogant language which they put in Lord Stormont's mouth, as a real fact. They did not perceive that the pompous display they made of the King of

Great-Britain's moderation, his extreme love for peace, and his strong desire to preserve it, was thereby destroyed. The English Ministry, moreover, did not perceive, that it forgot, or rather insulted, the dignity of its own Sovereign, by inducing the public to believe, that they might affront and provoke a great Monarch, with impunity.

Whatever might be the intention of the British Ministers in supposing that Lord Stormont had made a declaration of war to France, the King, to whom the representations of the Court of London had been communicated, without any mention of the words disavowed by the Viscount Stormont, ordered the English Ambassador to be answered, "That his Majesty, faithful to the observation of treaties, would permit nothing that could derogate from them; and that fully sensible of the complaints against the irregular conduct of the three American privateers, the *Reprisal*, the *Lexington*, and the *Dolphin*, he shewed his displeasure, by ordering a sequestration of such of these privateers as might be in the ports of the kingdom; to be detained till they could give sufficient security that they would return strait to America, without troubling again the European seas. The orders were renewed, not only to forbid the sale of the prizes which these privateers had brought in, or might bring in hereafter, but also that they should depart, as soon as wind and weather would permit. The same order extended to all captors, indiscriminately, and the officers appointed for this purpose were enjoined to hold a strict hand, under penalty of answering themselves, in their own names. They were equally enjoined, to watch carefully that the facility of commerce, allowed to the Americans, should not exceed that which was permitted: that if any

English

English subject thought he had grounds for commencing a personal action against any of the said privateers, the Courts of Justice were open to him; for in France, as well as in England, law, not authority, decided in controverted affairs." This answer was accompanied with some remarks on the repeated complaints, that had been so fruitlessly preferred to the Court of London; they expressed, that the eagerness of the King to do justice to the grievances of that Court, persuaded his Majesty, that the King of England would testify, "on his part, the same attention to redress those of which he had to complain; and that that Prince would give orders to put a stop to the vexations to which the trade of the French subjects is so frequently exposed; that his Majesty did not intend either to encourage or protect them in any commerce prohibited by treaties," but he could not consent "that, under colour of frivolous distinctions, they should take and confiscate their cargoes, and ill-treat their crews, on the pretence that they had on board commodities, and merchandize, which were, or might be, the produce of North-America; as such a jurisprudence could not be reconciled either with the justice, or the friendly assurances of the Court of London."

The King did not confine himself to the acquainting the Court of London with his sentiments, by the channel of the Viscount Stormont, he also charged the Marquis de Noailles to read the dispatches, inclosed, to the English Ministry, and to make, at the same time, some ob-

servations on the principles, according to which the two Courts ought to regulate their conduct. One thing ought to be particularly mentioned, because it will serve to set a true estimation on the reproach of *dissimulation* and *artifice*, which the English writer makes on his Majesty's Ministry. The King of England pretended, that to prevent lading of arms, the King ought to forbid, *indiscriminately*, his subjects to export them; and to order those, who should give false accounts of whither they were bound, to be punished. To such an inconceivable demand, the King's Ambassador was ordered to reply, "that warlike stores made part, as well as any other merchandize, of allowed commerce, when they are not destined for a country at war with another, and they cannot be deemed contraband, but when they relate to belligerent nations; that the exportation of them, in our Colonies, in Africa, and every part where commerce can be carried on, has been allowed at all times; that without this our manufactories of arms would be soon destitute of both work and workmen; that in respect to false places of destination, it is impossible to hinder it; that the English smugglers, who run down the Spanish coasts in America, never insert the true destination of their cargoes in their ship papers; that none of these contrabandeers have ever been punished by the English Admiralty, for having made false declarations. It is, therefore, with a very bad grace, that they present to us as a grievance, a practice that is tolerated, and even encouraged, in London (m.)

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(m) These observations demonstrate the injustice, as well as the indecency of the violent declamations, contained in the English paper, against the ships dispatched by the Sieur Beaumarchais, and other individuals.

It is true, that the real destination of these ships was disguised by false declarations,

The conversation of the Marquis de Noailles with Lord Weymouth, concluded by the communication of a note containing our own complaints. That Minister made no objection to any of the observations of the Marquis de Noailles, on the contrary, he renewed the assurances of his desire to concur in maintaining a good understanding between the two Courts. It is certain, that every person must do justice to the candour with which the King explained to the Court of London, his principles on this occasion; and it is equally certain, that every one will agree, that his Majesty exceeded his obligations, in forbidding his subjects to trade with the Americans, with arms and warlike stores. It was reserved to the English Ministry to think otherwise. According to them, the King ought to have ruined his manufactories of arms, and a part of his subjects, by prohibiting, without any reserve, a lawful commerce. He ought to have causelessly provoked the Americans, by driving them out of his ports, that they might fall into the hands of the English; and, if we believe the *Justifying Memorial*, the King ought not only to be answerable for the conduct of his subjects, but he was also under a strict obligation to take up arms to bring America back to her obedience to the mother country.

There is, doubtless, no Sovereign who would have been weak enough to give into such exactions; and it would be impossible to unravel the principle which could offer them as sufferable, even in the eyes of the English Ministers, if it was not

proved, authentically, that, in leading the King from one compliance to another, the essential object of the Court of London was, to render his Majesty suspected by the Americans, and to make them believe that he betrayed them, and sacrificed them, to his own interest; in fine, to bring affairs to such a point, that the United States, convinced they had nothing to expect from France, and having, on the contrary, every thing to dread from England, would have no longer any measures to keep with the King, and could find their preservation only in the beneficence of Great-Britain. It was to attain the object of this insidious policy, that the Court of London took care, on one hand, to insert all the complaisance of his Majesty, in the New-York papers, which was exaggerated with equal pomp and affectation; and that, on the other hand, Viscount Stormont charged his spies to rake into all the ports of the kingdom, all the magazines and counting-houses, in order to venture on fresh complaints on the slightest suspicion. We find, in the informations of that Ambassador, an enormous list of ships, laden clandestinely, in almost every port of the kingdom; and, it is thought, he knew, with an incredible precision, the names of the Owners and Captains, the number of bales, and the nature of the merchandize, their true destination, that which he imputed to them the moment of departure, the armaments that the Americans prepared in the ports of France, the sales that were publicly made of their prizes (*n*). In fine, Lord Stormont carried his pretensions so far,

declarations, but Lord Stormont does not produce the least proof, and it certainly was not the business of the French Government to furnish him with any.

(*n*) The reader will, doubtless, not be displeased to find here a detail of the chief complaints of Viscount Stormont: he will find therein proofs of the

far, as to insist that the King should, ing, restore the prizes which the
 on his assertion, and without examin- Americans brought into the ports of
 the

the indefatigable diligence of that Ambassador, and above all the fidelity
 of his spies.

1st, On the 2d of January, 1776, Lord Stormont informed the King's
 Ministry, that there was at Dunkirk, an American vessel, called the
Charming Peggy, Captain Cunningham, which, according to all appear-
 ance, was designed to carry gunpowder to America. The Commanding
 Commissary of the Marine was ordered to enquire into the fact. He re-
 ported that the ship in question came from Londonderry, and was going to
 load brandy for England. That on the suspicion that they had taken on
 board some barrels of gunpowder, in the night, the *Sieur Frazer*, the
English Commissary, procured a search to be made, which was done; that
 nothing was found on board but ballast and some provisions, though they
 had examined the ballast, from one end to the other, with rods of iron.

2d, On the 20th of May, 1776, the *Sieur Saint Paul*, Minister from the
 Court of London, in the absence of Viscount Stormont, was informed, 1st,
 That there had sailed from Amsterdam a ship, called *La Ville de Bourdeaux*,
 bound to Nantz, and laden with four hundred barrels of gunpowder. 2d,
 That two other ships were bound to *Bourdeaux*, named the *Vrouw-Ester-Cornu-
 lia*, laden with three hundred barrels of gunpowder, and the *Concordia*, laden
 with five hundred barrels; all this powder they said was destined for North
 America. The first of these ships actually arrived in the river of Nantz,
 with three hundred and eighty-seven barrels of powder, but the Master had
 cleared this powder for the use of the French ships on the coast of Guinea.
 As for the other ships they never appeared in the river of Bourdeaux.

3d, The 16th of August, 1777, according to the *Sieur Frazer*, who ex-
 ecuted the office of English Commissary, at Dunkirk, joined to report of a
 spy of Lord Stormont's, a cargo of geneva, taken out of the *Good Intention*,
 an English prize, carried into Cherbourg, had been sold in Dunkirk.
 Much enquiry was made about these spirits—there had really entered the
 port of Dunkirk, some spirits in a vessel of Jersey, which came from Holland,
 and they had already circulated through above twenty hands, as well in
 wholesale as retail; therefore, it was impossible to distinguish the identity
 of that which was the object of the complaint; and no other step could be
 taken, but to refer the parties to the Admiralty Court, to which it was
 recommended, to examine well into the affair and render speedy justice.

4th, The 19th of August, 1777, bitter complaints were made against
 the Admiralty of Bourdeaux; the *Liberty*, the *Sea-Flower*, the *Betty*, and
 the *Peggy*, four American ships, were arrived into that port. These ships,
 when they came in, had not a single gun on board, they were not even
 pierced; all four were soon compleatly armed and equipped; the least of
 the four mounted eight guns; they were laden with powder, ball, lead,
 &c. half the crew of each were French. Such was the complaint of the
 English Ambassador; but now behold the report of the Admiralty.

Of the four ships, two of them had already left the river of Bourdeaux;
 but one of them was found yet at the Isle of Ré, where she was loading
 salt, a commodity of very little use to a privateer; and neither the one,
 nor the other, had taken on board either arms or ammunition.

The officers of the Admiralty went on board the two others to examine
 them. According to their verbal process, the *Liberty* was without powder,
 cannon,

the kingdom (o). Such was the substance of an official complaint of Lord Stormont, of the 3d of November, 1777

To the tedious and really troublesome complaints, which these pretended grievances inclined the English Ambassador to renew, the King ordered

cannon, or any warlike stores; and they found in her only one old fire-lock: when she arrived in port, she had eight port holes, and the Captain had made two more. The *Sea-flower* had, when she arrived, four cannons, of three pound balls, English weight, eight swivels, one hundred and fifty balls, about a hundred weight of powder, and six muskets; and she had six ports. The Captain had purchased at Bourdeaux four cannons of two pound ball, French weight, four barrels of powder, three barrels of small shot, and two barrels of gun-flints. The crew was composed of ten men, including the Captain, and were all English or Colonists, except one Spaniard.—The ammunition bought at Bourdeaux was sequestered.

New complaints of Lord Stormont, on the subject of the ship *Liberty*, abovementioned; according to his account, this ship had been completely armed at Bourdeaux; the Captain had bought eight guns, and had put on board divers chests and barrels, containing arms and warlike stores. The officers of the Admiralty renewed their examinations, and it was found, that ship had sailed several days before; that she had been strictly searched, and neither arms nor ammunition were found; that she had only wooden cannons, and not a grain of powder in her gun-room.

5th, The 6th of October, 1777, the *Oxford* and the *Polly*, two American privateers, were arrived at L'Orient, with two prizes, but the privateers were not admitted till they had proved their damages; and the Commissary of the Marines had signified to them, that they must hasten their repairs, and put to sea with the first fair wind. As for the prizes, they were forbidden entrance into port.

6th, The 15th of October, 1777, another complaint was made of the same nature, concerning the ship *Industry*. This ship arrived armed, and furnished with ammunition; and, according to the verification, it was impossible to load her farther with warlike stores, or arms.

The 4th of December, 1777, Lord Stormont claimed the restoration of the *Anna Susannab*, an English vessel, taken by an American privateer, and carried first to Nantz, and then to Pelerin, where they strove to disguise her appearance, after having giving her the name of *La Mignonne*. The examinations that were made could not prove that she was the identical ship that was retained. Lord Stormont was informed of this, and acquainted that the claimants might, however, apply to the ordinary Judges.

8th, The 25th of December, 1777, the *Raleigh*, the *Alfred*, and the *Randolph*, were said to have been for some time at L'Orient, they were laden with guns, arms, and ammunition, with which they had been supplied in the ports of France. But, according to the report made to the Ministry, the *Raleigh* and the *Alfred* had come to L'Orient, completely armed; they had discharged their arms and ammunition, and had taken them on board again, in the road; and it was that which gave birth to the complaint of the English Ambassador. These are the contents of the answer, which was made to him on the 17th of January, 1778.

(o) The writer for the Court of London, hath not presumed to repeat this ridiculous pretention, well knowing the opinion that would be grounded on it.

ordered to be replied, " that on so great an extent of coast, as that which bounded France, it was not possible to prevent some trespasses on the orders which had been issued; the readiness with which he hastened to remove them, testified the sincerity of the assurances which he had before given, and the fidelity with which his Majesty intends they should be observed. That the English Ambassador must find palpable proof, in the dispatch with which couriers were sent to Bourdeaux and Nantz, at his first requisition, with the orders he had desired, and the effective consequences they had had; that he must have foreseen the orders which his Majesty, on his own accord, had sent to the Chambers of Commerce, to the Admiralties, and where-ever it was necessary, to enjoin the strictest execution of those already issued, either to hinder the American privateers from finding any shelter, or favour, in his ports, more than treaties, and the calls of humanity, allowed (p); or to obviate the impositions and frauds that might be used, to cover the prizes they had taken, or deceive in their sale. His Majesty thinks, that, in that respect, he hath exhausted all that foresight could suggest; yet if there were any other precautions to be taken, more effectual, which he had not thought of, he would not refuse to listen to them, as far as

could be compatible with his justice. That it was in consequence of that sentiment, that his Majesty would not conceal, that he could not yield to the insinuation of rendering, without examination, the prizes that might be brought into his ports. He would not suffer them to be sold there; it was to that point which all his orders tended. That the King, although a faithful observer of the treaties with England, and jealous of fulfilling the duties of friendship and good neighbourhood with her, yet could not neglect the interest of his subjects and the safety of their commerce; and it would be sacrificing such capital objects, to countenance the measure in question; since, then, the Americans, no longer regarding France, but as their declared enemy, would trouble the commerce of her subjects, as they had troubled that of Great Britain. That the King thought he fulfilled, in respect to the King of England, all that his justice and friendship would permit in the present circumstances; in short, that his Majesty hath reason to expect, in return, that the King of Great-Britain would, on his part, give the most positive orders to remedy the different complaints, which have been successively made, some of which are already of a very long date (q), and prevent and restrain the outrages, which are become too

(p) The author of the *Justifying Memorial* hath presumed to advance, that the King had declared to Viscount Stormont, *that he was resolved to banish the American privateers from his ports, and not suffer them to enter them again.* The paper of the Court of London, swarms with this kind of assertions.

(q) The Governor of Chandernagor had planned a trench round the factory, for the draining of the water, and the salubrity of the air. The Council of Calcutta, from the report of an English Engineer, had declared beforehand, this establishment was not contrary to the Treaty of Paris; yet this work was scarce begun when the English destroyed it by force, and without any previous request. Every complaint made of this act of violence was fruitless; and the King, who might, himself, have taken the just satisfaction

too frequent, on the part of the English naval officers."

Every person will acknowledge, that this answer contained the justest and wisest principles; principles to which those Powers who might be attached to England by the strongest ties, and even by a common interest, could not extend farther. The English Ministry itself believed them in that point of view, at least it may be so imagined, for they were never answered, and the first time the censure of them was undertaken, was in the *Justifying Memorial*.

Two points ought not to be omit-

ted, in regard to which the compiler of the paper of the Court of London, hath given a loose to his ebullition. These are, the conduct of Commanders and inhabitants of the French islands, and the sending French officers to America. This last grievance was produced, for the first time, in the *Justifying Memorial*. Lord Stormont, in spite of his restless vigilance, never complained of it to the King, because he knew perfectly well that it had no foundation. We must, therefore, look upon it as a fable, although it is mentioned in a Ministerial writing. It is a fable, in effect, for it is certain

faction which was refused him, contented himself with suspending the payment of the sums which the English East-India Company claimed for the maintenance of French prisoners taken during the last war.

2d, The English carried to excess their vexations of the French commerce in all the Indies. They presumed to exact custom duties; they offered violence to whoever would abridge them; they forbade the Indian weavers to work for the French, or to supply them with any commodity, under the penalty of whipping; at length, they carried their audacity and abuse of their superiority so far, that they whipped a Jamadar, or factor of the French settlement at Dacca. This was done in the year 1774. Mr. Barwell, who ordered it, carried his madness to such a height, as to proclaim, by sound of trumpet, in all the streets of Dacca, as well in his own name, as in that of the Nabob, and of the English Company, "That every native of the country, who should put himself under the protection of the French flag, should be impaled." These unheard-of facts were denounced to the Ministry of London. They could not avoid condemning them, but they let them go without any sort of reparation; and were satisfied with communicating, at the end of November, 1776, a memorial, in which the English Company strove to palliate the outrages of its officers. It is to be observed, that these excesses were carried to such a degree, that the Sieur Chevalier, who commanded for the King in Bengal, was obliged to abandon the settlement of Dacca.

3d, The Sieur Macnamara, Deputy-Governor of Senegal, in July 1776, in a drunken fit, laid a wager of one hundred guineas, that he would carry off all the French vessels that were in the ports of Joal and Portudal, dependencies on Goree. This design was executed. The French ship *la Grue* was seized by the English ship the *Dartmouth*, at Portudal, and condemned with all its cargo, amongst which were eighty Negroes. This strange fact was represented to the Court of London. The punishment of the Sieur Macnamara, the restitution of the ship and cargo, and a reparation of all damages, were demanded. The British Ministry condemned the conduct of the Deputy-Governor, and promised to do justice to the injured parties, but that promise was never kept.

tain, that the King never sent a single officer to America, neither before nor after the publication of independence; nor even after the conclusion of the treaty of 1778. It is true, a considerable number of French officers, some of whom were without employment, and others were tired of rest and idleness, went and offered their services to the United States. But not a single man of them with his Majesty's inclination. On the contrary, he sought to put bars in the way of those whom he knew were going on their own accord. Nothing can better prove their want of a mission from his Majesty, than the cool re-

ception the greatest part of the French Officers met in America; for, it may be presumed, the Congress would have thought them worthy of attention and confidence, if they had been acknowledged by the King or his Ministry.

As for the reproaches relative to the conduct of the Commanders of the French islands, they carry the same stamp with the greatest part of Lord Stormont's complaints; that is to say, they are almost all ill-founded (*r*); and they must appear the more extraordinary, because whilst the Court of London accused the inhabitants of the French islands of being, as it were, in open war with England,

(*r*) *Grievances in the French islands, complained of by the English.* The 18th of May, 1777, a complaint was made by the English Ambassador, on the subject of an English sloop taken, near to Martinico, by an American privateer, under Spanish colours; and the public sale, at Fort Royal, in Martinico, of the *Apollo*, another English sloop, with its cargo of Negroes. The truth, drawn from a report of the Count d'Arbaud, is, that a little after the capture of the first sloop, in the latitude of St. Christopher's, a New-England privateer bark anchored in l'Anse à la Barque (or boat creek). The Captain of the privateer asked leave of the Commander of one of the *garde cote* pinnaces to water. The Commander visited the privateer, and having found in her a certain number of Negroes, he gave leave to water, and then obliged her to put to sea.

As for the story of the *Apollo*, there was not any evidence to be found; and it is the less probable, as the Marquis de Bouillé, the Governor, did not permit the American privateers, who touched at Martinico, to stay longer than twenty-four hours to get water; and took every necessary precaution that they should not make any sale there.

The 14th of July, 1777, according to Lord Stormont, a ship belonging to the Sieur Prigent, of Martinico, and commanded by one Ord, the only American on board, had taken, on the 18th of March, 1777, an English ship called the *Venus*; and, according to the note of the English Ambassador, this ship was in a bay, a league from Saint Pierre. The Marquis de Bouillé received an order to inquire into the facts, and make provisional restitution of the English ship; directing him, at the same time, and enjoining him to acquaint the Commandant of Saint Lucie, that the admission of American privateers, bringing prizes into the ports of the French islands, could not be permitted but in conformity with the rules of neutrality; that is to say, that these privateers should be obliged to sail, with their prizes, in twenty-four hours, saving the cases of exception provided by the ordinance of 1681; and that all sales of prizes, and their cargoes, should be forbidden. The answer of the Marquis de Bouillé is couched in these terms:

England, their officers committed the most unsupportable outrages in the Western

Copy of the letter of M. le Marquis de Bouillé, addressed to M. de Sartine.

MY LORD, *From Martinico, the 15th of September, 1777.*

" I have the honour to acquaint you of the orders I have given to prevent any French vessels, of these islands, from arming for cruize; and since I have issued the orders, of which I have taken particular care, I have not known any such infringements of the treaties that confirm peace between France and England. I shall pursue the same principles, in conforming to the instructions you have given me.

" The English Admiral, and the Governors of the different colonies, have not made any complaints of this kind to me, since I informed them of the intentions of my Court, and they have been acquainted with my conduct.

" I sent for the Sieur Prigent, and communicated to him part of your letter respecting the taking of the *Venus*, and selling it in the ports of this colony. He did in no wise agree that prize had been brought in, and sold here; and, as it was prior to my arrival in this colony, I could not have any knowledge of it. I do not authorize the anchoring of these prizes, any farther than is consistent with the treaties, and the laws of commerce, but the sale of them is never authorized, nor even known.

" The Sieur Prigent is a native of Canada, and in the service of the American Congress, to whom I have expressly forbidden to fit out any privateers, in the ports of the colonies, or man them with Frenchmen; I have even obliged him to disarm two of that kind, which he had fitted out before I came here, and I threatened to drive him out of the island, if he repeated his fault.

" You may be assured, that I shall conform strictly to the orders I have received, to maintain the neutrality, and I do not believe that the English can complain of my conduct in that respect; on the contrary, I have had many complaints to make against the Courts of Admiralty of different English islands, which I communicated to you at the time; and, at Dominica, they were so well convinced of the prevarication of their Judges, that lately they broke one of them, who was culpable of prejudice and partiality, in a sentence pronounced against a French vessel."

The 24th of September, 1777, according to a judicial declaration, before a Notary Public of the island of Tobago, the English ship the *Champion*, taken by the *General Thomas*, American privateer, had been carried to Saint Lucie; a small part of its cargo had been landed in that island, the rest sent to Martinico, and the ship disarmed for sale, in one of the bays of Saint Lucie.

Nothing is more vague than these facts, therefore it was impossible to prove them, for want of knowing the buyers, the places of sale, and the nature of the cargo. These objections were made to Lord Stormont, and several reflections were added, the chief of which was, that in the French islands there were several dispersed and unfrequented creeks; that nothing was more easy than to smuggle there; and that none knew that truth better than the English themselves; and if the French Governors were not able to repress a fraud hurtful to France, the Court of London, doubtless, would

Western seas (f); and had transformed them into a theatre for robberies.

Yet it is not denied, but the inhabitants of the French islands, irritated by the daily depredations of the English, and seduced by the allurements of a considerable profit, had established extensive connections with the Continent of North America; and, it is in the nature of things, that these connections should give birth to abuses; but the King remedied them as much as was in his power; and the measures taken by his commanding officers were so effectual, that the Court of London signified to his Majesty its satisfaction. The English Ministers, doubtless, forgot that particular; for if they had recollected it, they would, probably, have taken care not to have contradicted themselves.

But the British Ministry, forced less implicitly to do justice to the principles and conduct of France, felt no longer the obligation they were under, to take, at last, into consideration the multiplied complaints that the King had made. Not only these grievances remained without redress, but their number increased from impunity, not to say secret orders. And the disregard of the English Ministers, whatever care they took to hide it under the mask of justice and friendship, discovered not only their want of good-will, but also their opinion that Great Britain had a supreme and exclusive power to impose arbitrary laws on the navigation and commerce of all nations; to insult every flag, with impunity; and, in a word, to look upon the sea as her exclusive domain. Some new complaints, made in the King's name, were for violations of rules already mentioned; others were

caused by facts of a kind hitherto entirely unknown: we may judge of them by the two following examples:

1st, The English navigation being injured by the American privateers, the Court of London, to apply some remedy, granted leave to merchant ships to arm, that they might defend themselves in case they were attacked. This was an useful precaution, and did not appear, in its nature, to be any inconvenience to the navigation of other powers. But it was natural to fear an abuse, and it behoved the King the more to prevent it, as he, on the one hand, sincerely desired to maintain the harmony which subsisted between him and the King of England; and, on the other hand, his own dignity, and the interests of his subjects, would not permit him to expose their commerce to the inspection of the Master of an English merchant-man. This double consideration determined his Majesty to make some friendly reflections, on this subject, to the Court of London. The British Ministry saw they were well-founded, and assured the King's Ambassador, that the English ships, furnished with these letters of marque, should not cruize; that they had not the authority of bringing to, and searching ships of other nations; in a word, that these vessels were only authorized to make use of their arms against the Americans who might attack them.

This declaration was made, and repeated, in the most precise and satisfactory terms; but it must be, either that the English Ministry, in spite of their promises, did not issue the consequential orders, or that the English Captains did not think themselves

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themselves

would not pretend that they could be answerable for the ineffectiveness of their intentions, relative to the prizes taken by the insurgents.

(f) See the note (c).

themselves under an obligation to pay any respect to them. Whatever it may be, the English merchant ships not only interrupted the commerce and navigation of the King's subjects, but they also presumed to stop and carry into England, several French ships, under pretence that they were laden with merchandizes for America (t). The Court of London is called upon to prove the restitution of French ships thus taken; or even to produce the orders, or decrees, by virtue of which these vessels ought to have been restored.

2. The *Thomas-Kouli-kan*, a ship proved to be French, was laden and fitted out at Havre, in the month of October, 1777; she was bound to St. Domingo, and her cargo consisted only in unsuspecting commodities: nevertheless, the *Thomas-Kouli-kan* was seized in the Bay of Gascony by the English ship, the *Hedior*; the Captain of which took out of her forty sailors to serve on board his own vessel. He carried his prize into Portsmouth, the crew was put in prison, not even excepting the Commander: they inveigled the sailors, either by threats or promises, to make false depositions; and they carried their outrage so far as to tear the ship to pieces, in hopes of finding written proofs of her being bound to where they seized she was. All these proceedings were denounced to the English Ministry.

The representation of the Marquis de Noailles was in substance, That in case the *Thomas Kouli kan* had been laden with contraband military stores, on the account of the Americans, she could have been seized, and treated only conformable to the 34th article of the treaty of Utrecht;

that if the same ship had been loaded with innocent commodities, whatever suspicions, or even demonstrations, there were of their being destined for the colonies, she could be seized only on the American coasts, and by no means on the open sea. These principles were evident, and rendered the seizure null. But the English Ministry judged otherwise. It may be seen by the answer, (well worthy of remark) that the Court of London pretend to the right of restraining the freedom of the sea as it pleases: to interpret, or annihilate, as is most convenient, the usages and treaties relative to that freedom; that it confounds innocent commodities with those that are military contraband; that it transgresses the regulations prescribed by the 15th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 24th articles of the Treaty of Utrecht; that it permits arbitrary and partial distinctions; that it has presumed to impose obligations on other nations, which are founded in its caprice, and the proposal of which it formerly took as an offence, and a sufficient motive for a war (u). If the reader will draw a parallel of this jurisprudence with that claimed by France, he will judge which of the two powers respects the laws and rights of nations, and which pretends to have a power of trampling them under foot.

Whilst the English Ambassador put the King's patience to the severest proof, and the Court of London heaped up its denials of justice to his Majesty's subjects; at the same time when the English officers continued to ruin them at sea, there happened in America an event which changed essentially the face of affairs in that part of the world. This was the defeat of the army commanded by General

(t) Captain Anjo, brig *la Renommée*, 13th October, 1772.
 Captain Chandeau, ———, 13th October, 1777.
 Captain Berthelot, *l'Amiable Reins*, 14th January, 1778.

(u) See the note (x).

General Burgoyne. The news of this unexpected disaster arrived in Europe in the month of November, 1777. It astonished the English Ministry, and it must have the more afflicted them, as it entirely overthrew the plan they had formed for the reduction of the colonies. Of this truth we may be convinced by reading the speeches in Parliament to which it gave rise. The first result of the outrageous debates of both houses was to name Commissioners of Peace, who were charged to carry conciliatory bills to America; and the Cabinet of St. James's, secretly deliberated on finding out and sounding the American Commissioners at Paris, to propose peace to them, by a coalition against the Crown of France.

This last proposition was the consequence of the imputations which the Ministry of London incessantly made on that of Versailles. It affected to behold France as the cause, the support, in a word, as the author of the revolution in America, and that opinion must necessarily inspire a desire of revenge. The security in which his Majesty lived, and the support with which he flattered himself from America, must and ought to have presented a favourable opportunity of that revenge. This prospect was the more proper to console, and even to dazzle the English Ministry, as it perfectly answered their dearest and most constant wish. A wish to humble France has long been the very essence of English politics; and the presumptuous confidence of that nation must have been heightened at the sight of the extraordinary armaments, which it had made

with a dispatch that surprized all Europe (x).

The British Ministry, impelled by this brilliant chimera, did not hesitate to put every secret spring in motion that they thought could realize it. Their emissaries were spies every where on the American Commissioners, and the proposal to them was, that they should cease to be the dupes of France; that they ought to connect themselves with the Court of London, to fall upon that Power, &c.

The Court of London denies these facts; it represents them as a supposition void of truth, nay, even of likelihood, and challenges France to produce the proof. But is such a subterfuge able to impose? Who can suspect the English Ministry of having carried their imprudence, or want of cunning, so far as to leave traces of a dark manœuvre; or of not having, on the contrary, taken the most efficacious measures, that, in case it was discovered, it could not be imputed to them? The disavowal in the *Justifying Memorial* is the consequence of this calculation; but, in order to deserve any credit, it should at least have been founded on great probability. It is true that, according to the English Ministry, *the King of Great Britain could not be suspected of having offered peace to his subjects, after a long and troublesome quarrel, but with the intention of undertaking a new war against a respectable power.* But the slightest reflection will shew how illusive this language is, and how little deserving of belief.

If the Court of London (as the Ministry would have us believe) whether, sincerely, to impose on the English nation, or even on its

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(x) To prove the truth of this observation, it is sufficient to remark that in the beginning of the month of January, 1777, the Court of London equipped a fleet of forty-five sail of the line. What was the object of this extraordinary armament? This is a riddle very easily solved.

own King—if, I say, the Court of London had received unpardonable injuries from the Court of France; if it could reproach France with the revolt of its Colonies, it ought to have looked upon its dignity and its interests, as most effectually wounded; and thence must have conceived the most ardent desire, not only of avenging itself, but also of regaining from France, that which the Crown of England had lost in America. In consequence of that plan, it was natural for the English Ministry to seek an accommodation with the Colonies, when it was not able to subdue them, and to engage them to espouse its resentment. It might more easily flatter itself with success, as the procedure of France, in regard to the American privateers (which it certainly looked upon as the happy fruit of its cleverness) and chiefly the disinclination which the King had incessantly shown to every engagement with the Congress, must have inspired their Deputies with disgust and discontent, and induced them, in spite of their known aversion, to seek the safety of their country, even in England, when they had not found it in France. To these reflections we may add the opinion which the Court of London had of its power; the contempt with which, on all occasions, it hath spoken of the forces and resources of the Crown of France, and its opinion of being superior to all nations, and of being able to crush France, if she was even united with Spain. Such has been, and still is, the language of the English Ministers, and the echoes of the British Parliament.

In this situation, ought we not to suppose, that at that moment, when the English Ministry found a necessity of yielding to the efforts of the colonies, it conceived the design and the hope of punishing France, for the injuries it imputed to her.

Such hath been in effect, the intention and the measures of the Ministers of Great-Britain. It hath been affirmed in the *Exposition des Motifs*, it is repeated with the assurance that truth allows, and the King presumes to flatter himself, that the opinion of all Europe, of his uprightness and probity, will prevail over a bold denial, which has not even the appearance of probability.

Moreover, if the King had not even certain proof of the hostile views of the Court of London; it was enough for him, to have probable reasons to suspect their existence. For what could his Majesty think of the immense and sudden armaments of the Court of London; of its arbitrary proceedings, its denial of justice, its arrogant pretensions? What weight must we give to the last words of the English idol and oracle, Lord Chatham, who was brought into Parliament to breathe his last, in crying out, *Peace with America, and war against the House of Bourbon!* The Court of London hath itself justified the King's suspicions and foresight, by the hostile orders it sent to the Indies, before the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles, and even before the signing of the treaty of the 6th of February, 1778. The English Ministers have felt all the force and truth of this reproach; and they have passed it over in silence, because they know the impossibility of destroying it.

The King, acquainted with the plan of the Court of London, and the consequent preparations, found he had no time to lose, if he would prevent the designs of his enemies. Then his Majesty resolved to take the overtures of the Congress into consideration.

The Deputies proposed to the King a treaty of amity and commerce, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which his Majesty should engage, not only to acknowledge

knowledge purely and simply the independence of the United States, but also to be its guarantee, and defend it by force of arms. The King replied, that he might, indeed, regard the independence of the Colonies as existing, but it did not belong to him to acknowledge it, because he had no right of judging upon it; and neither could he be its guarantee, because he did not intend to make war to support it.

In consequence of these reasons, his Majesty refused an offensive alliance, and confined himself to a treaty of friendship and commerce. But as it was more than probable, that the Court of London had formed a design to attack France, his Majesty thought he ought to make an eventual alliance with the United States, purely defensive. The stipulations in this second treaty were, that if France should be attacked by the Court of London, before a cessation of hostilities between that Court and the Colonies, then the King and the United States would mutually assist each other against the common enemy. That the King would guaranty the independence and sovereignty of the United States, and would not lay down his arms till it had been acknowledged by Great-Britain. This treaty was the result of reason, and did not hinder the Colonies to treat with England,

without the King's concurrence, as long as the quarrel was only between themselves. It left the King of England absolute master of war and peace, and did not acquire reality, but by the rupture that happened between his Majesty and the Court of London; a rupture that was the voluntary work of that Court (y). This last treaty was kept secret, because it had no value at the time it was concluded; but the treaty of commerce was notified at the Court of London the 13th of March, 1778. The declaration for that purpose, delivered to the Ministry, was as follows:

“ The under-signed Ambassador, from his Most Christian Majesty, has received express orders to make the following declaration to the Court of London:

“ The United States of North America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the fourth of July, 1776, having proposed to the King, to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the two nations, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence.

“ His Majesty being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting

(y) The English Ministers themselves were so convinced of these truths, that they have not dared to contradict them. For this reason they have carefully passed over in silence the eventual treaty of alliance. If they had mentioned it, they would have been obliged to have analyzed it, and that analysis would have signed their condemnation. They cannot say they were ignorant of this treaty; for Lord Stormont acquainted the House of Lords, that he had always a perfect knowledge of what passed the most secretly at Versailles. Besides, this very treaty had been published in America, with every mark of authenticity; and certainly the true friends of the Court of London, which were said to have been so numerous, would not have failed to have sent over a copy. The English Ministers were, therefore, acquainted with it; and this they cannot deny, without accusing Lord Stormont of negligence, and their friends in America of ingratitude, or infidelity.

subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make this proceeding known to the Court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention, not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity.

“ In making this communication to the Court of London, the King is firmly persuaded she will find new proofs of his Majesty’s constant and sincere disposition for peace; and that his Britannick Majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his Majesty’s subjects and the United States of North America, from being interrupted; and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

“ In this just confidence, the undersigned Ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British Minister, that the King his master, being determined to protect effectually, the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majesty has, in consequence, taken eventual measures in concert with the United States of North America.

London, March 13, 1778.

Signed, LE M. DE NOAILLES.”

Such was the declaration, that the King of England denounced to his Parliament, as an insult on his crown and person; as a formal and

a premeditated aggression; in a word, as a declaration of war: and it is from such suppositions, that the Court of London accuses the King of being the author of the war; that it represents him as a violator of the laws, human and divine; and as a prince, that would destroy the ballance of Europe, and overturn thrones to subdue the world.

Yet, this act, which hath drawn those odious epithets on the King, was founded on two incontestible truths. The first is, that at the era of the 6th of February, the Americans were in the public possession of independence: the second, that the King was free to regard this independence as actually existing, without being obliged to examine its legality; and that no law forbade him the power of making connections with the Americans. To demonstrate these truths, which are disputed by the Court of London, it will not be necessary to have recourse to distinctions, as idle as they are inapplicable; and to offer facts and principles with a studied confusion. Events will be related with equal simplicity and exactness; and no principles, but those, acknowledged at all times by every civilized nation, will be produced.

It is universally known that the thirteen provinces which compose the United States of North America, had, for a long time, raised their suppliant voice against the tyranny of their mother country. That they have met with refusal upon refusal; that they did not confederate to support their privileges by force of arms, till they had lost every hope of obtaining justice; and that soon after, they published that solemn Act by which they declared themselves independent. This Act, made on the 4th of July, 1776, induced the Court of London to give scope to its resentment. It displayed its power to chastise the Americans, and

and to reduce them by conquest. But what was the fruit of these efforts? Have they not demonstrated to America, to all Europe, to the Court of London itself, a want of power to bring back, henceforward, the Americans to its yoke? We have, really, seen the English troops, armed with the sword of vengeance, fly precipitately from Boston, seek shelter in Halifax, and come to New-York, to spread from thence terror, desolation, and slaughter, in defenceless countries. But what did such a barbarous conduct produce? Hath it brought the Americans back into the bosom of their mother country? Hath it procured the voluntary submission of one province, one city, one town, or one village? Hath any one of the confederate colonies recalled its deputies from the Congress to send them to London? What have been, and what are, the possessions of the British Crown on the continent of united America? Its troops have made excursions in all the provinces, but do we see there ought but the traces of their fury and brutality? Which of the inhabitants have obeyed them, but from force? They have in their possession only New-York, some adjacent islands, and a part of Georgia. They have sacked, burnt, and destroyed considerable towns; they have carried sword and fire in every part they could penetrate. This is what the English Ministry call being Masters of the vast continent of America. The above are the possessions, by which they pretend to annihilate those of the United States! It is this which they call dominion over the Americans! Is there a single man whom these true facts can persuade, that, in any one circumstance, since the publication of the Act of Independence, the Americans had begun to open their eyes on the fatal consequences of their revolt, on the tyranny of their new

Rulers, and on the paternal sentiments of their lawful Sovereign.

The English Ministry have so well felt the weakness of this argument, that they have sought to support it by that of the antient possession of the British Crown, that is to say, by a possession acknowledged and avowed by every power. It is useless to set up this claim of possession, for it never once entered into the King's mind to dispute it. The English Ministry would, doubtless, have better defended their cause, if they had proved that a lawful possession cannot be lost, in any case. But could they have presumed to undertake this proof, without belying the annals of every country in the world? How could they have reconciled it with the facts which the histories of Mary Stuart, Charles I. and James II. produce; and with the laws which secure the English throne to the present reigning family?

It then remains certain, that however lawful, however ancient, however acknowledged, the possession of her former colonies by England, may have been, she may have lost them, that she actually did lose them on the 4th of July, 1776, and from that date hath not recovered them. Thence it is, that France might say with truth, that at the time of signing the treaty of 1778, *the United States of North America were in full possession of their independence.*

The English Ministry thought to destroy the consequences resulting from these truths, in supporting that the Americans' possession is illegitimate, that it never has been, nor can be valid, and that it is a true felony. But, in advancing this proposition, they had, doubtless, forgot their own conduct, in regard to the Americans, since the publication of the act of independence. They may remember, that the creatures of the Court have constantly cried out rebellion, vengeance,

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ance, and destruction; yet, notwithstanding all these clamours, the English Ministry ceased, after the publication of the act of independence to pursue the Americans as rebels. In regard to them, they have observed, and continue to observe, the rules of war followed by independent nations. The American prisoners have been exchanged, by virtue of cartels signed by the Commissaries of the Congress. The English troops have capitulated, and their capitulations have been regarded. The Court of London hath authorized the authority of the new Republic, in ordering it's pacific Commissioners to treat with the American Commissaries, on an equal footing.

Moreover, whether the United States have or have not a right to abjure the Sovereignty of England? Whether their possession of independence be lawful or not? It is not for France to discuss these questions. The King is no judge of the domestic quarrels of England. Neither the law of nations, treaties, morality, nor policy, oblige him to be the guardian of the fidelity that the English subjects ought to owe to their Sovereign. It is enough for his Majesty's justification, that the colonies (which form a nation, considerable as well by the number of it's inhabitants, as the extent of it's dominions) had established their independence, not only by a solemn Act, but also by the fact; and have maintained it against the efforts of the mother country. Such was, actually, the state of the United States, when the King began to negotiate with them: His Majesty was entirely free to look upon them either as independent, or as subjects of Great Britain. He chose the first, because his safety, his people's interest, the invariable policy, and, above all, the secret projects of the Court of London, all absolutely imposed that obligation upon him.

Nay, it may be asked, is their one Sovereign, who, in the same situation with his Majesty, would not have followed his example?

Nevertheless, it is this conduct that the English Ministry pretend was directed by pride and craft; that it supposes to be irreconcilable with the truth of facts, and the law of nations; which it presents as incapable of being seen in day-light; and which it denounces to all people, as a violation of the law of nations, as an insult to humanity, and to every Sovereign.

Before the English Ministry had given scope to such warm language, and allowed such heavy imputations, it should have examined the rights and duties of Sovereigns, with a spirit of justice and impartiality; it should have consulted the records of almost every Empire, and principally those of Great-Britain. It thought itself obliged to supply that omission; and it may be said, beforehand, that the consequences drawn from the analysis that we shall undertake, will be very different from the assertions, or to say the truth, the paradoxes risked by the Court of London.

The independence of nations on each other, is the first and fundamental basis of the law of nations; it is absolute and unlimited; and admits of no modifications or restrictions, but such as are founded on the engagements which conscience prescribes, or the interest of the State demands. In the first case, a nation hath a lawful controller; but, in the two others, it's conduct and determinations can depend only on it's own judgment; and, whoever undertakes to constrain it, in that respect, attacks it's independence, and does it an injury.

The application of these principles, in regard to France and England, is not difficult to make. France is independent on the Crown of Great-Britain. No engagement obliges

bliged the King to maintain that crown in the whole of its possessions; and still less to restrain its subjects in obedience. Thus his Majesty hath no duty to fulfill in favour of England, relative to North America; therefore, his Majesty was not obliged either to assist England against her colonies, nor to reject the colonies when they presented themselves to him as an independent people. If we believe the author of the *Justifying Memorial* the King was bound to these several duties by virtue of the last treaty of Paris. But it is evident, that in order to support such a proposition, they must have misunderstood the sense, spirit, and end of a simple treaty of peace, and have confounded a treaty of that nature with a treaty of alliance. That of Paris imposed no other obligation on the King, than that of living in peace and friendship with Great-Britain; to extend that obligation, one must be ignorant of the first notions of the diplomatic, and the sentiment of all nations, or must despise them.

The Court of London declares, that it might regard the multiplied assurances of the King's friendship, his pacific sentiments, and his desire of adhering to treaties, as a sacred engagement on the King's part. The King is far from denying these assurances; but what were, and what could be the sense, and the basis of them? Do they not suppose a reciprocity on the part of the King of England? and that ceasing, was not his Majesty disengaged from his word? The English Ministry cannot doubt but those were the King's thoughts, as he had repeated them on many occasions. Let them recollect what was the language of the King's *Chargé des Affaires*, in the month of March, 1776. They are desired to remember the frequent representations of the *Marquis de Noailles*, and those of his Majesty's

Ministers, with which, doubtless, Lord Stormont did not fail to acquaint his Sovereign.

The King was no more withheld by his conscience, than he was by his engagements. This assertion wants no proof, it is enough for his Majesty, that he thought himself clear from all reproach that could be made; for in regarding the Americans as independent, he hath not violated either the law of God, or that of nations: If the Court of London presumes to contradict this morality, it may be asked, who upon earth is the judge of sovereigns? who hath the right of prescribing rules for their conduct? who hath the power to enforce them? Whilst peace subsisted between France and England, the King had no more right to attack the British provinces, than he had to excite a revolt in the subjects of that crown, and to assist them; but he had the right to look upon the united inhabitants of an immense continent, as independent, when they came to him in that character; especially after their former sovereign had shewed, by long and painful effort, the impossibility of bringing them back to their obedience.

We dare believe there is no sovereign who will not concur in the justice of this maxim of the rights of nations. The Court of London, alone, long accustomed to arbitrary principles, adapted to the circumstances of the moment, thinks itself entitled to call it in question, at the same time when it seems to give the alarm, upon the dangerous consequences which it pretends to find in it. But, probably, that Court has not reflected, that it gives a manifest contradiction to the doctrine it formerly professed and followed, one single example will suffice to bring it back to its own principles; and that is, that of the Seven United Provinces of the Low Countries. The conduct of Queen Elizabeth, in regard

gard to them, deserves to be unfolded.

The Flemings having concluded, in 1576, the pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their liberties, and of the Protestant worship, Elizabeth leagued with them, by a secret treaty; in virtue of which she promised to furnish them with troops, ammunition and money.

Philip II. King of Spain, having complained to the English Ambassador, he was ordered by his Sovereign, to present to his Catholic Majesty, an ample recital, containing the strongest protestations of her friendship, and attention to remove every thing that could disturb the harmony that subsisted between the two Sovereigns. Elizabeth defended herself against the reproach of having fomented the rebellion of the Low Countries; and that Princess added, that in furnishing the confederates with men and money, her policy had a double object, that of hindering the insurgents, reduced to despair by their resources being exhausted, from giving themselves up to a foreign power; the other to prevent the entire subjection of the Low Countries to the Spaniards; an event that had very disagreeable consequences to England.

By a new treaty of the 7th of Jan. 1578, Elizabeth promised considerable assistance to the confederates, on consideration that they would not make peace with *their Catholic King* without her being comprehended in it.

At length the confederates declared their independence in 1585, that step was quickly followed by a new defensive alliance: it was on the 10th of August in the same year, the Hollanders, in their Full Powers alledged the circumstances, that they had entirely shaken off the Spanish yoke, and declared themselves free from, and independent of its sovereignty.

To justify this last treaty, Eliza-

beth published a long Memorial, in which she called to mind the cruelties exercised by the Spanish Governors in the Low Countries; and the design formed by the Court of Madrid to destroy their franchises. She declared at the same time, that she was obliged to support the United Provinces in the defence of their liberties, because that was the only means of preserving to the English the freedom of trade with the Low Countries, and protect England from the invasions that Spain might make, with the greatest facility, if once it had reduced those Provinces under its absolute obedience. In fine, Elizabeth observed, that the treaties that formerly subsisted between England and the sovereigns of the Low Countries, had been concluded, not only between *those Princes*, but also between their respective States, for their mutual defence; and thus, in protecting the United Provinces, against an unjust despotism, she did not, exactly, do any thing but fulfill the latter part of her engagements, without infringing in any manner, what she owed to the sovereign of these Provinces.

It is to be remarked, that the publication of this manifesto did not cause a recall of the respective Ambassadors; and that three years after its publication, that is to say, in 1588, Elizabeth did yet, at the request of Philip II. perform the office of mediatrix between that Prince and the United Provinces, at the Congress of Bourbourg.

This faithful abridgement of the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, in regard to the Low Countries, will, doubtless, convince the world, that that Princess, not only acknowledged the right of every sovereign to receive a people who had declared themselves independent; but she also extended that right farther than the King allowed himself to do, in regard to the United

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United States. But if even that right was not so solidly founded as it is, the Court of London would be out of time in contradicting it, for in so doing, it would proclaim itself to the world, as worthy of every reproach it hath lavished on France,

To this remark may be added, a reflection, furnished by the records of the British Parliament itself. For some years, that assembly hath re-founded only with the American quarrel. That quarrel hath been examined and discussed in every relation, and in every point of view. The Americans have constantly had men, as distinguished by their understanding as their rank, for their defenders: a part of the nation hath incessantly supported the cause of the Colonies; nay, even citizens of all ranks, far from looking upon them as guilty of treason, have, on the contrary, accused those Members of Parliament of that crime, who, to fulfill their engagements with the Ministers, have applauded the persecution the Americans suffered, because they looked upon it as a tyranny, and a subversion of the British constitution. Now, if the English themselves have dared to justify the Americans; if they have dared to avow their thoughts with impunity, in the midst of the national assembly, and in public and acknowledged writings; if they have not been proclaimed traitors to their country; how can the English Ministry proclaim the King to be the most perfidious of Sovereigns, for having thought in the same manner with a respectable part of the English nation?

To compleat the King's justification, nothing remains but to examine if what is called *the good of the State*, could determine his Majesty to connect himself with the Americans. To treat this question with all the clearness of which it is capable, we must behold the political interest of France in two different relations:

The first, relative to the other powers of Europe; the other, relative to Great-Britain.

The King, when he treated with the Americans, already become independent, exercised a right inherent to his Sovereignty, only to silence a prepossession with which England deceived the four quarters of the world. Thus the King, very far from fearing to hurt the interest of his State, from a supposition that it might hurt that of the other sovereigns of Europe, or even give them the least umbrage, hath, on the contrary, essentially watched over the interests of all, in joining to restrain a Power that hath always carried to excess the abuse of its means. It is true, that the Court of London is far from beholding the King's conduct in that point of view. It alleges that his Majesty had no other object than to satisfy his immoderate ambition, his indelible hatred against Great-Britain, and his desire to bear sway over all other nations, after he had crushed Great-Britain.

To annihilate these reproaches, it will be sufficient to retrace the engagements that the King had contracted with the Americans. We dare defy those who are the most prejudiced against France, to find the smallest mark of the King's pretended ambition; and his pretended design of destroying the power of England: nothing more is to be discovered in the last analysis, but a diminution of that power; a diminution that England herself hath urged by the most unjust and inconsiderate conduct; and which the tranquility and happiness of Europe have long required. For this we appeal to the judgment of every nation who hath the least political or commercial connection with Great-Britain.

As to the relation that the interest of France can have with England,

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it is easily determined. The Court of London hath entertained, for a long time, the maxim, that it hath an exclusive dominion over every sea. To that end, all it's measures have incessantly tended. The power of France was one of the greatest obstacles to it's designs. It was necessary, therefore, either to destroy it, or to circumscribe it within such narrow bounds, as would render it of no force. From this view, arose the wars which Great Britain hath raised, or protected, against France. And, if we examine every treaty concluded since Cromwell, we shall find traces of the haughty, envious, and usurping politics of the Court of London, as evident as they are disagreeable.

In this state of affairs, in what point of view ought France, for a long time, to have considered Great Britain? She, certainly, could not look upon her but as a secret enemy, so much the more dangerous, as her power equalled her ill will. That she hath never scrupled to disguise her dangerous designs, under a cloak of confidence and friendship; that she hath never regarded treaties, but in proportion as she had occasion for peace; and she hath always thought war lawful, when her interest advised her to undertake it. The most vigilant and consummate prudence could not suggest preservatives, against the enterprizes of such a power: the only means, then of preservation, were, to seize the opportunity of diminishing it.

We may truly say, in examining the King's conduct, in the above-mentioned relations (allowing for the particular causes which might have determined him) that it was not only just and lawful, but that it was even necessary, as well for the proper interest of France, as for that of all Europe. Thus, so far from his Majesty having destroyed every principle, in contracting with the

Americans, we may, on the contrary, assert, that he might have looked upon them, and treated with them, as independent, after the proclamation of their Manifesto of the 4th of July, 1776; and that, in so doing, he violated neither the law of nations, nor treaties; and he hath, still less, done an injury to England, and broke the peace with that kingdom.

These conclusions will acquire a new degree of strength and conviction, if we consider the proceedings of the Court of London, not since the last peace, but only from the time when the Sieur Deane came to France, to the time when the Marquis de Noailles notified the treaty of the 6th of February, 1778, to the Court of London.

The English Ministry began, by disputing the King's power to grant an asylum to the Americans: next, it pretended, that every commercial connection with the United States, should be prohibited to his subjects. These two articles gave place to informations, and even new-born complaints; and the *Justifying Memorial* treats this object with a violence that proves the English Ministers had lost sight of the first notions of the law of nations, of treaties, and of maritime usages.

Whilst the English Ambassador incessantly renewed complaints, unjust in their object, and almost always destitute of proof, the King in vain demanded justice from the King of England, for the daily violations of treaties, and maritime laws; for the depredations and piracies suffered by his subjects; and for the affronts to his flag, and his territories; and whilst his Majesty, firm in his system of moderation, wasted himself in acts of complaisance, in favour of England, and all the representations of the Marquis de Noailles were ineffectual. The British Ministry convinced, that

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in spite of it's formidable armaments, any submission of the colonies was thenceforward impossible, proposed to Parliament, means of reconciliation; it sought, at the same time, to establish a secret negotiation with the Deputies of the Congress, at Paris; it was disposed to grant every thing, even independence, *in fact*, provided it could preserve a *nominal dependence*. But a war against France was to be the price of this sacrifice. The King, informed, on one side, of the profers and hostile views of the Court of London; and, on the other, of the unshaken resolution of the Congress, not to suffer the least trace of it's former subjection to remain; the King, I say, did not hesitate, nor could he hesitate, to take a part; and he had but one part to take, that of attaching himself to the United States. If the King had acted otherwise; if he had remained in that security, that the Court of London had striven to lull him into, he might have been taken unprovided; and it is easy to foresee what opinion the present age, and posterity, would have entertained of his sagacity, wisdom, and vigilance.

To induce the public to mistake the true motives that directed the King's conduct, the English Ministers maintain, that he made a treaty with the Americans; not because he dreaded the secret designs of Great Britain, but because he foresaw; that the Americans, cast down, discouraged, without support, and without resources, were about to reconcile themselves to their mother country, and there was not a moment to be lost, to re-animate them in their opposition. It is, doubleless, in order to be able to risque such an assertion, that the English Ministry looked upon it as beneath the dignity of their Sovereign, to inquire into the *xra* when France formed connections with the United States;

they might have said, with more truth, that that inquiry would not square with their plan of defence. The King will spare the English Ministers such a disagreeable and embarrassing task, in observing for them, that the first conference, which led to the treaties of the 6th of February, 1778, was long after the capitulation of General Burgoyne. Now, it is notorious that that event exalted the courage and hopes of the Americans, as much as it threw the English nation, and especially the Court of London, into a consternation. If then, the King had listened to the propositions of the Congress, after that epoch, so calamitous for the English, it was not, nor could it be, but because he thought, with the United States, that their independence was, henceforward, irrevocable. England herself thought like the Americans. The sentiment of that nation was manifested by it's Representatives; and that of the Ministry by it's Conciliatory Bills, and, above all, by the clandestine steps towards a reconciliation. As for the Americans, they had very categorically expressed their opinion, in rejecting, with contempt, the Conciliatory Bills, and the secret favours which were to serve as their vehicle and support, before they had even any knowledge of the negotiation contracted between the King's Ministers and the Deputies of the Congress.

It is highly evident, in whatsoever light we behold the King's conduct, in respect to England,

First, That the law of nations, the policy and example of England herself, authorized the King to lock upon the American's as independent, in fact, from the 4th of July, 1776, and he had still greater reason on the 6th of February, 1778.

Secondly, That in looking upon them as such, and in forming connections

nections with them, under that qualification, he neither violated treaties, nor the rights of Sovereigns.

Thirdly That, in negotiating with them, he did not render himself culpable of perfidy.

Fourthly, That the treaty concluded with the Congress, is not an offence to England; and that, consequently, the Memorial, by which it was announced to that State, was not a declaration of war.

To these conclusions, we may confine the answer which the *Justifying Memorial* of the Court of London seems to demand. But as that Court makes it criminal in the King to have given a shelter, in his dominions, to the Americans; and to have permitted his subjects to open a direct trade to the United States, it will not be improper to shew to what excess the British Ministry hath carried it's pretensions on these two objects.

In giving shelter to the Americans, the King only fulfilled the first duties of humanity, at the same time that he exercised a right inherent to Sovereignty; a right which belongs to every independent nation; which can be restrained only by conventions; and which is more extensively exercised in England, than in any State of Europe. The King had no right to renounce the exercise of that right, to the prejudice of the Americans, because that nation had never offended him; and it would have been a tyranny in him, an unheard-of cruelty, to have driven them out of his dominions, because they were unjustly oppressed by Great Britain. The Americans have resided in more than one country of Europe, and is there one from whence they have been expelled? Is there one where they have not enjoyed the rights of hospitality? Is there one where they have not been as safe and quiet, as in the

most distant provinces of America? By what title, then, doth the Court of London pretend it is a crime in the King alone, not to have driven the Americans out of his dominions.

The King hath not only afforded an asylum to the Americans, but he hath also admitted their privateers, with their prizes: that is one of the principal grievances of the Court of London, on which it hath laid the greatest stress, and which hath furnished the most ample matter for declamations and reproaches; but a very few words will suffice to establish true principles on this head, and to demonstrate that the English Ministry hath voluntarily misconceived them.

The King is free to admit ships of every nation in the world into his ports. This right extends as well to ships of war as to merchant ships; and admits of no restrictions but what are established by treaties. The treaty of Utrecht contains such as relate to ships of war. The 15th article is to this purpose, "That the contracting parties, (France and England) will not permit their respective enemies to arm in their ports, to sell their prizes there, or to remain therein beyond the time necessary to repair their damages, and provide what is requisite to enable them to put to sea." The King hath punctually observed this conduct; in regard to the American privateers. His will, in that respect, is proved by the most precise orders, and still more by their execution. The English Ministry, indeed, assert that those orders were illusive; that they were openly transgressed, with impunity, and even by authority of Government. But that accusation is a calumny the more shocking, as it is contrary to public notoriety, proved even by the *Ministerial Gazettes*, printed in America.

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It is alledged that the King should have forbidden all entrance to the American privateers, because he ought to have looked upon them as pirates; it may be asked what right had the King to esteem them as such? The Americans are not his subjects; he is neither judge nor arbitrator in the domestic disputes of England: he had adopted a neutrality, which he would have infringed in the most odious manner, by deciding on the state of the Americans. These principles are certain, and it is a downright mockery to misconceive them, as it would be an adulation, an inexcuseable weakness to violate them. That Court alone had their pirates at sea; those were their merchant ships, who, in time of profound peace, seized the French vessels; and, doubtless, that Court will not pretend that this procedure was contrary to its orders or intentions; since, although the offenders were denounced, they remained unpunished; and the ships they had taken have not been restored.

As for the liberty the King granted to his subjects, of trading directly with the Americans, it doth not require a justification, because every nation hath only to consult itself, to be convinced that his Majesty might grant that without doing any injury to Great Britain. Yet it may be thought proper to make a few superabundant observations on that important question.

In time of war, commerce may be divided into two branches; the first comprehends innocent merchandizes, the other those commodities which are known by the name of *military contraband*.

Nations, which adopt neutrality continue the first species of commerce with the belligerent powers, with an entire freedom; but the second species is prohibited, the commodities may be intercepted, and confiscated,

according to the regulations prescribed either by usage or by treaty. In consulting both, we shall find, not that the commerce of those goods called *contraband*, breaks the neutrality, but that the individuals who undertake it, are exposed to a simple confiscation. Such is the law that hath existed, on this matter, between France and England; it is settled in the 19th article of the Treaty of Utrecht.

It follows, from the stipulations of that treaty, that the King was not obliged to forbid his subjects either the commerce of innocent articles, or of contraband goods, in respect to America; and the only obligation they imposed on him was, not to protect that last species of commerce. To place this truth in the clearest light, we will consider the United States in two points of view, that is, as subjects of Great Britain, or as independent. In the first hypothesis, they are subject to the laws of their mother country; they are forbidden to have any direct commerce with any other nation but England; but can this restriction, which is absolutely domestic, extend to foreigners? Hath England the privilege to prescribe laws to other countries? Hath she the right to forbid a Frenchman, a Dutchman, &c. to ship a cargo for America? If she had that right, she would also have that of exercising it; and she would then have that of doing acts of sovereignty over other nations. The prohibitory laws of England cannot be executive but within the limits of her own sovereignty; if she extends them farther, then she violates the public safety, the freedom of the seas, the independence of nations; and she insults every Sovereign. It is thus that the Court of London explained itself on this head, in the disputes it had with the Court of Madrid, which led to the Treaty of Pardo (x). Thus, accord-

(x) It is settled among those powers who have colonies, that the trade of those colonies is exclusive; that is to say, that no stranger hath a right to

ing to England herself, the prohibitive laws respecting America, can have their effect only in the latitudes of North America, which are held, according

partake of it. This universal usage hath been, at all times, more or less infringed, according to the advantages which an interloping trade offered. That of the Spanish American Continent opened such as were invaluable to England, and they took care not to let them slip. They carried on a contraband trade, with an insupportable boldness, that obliged the Court of Madrid to take forcible measures to restrain it. For that purpose the Court of Madrid established guarda costas, who were ordered to stop and search every English vessel, navigating on the Spanish coasts, and laden with contraband goods.

These guarda costas exceeded their orders; they seized English vessels in the open sea, and a considerable number of these vessels were confiscated, because they were laden with commodities thought to be the produce of the Spanish colonies, or designed for them.

The Court of London complained bitterly of the proceedings of these Spanish guarda costas. It maintained that the American seas were free, and no treaty had restrained that freedom; that, consequently, Spain could not embarrass the navigation of the English vessels, and seize them, unless in her ports, havens, and rivers, or within a certain distance from her coasts. These principles, founded on the law of nations, were sanctified by the Treaty of Seville (1729). But the English continued their interloping commerce, and the Spanish guarda costas, on their side, continued to abuse the orders of their Court; so that disputes revived; and the discontent was carried to such a height, that the King of England was determined to grant letters of reprisals. The affair was warmly discussed in Parliament during the sessions of 1738; and both Houses addressed the King with the following resolutions:

1st. RESOLVED, "That the subjects of Great Britain have an evident and an inviolable right, to navigate the American seas, as well in going to, as in returning from any part of his Majesty's dominions; and to carry on such commerce as they are lawfully permitted to do; as also to carry all commodities and effects of one part of his Majesty's dominions, to another; and the effects thus carried, ought not, by virtue of any treaty, to be considered as contraband or prohibited merchandize; and that it is a manifest violation and infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two Crowns (those of Spain and England) to search like vessels, in the open sea, under pretence that they are laden with contraband or prohibited merchandizes."

2nd. RESOLVED, "That it appears to this House that several vessels, as well as their cargoes, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, have been forcibly seized and confiscated, by the Spaniards, upon pretences entirely unjust and ill-founded, and by these means the freedom of commerce and navigation of his Majesty's subjects, according to the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, hath been transgressed, and interrupted, in a manner that cannot be justified, to the great damage of our merchants, and in direct violation of the said treaties."

The King of England received this address, and thought he had fulfilled the wish and the object, by the Treaty of Pardo (1739). It is well known that

according to received principles, to make part of that continent. From thence it results, that Great Britain had no right to stop, in the open sea, much less to confiscate foreign ships bound to America, howsoever laden; and that they could not exercise that double right, but when such ships were met so near the coast of America, as to be judged as found on the territories of Great Britain.

If, on the contrary, the Americans are beheld as an independent nation, or, if they chuse it, a nation at war with England, then neutral Powers are under no other obligations than those which usage or treaties impose. Those which France hath a right to own are contained in the 19th and 20th articles of the Treaty of Utrecht.

The regulations of those articles allow the commerce of harmless commodities; and do not oblige the King to forbid his subjects to carry arms and ammunition to the enemies of Great Britain: they say, simply, that in case ships laden with such kind of merchandize are met, even in the open sea, they may be seized, and declared lawful prizes. Thus the cargoes of military contraband do not regard the King, he is not obliged to hinder them, and the only right of England, in that respect, is that of confiscating them. The consequence drawn from this detail is, that in whatever light we behold

the Americans, England could not, with justice, demand that the King should forbid his subjects to trade with them, and still less that he should punish them for having presumed so to do.

This consequence will show the value of those declamations which the English Ministry thought they might permit against his Majesty, because he had not treated roughly such of his subjects, as, enjoying a freedom belonging to all nations, traded with the Americans.

It is true, that, in order to give some appearance of foundation to their reproaches, they have cited the King's promises, and the breaches of them, which he not only tolerated, but even authorized and encouraged; and to express the treachery of France in two words, they accuse her Ministers of having exhausted every method of *artifice* and *dissimulation* to lull Great-Britain asleep—to ward off the effects of her resentment, from the beginning of the troubles in America, till the moment when the Marquis de Noailles delivered his declaration of war.—It is true that the King had promised to forbid arms to be exported to America: and they were actually forbidden; and, whatsoever the English Ministry may say, that trade was hindered, as much as it was possible, without attacking the liberty of citizens; and without subjecting commerce

that by this treaty the contracting parties agreed to nominate Commissioners, who were charged to find out methods of preventing fresh subjects of complaint, and the damages due to Great Britain, after deducting those reclaimed by Spain, were ascertained at ninety-five thousand pounds sterling.

This treaty being laid before the English Parliament gave room for lively, long, and interesting debates, which had the indefinite freedom of navigation for their ground. It was held criminal in the English Ministry, not to have stipulated the matter in a more explicit manner, conformable to the address of both Houses. The sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, at which the indemnifications of the English merchants had been fixed was looked upon as insufficient. In fine, the clamours of Parliament hindered the ratification of the Treaty of Pardo, and occasioned, first, reprisals, and afterwards an open rupture between the Courts of Madrid and London.

merce to an inquisition, which is used in no corner of the globe, and with which the English themselves would have reproached us, as an act of unsufferable despotism.

According to Lord Stormont, the King's prohibition was daily and publicly transgressed, even with the knowledge, and under the eyes of the public officers who were appointed to see them executed. It is really possible, that French Merchants did risque an exportation of arms to America, by giving false designations. But the greatest part of the accusations of the English Ambassador were found to be either totally false, or so destitute of sufficient proofs, that it was impossible to convict, and therefore, to punish the offenders; unless we had suffered, not a complaisance, but an abuse of authority, to regard the suspicion or information of a spy, as a legal and irreproachable proof. It is that which the Viscount Stormont pretended to claim; but the King could not but reject such a demand, as the Court of London would have also done.

Moreover, had the King agreed that a mere suspicion of the place to which French ships were bound, was sufficient to authorise their seizure; and that even those ships were found in the manifest trespass of having cargoes fitted for American use; it will be still no less true that the sentences of the English Courts of Vice-admiralty were unjust, because they were contrary to the tenor of the treaties. The 24th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht directs, that every man of war, or privateer, shall remain out of gun-shot of the merchant ship, and be content with sending her boat with two or three men to examine the sea papers; and according to the 20th and 25th Ar-

ticle (a) the examination of those papers, if they are regular, must be sufficient for the justification of the Captain of the merchantman; and in that case the man of war shall refrain from any further search. In fine, the 26th Article directs, that, in case of contraband goods, the commodities alone which are pointed out, by names, in the 19th Article, shall be adjudged lawful prize; but the remainder of the cargoes, and also the vessels, shall be restored. All these stipulations are so clear and precise, that they will not admit of interpretation or subterfuge; yet it is certain they have been all violated, in respect to the prizes carried into the ports of the English dominion, and the Judges have regarded them no more than the captors.

In reviewing these details, in which we have been obliged to enter, we see, that so far from the Court of London having a lawful cause of reproach against the King, his Majesty, on the contrary, may say with the strictest truth, that the conduct of Great-Britain, with respect to him, hath been one continual and premeditated violation of the law of nations, the maritime customs, and the rules prescribed by treaties; that the smallness of the facts with which the King had to reproach the Court of London, would have been enough for a Prince less pacific than his Majesty, to have declared war. In a word, that the cause for which he hath taken arms, had no other object than to set bounds to the prepossession and the habitual and systematic injustice of Great-Britain; and to restore to all nations the right which that greedy State had usurped. In fine, to procure to the whole world, a tranquility, whose duration will not thenceforward depend on

(a) Add the 7th Article, of the Convention made in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht.

on the caprices and avidity of the Court of London.

The last object, the truth of which it is proper to establish, is the rise, progress, and issue of the mediation of the King of Spain. The English Ministry begin with asserting, with an astonishing tone of assurance, that the King was the first to seek a mediation; and represents the generous diligence of Spain, first to prevent the war, and then to stop the progress of it, as so many acts of *perfidy* and *falsehood*, in combination with his Majesty.

The King will refrain from entering into a detail of the circumstances, which preceded the mediation; the measures of the Catholic King to bring his Majesty to consent to it; his cares to render it efficacious; the reasons which obliged that Prince to recede from it; and the events which followed. All these have been treated with as much perspicuity as exactness in the *Exposé des Motifs*, published by the King's order, and in the Observations thereon, made by the Court of Madrid.

The Catholic King affirms, that it was not the King [of France] who made the first overtures relative to a mediation, but that they came from the English Ministry, through the channel of Chevalier Escarano. The honour and probity of that Monarch are too well known, not to let his affirmation prevail over that, which the *Justifying Memorial* attributes to the Court of London; and the King thinks he may dispense with supporting it with his testimony. Finally, if his Majesty seeks to justify himself from this false assertion, it is not because he should blush to make any advances for the preservation of peace, but because he thinks he ought to let the public know to what degree the English Ministry hath consulted truth in every part of its Memorial; and to shew the studied malice with which it strives to render his Majesty, as

well as the Catholic King, ridiculous.

The King, who had no ambitious views, and to whom the war that was breaking out, was not matter of choice, but of necessity, accepted with eagerness, the offer the Catholic King made of his mediation. He consented to enter into a negotiation with the Court of London, on condition that the United States of America should be included in the reconciliation which was to result from it. It is evident that this answer was as satisfactory as the Court of London could naturally desire; unless it expected that the King would debase and dishonour himself freely, even in the eyes of his enemies, by abandoning the Americans, in the same moment when he had connected himself with them by a solemn treaty.

The King's dispositions were communicated to the English Ministry; but far from making a suitable return, or rather, far from persisting in what it had first shewn, it demanded, as a preliminary to any negotiation, that the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles should be suppressed. Thus the Court of London wanted the King to subscribe, as a preliminary, to a condition which he could not have admitted, but after the most unsuccessful war. The English Ministers, surely, had not conceived such a hope. They had used conciliating and pacific language, because they wanted to gain time against France; and they had accomplished that important object when they made their excepting answer to the Court of Madrid.

However, the proposition contained in that answer, shocked the King of Spain, and that Prince would have been greatly wanting to himself if he had advised the King to accept it.

Thus the mediation came to nothing, by the very act of the Court of London; and it was evident it had

had such design; since it hastened to send a fleet to sea, and to begin hostilities by attacking and taking his Majesty's ships. But the battle off Ushant shewed the Court of London that its arms were not invincible; and it brought the English Ministry back again to ideas of peace. Several of its emissaries were sent to France to sound, indirectly, the King's Ministers; others addressed themselves directly to them, and the answer to each was, that his Majesty had not altered his dispositions; but he was still ready to negotiate, even after the terms of the first overtures made to Spain. To some, the conditions on which his Majesty would make peace were confidentially communicated. The conditions were,

Firstly, The Independence of the United States:

Secondly, The exempting the Town of Dunkirk from the inspection of the Court of London:

Thirdly, The Freedom of Trade, of the East Indies and Africa.

Fourthly, An equitable Regulation of the Newfoundland fishery.

The first of these conditions was a duty from which the King could not have departed without a shameful breach of faith,

The second was a convenience, and interested the dignity of his Crown.

The third and fourth were in the rule of Justice, and did not offer the least difficulty.

The overtures of the British Ministry had no consequences with the King's Ministers; but it was thought proper to send them to Madrid: they produced a fresh mediation of the King of Spain, and they authorized his Catholic Majesty the rather to think its dispositions were sincere, as it had announced that it only fought to preserve the honour of the British Crown, without doing the least injury to that of France.

The Catholic King acquainted the King [of France] with the new

overtures of the Court of London, and renewed his exhortations for peace. His Majesty not only hastened to give a satisfactory answer, but he also communicated to the Court of Madrid the conditions on which he consented to treat with England. These conditions were only a repetition of those already mentioned.

The King of Spain, assured in a positive and irrevocable manner of the King's dispositions, invited the Court of London to confide to him, on its part, the conditions on which it thought peace might be made. But that Court, accustomed to an insidious policy, which its secret views seemed doubtless to render necessary, gave a verbal answer, which strengthened the Catholic King's hopes, whilst its official answer destroyed any hope, by renewing its former propositions. It required near two months for the English Ministers to digest this double answer, or rather to persuade itself, that the contradiction it contained would escape the cabinet of Madrid. A conduct so insincere, and such unsatisfactory dispositions, did not deter them, however unkind they were to the Catholic King.

That Prince, in expectation of a favourable resolution on the part of England, had proposed, eventually, to the King, to agree to a truce of several years. His Majesty agreed to this new plan, upon condition that the Americans, comprehended in this truce, should be treated as Independent, in fact, whilst it lasted. And the better to facilitate the measures which the Catholic King proposed to offer to London, his Majesty consented to a direct negotiation between the King of England and the United States, unless that Prince chose rather to treat by the intervention of the Court of Madrid.

It was not possible to answer in a manner more conformable to the King of Spain's views; and that Prince thought them so very proportionate

tionate to the desire which the Court of London had testified to him for peace, that he did not hesitate to communicate them to it.

The English Ministry delayed to give any answer from the month of January, last year, till the 6th of March. That answer, masked as it was, induced the King of Spain to believe, that the King of England was really disposed to a reconciliation, as well with France, as with the Americans; and this presumption determined his Majesty to propose a new plan, as his *ultimatum*. According to this plan, an unlimited truce was to be agreed upon, for Europe, and for America. Whilst it lasted, the United States would have been regarded as independent, in fact:—The truce was not to be broken till after a previous notice of one year, each of the two parties were to remain in possession of what they should actually possess at the time of ratifying the treaty. Lastly, the King of England would have been master to treat of truce or peace, directly with the Americans.

These propositions, engrafted, as we may say, on the overtures of the Court of London itself, were communicated without the King's privity, because the Catholic King would not expose them to the delays, which the King's observations on the *statu quo* might occasion; to which he could not have given aid, of himself, because it was contrary to his engagements with the Americans, which from eventual, as they were at the conclusion of the treaty, were become actual and definitive, since the commencement of hostilities; and the Catholic King himself allows that he made the proposition in England, only to satisfy his strong desire to please the Court of London.

But the King of England affected to reject, with disdain, the propositions of the Court of Madrid, as

contrary to his honour, at the same time when he made several attempts to settle with the Americans, unknown to France and Spain. The Catholic King, from this offensive procedure, lost all hopes of an approaching reconciliation; and, at length, that Prince saw himself obliged to take up arms, as well to avenge his own personal affronts, as to answer the obligations which connected him to his Majesty.

Such is the faithful history of the mediation. The King may dispense with replying to the reflections made by the English Ministry, on the different propositions of the Court of Madrid; because he not only did not suggest them, but because he never acceded to those concerning the *statu quo*, not being authorized to do it, by the United States. Yet, his Majesty imagines he may be permitted to offer some remarks on this affair.

It is certain, that when the mediation was in full activity, England had not met with those checks, which might urge her to peace; but that State had sustained, for four years, a very expensive and fruitless war against her former Colonies; and concurrent circumstances had forced the King to make one common cause with them: on the other hand, the Court of London knew the engagement which united France and Spain, and was perfectly informed of the considerable armaments making in the Spanish ports. The Catholic King had clearly declared their destination, and the English Ministry, itself owns that it was not ignorant of it. In this state of affairs, what part would Prudence have suggested to the Court of London, that of supporting, without any hopes of success, a bloody and ruinous war; or of yielding to a fatality of circumstances, which was its own proper work, in embracing the peace that was offered?

The

The King of Spain, without affronting England, without raising its indignation, and even without hurting its delicacy, might suppose that power would rather listen to its situation than its pride; that, instead of leaning to metaphysical distinctions, it would be glad to lend an ear to an agreeable accommodation; the King of Spain not only hoped, but most sincerely desired it; and he saw, with regret, the moment arrive when his engagements, joined to the refusals of justice, with which he could reproach the Court of London, obliged him, at length, to take a part in the war.

In this situation, is Spain to be condemned for having imagined the English Cabinet might admit of an indefinite truce, and consent to treat the Americans as independent, in fact? Surely the Catholic King might propose this last condition to the Court of London, after the capitulation of General Burgoyne, and sending over pacificating Commissioners: and his Catholic Majesty could not conceive that the British Court could regard as insults, conditions much less extensive than those which Holland demanded, and obtained, of Philip II. in 1610, under the auspices of Great Britain.

At the same time when the British Ministry strove to represent the good offices of the King of Spain, as the effect of fraud, dissimulation, and criminal connivance, it sought to turn into ridicule the consent that the King had given to a direct negotiation between England and the United States, but two words will be sufficient to annihilate these high-sounding phrases, by help of which the English Ministry hath endeavoured to render its reflections, on that subject, even supportable.

The King had concluded, with the Americans, a treaty of alliance, which the English themselves had rendered obligatory. One of the

articles of this treaty was, That in case of a war, the two contracting parties should not agree to either peace or truce with each other singly. This stipulation seemed to the King to tie his hands, and prevent his subscribing to the first overtures that had been made, in respect to the mediation. His Majesty undertook to remove that obstacle; and he the more willingly agreed to consent to a separate negotiation with the Americans, because that expedient might save the Court of London from the disagreeableness of treating with France, on the fate of its former subjects. It is this conciliating measure which the English Ministers strive to ridicule, by saying his Majesty pretends to grant as a favour, to the King of England, the liberty of treating directly with his rebellious subjects.

The Court of London having, then, rejected, without excuse, the mediation of the King of Spain; after having, for a moment, deceived him by the most apparently pacific dispositions and overtures, forced that Prince to take a part in the war. This determination ought not to have surprized the English Ministers, because the Catholic King had clearly indicated it to them, at different times. They were, nevertheless, struck with an extreme astonishment, because they flattered themselves, that, by their artful language, by the praises incessantly bestowed on the justice of their Sovereign; their sincere friendship for his Catholic Majesty; by their repeated promises of doing justice to the Spaniards; and by their endeavours to render France suspected, they flattered themselves, that they should succeed in detaching the Court of Madrid from its alliance with the King; in making the King of Spain forget the insults offered to his dignity; and in influencing that Prince to remain, at least,

least, a quiet spectator of the terrible strokes which the King of England flattered himself he should give to the French Monarchy.

These particulars will, doubtless, be sufficient to acquaint the public with what boldness the *Justifying Memorial* imposes on them, in regard to the facts relative to the mediation: and to convince every impartial reader, that neither the King, nor the King of Spain, have belied the principles of honour and probity, which they professed, in that important occurrence. That, on the contrary, these two Sovereigns gave the most evident proofs of their love of peace; that it is the Court of London itself that hath provoked the Catholic King; that that Court put arms in his hands, as it had before in those of his Majesty—In a word, that it is that Court which hath rendered necessary the efforts of the two Monarchs to set bounds, at last, to the abuse which it hath too long made of its power.

KENNETT, MAYOR.

A Common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday the 10th day of February, 1780.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court doth now agree to petition the Honourable House of Commons on the expenditure of public money, and the increasing influence of the Crown.

Whereupon this Court doth nominate and appoint Brads Crosby, James Townsend, John Wilkes, John Sawbridge, John Kirkman, William Plomer, George Hayley, and Nathaniel Newnham, Esqrs. Aldermen; Mr. Deputy Jeremiah Percy, Mr. Samuel Thorp, Mr. Deputy William Saxby, Mr. William Anderson, Mr. William Hurford, Mr. Nicholas Forster, Mr. Deputy Lake Young, Mr. Lawrence Holker, Mr. Robert Holder, Mr.

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James Sharp, Mr. Charles Lincoln, Mr. Thomas William Preston, Mr. John Withers, Mr. George Bodley, Mr. Anthony Facer Kemp, and Mr. Josiah Dornford, Commoners, to be a Committee, assisted by Mr. Recorder and Mr. Common Serjeant, to withdraw immediately and prepare a petition pursuant to the said resolution; and the said Committee withdrew accordingly, and returning again into this Court, presented the draft of a petition by them prepared, which, being twice read, was unanimously agreed to.

It is ordered, that the said petition be fairly transcribed and signed by the Town Clerk, and presented by Mr. Sheriffs, attended by Mr. Remembrancer, forthwith to the Honourable House of Commons.

Resolved, That the Committee this day appointed to prepare the above petition be empowered and directed to correspond with the Committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, in this kingdom, for the purposes mentioned in the said petition; and Mr. Recorder and Mr. Common Serjeant are desired to attend the said Committee when they shall be required.

Resolved unanimously, That it be an instruction to the said Committee to meet such Members of the Committees of the several petitioning counties, cities, and boroughs, as are now in London, or who may be deputed for the purpose of presenting or supporting their petitions, and who may think it necessary to confer on the means of promoting the common object of the said petition.

R I X.

Saturday, February 12, 1780.

Committee of Common-council for corresponding with the Committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the several counties, cities, and boroughs in this kingdom.

Ordered, That a copy of the petition of the Court of Common-

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council to the Honourable House of Commons, on the expenditure of public money, and the increasing influence of the Crown, agreed to on the 10th instant, together with the resolutions of the said Court thereon, signed by the Town-Clerk, be printed in all the public papers.

Ordered, That the motions made and debated in the House of Lords, and the copies of their Lordships' minutes on those occasions, which were laid before the Court of Common-council on the 16th of December last, together with the resolution of thanks agreed to at the said Court, and the letters from several Peers laid before the Court on the 10th instant, and the protest of the Lords of the 8th instant, be printed, and copies thereof sent to every Member of the Court of Common-council, and to the Committees of the corresponding counties, cities, and boroughs.

Ordered, That this Committee do meet in the Council-chamber, Guildhall, every Friday at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and all letters intended for the Committee are desired to be directed to Mr. Rix, Town Clerk, at Guildhall.

R 1 x.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

At a meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Yeomanry, Freeholders, and Tradesmen of the county of Bucks, held at the Town-Hall, in Aylesbury, on Saturday the 26th day of February, 1789, a petition addressed to the House of Commons was read.

[The petition was similar to that of York.]

Resolved, That the petition now read, is approved of by this meeting, and that the Members for the county be desired to present and support the same.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to carry on the necessary

correspondence, and to prepare a plan of association, on legal and constitutional grounds, for the support of that laudable reform, together with such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee to this meeting, to be held by adjournment, at the Town-Hall, in Aylesbury, on Thursday the 13th day of April next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

Resolved, That the Committee consist of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen:

Duke of Grafton, Duke of Portland, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Jersey, Earl Stanhope, Earl Temple, Earl Spencer, Earl of Shelburne, Earl Verney, Viscount Mahon, Viscount Althorpe, Lord Beaulieu, Lord George Henry Cavendish, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir William Wake, Thomas Grenville, Esq. John Aubrey, Esq. Thomas Wenman Coke, Esq. Edmund Burke, Esq. Richard Hopkins, Esq. John Wilkes, Esq. Thomas Halsey, Esq. Robert Dormer, Esq. J. Seare, Esq. T. Carter, Esq. J. Taylor, Esq. Rich. Dayrell, Esq. E. Dayrell, Esq. Henry Tompkins, Esq. Geo. Francklin, Esq. J. Morris, Esq. James Shipton, Esq. Richard Whitchurch, Esq. Fiennes Trotman, Richard Burke, Esq. J. Hollis, Esq. the Rev. Edmund Millward, the Rev. Lilly Butler, Rev. Charles Gough, Rev. Mat. Mayo, Rev. Geo. H. Purefoy, Rev. Richard Worley, Rev. Henry Benners, Rev. James Price, Messrs. John Fellowes, Westcott, Robert Webb of Claydon, Charles King, Shipton Lee, Edward Eccles, Quainton, Wil. Stone, Long Crendon, Messrs. Tho. Thorpe, Oving, John Dill, Aylesbury, John Franklin, Dinton, Caleb Cox, of Great Miffendon, Richard East, Princes Risborough, Joseph Corbett, Adstock, J. Frost, Miffenden, Thom. Theed; Buckingham;

Buckingham, Philip Box, of the same, James Bradford, of the same, William Prentice, of the same, William Fenton, of the same, J. Fellowes, of the same, William Wilson, of Litlington Dayrell, Robert Porter, Leckhamstead, Geo. Woodward, Chalfont, John Bailey, Chesham, Patrick Heybourne, Chesham, John Nash, Chesham, D. Pope, Chesham, John Davis, Cheneys, Newman Williatt, Honwood, Grant Hewitt, Honwood, Joseph Tilcock, Eddlesborough, Thomas Deverell the younger, Swanbourne, John Bull, Swanbourne, Benjamin Dudley, Winslow, Jos. Lucas, Wingrave, ——— Burt, High-Wycombe, ——— Landflade, ditto, Isaac King, ditto, Edward Bloxham, Stoney-Stratford, Robert Pierson, Newport Pagnell, Walter Beaty, ditto, Robert Perratt, Newport, Morris Smith, Olney, Wm. Grover, Boveney, Edmond Grove, Penn.

Resolved, That a meeting of twelve members be empowered to act, and that their acts be considered as the acts of the Committee, and that the Committee have power to add to their number.

Resolved, That the practice of signing protests, by persons not present at a county meeting, openly convened for the purpose by previous public advertisement, in opposition to the resolutions of such meetings, so publicly convened, is subversive of all constitutional union, and tends to mislead Parliament and the Public in regard to the sentiments of the people.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. Earl Verney, and Thomas Grenville, Esq. Knights of the Shire, John Aubrey, Esq. Member for the borough of Aylesbury, William Drake, sen. Esq. William Drake, jun. Esq. members for the borough of Amersham, James Grenville, Esq. member for the borough of Buckingham,

and Robert Waller, Esq. member for the borough of Chipping Wycombe, all of this county, for their support of the motion made in the House of Commons, on Monday the 21st inst. for the production of a list of all pensions payable at the Exchequer, or elsewhere, together with the names of all persons receiving the same.

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the said Committee, that they do write letters to all members of Parliament, serving for the boroughs within this county, requesting them to support the objects of this petition in Parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the yeomen, freeholders, and tradesmen of this county, who signed the request to the High-Sheriff to call this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High-Sheriff for his ready compliance with the request of the yeomen, freeholders, and tradesmen of this county, and for his conduct as Chairman at this meeting.

Resolved, That the above resolution be printed in the public papers, signed by the Chairman.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned to Thursday the 13th day of April next, at the Town-hall in Aylesbury, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

ISAAC EELLS, Chairman.

NOTTINGHAM.

At a meeting of the county of Nottingham, held at the Moot-hall on the 28th day of February, 1780. the following resolutions were proposed, and unanimously agreed to (except one dissenting voice) viz.

1st, Resolved—That the petition now read to this meeting, addressed to the House of Commons, and requesting that effectual measures may be taken by that House, to enquire into and correct the gross abuses in

the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments of office; to rescind or abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, is approved by this meeting.

2d, Resolved—That a Committee be appointed for carrying into effect, as far as may be, all the resolutions of this meeting, and that such Committee shall consist of the twenty-three following gentlemen:

Duke of Portland, Lord Edward Bentinck, Lord George Sutton, Mr. George Sutton, Mr. Thomas Sutton, Mr. Charles Sutton, Mr. Hewett, Mr. Disney Ffytche, Rev. Dr. Disney, Mr. Acklom, Mr. Donston, Mr. J. Cartwright, Mr. Sikes, Mr. Pocklington, Mr. Pocklington, of Carlton, Rev. John Edwards, Mr. Huish, Sir George Savile, Mr. Athorpe, Mr. Nevile, Mr. Meadows, Reverend Edmund Cartwright, Mr. Gilbert Cooper.

3d, Resolved—That this Committee shall consist of the forenamed gentlemen, and that seven shall form a quorum, and that their acts shall be considered as the acts of the Committee. That the gentlemen of the Committee shall be empowered to add to their number when found necessary.

4th, Resolved—That the Committee be desired to meet this evening, at seven o'clock, and to hold their future meetings by their own adjournments.

5th, Resolved—That the said Committee be instructed to correspond with the Committees of other counties, cities, and towns, in order to obtain, in a legal and constitutional manner, the object of the petition.

6th, Resolved—That the Members of this county be desired to present this petition; and that the Committee be desired to write to the Members of Parliament respecting the boroughs in this county, to desire their support in Parliament to this petition.

7th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the gentlemen, who, by public advertisement, requested this Meeting.

8th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Lord Edward Bentinck and Charles Meadows, Esq. the Members for this county, for having supported Sir George Savile's motion, that all subsisting pensions be laid before Parliament.

9th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those noblemen and gentlemen, who, in both Houses of Parliament, have strenuously opposed the increase of the public burthen, and uniformly endeavoured to support the independence of the representatives of the people, by correcting those abuses of government, unsettled accounts, and unmerited pensions.

10th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Duke of Portland for his attendance here this day.

11th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those gentlemen who this day so ably supported the principle of the petition.

12th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to George Donston, Esq. Chairman.

13th, Resolved—That the said Committee be desired to use their efforts for promoting the object of the petition, by a due attention to the proper means of counteracting all such attempts as may be made to misrepresent the proceedings of this Meeting, or to deceive or impose upon the inhabitants of the county, by artful hand-bills, or any other means; so that the inhabitants may be enabled to judge who are their friends, and who are not.

14th, Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Dukes of Norfolk, Devonshire, and Rutland; the Earls of Suffolk, Stamford, Ferrars, and Fitzwilliam;

Lord

Lord George Sutton, Sir George Savile, Mr. Meadows, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Hewett, Mr. Plumtree, Mr. Fredrick Montague, Mr. Thoroton, and the Rev. William Holmes, who this day communicated their hearty concurrence in the prayer of the petition.

15th. Resolved—That the proceedings of this day be forthwith printed in the public papers.

16th, Resolved—That this Meeting be adjourned to Friday the 19th day of May next ensuing, then to meet at this place, at twelve o'clock in the forenoon.

GEORGE DONSTON, Chairman.
COMMITTEE.

*Mansfield; Swan Inn, seven o'clock,
February 28, 1780.*

P R E S E N T,

Duke of Portland, Mr. Charles Sutton, Mr. Gilbert Cooper, Mr. Disney Ffytche, Mr. Pocklington, Mr. Pocklington, of Carlton, the Rev. Dr. Disney, Mr. Sikes, Mr. John Cartwright, Mr. Nevile.

1st, Resolved—That Mr. Weatham, the Rev. George Walker, Mr. William Dickson Rastal, Mr. Charles Cartwright, Mr. Unwin, and Mr. Frederick Montague, be added to the Committee.

2d, Resolved—That the names of the additional members of this Committee, contained in the first resolution of this evening, be published along with the other names of the members thereof.

3d, Resolved—That this Meeting be adjourned to Monday the sixth day March of next, then to be held at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the tavern in Newark.

PORTLAND, Chairman.

*Extract of a letter from Cambridge,
March 10.*

Yesterday a meeting of this corporation was held at the Town-hall, agreeable to notice given in last week's paper, when the following

petition and resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled:

The humble Petition of the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Town of Cambridge, in Common Hall assembled:

Sheweth,

That this nation has been engaged for several years in an expensive and most unfortunate war; the consequence of which hath been a considerable addition to the national debt, a decline of trade, a rapid and alarming decrease in value of the landed property of this kingdom, and an accumulation of taxes, by which your petitioners find themselves much oppressed.

That the reduction of the public expence has, by all orders of the community, been long thought a proper expedient, and your petitioners are now convinced it is a necessary one; and that a reformation in the public expenditure, and an economical management of the revenues of the state, will greatly promote real content among his Majesty's subjects, and inspire them with that unanimity so necessary to a vigorous exertion of the force of this empire against its combined enemies France and Spain, and to the restoring its late flourishing state.

Your petitioners, therefore, appealing to this Honourable House, and considering the members thereof as their constitutional guardians, do most earnestly request they will take, and urge with perseverance, the most effectual means to correct all abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments of office; to rescind or abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, which tend to give an unconstitutional influence to the Ministers of the Crown, and burthen the subject beyond what the absolute necessities

fities of the State require. And your petitioners, will ever pray, &c.

Given under our common seal the 9th day of March, 1780.

Resolved—1st, That the petition now read is unanimously approved by this meeting.

2dly, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Tho. Bond, Esq. Mayor, for his ready compliance in the request made to him for summoning a Common-hall.

3dly, That the Members of this town be requested, by Mr. Mayor, to present this petition to the House, and support it when it comes under consideration.

S U F F O L K.

March 14, 1780.

On Thursday last a numerous and respectable meeting of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the county of Suffolk, was held at Stowmarket, in pursuance of the High-Sheriff's advertisement, who opened the business, and declining the Chair, Mr. Maynard was called upon to preside, when he proposed, that the gentlemen who had subscribed the requisition to the Sheriff, with such other gentlemen as should chuse to join them, should be a Committee for preparing a petition, which was immediately done and read as follows :

*To the Hon. the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled:
The petition of the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Land-owners of the county of Suffolk :*
Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged for several years, in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national

debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, and a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensibly necessary in every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount, whence the Crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceive, that the true end of every legitimate Government, is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and consider that, by the constitution of this realm, the national purse is intrusted, in a peculiar manner, to the custody of this Honourable House; they therefore appeal to your justice, and do most earnestly request that effectual measures may be taken to inquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to regulate and controul the lavish extraordinaries of army, navy, and ordnance, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the State, in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

Then a conversation took place respecting the Committee of Correspondence, and a resolution moved and agitated thereon; but, after some time, it was agreed to postpone the further discussion of that matter,

matter, until the 24th of April, the day of adjournment of this meeting.

After this, letters from Lord De Ferrars, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Scrivener were read, lamenting that they were prevented attending the meeting, and expressing their hearty concurrence in the purpose of the petition.

Then the following resolutions were agreed upon, viz.

That the petition, when signed, be transmitted to the Representatives of the county, who are requested to present it to Parliament, and to give it their utmost support.

That copies of the petition be sent to the Representatives of the several boroughs in the county of Suffolk, and that they be requested to give it their countenance and support in Parliament.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the High-Sheriff, for his readiness in giving the county this opportunity of assembling; to the Chairman, to the Duke of Grafton, Sir Charles Bunbury, Sir Charles Davers, and Sir Gerrard Vanneck for their attendance.

And the meeting was then adjourned to Monday the 24th-day of April next, to receive the report of the Representatives of the success of their application to Parliament.

THOMAS MAYNARD, Chairman.

MORPETH, March 8, 1780.

At a general meeting of the county, held here this day, in pursuance of public advertisements, Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq. High-Sheriff, in the chair, a petition to Parliament, for an enquiry into the profuse expenditure of public money, was moved for and seconded, and the question being put, it was resolved, with only two dissenting voices; of which the following is a copy:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,

The Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Landholders of the County of Northumberland:

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners considering the vast sums of money which have been expended, as well as the great increase of the national debt, occasioned by the present most unfortunate war, and being sensibly affected by the heavy load of taxes already laid on the subjects of this kingdom, and apprehensive that others must soon be imposed, humbly request this Honourable House, seriously to turn their attention to the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country.

Your petitioners conceive that in this time of national distress, it will be necessary, as much as possible, to alleviate the public burthens, by abolishing sinecure and useless places, and reducing the exorbitant salaries and perquisites annexed to others, the disposal of which not only occasions a great waste of public treasure, but gives an unconstitutional power to the Ministers of the Crown.

Your petitioners humbly conceive that the interposition of this Honourable House in these points, and a diligent annual examination into the expenditure of the public money, must be productive of great national good, and enable this country, by properly directing and combining its resources, to prevail over its most powerful enemies.

They esteem it their duty, therefore, to address this Honourable House, hoping that the reasonable request of this petition will be taken into their most serious consideration.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

After which the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to, nem. con.

Resolved, That letters be written by the High-Sheriff, in the name of this

this meeting, to the Representatives of this county in Parliament, requesting them to present the petition to the House of Commons, and to give it their support.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Andrew Robinson Bowes, Esq. the High-Sheriff, for his ready compliance with the requisition for convening the county.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Portland, and the Earl of Tankerville, for honouring the meeting with their presence, and supporting the petition.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Noblemen and gentlemen who signed the requisition to the High-Sheriff.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have moved and supported those important questions which promote the great objects of the petition.

Resolved, That the High-Sheriff be requested to give an early intimation to the county of the success of the petition, and to report the answer of the Members, by calling a public meeting of the county.

H E R E F O R D.

At a meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Landholders of this county, held at the Shire-hall, in Hereford, on Saturday the 11th of this instant, March, the following petition, addressed to the House of Commons, was read and approved of, with only three dissenting voices:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled,

The Petition of several of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Landholders, of the county of Hereford:

Sheweth,

That this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expen-

sive and unfortunate contest with many of her colonies, and that France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain, have taken advantage of these circumstances, and proceeded to unjust and unprovoked hostilities, and that the consequences of these combined misfortunes have been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of trade, and an uncommon scarcity of money in the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the State, your petitioners apprehend that much public money has been improvidently squandered; and that many individuals enjoy useless places, and sinecures, with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount, whence the Crown hath acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners, therefore, appealing to your justice, do most earnestly request that you will take such measures as will tend effectually to enquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all useless places, sinecures, and unmerited pensions; and appropriate the produce thereof to the necessities of the State, in such manner as to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem meet.

After which the following resolutions were proposed, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Philipps, Esq. for his acceptance of the Chair.

Resolved, That instructions be given to the Members of this county,

ty, requesting them to support the objects of the petition in Parliament; and that they be required to send their report to the Chairman, to be immediately communicated to the gentlemen of this county.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Uvedale Price, Esq. for opening the business of the petition in a spirited and manly speech.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Hon. Edward Foley, Sir George Cornwall, Bart. John Scudamore, Richard Paine Knight, and James Walwyn, Esqrs. for their firm and steady support of the petition.

Resolved, That the above petition and resolutions be printed in the three next Hereford and Gloucester Journals, and in the London papers.

MIDDLESEX COMMITTEE.

Free-Mason's Tavern, March 21.

Whereas there hath been this day transmitted to this Committee, from the general meeting of deputies, appointed by the several petitioning counties, cities and towns, a copy of their resolves, containing propositions for a General Plan of Association, and also a Memorial, justifying the said propositions, with a Circular Letter from the Chairman of the said meeting:

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee are of opinion that the said resolves, and the circular letter annexed thereto, are formed upon the best policy for bringing all the said petitioning counties, cities, and towns, and others which have not yet petitioned Parliament for a redress of national grievances, into that well-compacted union, which cannot fail of giving success in the end to the prayers of the people, by repairing the injuries which this constitution hath suffered, and by eradicating from it that dangerous

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influence of the Crown, which hath nearly sapped its foundation.

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee do adjourn the consideration of the particular propositions, transmitted by the said meeting of Deputies, to Tuesday the 4th day of April.

And whereas, it is requested by the said meeting of Deputies, that this, as well as every other Committee, would take the most effectual means for circulating their said Memorial through the kingdom, by which they trust all men will be impressed with the propriety of those measures which they have proposed.

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee do publish (together with the resolves of this meeting) the said Memorial, with the whole of the resolutions and circular letter so transmitted to them.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to James Townsend, Esq. George Prescott, Esq. and the Rev. Robert Bromley, the Deputies from this Committee to the general meeting of Deputies, for their faithful execution of the important trust reposed in them, and their temperate and judicious conduct in support of the opinions of the Committee.

JAMES TOWNSEND, Chairman.

At a meeting of Deputies from the counties of York, Surrey, Middlesex, Suffex, Gloucester, Hertford, Kent, Huntingdon, Dorset, Bucks, Chester, Devon, and Essex, from the cities of London, Westminster, and Gloucester, and the towns of Newcastle and Nottingham, holden at the St. Alban's Tavern, and afterwards by several adjournments at the Great Room in King-street, St. James's, on Saturday the 11th, Tuesday the 14th, Wednesday the 15th, Friday the 17th, Saturday the 18th, and Monday the 20th days of March, 1780.

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The Reverend Christopher Wyvill, one of the Deputies from the county of York, in the Chair.

Resolved, That the Deputies from the Committees of the different petitioning counties, cities, and towns, shall vote by deputations, each deputation giving one vote.

Read and approved the following MEMORIAL, containing REASONS for a PLAN of ASSOCIATION, proposed by the Deputies from the several counties, cities, and towns, who have petitioned Parliament for a redress of grievances.

If there ever was a period in the annals of this country for popular jealousy to be awake, and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other æras have been marked by partial inroads on the Constitution, grasping at particular prerogatives, and narrowing chiefly the subordinate branches of civil liberty. But whatever was their measure, disappointment and overthrow have generally been their fate. That public virtue, which hath distinguished Englishmen, never forsook our ancestors in the hour of important trial, never left the arbitrary mind to triumph finally in success. Their Representatives in the legislative body might be depended on at the national call, and in that barrier they ever found themselves impregnable.

What is our situation at present? By the operation of a despotic system, which has continued, with very little intermission, near nineteen years, and is now almost completed by a dangerous Administration, the very vitals of the Constitution have received a mortal wound: not this or that partiality of the reigning mind has been gratified, but the whole capacity of popular freedom

has been struck at: we are arrived at the crisis, which the wisest of political writers have uniformly marked for the downfall of Britain, * *when the legislative body shall become as corrupt as the executive, and dependent upon it.*

Let any man look back to the laws which have passed only in the tea last Sessions of Parliament, forming, as it were, step by step, a Code of Prerogative, which has already brought within its vortex the primary parts of civil, religious, commercial, and military Administration, within the kingdom, or its dependencies, not excepting from its vast controul all the branches of the Royal Family, and but too probably the succession of the Crown: let him look back to these, and then doubt if the executive power has not found its way to the corruption of the legislative. Let him behold a venal majority in the House of Commons, Session after Session, moving obsequious to the nod of the Minister, and giving the legislative sanction to propositions, not only big with the fate of their country, but often militating against the first principles of the Constitution, and the declared voice of their constituents; while every effort of reason and argument, urged by an independent few, has only been answered by numbers, dumb to every other reply: and then let him judge how enormous that corruption must be. But let him bring his observation to the immense patronage of the Crown, diffused over this legislative body in the bestowal of offices, and where offices are too few, or not lucrative enough to satiate the corruption of individuals, in ruinous contracts, in profuse pensions, some known, and others studiously concealed: let these be considered, and the terms above-mentioned, in which the crisis of
British

* Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, vol. i.

British freedom is marked, are indisputably fulfilled, *the legislative body is as corrupt as the executive, and dependent upon it.*

For us then it is reserved to feel ourselves bowed down under that intolerable oppression, which to a British mind, in any past generation, could appear but as a fearful speculation—**THE ENORMOUS, THE COMPLETELY ACCUMULATED, THE ALLEDEVOURING INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN.** By an unhappy war with America, begotten in the first insolence of this despotic system, and nursed with a view of giving completion to it, this fatal influence has been armed with more ample means than ever it enjoyed before, for enslaving Parliament, in the private application of no small part of those monies, which have far exceeded the supplies of former wars, and have been obtained under the pretext of necessary public service: while the nation itself, in every species of its property, in every department of its commerce, in every description of its people (those only excepted who have become great on the spoils of the public) hath visibly sunk almost into beggary. Never, surely, did any country experience so sudden a reverse from prosperity to depression. It took place, it covered us, while we began but to forbode it. The weight of its evils now rests on our heads in the alarming fall of rents, the decay of manufactures, the accumulation of taxes, the stagnation of all credit: at the same time there is but the probability of worse ensuing after bad—the humble and temperate petitions of an oppressed people are answered if not with insolence, yet hitherto with unfeeling neglect—the oppressors of the land are still cherished, nay, rewards and honours keep pace with the accumulation of their misconduct—Men of integrity, on whom the public confidence would rest, are cast out—and amidst all these, we

have the mortifying reflection to find, that an Administration, thus hostile to the people, though possessing ostensibly the responsibility of office, is entrenched, or labours to entrench itself behind the Royal Person, covered with prerogatives, which would exempt HIM from doing wrong.

These are evils which must be redressed, if we would not be stigmatized for slaves, to the latest generations. It is the definition of an Englishman to be *jealous* of the influence of the Crown: It is the definition of a Member of the British Parliament to *check* it. Shall both forfeit for ever, nay, cover in shame, the lustre of their proper character? The reproach hath been cast on us all but too long, and chiefly by those who have dealt out the arts of corruption, that it is to our own want of public virtue, in the choice of our Representatives, we are indebted for any invasions our liberties sustain. It is time, therefore, that virtue should shew itself. And, however it may blast the thriving hopes of power, yet Princes ought to be overjoyed to have subjects, to whom honour is dearer than every thing else.

'Tis from necessity, therefore, founded in such reasons as neither their honour nor their understanding can overlook, that the numerous petitioning counties, cities and towns of England, have taken the alarm, and have stepped forth by applications to Parliament, and by such constitutional Associations as may give vigour to their Petitions. And we hope, while the cause continues, that the alarm will never cease, but that all will see their interest and their danger undisguised, and come forward, till there be but one voice throughout the land.

We are persuaded, under circumstances so pressing as the present, that nothing can give effectual redress to all the evils we feel, but a restoration

on of the freedom and independency of Parliament, by a reform in all those circumstances, which are at present the avenues and establishments of a corrupted influence. And nothing can put us in a full possession of that desirable and most necessary event, but a vigorous, compacted, and unshaken union of all independent men throughout the kingdom.

Wherefore, we do most anxiously recommend it to all classes of citizens, and especially to those who have votes for the returning of any Members to Parliament, as they value their liberties, the preservation of their remaining properties, and the rescuing of their posterity from unconstitutional dominion, to unite themselves in a firm purpose of obtaining, from their Representatives, those salutary reforms (the outlines of which are hereafter submitted) by the establishment whereof, the door must be effectually shut on corruption; and jointly and severally to persevere, regardless of every consideration to the contrary, until they shall have obtained the same.

In the first place then, it must be evident, that a reformation is indispensable in the Civil Establishment, which has grown to such a fund of corruption, in an infinity of offices, either useless in their nature, or greatly overpaid in their excise—in the means it affords for a shameful expenditure in pensions unmerited by services—in the waste committed in the receipt of its monies, and the making up of its accounts. 'Tis impossible, humanly speaking, that while these temptations exist, any Assembly, on whom they are pressed, should be compleatly free.

In the next place, experience hath ever agreed with the best speculation, that independency in the British House of Commons is most to be looked for in the Representatives of

counties. Taking things as they stand at present, there is not the probability of a balance against the influence which now corrupts, without an augmentation of Knights of Shires, attentively chosen. And taking things as we hope to find them shortly, when many branches of corruption may be lopped off, such augmentation will give the greatest security to the national interest, in the best quarter. Less than one hundred Knights, superadded to the present, will hardly give a number to be felt by every county, nor a number sufficient to secure, at present, a balance to the independent side. And if the number were left indefinite now, every salutary hope from this measure might be defeated. If ever the hour shall come, when the prudence of the people, uniting with the prepared minds of the Legislature, shall approve of a reduction in the representations of boroughs, on such plans as shall silence the prejudices of the interested, the augmentation now proposed will no longer be found in the numbers of the House; and, till that takes place, necessity, and the only opening of hope, should reconcile the addition; if our first choice might not embrace it.

To these regulations we conceive, an addition must be made; for shortening the duration of the sitting of Parliament, which can only be done consistently with the Constitution, or with the best policy in any enlarged view, by shortening it to the period of a year. When the two Acts, which passed in the reign of Edward III. ordained that a Parliament should be holden once every year, and more often if need be; the object then evidently being to prevent the Crown from acting without a Parliament, can it be conceived that they did not speak what the Constitution demanded, or that they did not mean a *new* Parliament every year? The fact is, during the whole

of that reign, and for the first eighteen years of the following one, writs were annually issued, and in some instances, two or three times in the same year, for new elections, till Richard II. made himself absolute. And various were the occasions in those times, when the Commons gave for answer to any new propositions of magnitude, that *they dared not agree without conference with their countries*. At what period then was it, that the consent of the people was asked and obtained to so momentous a proposal, as that of divesting them of their expected controul over their representatives; in fact, of changing the terms, on which the delegation had passed from their hands? Annual Parliaments are, therefore, the *ancient Constitution* of England, and the *Birthright* of Englishmen.

Nor are they less beneficial in policy than unalienable in right. In the language of ancient times, before the prejudices of habit had thrown false colours over names and things, they were ever described as consistent with the greatest peace, and most peaceably conducted. And in Parliamentary Records, for more than two hundred years together, from 49 Hen. III. till 22 Edw. IV. we find not so much as *one* double return, nor more than two or three instances of elections questioned on any ground—a circumstance surely most inviting, when put in contrast with that multitude of perplexing inquiries, which of late years hath consumed so much time in Committees, to the great hindrance of the national business. The plain reason is founded not in the time, but in the nature of the thing; the duration of the seat was not an object for a violent contest. This will also dispel the objection arising from the probability of tumult and expensiveness; to remove which, it will further contribute not a little, if we

would give attention to what passes now among those large bodies of electors, who annually chuse their corporate officers. But the argument against corruption surmounts every thing else. Nothing can give so much assurance of defeating it as this limitation. A seat for three years might induce a man's attention to a bribe. He that sits but for one is very unlikely to experience such an offer; or will certainly reject it, if he would not wish to put all his future expectations to an imminent risque.

When once the Constitution of Parliament is improved in these leading points, every thing else that may appear to have its share in reformation, must be subordinate in its class, and must follow in its time. And the more effectually to ensure these, we entreat you, neither at the next, or any future election, to engage your support to any candidate, before you are satisfied that he will give his assistance in Parliament to the establishment of so much of these reforms as may not then be accomplished.

A motion being made, and the question put, it was resolved,

That this Meeting do recommend to the several Committees to persevere unremittingly in support of the Petitions, and of such measures as tend to reduce the unconstitutional influence of the Crown; and for that purpose to unite themselves in a General Association.

Resolved—That obtaining a law for taking the suffrages of the people in such a mode, as to prevent both expense in elections, and the operation of undue influence therein, is necessary towards securing the freedom of Parliament.

Resolved—That it be recommended to our several Committees to adopt the following propositions, as parts of their General Plan of Union and Association and to endeavour to

to obtain the objects of such propositions by application to, and under the authority of Parliament, viz.

Resolved—1st, That a diligent examination be made into all the branches of the receipt, expenditure, and mode of keeping and passing accounts, of public money, in order to obtain the Plan of Reform requested by the petitions of the people.

Resolved—2d, That there be sent to the House of Commons, in addition to the present representatives of counties, a number of members not less than one hundred, to be chosen, in a due proportion, by the several counties of the kingdom of Great-Britain.

Resolved—3d, That the members of the House of Commons be annually elected to serve in Parliament.

4th, That it be most earnestly recommended to the Freeholders of the different counties, and to the Electors of the cities and boroughs throughout the kingdom, to support at the ensuing General Election, such candidates to represent them in Parliament as shall, previous to the election, by signing the Association, or otherwise, have satisfied them, that they will support the above important regulations in Parliament; or so much thereof as shall not be obtained in the present Parliament.

Resolved—That the propriety of adopting the following resolution, as greatly tending to accelerate the attainment of the objects of the proposed plan of political reformation be submitted to the respective Committees, viz.

That it be most earnestly recommended to all Members of Parliament, who are friends to the above-mentioned proposed plan of reform, to use their utmost endeavours, in this present session of Parliament, to obtain the objects of that plan.

Resolved—That the above Me-

morial, formed in this Meeting, be transmitted to the several Committees, as containing reasons for the plan of Association proposed by this Meeting, which, we trust, will appear satisfactory to those Committees, and that they be severally requested to take such effectual measures, as to them may seem meet, for making the same public throughout the kingdom.

(Signed) by order of this
meeting of Deputies,
C. WYVILL, Chairman.

Circular letter, ordered to be annexed to the Resolutions, &c. of the Meeting of Deputies.

*Great Room, King-street,
March 20th, 1780.*

SIR,

I am directed by the Meeting of Deputies from the Committees of several counties, cities, and towns, which have petitioned Parliament for a redress of grievances, adjourned from the St. Alban's Tavern to this place, to transmit to you the inclosed copy of their resolutions, relative to an intended plan of general union and association, accompanied with a copy of a Memorial containing reasons in justification of those resolutions, to be reported to the Committee of the county of Middlesex at its next Assembly.

The Deputies trust their resolutions will be considered, not as offering to the Committee a complete and perfect system of political reformation, but as pointing out some principal objects of constitutional improvement, which, if obtained by the united efforts of the people will facilitate and secure the establishment of every other regulation which may be necessary to restore the freedom and independence of Parliament.

From various circumstances, the Deputies apprehend, it may be found to be inexpedient in some counties to adopt a Plan of Association so extensive

tensive, as that traced-out by their resolutions; in that case, as it is the general and received opinion, that shortening the duration of Parliament will be improper till the œconomical reform, and a more equal representation of the people have been obtained; the Deputies conceive that the proposition for shortening the duration of Parliament may be postponed with less inconvenience in the original draught of Association, than any other proposition recommended by this meeting.

I am also directed, by the meeting of Deputies, to represent through you to the Committee, that there is much reason to apprehend Parliament may be dissolved soon after the grant of supplies has received the Royal Assent; that it behoves each Committee, therefore, to prepare for that event, by concerting measures effectually to support the interest of those Candidates, at the approaching General Election, who are known to approve an œconomical reformation, a more equal representation of the people, and shortening the duration of Parliament.

I beg leave further to represent under the same authority, that the several Committees, discountenancing all corrupt and unnecessary expenses at any future elections, will thereby promote in a considerable degree the freedom of election, which must immediately tend to secure the independence of Parliament.

I have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

[The Committee of the City of London agreed to the above Memorial, and came to the same resolutions as the Middlesex Committee.]

C A M B R I D G E,

March 25th, 1720.

At a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of this county, held here this day, the following Petition was read and unanimously approved, except by one dissentient voice.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Cambridge:

Sheweth,

That your petitioners do thus publicly declare their entire and zealous approbation of the Legislature of this country, as placed in the free and independent concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, in preference to every other mode of civil government.

That they anxiously wish the blessing of this form of legislation to be continued to their latest posterity in its constitutional purity.

That they seriously apprehend this form of legislation will be essentially vitiated, if not virtually changed, whenever the treasure and offices of the community shall be successfully employed to bring the representatives of the people under the influence of the executive power.

That they conceive a strong tendency to this change is at present, and has formerly been, too notorious to admit of doubt, or to require proof.

That they consider every system of public administration, carried on by means of parliamentary corruption however sanctified by time, precedent, or authority, to be absolutely unjustifiable on every principle of good sense and sound polity—to be as dishonourable to the upright intentions of the Crown, as it is burdensome to the property, and dangerous

dangerous to the liberties of the people.

Your petitioners do, therefore, most solemnly apply themselves to the honour, the justice, the integrity, of this Honourable House, praying that effectual measures may be taken by this House, to enquire into and correct any gross abuses in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments of office, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to use all such other constitutional means, as may tend to establish the independence of Parliament on the most lasting foundations.

And your petitioners are the more earnest in this their prayer, because they are of opinion, that no other expedient can equally tend to heal our domestic divisions, to unite the whole nation in the warmest support of his Majesty's person and government, against the unprovoked hostilities of the House of Bourbon, and to put a final period to that primary source of national distress, the American war.

After which the following resolutions were proposed, and agreed to, by a very great majority, viz.

1st, Resolved, That the petition now read and addressed to the Honourable House of Commons, is approved by this Meeting.

2dly, It was then moved and seconded, That the said Petition be presented to the House of Commons by Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Sampson Gideon, Barons, the members for this county.—This motion was three times put by the Chairman, and pressed by the gentlemen who supported the Petition, but was each time rejected by a very great majority.

3dly, It was afterwards moved, and seconded, that Crisp Molineux, Esq. of Chippenham, in this county, member of Parliament for Lynn, be requested to present the said Petition

to the House of Commons, which motion was approved by a very great majority.

4thly, A motion was afterwards made, That a Committee of Correspondence and Association be appointed by this county, similar to that of Yorkshire and other counties, which motion was resolved in the affirmative by a very great majority.

5thly, Resolved, That a Committee of the following gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the Petition, and to prepare a Plan of an Association on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, to be presented by the Chairman of the Committee, to be held by adjournment at Cambridge, on Monday the 10th day of April next, and that the following gentlemen do compose that Committee :

The Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Besborough, Lord Duncannon, Lord Robert Manners, Sir Robert Bernard, Bart. Sir Gillis Payne, Bart. Crisp Molineux, Esq. John Wilkes, Esq. Christopher Jefferson, Esq. Thomas Panton, Esq. John Goddard, Esq. Henry Pointer Stanley, Esq. the Rev. Dr. Watson, Rogers Parker, Esq. John Payne, Esq. Richard Reynolds, Esq. Edmund Rolfe, Esq. Thomas Day, Esq. Thomas Brand, Esq. James Rust, Esq. John R. Hufke, Esq. Scarlet Brown, Esq. J. Martin, Esq. Henry Liel, Esq. George Jennings, Esq. Richard Hagar, Esq. John Mortlock, Esq. John Purchase, Esq. Ebenezer Hollick, Esq. Ebenezer Hollick, jun. Esq. the Rev. Mr. Knight, the Rev. Mr. Maris, Sam. Knight, Esq. John Forlow, Esq. Robert Grimditch, Esq. Pell Akehurst, Esq. Mr. Richard Foster, Mr. William Hollick, Mr. John Audley, Mr. Edward

ward K. Fordham, Mr. Wm. Nash, Mr. Joshua Finch, Mr. John Anderson, Mr. Hale Wortham, Mr. Nathaniel Wedd, Mr. N. V. Stevens, Mr. Henry Morley, Mr. Edmund Taylor, Mr. Wm. Hayward, and Mr. William Hurrell.

6thly, Resolved, That the said Committee have power to increase their number, and that seven be a quorum to carry on the necessary business.

7thly, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the yeomen and freeholders of this county, who signed the requisition to the Sheriff, and who, on his refusal, called the present meeting.

8thly, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Rutland, his Grace the Duke of Manchester, Sir Robert Bernard, Bart. Crisp Molineux, Esq. John Wilkes, Esq. and to such other gentlemen as have attended this Meeting in support of the petition.

9thly, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord Duncannon, Chairman, for his liberal and impartial conduct at this Meeting.

10thly, Resolved, That the Committee appointed at this Meeting, be immediately adjourned to the Rose Tavern.

11thly, Resolved, That this Meeting be adjourned to the 10th of April next.

DUNCANNON, Chairman
of the Meeting.

Resolutions of the Committee :

1st. Resolved, unanimously, by the Committee, that the Duke of Rutland be Chairman of the said Committee.

2d. Resolved, That this Committee do adjourn to this day se'ennight, to be held then at the Rose Tavern, in Cambridge, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

RUTLAND, Chairman of the
Committee.

Some account of the proceedings at the Meeting of the county of Cambridge, on Saturday, March 25, 1780.

About half past eleven in the morning, a very respectable number of the noblemen and freeholders assembled at the Shire-hall in Cambridge, in consequence of the advertisement; but the hall being found too small for the purpose, it was proposed to adjourn to the Senate-house yard, that every freeholder might have an opportunity of hearing and of being heard:—this proposal was unanimously agreed to, and the meeting adjourned accordingly.

Mr. Alderman Purchas opened the business by moving, that Lord Duncannon (son to the Earl of Bedford) should take the chair; which motion being seconded, passed unanimously. He then briefly stated the purport of the meeting, the necessity of a constitutional reform, and the present national distress, which seemed to call loudly for the measure which he then meant to submit to the meeting; he concluded by moving for a petition, which he then held in his hand, to be read by the chair. The petition was then read by the Chairman, and a second time by Mr. Molineux.

Sir John Hynde Cotton began his speech with observing, that he could not but approve of the petition upon the whole; yet there were many parts to which he could by no means give his assent; neither did he think this the proper moment to adopt such a measure. Unanimity was highly necessary at this crisis, to crush the united force of France and Spain. He was nevertheless ready to present it, if it appeared to be the sense of the county. He declared himself an independent man; he had no objection to the reduction of sinecure places and enormous pensions; but, as to corruption, he did not believe that it existed now in a greater degree

gree than it had for these last thirty years.

Sir Sampson Gideon said, that he thought it his duty to attend the meeting—and, as their representative, if a petition should be agreed upon, he would certainly carry it to the House of Commons. He had never received a pension from a Minister—he never would—his fortune set him above temptation. The same independence he should exert on this occasion; for, though he must approve of the reduction of unmerited pensions, he did not approve of the whole petition. He thought that the hands of Government ought to be strengthened, and that internal discord ought not to be added to foreign war.

Mr. Wilkes, after complimenting the two county members on their professions of independence, begged them to point out the particular parts of the petition which they thought exceptionable; that, if their objections were groundless, he might endeavour to convince them by arguments; or, if any part of the petition (which upon the whole they confessed they approved of) should, upon discussion, be found really objectionable, that it might be omitted, or altered in such a manner as to meet with unanimous approbation.

Sir J. Cotton, after some hesitation, said, that he disapproved of the title of the petition; it was called *The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Cambridge*;—whereas it certainly could not be the petition of that part of them, who disapproved of the measure. It ought to have been entitled, *The Petition of the Gentlemen, &c. &c. of the County of Cambridge, whose Names are hereunto subscribed.*

Mr. Wilkes replied, that nobody could suppose, from the title, that it was meant to be considered as the act of those who disapproved of it.

That the very signature of the petition by individuals was a proof, that it was meant only to include so many as approved of it; for in all assemblies, where the act of the majority was the act of the whole, the resolutions or acts were signed only by the Chairman of the assembly; but here the case was different; and the petition was signed by every individual who approved of it, to shew that it contained his own sentiments; but nobody could infer from thence, that it likewise included the sentiments of any other person, who, perhaps, had refused to sign it. He then called upon Sir S. Gideon, to state his objections, who, after some confusion, assumed an air of triumph, and said, “There is one passage, which I confess myself unable to comprehend—I cannot understand it—I wish any gentleman would be kind enough to explain it. The petition asserts, that *the Legislature is virtually changed.*”

Here Mr. Wilkes, and several other gentlemen assured him, that he had totally mistaken the passage, which he alluded to, and desired him to read farther, and he would be convinced, that the petition only said, “That the Legislature *would* be virtually changed *whenever* the treasure and offices, &c. should be successfully exerted, &c.”

After waiting some time without effect for a reply from either of the Members, Mr. Wilkes proceeded to shew the peculiar propriety of a petition at this hour of danger. He insisted that this was the proper, the only time for such a measure; that the experience of the silent contempt with which their former prayers had been treated for years together, was a convincing argument, that no redress was to be expected, unless extorted by necessity. He mentioned the interest of the national debt as already amounting to the immense sum of *seven millions.*

That

That by the prodigal expenditure of public money our debt amounted to near *two hundred millions*;—that, notwithstanding this, the Minister obstinately refused to give any satisfaction, though repeatedly called upon; and he appealed to the two gentlemen, who represented the county in Parliament, if they had not been witnesses to sums brought in Session after Session by the Minister, and voted by the lump to the amount of several millions, without any voucher or account given, than “We have expended so much—it is your duty to vote for the payment.” For his part, he could not account for the majorities, with which the Minister had so long silently answered all the arguments brought by Opposition against such flagitious prodigality, on any other hypothesis than that of corruption. That on no other supposition could he account for the numerous and well-disciplined phalanx, which constantly moved obedient to the nod of the Minister, and voted along with him on the most opposite and contradictory questions. That at first Lord North proposed the acquisition of a revenue from America;—the idea was instantly adopted by his party, and on that they grounded their support of his measures. The idea of a revenue from America was abandoned by the Minister; but he was not on that account abandoned by his faithful adherents;—they continued equally firm, equally obedient. If this was not the effect of corruption, he wished any gentleman would explain such conduct in any other manner, and he would be satisfied. Nothing, that he had then heard, seemed in the least to invalidate the truths laid down in the petition; he therefore hoped it would meet with the unanimous approbation of the meeting.

Thomas Day, Esq. spoke next as follows: It is with peculiar pleasure,

gentlemen, that I meet you in a place which ought to be the asylum of public virtue and manly independence; the patron of every generous reformation; the open and avowed enemy of civil and religious tyranny. Upon other occasions I might have contented myself with barely stating the expedience of the present measure; here I shall expatiate in a wider field, and call your attention to the great principles of political society, as if before the first tribunal in the world, I were pleading the cause of human nature against the advocates of oppression.

The end and object of all political society are the happiness and security of the whole; the means are these regulations which have been found agreeable to the wisdom and experience of the people; the conduct of rulers may indeed be warped from this great end to low and illiberal selfishness, and mankind from ignorance or indolence may tolerate the abuse; but nothing can destroy the claim; and the pride and folly of individuals might as well pretend to engross the air, the light, the warmth of Heaven, as justly as to confine all powers and privileges of Government to that narrow circle which has in most countries monopolized them.

With this view of things I shall never carry the merited respect I bear to Nobles, Magistrates, or Kings themselves, into any species of idolatry; I shall never mistake the instrument for the end, or confound the good and safety of mankind with the interest of particular bodies, or the ambition of individuals. Neither Magistrate nor Sovereign has any natural claim to allegiance; while he executes the duties of his office conformably to the will of those who have appointed him, he deserves respect, esteem, and support; the instant he deviates from these, and converts his power to

private instead of public ends, he is no more to be endured than a mortification, because it has begun in some noble or useful organ of the body.

What I am now advancing is equally agreeable to the dictates of reason and the practice of the English Constitution. Many instances may be brought from history, of Kings who have been solemnly deposed, for not performing the duties of their office, or for infringing the liberties of the people. But the last great revolution of our government is a decisive precedent, that subjects may alter their rulers, and that Kings must expect allegiance no longer than they deserve it.

Gentlemen, I will not consume your time with studied panegyrics upon the excellence of that Constitution under which we live; this only I will observe, that no system can be imagined more consistent with natural rights; none, in which they have been more thoroughly investigated, or more accurately defined.

In other countries, the causes and pretexes of oppression are those discretionary powers with which the supreme magistrate is invested; for the use of which he is accountable to Heaven alone. With us no discretionary power which can affect the life, the property, or the liberty of an individual, is permitted to the Sovereign himself. We have a right to speak our sentiments with a tempered, but an honest boldness; no restraint can be put upon our personal freedom, unless we have committed crimes which make us unworthy to enjoy it, nor can our property be wrested from us, under the plea of state necessity, without at least the appearance of our own consent. And lest the laws themselves, by being too near the influence of the supreme magistrate, should be perverted to our annoyance, it is provided that not the meanest wretch that begs his

bread, shall be obnoxious to the public vengeance, without the consent of his equals.—Yes, gentlemen, I repeat it, because it is a glorious privilege which cannot be too often mentioned to you; that, not all the rich, the great, the powerful of this nation, in a conspiracy for that purpose, can oppress the meanest of this assembly, so long as he shall appear innocent to a jury of his fellow-citizens, and they shall dare to exert their own undoubted privilege of ascertaining both law and fact.

If there needed any additional proof, I would refer you to those great original characters of our freedom, which have been forced from our unwilling Kings, and confirmed at every period of our history. I would refer you to the declaration of rights, that renovation of our Constitution, which is the basis of the present establishment; and which I do affirm, not all the united force of the Legislature can rescind, or overturn, without, at the same time, dissolving the government, and forfeiting all title to allegiance.

Should it be asked, why I introduce these things in an assembly which is convened for the express purpose of petitioning for a reform in the public expenditure? this is my answer: There is no one privilege of this people, which has not been publicly called in question, nor one which will not be wrested from them, if they are contented to resign it. All abuses arise, either from the ignorance of mankind, in respect to what they may justly claim, or from their indolence in asserting that claim; he therefore that would save, must first enlighten; I know no method more effectual to preserve a nation from arbitrary design on the one hand, and from factious councils on the other, than to teach it the precise extent and boundary of its own rights.

Men that have either property or privileges

privileges are always attentive to preserve them, and interested to support that government which maintains them; while slaves and beggars, to whom neither the world, nor the world's law is a friend, are always ripe for change, and ready to throw all things into confusion.

Besides, when after all the waste of blood and treasure, which the present calamitous war has occasioned, we are called upon to risque the last stake we possess, for the service of our country, it surely becomes us to enquire, whether we have a country. For I do not call the air we breathe, nor the soil we trample upon, a country, nor the scanty fare which supports you for daily toils; but I call that a country, in which men possess an equal share in their own government, and privileges which are inviolable; he therefore that lays before you the noble rights which are inherent in you, as Englishmen, stimulates you most effectually to their defence.

I now, gentlemen, enter upon the more immediate occasion of the present assembly, the grievances of the nation, and their probable means of redress; and that I may the more clearly express my sentiments upon the subject, I must pursue them to their natural source. The natural and constitutional defence of this country has, during many ages, consisted in its Parliaments. The glorious struggles, which those illustrious bodies had repeatedly made in favour of the people, the constant vigilance which they had opposed to the encroachments of the Crown, left our ancestors no room to imagine, that a time might come when their representatives would surrender up all those privileges they were chosen to defend, into those very hands against which they were chosen to defend them, and no precaution was taken against an evil which was not foreseen.

Charles II. whose name in common with that of every Stuart I detest, set the first example of public corruption; a practice which has been too successfully adopted in succeeding reigns. Our Kings, grown wise by the misfortunes of their predecessors, no longer attempted the liberties of their subjects by open violence, but attacked them by the more secret and pernicious method of undermining the Constitution; and the immense revenues of which the Crown has been left the unquestioned distributor, has enabled it to corrupt the representatives of the people, and to poison the fountains of public safety at their very source. Since that pernicious æra, the evils under which we now labour, have been renewed or increased with every returning Sessions. We have seen wars begun and waged, not for the safety or interest of the people, but from the selfish views and ambition of the Crown; our burthens increased beyond our abilities to bear them, and without any hopes of their ever becoming lighter, increased till private opulence, industry, and commerce, are at an end. A variety of acts, all tending to abridge the public liberty, have been imposed. Among these, I shall enumerate the Riot Act, made as was pretended to serve a temporary purpose, but like every other oppression rendered perpetual; the game laws, by which the great body of the people is disarmed, although it is an express article of the declaration of rights, that subjects may have arms for their defence; and the excise, that system of public robbery, which now extends to every article of necessity and convenience, by which the most innocent and indifferent actions of our lives are subjected to controul. But the most daring violation of our rights, is that infamous act, by which a Parliament is now permitted to endure seven years, by which the creatures and servants of
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the people took upon them to extend the term of their own delegated existence, and curtail their electors of more than half their prerogatives, although it is evident they might as well have voted themselves perpetual dictators, and levelled the whole Constitution at a single stroke. To compleat the whole, a standing army, that pest of human society, that baneful engine which has never failed to annihilate the liberties of every country where it was once admitted, is now interwoven with the government, and become a continually encreasing evil.

Thus, in the latter ages of the Roman empire, all those offices of trust and honour which used to invigorate the whole republic, were concentrated in the person of the Emperor, so, in the British government, with the forms, but against the spirit of the Constitution, have many of our most material rights and immunities been surrendered to the Crown. To the Crown belongs the disposition of honours and emoluments; the immense influence arising from the army, the navy, the excise, and the civil list; the rights of peace and war, and the disposal of all the armed force in the kingdom: to us is left the task of paying soldiers to enslave, and representatives to betray; accompanied with the mournful spectacle of seeing all our rights put up to public auction, once in seven years. Nor let any one here confound the jealousy of the office with disrespect for the person of our Sovereign; the objects are in their own nature as different as can be conceived; and the greatest idolater of the private virtues of a King, may be the most rigid inquisitor of the least augmentation of his powers; since the blessings of the one are, like their author, of short and uncertain duration, while the evils which may arise from the other, are as lasting as its continuance. The object of our present petition is a par-

ticular branch of that baneful tree, whose faults have brought death and ruin to our political world; it is for a reform of the public expenditure, than which nothing can be imagined more just in itself, or more necessary to be at present urged. Shame and ruin are the inevitable consequences of public as well as private prodigality; and no man can be expected to contribute freely to the service of his country, till he is convinced, that in the words of the present Speaker of the House of Commons, what was liberally bestowed, shall be wisely applied; and as I am no speaker in the House of Commons, nor in expectation of a Chief Justiceship, I may perhaps add, honestly.

Who, indeed, ever will cast the most superficial view upon the public accounts for the last century, will see such waste and profusion of the people's property, such a shameful compliance with the most exorbitant demands of the Crown, such a neglect, or rather such a determined opposition to every public enquiry, such a connivance at fraud, such a sympathy with guilt, that he will be equally astonished at the audacity of our Parliaments which have dared to mortgage the public credit for two hundred millions, and at the patience of this people which has suffered it.

The objections which are brought against the present measure, are almost too frivolous to deserve an answer. We are told that this is no time to weaken the hands of Ministers, but rather to arm them with additional powers; no time to deliberate about our grievances, but to act with vigour against the foe: but surely, he best enables this nation to exert its vigour against the foe, who removed the obstacles which have hitherto impeded it; and as to additional powers, before we grant them, it is, perhaps, expedient to demand some account of those we have already confided. No government can be formidable

formidable to external foes, till it is loved and respected at home, till it merit the confidence, and grant the honest wishes of the people. We know too well, that the only hopes of redress are in the hour of anxiety and danger, when the weight of the people is felt in the scale of empires, and Ministers themselves are afraid to exasperate beyond a certain point. Nor are we ignorant with what disdain the petitions of the nation against the excise, against the septennial bill, and for expelling the dependents of the Crown from amongst our representatives, and for every useful reform, has been treated for the last century. The hour is now come, when you must assert your superintending power in the government, or abandon it for ever. Public abuses, gentlemen, never correct themselves; on the contrary, for having once been tolerated, they become inveterate; and though no fairness of title, or antiquity of possession, was ever able to prevent a government from encroaching upon the privileges of their subjects; yet, to have intermitted the claim for a single instant, is often made a reason against the people for refusing that claim for ever.

For these reasons, I must end as I have begun, with exhorting you to bend the whole weight of your attention to the reform of public abuses, and the renewal of the constitution. This can only be done by shortening the duration of Parliaments, and by introducing a more equal representation. When these points have been obtained, the nation will be enabled to exert all the wisdom, valour, and resolution it possesses, in its own defence; and if we fail then, we deserve to fall for ever. Till then, every inferior reformation is less than nothing; it is shutting the gates, when the enemy are in possession of the walls, or stopping a chink in the public mounds, when the tide of shame and ruin is pouring in at a

thousand breaches. In our present circumstances, it is an insult to common-sense, a mockery of our feelings to say that we are represented; there is not a single idea attached to the term, a single definition which can be given of it, which is not grossly violated in the election of an House of Commons; nor is there a single argument which can be brought, to prove that House represents Great Britain, by which it may not equally be proved, that it represents France, Spain, the Indies, all Europe, or the world itself.

These, gentlemen, are, or ought to be, the ends of your meetings and associations, they are the great ends to which you are called by every honest and independent man, who, solely intent upon his country's good, looks down with equal indifference both on Ministers and oppositions; who asks no favour, solicits no patronage, and, while he scorns alike to lend his aid to power or faction, devotes himself a willing victim to the public cause. Nor think that I am exhorting you to a dangerous, although a difficult, undertaking; I know that there are times, when the public evils are so desperate as to deter honest men from attempting a cure; but these times are not yet arrived; and that they never may, I exhort you not to lose the present moment. Let your petitions be expressed with a decent, but a manly, boldness; let your voices rise, not like the voices of a tumultuous rabble, a name with which you are always honoured by the sycophants of a Court, who are raised upon the public spoils to insult the public calamities; but with the irresistible force of a well disciplined army, that neither provokes nor fears hostilities.

After a calm of the longest duration, the spirit of the people is at length excited, and I see a storm gathering, which may be fatal to its enemies,

enemies. It is yours, ye free and independent citizens, ye uncorrupted remains of a wise and valiant people, to direct this tide of national zeal, to its proper object, not to suffer it to be diverted into a thousand scanty streams, but to roll it full against the loftiest bulwarks of oppression; they will not resist its rage, they will be levelled with the ground, and leave you an easy victory, attended with the sublimest glory which mortals can attain, that of being the *pater patriæ*, the saviours of your country, and the restorers of public liberty.

The question for the petition was then put, and carried, with only one dissentient voice.

It was then proposed that the county members should present the petition: this question was put twice, and each time negatived. The gentlemen who supported the petition seemed strongly to wish the county members, to present it; but Mr. Wilkes said, that the sense of the meeting was evidently against them; and, in his opinion, the freeholders had judged rightly. He could by no means think of entrusting the petition to the care of men who would neither sign nor support it. If the gentlemen would sign the petition (and he could not see on what grounds they could refuse, as both had declared that they, *upon the whole*, approved of it) he should not object to them.

Sir S. Gideon here offered his service to present it; but when Mr. Wilkes asked him if he would sign it, he, as well as Sir John Hynde Cotton, refused; and Sir John Cotton declaring that it was perfectly indifferent to him whether he presented it or not, the question was put a third time, and negatived. Here a general cry for Mr. Wilkes to present the petition; but Mr. Wilkes proposing Mr. Molineux, as the properest person, the question was put, and agreed to, that Mr. Molineux should present the petition.

Mr. Molineux then, in a short speech, thanked them for the honour conferred upon him, and declared that he thought any person, who would take the trouble to peruse the Court Kalendar, would find no difficulty in accounting for the Minister's majority.

Mr. Wilkes then rose and congratulated them on the unanimity with which the measure had been adopted; that greater could not be expected on any such occasion. He had one thing more to propose: he would mention it; but neither he nor any of his friends meant to force it upon them. Several of the counties, particularly York, had accompanied their petitions with Committees of Association. Those, who were interested in opposing any reform, had represented them as illegal, and subversive of the Constitution, by setting up another power; but he could assure them, from the respectable authorities of those great Lawyers, Lord Camden and Mr. Dunning, that this was absolutely false. They were not intended, as had been insinuated, to excite rebellion, but to consult upon such plans as were most likely to insure, in a peaceable manner, success to their petitions. In this matter he wished them to exercise their free choice; but if he was to give his sentiments, he must say that he entirely and conscientiously approved of them.

The remaining resolutions were then read, and passed unanimously.

The Duke of Manchester returned his thanks to the Meeting, for the honour they had done him (*in the resolution of thanks.*)

The Chairman then returned his thanks for the honour he had that day received; and after speaking fully on the subject, declared his entire acquiescence in the petition.

The petition was then left at the Rose Tavern, and instantly signed by several hundred freeholders.

WESTMINSTER COMMITTEE.

*King's-Arms Tavern, March
20, 1780.*

Report of the Sub-Committee, appointed to enquire into the State of the Representation of this Country.

*Sub-Committee, Free Mason's
Tavern, March 19, 1780.*

Resolved,

That it appears to this Sub-Committee that new Parliaments to be holden once in every year were the ancient usage, and declared to be the hereditary and indefeasible right of the people of England.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that the Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of William and Mary, is the first regular Act which attempts to establish and "appoint the time of continuance of Parliament," to be for the term of three years, though the same Act recognizes "the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom," by which annual Parliaments were confirmed, and declares "that frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the King and People."

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that by an act passed in the first year of George I. the Parliament then chosen for three years (by the acquiescence of the people to the above-mentioned Act of William and Mary, on the faith of its declaring that "from thenceforth no Parliament whatsoever, that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, shall have any continuance longer than for three years only at the farthest") did pass an act to prolong its continuance to the term of seven years.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that temporary considerations then presumed to exist in the country, are stated in the preamble to the act, as the principal motives and inducements for the act itself.

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That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that the Act passed in the sixth of William and Mary, is worded, as if declaratory of what was conceived (however falsely) to have been the Constitution of the country; but that the Septennial Act assumes a power of altering the duration of Parliament at pleasure.

That these alterations in the Constitution of Parliament were made without communication with the constituent body of the people, and have been continued without the sanction of their approbation.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that the Septennial Bill was strongly opposed in Parliament, as "a direct infringement on the Constitution, and a flagrant breach of trust toward the constituent body."

That it was supported almost entirely on the principle of expediency.

That the voice of the people appeared strongly against it in many respectable petitions to Parliament on the occasion, and that a constitutional Protest was entered by the Peers, stating "that frequent Parliaments were the fundamental Constitution of the kingdom; that the House of Commons ought to be chosen by the people, and when continued for a longer time than they were chosen for, they were then chosen by the Parliament, and not by the people, that they conceived the bill, so far from preventing corruption, would rather increase it; for the longer a Parliament was to last, the more valuable to corruptors would be the purchase; and that all the reasons that had been given for long Parliaments, might be given for making them perpetual, which would be an absolute subversion of the third estate."

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that various motions were afterwards made, and strongly supported "for a repeal of the Septennial Act;" particularly "a motion for annual Parliaments," in 1744, which

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which was lost only by a majority of thirty-two.

That the City of London, and other respectable bodies, continued to instruct their representatives, to prosecute this object "in the most vigorous manner; as essentially necessary to the independency and integrity of Parliament, the rights of the people, and the prosperity of the country."

That with respect to the representation of the people, it appears to this Sub-Committee, that by Stat. 8. Henry VI. the Parliament, then elected by the commonalty at large, passed an act to disfranchise the greater part of their constituents, by limiting the right of election for Knights of the Shire, to "persons having free lands or tenements, to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least," which restriction has ever since continued.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that many towns and boroughs, formerly entitled "for their repute and population," to send members to Parliament, have since fallen into decay, yet continue to have a representation equal to the most opulent counties and cities; while other towns and places, which have risen into consideration, and become populous and wealthy, have no representatives in Parliament.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that according to the most received calculations, the number of inhabitants of England and Wales is above five millions.

That of these nearly twelve hundred thousand are supposed capable of voting, as the Constitution stood before the restrictive Act above quoted.

That of this number, not more than two hundred and fourteen thousand are at present admitted to vote.

That out of these, one hundred and thirty thousand freeholders elect

ninety-two members for fifty-two counties.

Forty-three thousand citizens, free-men and others, elect fifty-two members for twenty-three cities and two Universities,

And forty-one thousand electors choose three hundred and sixty-nine members for one hundred and ninety-two towns and boroughs.

That fifty of these members are returned by three hundred and forty electors:

And a number, scarcely above six thousand, being a majority of the voters of a hundred and twenty-nine of the boroughs, return two hundred and fifty-seven representatives, which is a majority of the whole English House of Commons, and the efficient representation of above five millions of people.

That it appears to this Sub-Committee, that many of these boroughs are immediately under the influence of the Crown; as the Cinque Ports; many of them private property, affording hereditary seats, as those under Burgage tenure, and some of them almost without houses or inhabitants, as Gatton, Newtown, and Old Sarum.

That considering the representation with reference to property, it appears, that many counties return a number of representatives, out of all proportion to what they contribute to the public revenue, as is evident from the stating a single instance—that Cornwall has been calculated to pay to land-tax and supply, sixteen parts out of five hundred and thirteen, and sends members to Parliament forty-four, while Middlesex pays not less than in the proportion of two hundred and fifty-six, and sends members, eight.

So that it appears to this Sub-Committee, that the inequality of the representation of this country, with regard to property, is still greater than when estimated according

ing to the number of its inhabitants.

Signed, by order of the Sub-Committee,

R. B. SHERIDAN, Chairman.

Resolved, That annual Parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England, and that the Act which prolonged their duration, was subversive of the Constitution, and a violation on the part of the representatives of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.

Resolved, That the present state of the representation of this country is inadequate to the object, and a departure from the first principles of the Constitution.

Resolved, That thanks be given to the Chairman and Members of the Sub-Committee, for the very intelligent report made by them of the state of the representation of this country, and of the duration of Parliaments.

Resolved, That the report of the Sub-Committee be printed, and copies sent to the several Committees of the counties, cities and boroughs of this kingdom.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

WESTMINSTER COMMITTEE.

*King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-Yard,
March 22, 1780.*

Read the proceedings of the Committee of Deputies, transmitted to them by their Chairman.

Resolved, That this Committee will persevere unremittingly in support of the petitions, and of such measures as tend to reduce the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and for that purpose are ready to unite themselves in a General Association.

Resolved, That the obtaining of a law for taking the suffrages of the people in such a mode as to prevent both expence in elections and the operation of undue influence therein, is necessary towards the freedom of Parliament.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that a diligent examination ought to be made into all the branches of the receipt, expediture, and mode of keeping and passing accounts of public money, in order to obtain the plan of reform, requested by the petitions of the people.

Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn to Saturday next, precisely at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, to take into their further consideration the proceedings of the said Committee of Deputies.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

COUNTY OF YORK.

Form of an Association agreed to by the Committee of sixty-one, to be recommended to the General Meeting of the county of York, held the 28th of March, 1780.

Whereas during the present expensive and unfortunate war, the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of this kingdom have been greatly diminished; the public burthens grievously augmented by the annual imposition of new and additional taxes; the national debt enormously increased; and the undue influence of the Crown extended to an alarming degree by these very circumstances which threaten the utter impoverishment of this country: and whereas, in these times of national difficulty and distress, a just redress of grievances can only be expected from a free and uncorrupted Parliament; and measures tending, in a legal and peaceful way, to restore the freedom of Parliament cannot effectually be supported but by a general union of independent men throughout the kingdom.

We whose names are under-written, considering an economical reformation in the expediture of public money to be a most essential and necessary measure for restoring the freedom of Parliament;

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And

And considering also, that the representation of the people in Parliament is become extremely unequal, insomuch that a great majority of Members is returned by decayed and indigent boroughs, which are either at the command of the Crown, and a few great families, or else open to general venality; whence support in Parliament may be obtained for the measures of any Administration, however ruinous they may be to the great landed and commercial interests of this kingdom, contrary to the true intent and use of the institution of Parliaments; which unequitable distribution of the right to elect Representatives in Parliament is now a principal cause of our numerous public evils, to which no radical cure is likely to be applied, till a more adequate representation of the people hath been established by law.

And considering further, that when the fund of corruption hath been in some competent degree reduced, and a more equal representation of the people obtained, more frequent elections might be restored, not only to the great content of the people, but with certain advantage to the honour and integrity of Parliament itself, without the mischievous consequence of exposing independent gentlemen to vexatious contests with the dependents of any Administration.

We do declare our assent to

1. The oeconomic reform requested by the petitions of the people; that plan of strict and rigid frugality now indispensibly necessary in every department of the State; that most important regulation for reducing the unconstitutional influence of the Crown.

2. The proposition for obtaining a more equal representation in Parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred Knights, to be chosen in a due proportion by the several

counties of the kingdom of Great Britain.

3. The proposition for Members of the House of Commons to be elected to serve in Parliament for a term not exceeding three years.

And in order more effectually to promote this laudable plan of public reformation by our joint assistance in a pacific way, we do associate for that express purpose, and we do testify the same by our signatures respectively. And we do resolve, jointly and separately, to support these necessary regulations to the utmost of our power, by every measure that may be perfectly agreeable to law and the Constitution. More particularly we do resolve, and do mutually and most solemnly engage, that until a reasonable reform in the expenditure of public money hath been obtained, and until regulations for returning at least one hundred additional county Members to Parliament, and for shortening the duration of Parliament to a term not exceeding three years, have been established by law, we will support, with our votes and interest, no candidate whatsoever at the next General Election, or at any future election, to represent this county, or any other county or place in Parliament, from whose known integrity and attachment to our free Constitution, and his assent to these constitutional improvements, declared by signing this association, or in such other mode as to each candidate may seem most eligible, we shall not be first fully satisfied that he will give his utmost support in Parliament to the following propositions, or to such part of the reform proposed thereby as shall not be then accomplished, viz.

1. For one or more bills to correct profusion in the expenditure of public money; to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and passing public

public accounts; to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, and to reform the abuses of sinecure places, and pensions unmerited by public service.

2. For a bill to establish greater equality in the representation of the people in Parliament, by allowing the several counties of the kingdom of Great Britain to elect, in a due proportion, one hundred Knights at least in addition to the present number.

3. For a bill to shorten the duration of Parliaments to a term not exceeding three years.

At the adjourned General Meeting of the county of York, held at York the 28th of March, 1780.

WILLIAM CHALONER, Esq. in the Chair;

A motion being made and the question put,

Resolved unanimously, That the Form of Association prepared by the Committee of sixty-one be now read.

The Form of an Association being read, and a motion being made, and the question put,

Resolved unanimously, That this Form of Association be adopted by this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the Committee of sixty-one gentlemen, together with Sir William St. Quintin, Sir William Anderson, Mr. T. Weddell, Dr. Swainston, Mr. Grimston, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Childers, &c. &c. be a Committee of Association, and that twenty-one gentlemen of the Committee, or more, be empowered to act as a Committee, to add to their number, and to take such legal and constitutional measures as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the objects of this Association.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the prosecution of an offensive war in

America is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents *this* from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby to increase the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted betwixt the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever; but, by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British Empire.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Committee appointed by this meeting to consider of, and form, upon legal and constitutional grounds, a proper plan for the detecting and bringing to justice all persons who, at the ensuing General Election, shall either give or receive bribes for votes for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and that such plan, when settled and agreed upon, be communicated to other associated bodies.

Resolved, That the letter from the Lords to the Chairman of the last General Meeting of the 30th of December, expressing their concurrence with the measures agreed to by that meeting, be now read.

The letter being read, a motion made, and the question being put,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be communicated by the Chairman to the Lords, for their concurrence in these measures expressed by that letter.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir George Savile for his eminently faithful services in Parliament, and particularly for his strenuous support of the petition of this county in the present Session of Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks

thanks of this meeting be given to those Members of Parliament who have honoured this meeting with their concurrence in the Plan of Association agreed to this day.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Sir Robert Hildyard, and J. S. Smith, Esq. for their wise, judicious, and spirited conduct at the late meeting of the Deputies in London.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

[This meeting of the county of York was the largest ever known; and the company were perfectly unanimous.]

W I L T S.

At a meeting at the Devezes, on Wednesday the 29th of March, 1780, the following letters were read:

(C O P Y.)

“ S I R, March 26, 1780.

“ I am very much mortified, that it is not in my power to perform a duty, I feel so very agreeable and honourable, as that of attending the Committee of Correspondence and Association, at Devezes, on Tuesday next, and the meeting of the county, which is to be held the subsequent day.

“ The early negative put upon the enquiry into the public expenditure in the House of Lords; the refusal of any account of places and pensions held by Members of that House; the violence done to the Constitution by the arbitrary removal of the Earl of Pembroke from the Lord Lieutenancy of our county (an office which his ancestors have so long and so honourably held, I believe, from its first institution) for no other possible cause, but for having voted as a free man upon a public question; as well as by that of

the Marquis of Carmarthen from the Lord Lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

“ And in the House of Commons, the proceeding to lay new burthens, without taking *any*, much less *effectual* œconomical measures, in direct opposition to the prayer of our petition, as well as those of other counties; the number of taxes proposed to be superadded; some bearing very hard upon our county in particular; namely, that which regards the private brewery, besides the addition made to the severest of all duties, that on salt; when it is certain that triple the sum might have been, and may still be produced from the suppression of unnecessary offices, savings in the mode of expenditure, and other œconomical reforms, which require only integrity to accomplish; the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of a very able plan of reform now before the House;—no enquiry made into exorbitant contracts;—accountants suffered to remain with large public balances at their own disposal;—the measure for a commission of accounts taken out of independent and disinterested hands, and assumed by the authors of our distress, in such a manner, as to mock every idea of parliamentary independency, or popular enquiry;—no expectation offered by the Minister, except a possible reverfionary reduction of those places which do not contribute to the influence of the Crown, in answer to the petitions, desiring an abolition of those that do;—and, withall, a position laid down as fundamental, by the supporters of the Court and Ministers in both Houses, that the influence of the Crown is not dangerous to the Constitution, and is not increased, in contradiction to the evidence of all our senses.

“ These facts, I apprehend, can leave little doubt with any freeholder,

er, who approved of the former meeting, of the necessity of immediately associating for the accomplishment of those indispensable objects, stated in our petition, in as strong terms as constitutional language can dictate.

“ But I am sensible, that it must occur to our county, as it has already done to others, to consider what steps can be taken to obtain that reform of which our present Parliament gives so little hope, acting even under all its present circumstances, or what security can be had for preserving in future what we may have the good fortune to obtain in this moment of exigence. It gives me great satisfaction to find, that it has occurred to none to have recourse to other means than those purely civil as well as strictly constitutional. — Though no one feels with more concern the abuses which have taken place in the militia, and particularly the departure from the ancient, true, fundamental, and, till of late years, invariable militia principles of keeping them within their counties, except in case of actual invasion (their present distant and unnecessary removals, serving only to assimilate them to the standing army, in principle and in habits, not in discipline) I still have that confidence in our army as well as militia, as at present constituted, that I hope neither are yet so estranged from a love of the Constitution, as to give any just apprehension of danger.

“ Two measures have offered themselves for consideration, which, inasmuch as they affect the House of Commons merely, come unquestionably within the province of our county meeting, and cannot by any misrepresentation be construed to arise from improper motives: — The one is to shorten the duration of Parliaments; the other, to equalize the representation, which at present

confessedly bears no proportion, either to the number of people, the quantum of property, or the proportion of public contribution; nor does it hold to any rank or description whatever; but is the mere child of accident or intrigue.

“ The people of England, I conceive, have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right, both to the one and the other, in their fullest extent, upon a stronger ground than that of any Act or Acts of Parliament. That “ the House of Commons must be free in every circumstance of its Constitution,” is the foundation stone of all our Government. The same right which the people had formerly, and, through the blessing of God, exerted so happily for us, their posterity, to have Parliaments frequently *bolden*, when they were aggrieved by the Crown’s withholding them, now goes to have them frequently and equally *chosen*, when it appears, through the length of the duration, and the inequality of the representation, that they are still more aggrieved than they were formerly, by the total want of them. —

And if this should appear to be the sense of a fair majority of the people, collected together, either in county-meetings or in any other constitutional mode, there can be no doubt, but that proper laws will be immediately enacted to restore the constitution to its first principles in these particulars; for it is not to be presumed, that the present defective representation would venture to oppose the manifest sense of those from whom they derive all their authority; much less that the House of Lords, constituted as it is, or the Crown, could be so ill-advised, as to deny their concurrence and assent to so salutary a reform, in a part of the Constitution, which more particularly belongs to the democracy. — These principles are so unalterably engraven

engraven in my mind, that I should hold myself criminal in the suppression of them when called for. It will be for the county to judge, whether they will proceed to declaratory resolutions on the subject of them, and then wait till the sense of the rest of the kingdom is so far known; or whether they will be contented finally, without pushing the right of the people to its utmost extent, by insisting upon an annual election, and a total change of the representation. There are men, of whose integrity there is but one voice, and whose judgment deserves every attention throughout England, who foresee more inconvenience than I confess I do in the *whole* extent of these propositions. Besides, the consequences of great changes have been in all times, so uncertain, that it may be most prudent to avoid them; especially as, in the present instance, I am free to own, that, so far as I am capable of judging, every end may be obtained by the repeal of the Septennial Act, and a reasonable addition of county members, chosen by districts, or under some regulation, which might preclude all necessary expence. But I shall most willingly subscribe to the discretion and wisdom of the meeting in this, and every other consideration of expediency, and I dare rely upon the generosity and candour of the county and Committee, that they would put a just interpretation upon the liberty I take, meaning to assume no more than what might become any other freeholder; submitting my unreserved sentiments, in the time of distress, to their better judgment, as I cannot have the honour of attending in person, when I might explain myself more particularly upon each part, as occasion might require. I have nothing so much at heart as to prove the sincerity and consistency of my conduct upon all occasions, but most of all in the county of my

residence, and among a neighbourhood whose good opinion must in the end make the comfort and honour of my life.

“ I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration,

S I R,

Your most obedient,
and humble servant,

SHELburnE.”

To JOHN AUDRY, Esq.
Chairman of the Wiltshire Committee.

Copy of Mr. Fox's Letter to J. AUDRY, Esq.

S I R,

March 25, 1780.

“ I am extremely sorry, that it will not be in my power to attend the Wiltshire Committee on Monday next, but I hope you will have the goodness to make my excuse to them. I need make no observation on the very great effects the petitions have already had upon Parliament. The numbers who have divided in support of them, numbers sometimes amounting to a majority, are a clear and undeniable proof, that when the people have the spirit to shew themselves, they never shew themselves in vain.

It is always hazardous to risk ones credit upon future events; but if temperate and simple plans of association are adopted, and those plans adhered to with steadiness in the several petitioning counties and cities, I think it next to impossible, that we should not be able to rid ourselves of that overbearing influence of the Crown, which is in effect the cause of all the grievances we lament. The effects already produced by our exertions, are almost incredible, when we consider how visionary any man would have been esteemed six months ago, who had hoped to abolish, by act of Parliament, any of the places dependent upon the civil list; but we must not forget, that the little we have carried, has been carried against the effort of the Ministers, who

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have still the power of the country in their hands, so that all hopes of future success must depend solely upon the exertions of the people. Nothing can be more apparent, than that the servants of the Crown are united in a determination to resist all the objects you have most at heart—where they fail in strength, they have recourse to stratagem; but neither violence nor stratagem, can defeat the wishes of the people of England, if they will but persevere in firm temperate measures for obtaining them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. Fox.

After the Chairman had read the above letters, he acquainted the gentlemen present, that great part of the business was still depending in Parliament; upon which, the following resolutions were agreed upon:

That the Committee appointed at the last General Meeting, be continued with the same powers as before; and that the following gentlemen be added to the Committee, Hon. B. Bouverie, Rev. Mr. Canon Bowles, Robert John Buxton, Esq. Humphry Sturt, Esq. and John Aldrige Ballard, Esq.

It appearing to this Meeting, that the danger to which the Earl of Shelburne has been lately exposed, was in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in Parliament.

Resolved unanimously,

That this Meeting do present their congratulations to his Lordship, on the prospect of his speedy recovery.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Earl of Shelburne, for the very full and candid sentiments expressed in his letter to the Chairman, of the 26th instant.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Earl of Pembroke, for his upright conduct in the House of Peers, in support of the favourite object in the petition of this county,

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viz. An enquiry into the expenditure of money out of the Civil List; and our concern that his Lordship appears to have been removed on that account, from the Lieutenancy of this county.

That if the Committee shall hereafter think it adviseable to send any of their members to meet gentlemen sent from other counties, that the persons so sent be restrained to promoting the prayer of the petition—public œconomy; and that no members of the Committee be so appointed, but at a meeting to be holden for the special purpose of such an appointment, on the notice by circular letters of ten days at the least; and unless such appointment be made with the consent of the majority of twenty-one, at least, assembled at the said Committee.

Adjourned, *sine die*, subject to the call of the Chairman.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette.

It is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not to know why it is that they are warm. The passion of one is lighted up by the passion of another, and the whole circle is on flame; but the mind, in the mean time, is, like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it. In this case it will happen, that when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, the generous resolutions which it kindled up shall also die with it.

In the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion; but, unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it. It was the commendation of the citizens of Berea, when the gospel was first preached to them, that "they searched the Scriptures whether these things were so." Those who, without examination had received it,

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without examination might also give it up; but this more "honourable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine, and embracing it, gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of our country are equally the objects of reflection; and yet men will often times be engaged in a measure, and will push it warmly, though they know not the ground upon which they had set out. Like the townsmen of Ephesus, the assembly is "confused," and the greater part "know not why it is that they are called together." "Zeal" of this kind "without knowledge," as it is commonly extravagant, so it is but of short continuance.

I am therefore greatly happy when I take a view of this country, and consider that, in our contest with Great Britain, so much light has been thrown upon the minds of the common people. You will scarcely find a man so uninformed as not to be able to explain to you not the steps only, but the manner in which every step has been taken, on the one side to enslave, and on the other to resist, in the course of the debate. I am fully of opinion, that there are plain farmers in our country, who will discourse more sensibly on the great principles of our opposition, than any even the most eminent amongst that minority in the British House of Commons, who had undertaken to defend our cause. The speeches of these have been a tissue of absurd contradiction, granting the supreme authority of Parliament in some cases, and yet not granting it in all; as if what was supreme and did extend in any case could be limited. But the plain mechanic, or the farmer of our country, will inform you that her authority never did

extend in any case; and hence all debate about the limit between the authority of Britain, and the legislative right of America, which lay unoccupied like a wide interval, and was called the "Great Serbonian Bog,"* vanished at once.

It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to pay the same compliment to the understanding of my countrymen with regard to their accurate and clear knowledge of the nature, the extent, and the principles of that treaty into which we have entered with the Court of France. There would then be less danger from any attempt of the adversary to seduce us from it. Our passions are as much engaged in its favour as it is possible for the passions of men to be engaged in any matter whatsoever; but I am apprehensive that our reason is not so well-informed as it ought to be, and though our attachment is indeed strong towards it, yet we embrace it not with the nobler faculty, or power of the soul, the understanding.

Those great men who, in our debate with Britain, drew their pens and illumined the subject, either weary with a long service, or so engaged that they could not undertake a new task, have been silent with regard to the many and particular advantages of our new connection. The people in the mean time, called off to yield a personal service in the field, have not had leisure to attend to what might be said to them, even if there had been those who could undertake to explain it. Hence it is, that though almost every man can give you a good account of the measures, and the injuries of Britain, yet few can note down precisely the spirit, principles, and great extent and glorious nature of our present safe and happy alliance.

¶ Shall

* Mr. Burke.

Shall not I therefore be thought to deserve thanks, who, amidst a multiplicity of avocations, have endeavoured to obtain some accurate and clear knowledge of the equal nature and reciprocal advantages of this alliance, and do sometimes snatch a moment to note down in a plain manner what I have to say upon the subject. Certainly I shall at least deserve to be heard, more especially, as avoiding all personal reflections that might wound the feelings of particular men, I proceed undeviating from the path in which I had set out, and keeping singly in my view the information of the people, on a subject in which I conceive them to be so deeply interested. It is not to be supposed but that I have my feelings as well as other men, and that oftentimes, when a good opportunity presents itself, I am under some temptation to give a slap in the face to one and another as I pass along, and to revenge myself on those whose pride and fastidiousness I disapprove, or who, from any cause, are pleased to be my enemies. It might be in my power to do this in a manner that all the world would know the originals whose characters I had described, and yet neither the mouths of law nor the tongues of the men could say any thing against me, not being able to affix it certainly that they were the very individuals pointed out by the sarcasm. But as I have in view the good of my country and not the gratification of resentment, however well-founded it may be, I shall disdain every thing of this nature, and go on with what I had proposed, the consideration of "the treaty," and of the great good that must flow from it.

To take this matter clearly along, it will be necessary that we go back to that period when first our Commissioners at Paris solicited the Court of France for assistance in our just and defensive war with Britain. On this

occasion it is reasonable to suppose, that the Court, by one of her servants, might have entered into a conversation with our Commissioners to the following purpose:—Gentlemen, we are not unacquainted with the nature of your debate, and we have been witness of the resolution and the perseverance you have manifested; but were we to place ourselves in the same line with you, and to make your enemies our enemies, what are we to gain by it? The power of Great-Britain, especially by sea, is not contemptible. You are not able to add a single ship of force to our fleets, to enable us to combat her with more advantage, on what she has called her own element. Your privateers may distress her commerce, but you do not inform us that you possess what may deserve the name of a maritime force. Just respiring from a former war, shall we then draw upon ourselves the hostility of this power, whom we have experienced to be greatly formidable in her naval strength? Shall we do this without the hope of assistance in the war, and at the same time without the prospect of advantage to be gained by it? Your cause may be just, and you may deserve that liberty for which you have contended; but you are not to apprehend that the whole French nation has taken upon herself a vow of knight-hood, and is about to go through the earth to rescue fair ladies, and to free the world of monsters. The days of chivalry and romance are over; and France embarking in your cause from an heroic principle of doing kind acts, without the least prospect of advantage, might be considered, in future times, as we now consider the Dukes of Normandy and the Sovereigns of other States of Europe, in their expeditions to the Holy Land.

But let me see: there are some advantages which it may be in your power to concede to us. We under-

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stand, from the history of your connection with Great Britain, that you had acquiesced in the restriction of your commerce to her shores, and this as a recompence for that protection which her fleets afforded you. It was the ground of your complaint, that, over and above this, she insisted upon a right to tax and "to bind, in all cases whatsoever." Are you willing to grant to France this exclusive right of your commerce for the same protection? Or, if you desire an unrestrained commerce, will you engage a sum of money to be paid at a future day, to indemnify for the expences of a war to which, on your account, she may be in the end exposed?

Or, if this is not agreeable, is there no adjoining territory which you may assist us to reduce, and which you may guarantee to France? Gentlemen, I will take the liberty to cast my eye upon that map which you have in your possession. It is the map of the Thirteen United States, which extend from the country washed by the Kennebec and Penobscot on the north, to the Savannah on the south, and in breadth from the ocean to the inland country. To the north of these States, claimed and possessed by you, is Canada and Nova Scotia, and to the south is the country of the two Floridas, yet in possession of the Crown of Great Britain. To Canada we have a proper claim, as it has been wrested from us, in the late war by that very power to whom you are now in opposition. Nova Scotia could be held conveniently with this, and both would be advantageous because of the fur trade, and likewise on account of their situation neighbouring to the fisheries of Newfoundland, to some share of which we have an exclusive right, and to what remains, a common right with all nations. The country of the two Floridas would form a happy

district, towards the Mississippi river. Will you guarantee both these estates to France, on condition that she takes a decided part in your behalf, in the contest with Great Britain?

This might have been the language of the Court of France; and for my part I do not see what we could have said in answer to it. The conditions were reasonable, and it was every hour before our eyes, that if we did not by some means obtain her assistance, we should be reduced to extreme distress. But France laid our Commissioners under no embarrassments of this nature. She expatiated not upon the risk and the expences of a war, in order that she might have it in her power to screw us up to some hard conditions. She did not insult our poverty by telling us that she knew we had not money to pay for her assistance, and therefore she could not expect it from us. She did not wound our pride by insisting that we should restrict our commerce to her shores, nor did she impose the hard circumstance of suffering her to repossess Canada, and to bend her empire as she did formerly to the west of our plantations. No, I can assert it to have been the reasoning of her Councils, that it would be neither her interest nor our interest that a compact upon any other than on equal terms should take place between us; and therefore she would not admit that one concession should be made in favour of her commerce; or that any of the expences of a war, which would unavoidably succeed, should be reimbursed to her; or that a foot of territory should be made the stipulation for her service. She well knew that restricted commerce, and money to be paid at a future day, would hang upon the minds of the people of America, and produce discontent, and in the end be the source of debate and disruption. The possession of a neighbouring territory would

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be particularly dangerous. The disputes that would arise between the subjects of the one dominion and the citizens of the other, on the limits of the two possessions, would claim the attention of the King of France and the States of America, which might involve a war of longer duration than that in which we are engaged with Great Britain, and from which our ally has now sought to relieve us. Besides, the Indians on our frontiers would now and then, from the jealousy and suspicion of their natures, or provoked by a just cause, make incursions on the settlements of France, and of these States; in which case the inhabitants on one side, and those on the other would be charged, and perhaps be too often chargeable, with having instigated them to such hostilities. This would be the bottom stone of buildings, not of love and good offices, and wealth, and glory to the two dominions, but of hatred, violence, and war, and men's bones whitening on the fields of battle for succeeding generations. To avoid consequences of this nature, France has struck away every circumstance that could involve a quarrel. She has "renounced for ever the possession" of any territory neighbouring to us. It is not in our power to disagree about the boundaries and land-marks of our possessions on the continent. The limit is precisely marked, not by a line drawn upon the earth, or imaginary in the heavens, but by the current of the Bay of Mexico, and the wide Atlantic ocean.

In the mean time, the terms of our alliance for the exigencies of the war, and for commercial intercourse, are equal. To use the language of the introduction to the treaty of amity and commerce, "the Most Christian King, and the Thirteen United States of North-America, viz. &c. willing to fix, in an equitable and

permanent manner, the rules which ought to be followed relative to the correspondence and commerce, which the two parties desire to establish between their respective countries, states, and subjects; his Most Christian Majesty, and the said United States have judged that the said end could not be better obtained than by taking for the basis of their agreement, the most perfect equality and reciprocity, and by carefully avoiding all those burthenome preferments which are usually the sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent." Thus it is that we possess a commerce free and unrestrained as is the air which bears us to the different harbours. We may go where we please, and we may take what we please from any nation of the earth. Let France expend half the treasures of her kingdom in the war on our account, we are not under obligation to repay a single Louis d'Or for the service. What individual has ever acted in a more equal manner? What nation of the world has ever exhibited a like example of magnanimity and wisdom of her councils? The history of the most virtuous State or Commonwealth that the world has ever known, can produce nothing like it. The Roman Republic, whose boast it was to relieve the oppressed; though her story is told by her own writers, is not able to produce one single act of equally disinterested kindness. She sent her legions to assist an exiled Prince, or an invaded State, but it was with a view, as the event constantly evinced, that by obtaining once a footing in that country, she might finally reduce it in obedience to herself. Tacitus, in his life of Julius Agricola, gives us a very just idea of the pretended generosity of that people in every age of their history. He puts it into the mouth of the Caledonian General Galgacus, at the foot of the

the Grampian mountains, what was their real conduct, viz. "That when, by the ravages of war, they had made a country desolate, they called it giving peace to that country." It will be remarked in future times, as the glory of the present age, that two singular events have come to pass in it: First, that a young and unprepared people have had resolution to oppose an old established and powerful nation: Second, that a great Prince, taking no advantage of their situation to extract concessions and engagements, has taken them by the hand, and conducted them to that independence which they sought, and in possession of which they will one day be a great and happy people.

THE HONEST POLITICIAN.

From the same.

When we call that treaty equal into which we have entered with the Court of France, we mean to say that no advantage has been taken of our situation as an invaded and distressed people; but that every article is just such as it would have been had we placed ourselves at the distance of an hundred years hence, when, to use the language of the Sieur Gerard to our Commissioners at Paris, we should be "fully established." In this treaty it might have been reasonably demanded of us that we should concede some advantages, as our necessity was pressing, and our very existence was at stake. Unsupported during one more campaign, we might have been reduced to make the western mountains the barrier of our war.

The subject is delicate, and I have been careful in the course of these papers to keep out of view the low state of our affairs both at home and abroad at the time when the happy news of the alliance was announced to us. But certainly it was low enough, and in the designs of Providence sufficient to make that great event joyful to the whole continent. I had hinted

in a former paper, where I found it in my way to touch upon this subject, That it "might be possible I had too much depressed the situation of America, and advanced the interposition of the Court of France." But from a review of the circumstances, and from the opinion of others on the subject, I am now confident, that so far have I been from heightening our distress, that I have by no means drawn it to the life in my description. I remember well that such was the situation of the army, while they lay at the Valley Forge in the winter of the year 1778, destitute of cloathing, many times in want of provisions, and greatly discouraged, that a member of Congress, who had been on a Committee to the camp to new model the troops with the advice of General Washington, declared to me, that "such had been the state of things, that nothing but the great virtues of that man had kept the army together." The annunciation of the alliance kindled up every hope, and restored our affairs both at home and abroad to new vigour. Having thus far digressed, I return to the line of thought I had taken up in the beginning of this paper, and shall go on to shew, that, in the treaty which we now have before us, there is "the most perfect equality and reciprocity" for the "broad basis" of it.

We have seen that it was not possible for France to receive from Britain any stipulation to secure her neutrality, because she would thereby draw upon herself the jealousy of other powers, who would disturb that peace which it is her great object to maintain. For the same reason it was not possible for France to accept, from America, any exclusive privilege of commerce; for this also would draw upon her the jealousy of other powers, who, though they had not contributed in the least degree to establish our independence, yet, such is the nature of the human heart, would see no reason why they ought not to share fully

fully in the great advantages to be drawn from it.

* But, it was not the will of France to confine any part of the trade of America to her shores, nor to impose upon that trade any inequality of duties or of customs to be paid at her ports; for she well knew that however readily the people of America, if greatly oppressed, might concede articles of that kind, and however kindly they might submit to it while a sense of the benefits they had received lay upon their minds, and kept them soft and pliant, yet the heart of man is prone to forget favours, and they would, after some time, desire to throw off all restraint, and be free in every path upon the water, as they were already free in every law upon the land. We see, therefore, from the present treaty that we are not under obligation to send to France a single article of the commerce of this country; and the vessel which, led by the prospect of advantage, shall sail to her ports, is not under obligation to pay a single duty, impost, or custom which the most "favoured nations do not pay." But the "most favoured nations" sailing to the ports of France, are exempted from duties, and therefore the States of America, in the ports of France, are exempted from duties which other nations are obliged to pay. Indeed, as a great part of the revenue of the Crown is drawn from the duties upon commerce, it is impossible to dispense with the payment of a duty wholly, and in all cases whatsoever; but such has been the condescension of the nation in the treaty with America, that one port is given where no duty shall be paid; and what is an evidence that it does not repent her of that circumstance in our favour, she has added more than we could claim by the treaty, and has given us one or two free ports besides Marseilles; and has it even in

contemplation to grant two others for our convenience of commerce in the western seas. But, every article relative to commerce between France and the States, is secured from all possible charge of inequality, by the circumstance that there is no duty which the "most favoured nations" are obliged to pay, and which America shall pay, but "it is understood that the United States, or any of them, are at liberty, when they shall judge it proper, to establish a duty equivalent in the same case *."

What were it to the purpose if we were under the necessity of paying some duty in every port of France? We have not bound ourselves by the treaty to carry to that kingdom, or to take from it any article but what we please to carry to it or to take from it. So far from this, that without exacting the least engagement of this nature, she has undertaken to guarantee the freedom of our trade to all nations. Indeed, if in the original compact, there is no restriction of our trade in any of its branches to her shores, as was the case in the whole of our commerce in our connection with Great Britain, there is no danger but that for her own sake, France will give every freedom, and every encouragement to America in trade, that she can possibly afford to any people whatsoever.

We see then that with regard to commerce, no advantage has been taken, as a recompence for any service rendered in the establishment of these States. As to imposts and duties, there are none to pay; or we are equal in our right to impose them, and if an armed vessel of the States is obliged to take under its protection the vessels and effects of his Most Christian Majesty, so "the armed vessels of his Most Christian Majesty shall, on all occasions, take under their protection all vessels

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“ belonging to the subjects, people,
 “ or inhabitants of the United States,
 “ or any of them, and holding the
 “ same course, and going the same
 “ way; and shall defend such vessels
 “ as long as they hold the same course,
 “ or go the same way, against all
 “ attacks, force or violence, in the
 “ same manner as they ought to pro-
 “ tect and defend the vessels belong-
 “ ing to the subjects of the Most
 “ Christian King.” In this we have
 greatly and manifestly the advantage.
 For whereas our naval force is small,
 we can do very little, for many years,
 to protect the trade of France, while,
 on the other hand, the fleets of this
 nation are spread over every sea. Our
 merchantmen will fall in with them,
 and will sail under their protection
 from Cape Horn to the fisheries of
 Newfoundland; from the Baltic to
 the Cape of Good-Hope, and from
 the Cape of Good-Hope to the East-
 Indies.

It has been already said, that
 France might reasonably have de-
 manded a subsidy of these States for
 the expences she might incur on their
 account. It is true, it was her inter-
 est that we should be disconnected
 with Great-Britain; but it was not
 her interest so strongly, and so essen-
 tially as it was ours. It was neces-
 sary for her safety, but it was neces-
 sary for our existence. She could not
 live in peace without it; we could
 not live at all. It was then reason-
 able, that, if she put her navy, and
 the strength of her kingdom to a pre-
 sent risk, we should contribute, at a
 future day, something in return for
 this generous exertion. But France
 would not suffer that the least idea of
 a subsidy should be ever placed be-
 fore our minds. We should not pay
 a single Louis d’Or for her service.
 It is expressly stipulated by the ninth
 article, “ that there shall be no after-

claim of compensation on one side or
 the other, whatever may be the event
 of the war.”

France well knew that a subsidy,
 however reasonable it might appear,
 and however easily received, would
 at length wear the feelings of the
 people, and cause them, after some
 time, to wish they had it not to pay.
 With a spirit of true philosophy and
 reason, France, therefore easily neg-
 lected the mention of any thing of
 this kind, and there is now, in all
 articles relative to commerce, the
 most perfect equality in the condi-
 tions of the compact of our alliance.

With regard to territory, we do
 not grant to France one foot claimed
 or possessed by us, nor do we engage
 to guarantee one foot claimed or
 possessed by others on the Continent,
 and which, in the course of the war,
 she might be able to reduce. On the
 contrary, she has ceded by the treaty,
 the whole of what before had been
 called British America, to some part
 of which, as it had been wrested from
 her, she had a just claim. She not
 only cedes to these States, Canada,
 and Nova Scotia, and the Floridas,
 but she engages to guarantee these
 possessions. For, “ if we shall think
 fit to attempt the reduction of the
 British power remaining in the nor-
 thern parts of America, or the island
 of Bermudas, those countries, or
 islands, in case of success, shall be
 confederated with, or dependent up-
 on, the United States.”

In return for this, what do we
 guarantee to France? Her West-
 India islands only; and this for our
 advantage. For, as we cannot yet
 hold one West-India island by our
 fleets, it is our interest, that they be
 held by those who are our allies, and
 from whom we can receive from the
 free ports every article of commerce
 without duty, import, or custom,

† Treaty of Alliance, article IX.

‡ Treaty of Alliance, article V.

more, than we are at liberty to establish, in like case, upon articles exported from the Continent to those islands.

Do not we guarantee to France her possessions on the Continent of Europe? By no means. She may be at war ten ages on that side of the Atlantic ocean, and we may know no more about it, and hear no more of it than we do of the rustling of the wind over some distant country. We may hear of the wars that shall arise, but the sound of them shall pass above us; and but give us to know the happiness of that tranquillity which we enjoy. Here then is the case. On every invasion of our territory, in every war in which we are engaged with a foreign power, France has bound herself to assist and defend our country. In any war in which she may be engaged, unless on account of her West-India islands, which it is our interest to preserve, and secure for her, we have no concern whatsoever.

In these respects, shall I call the treaty equal? It is manifestly unequal, and the balance of advantage is in favour of these States. When I consider these things, I am ready to pronounce the councils of the French Court worthy every praise. Her generosity has far exceeded what we usually observe in the conduct of individuals, who are led by personal attachment to favour the objects of their kindness. More has not been done by any nation to another since the world began. Assistance has been given, but on such terms as to take away all obligation: Here alone we have seen assistance given, and the terms on which it is given, but conditions of advantage to the people so assisted. Great-Britain was not equally generous in the assistance, which, under Elizabeth, she gave to the States of Holland. Though greatly apprehensive of the power of

Spain, and in the same situation, with regard to that monarchy, as was France, at the commencement of this war, with regard to England, yet she did not candidly acknowledge it; but, in consenting to lend assistance, she kept out of view every idea of any interest of her own, and deserting that equality of terms which the common danger should have brought her to propose, she exacted in the treaty annexed, "that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war, and that the towns of Flushing, and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins should, in the mean time, be consigned into her hands by way of security." Nay, the suffering and invaded States, in order to engage her still more to their interest, thought it necessary to compliment her by conferring on her General, the Earl of Leiceſter, whom she had sent over, though but a weak man, the command of their forces; and what marks the policy of Courts at that time, the Queen, as this was done without her request, took advantage of the circumstance, and that she might not seem to be under any obligation, on account of it, greatly blamed the States, as having done that which was by no means agreeable. If we contrast this conduct with that of France in all her proceedings with regard to us, we shall perceive a very wide difference. She has not pretended "that she acted wholly for our sakes." She has not, in one instance, shewed a disposition to advance her services, or to make more of them than they would bear. This ought to inspire us with the greater love, and to cause us to embrace her with the more true and sincere affection. It ought to be the language of every American, in the words of the poet,

————— ob hoc nunc
"Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia
major."

O ●

I will

● Hume.

I will conclude what I have to say at the present time, on the articles of this treaty, by observing, that it is a proof demonstrative of its fairness and equality, that our enemies have not been able to find out any thing on which to ground a charge of unfairness, inequality, or insidiousness. They have declared France insidious, but, to make good the charge, their Ambassador*, who should be best acquainted with any circumstance of this kind, was brought by ministerial influence to cover himself and them with eternal shame, in asserting, in open Parliament, that there was a secret treaty different from that which was published, while this pretended secret treaty has no existence, not even in the minds of those who have given birth to the surmise. There cannot be a stronger evidence that the treaties which actually exist, afford to them not the least ground of charge, than that they have been under the necessity of supposing some secret ones which might be so chargeable.

THE HONEST POLITICIAN.

From the same.

The treaty which we have with France is admired by the whole world. To use the language of the old prophet, † “a new thing is seen in the earth.” A Court quitting that boundary of selfishness which so long had marked the policy of Princes, has acted with the wisdom and benevolence of an ancient Patriarch. Abraham himself, in his agreement with the “sons of Heth” for the cave of Machpelah; or, in his delivering up the spoils rescued from the four Kings, to the Prince from whom they had been taken, discovered, in the one case, not more uprightness, and, in the other, not more generosity, than has been shown by France to America in the articles of

this treaty. In return for every advantage of a participation of our commerce, she has “weighed” an ample compensation in the freedom of her commerce, “which we shall enjoy without inequality of duty, import, or custom.” Of these our possessions, which she has in great measure rescued from the King of Britain, she has not been willing to retain a foot of territory. It has been her language, “I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made France rich.” Her object, single and alone, has been to accomplish that which is declared to be the “essential and direct end” of the alliance.

It is declared to be the “essential and direct end” of the alliance, to “maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of these United States, as well in matters of government as commerce.” † That it is so in spirit as well as in profession, is evident from the treaty. There is no other object which the wit of man can fix upon as proposed by it. It is not the guarantee of territory on our part to France, the restriction of commerce to her shores, the payment of a subsidy, nor, on her part, is it even the ambition of superior interest in our councils for the war. The “cause” is “common” and our Councils equal. “His Majesty of France and the United States are to aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their force, according to the exigencies of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.”

That “the independence of the States” is the sole and simple object of France is evident from her councils. Why was it that she used her whole interest with the Emperor, whose sister is the Queen of France, and with the King of Prussia, who is her old and natural ally, to bring them

* Stormont.

† Jeremiah.

‡ Article 11.

them to a compromise of differences relative to the succession of Bavaria, but, that by preventing a general war upon the continent, in which it was not impossible but that she might be distantly engaged, she might have it in her power to attend solely to the requisition of the States, and to draw forth her whole resources in a naval war. She could propose to herself advantages from a general war upon the continent; for, as she is allied to Sweden and to Prussia, and by consanguinity and marriage with almost every power of Europe, in the general conflagration, she could hope to snatch Hanover and any of the German principalities favouring to England, and make interest sufficient to be suffered to retain them by consent of all. But these advantages which she might propose she easily rejected, and employed her whole skill in the most refined but just policy, to allay debates, and conciliate peace.

That our independence is her great object is evident, moreover, from the actual expeditions of her arms. The first operations of her fleet, under Count d'Estaing, was to these coasts, where she hoped, by co-operating with General Washington, to strike an effectual blow, and reduce the enemy to reason. Had extension of dominion been her object, she would have ordered this fleet to the West-Indies, where she would have had the earliest opportunity of attacking those islands unapprized, unprepared, undefended. She would have taken easily every island which has since cost her time, men, and money to reduce. Had she chosen to make her conquests in another quarter, she would have sailed to the banks of Newfoundland, where the British vessels on the coast, and the fish drying on the banks, would have been an easy prey; and every island and possession in that quarter would have been added to St. Pierre and Mique-

lon, and made a part of the dominion of his Most Christian Majesty; or she would have early bent her course to the shores of Africa, and reduced the British settlements on the river Senegal, and along the whole Gold Coast, where the miserable inhabitants should no longer rake the soil for that dust which must supply the Treasury of Britain, and enable her to wage a future war; or the fleet of France, passing every shore of Africa, and turning round the Cape, might have sailed to the East-Indies, not only to prevent the fall of Pondicherry, (but to reduce the garrisons) and settlements on every point of land and every island on that continent, and to turn the whole of the East-India trade, which is the source of the wealth of nations, into her own hands. But neglecting these objects, she fitted out the Count with twelve ships of the line for the Delaware, with a view to surprize the fleet of the enemy in that river, and by co-operating with General Washington, to reduce the British force to a capitulation, and by one masterly and bold stroke to put an end to the war, and establish the independence of the States at once. Disappointed in this hope by the tediousness of the voyage, previous advice of the destination of the fleet having been received by the enemy, and afterwards unsuccessful by reason of the storm, and obliged to refit in the harbour of Boston, the enemy were reinforced, and it became advisable, both for the conveniency of our commerce, and to distress the enemy, to draw off to the West-Indies where most vulnerable, as we have already hinted, they would most sensibly feel damage, and from whence, should an opportunity present itself it might be convenient to return to attack their fleets upon our coasts, or to block them up in any of our harbours. Thus, in every expedition and manœuvre of the fleets of our ally, and in every operation

operation of her arms, it is evident that the only thing proposed by her is, to reduce the enemy to reason, and the acknowledgement of our independence.

The powers of Europe are sensible of this, and hence it is that they have given no interruption to the views of France in the course of this debate. It is their interest that our empire, which constituted a main foundation of the British grandeur, should be dismembered from it; and that our commerce, which had been restricted to her shores, should be detached, and left free and open to the whole world. They, as well as France, had felt the triumph of the British flag waving with haughty tyranny on every sea; they, as well as France, had seen, with an unwilling eye, the commerce of a great part of the western world concentrated to the shores of Britain. It was equally the interest of the Powers of Europe, to reduce the one, and to share the other. It only remained to be considered, who it was that would undertake to step forth, and to strike the first blow. France alone had it in her power to do, what the others, singly, dared not to attempt, and what, combinedly they were not willing to propose; but our independence was the only object which, consistent with their own interest, they could propose; and France, in effecting this, labours for the whole of Europe. In this case, will they be disposed to obstruct her measures? It would be to contravene their own advantage, and resist their own hopes. It has been shewn to be an argument of the uprightness of the views of France, in her conduct to America, that our enemies, the British Ministry and Parliament, have not been able to assign a single article in the treaty, into which she has entered with us, as unequal or insidious; it will also be an argument of the uprightness and the just views of this

kingdom, that the Powers of Europe, whose Ministers are at her Court, and who have the best intelligence of every measure and of every counsel, are fully satisfied with her intentions; and Britain has not been able, as is acknowledged by Lord North in the House of Commons, to form an alliance with one of these powers; for even Russia, from whom he most expected it, is unwilling to make the least engagement of this nature. The amity of these powers with France, and that pleasure which they have expressed for her victories, (victories obtained in their behalf, but not at their expence) is a full evidence that they are persuaded of the uprightness of her views, and that her object is not the aggrandizement of herself, but singly and alone, that which is the equal interest of them all—The independence of America.

Our independence will appear to be an object not unworthy of the councils and the arms of France, if we consider, that besides the reduction of the power of Britain, and the sharing of our commerce, it is acquiring to herself immortal honour. What can be more glorious to a nation than to be founder of a young empire, that will one day be the seat of science and the arts, and the rival of the Free States of the old world? Men take a pleasure in erecting buildings even of wood and stone, because they are the works of their own hands. But they feel a nobler pleasure in doing good to men. For wood and stone, and the ornament of carved work is dumb, but the mouth of the grateful person shall speak his benefactor's praise. Why is it that Mæcenæus of Rome, and the Medici of Tuscany, and young Prince Henry of Portugal, are heard of with so much reputation in the world? It is not so much for any thing they have done in literature or arms, as on account of that patronage which they afforded to men of talents and of virtue.

fige. Sir Philip Sidney is described by the writers of his age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman. His praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity, because, says the historian Hume, "The credit which he possessed with his Queen was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature." Why may not a nation, as well as an individual, find a recompense in the praises consequent upon a generous action? It is the happiness of the Deity himself to give life to beings, to see a world starting to existence, and to cause it to improve and to shine before him.

We may believe that a principle of this nature actuated France; for it is the genius of the nation to be taken more with a prospect of honour than a prospect of advantage. Hence it is that she has made such generous exertions in our favour, which it is not probable that any hope of profit could have drawn from her. There is a life and romance in the thought of honour, to which the grovelling pursuit of wealth can never rise. France has yet more of the old crusading and heroic spirit than any other power of Europe. I had said in a former paper, that it might have been her natural language to our Commissioners at Paris, soliciting attention to the object of their embassy, that "the whole French nation had not taken upon herself a vow of knight-hood to go through the earth to rescue fair ladies, and to rid the world of monsters." Nevertheless, I may in truth say, that she has in some measure risen to this character of antient and heroic chivalry. The principles of her conduct towards us are generous, and her exertions have been great, and surpassing common expectation. They resemble the achievements of the noble Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in their expeditions to the Holy Land.

France, in this cause, has stood

forth the champion of Europe, and every power on the continent is disposed to give her due praise. America, whom she has principally engaged by her kind offices, will not be wanting in correspondent feelings of affection. The nation is beloved by us, and every name from that kingdom is received amongst us with honour and respect. The Prince, whom we consider as the source of every kind act, is spoken of in America with a degree of enthusiasm to be found only amongst a free people, whose feelings are strong, and whose affections are sincere. Every one must remember with what undisguised sincerity his Majesty's birthday was celebrated some time ago among us, when the oldest age was not tardy to behold from windows and balconies the display of fireworks on that occasion; and when the name of Louis XVI. was familiar in the mouths of our youngest children. Every one will remember this with pleasure, more especially when he is informed that to all what this Prince has already done for us, he has lately added a farther obligation, in offering to guarantee a loan which is now about to be negotiated for the use of these States, and at the same time to pay the interest out of his own privy purse. This will endear him to America, and has taken away that prejudice, which from the of George III. we had conceived against sovereigns. For when we survey the kind acts of this Prince, and consider what it is in the power of a good man possessed of great authority to do, we have changed our opinion, and no longer wonder that it was made a part of the blessing of Abraham, "And Kings shall come out of thee."

Our gratulation of his Excellency, the Minister of this nation, just arrived amongst us, is an evidence not less of our affection for our ally, than of the sense we entertain of the particular

particular reputation of this gentleman, honourable from his connections, his personal worth and capacity; and to be respected amongst us on account of those services rendered us in a distant line, though with direct advantage to these States, in his able and successful negotiations at the court of Bavaria, to compromise the differences that had arisen between the Emperor of Germany and several of the powers of Europe, relative to the succession of that Dutchy. Debarking on the continent, he has been received at Boston amongst that brave, polite and hospitable people, with every testimony of respect which genius could invent, and gratitude bestow. The assemblies of the town, the muses of the college waited on him, and in our vernacular tongue, and in the Latin language, expressed their love for the alliance, for the Prince, for the Minister, and for the nation. On his journey from the northward, when by a company of light dragoons he had been escorted to the camp, a view of universal satisfaction prevailed amongst our patriotic soldiery: No wonder; for they love the servants and the nation whose aim it is to fix on a solid basis that liberty for which they have contended. On his approach to this city a company of militia light dragoons, gentlemen of the first rank amongst us, was happy to wait upon the Chevalier, and to escort him into town. His arrival was announced by a discharge of the artillery, and the Confederate Flag was displayed, as on occasions of particular joy. The day following a noble vessel, launched from our docks, received, in honour of his Excellency, the name of the LUZERNE.

I mention these things with pleasure, as demonstrative of our affection for the nation, contrary to the insinuations of our enemies, who have called this an unnatural alliance, and are ready to believe that necessity,

not love, engages us, and that we are strained up to it by an artificial force, which must soon break, and leave us once more asunder; that our affections are no more than cold ceremony, and the gratulations of our voice the meer effort of a common policy, suited to the occasions of the day. A charge of this nature, so injurious to our feelings, it is our part by every mark of peaceable respect and civility, and every good natured act of kindness to the new Minister and to the nation, to endeavour to disprove.

THE HONEST POLITICIAN.

To the Freemen of America. On the French Alliance.

Friends and Fellow-citizens,

It is impossible to take a view of the present appearance of our public affairs, without feeling ourselves under the greatest obligations to our illustrious ally the King of France, who, under God, hath been the instrument of humbling the pride of our enemies, and of giving liberty, independence, and the prospects of peace to this country.

My design, in the following address, is to shew that our alliance with France is more safe and beneficial than an alliance upon the same terms would have been with Great Britain,

Let not an English Whig, or the American Whig with English blood in his veins, start at this proposition. Whatever your feelings as Christians may be towards the individuals who have injured you, yet towards the nation of Britain, as citizens of America, you owe nothing but revenge. The God of Justice has no other way of punishing the ingratitude and cruelty of Great Britain, than through the instrumentality of your resentments. Your hatred to that haughty nation must erect a monument of justice to deter other nations from imitating their example. It is your duty,

duty, therefore, to rejoice in their downfall, as much as it is your duty to rejoice in seeing punishments inflicted upon a criminal who has disturbed the peace of the society to which you belong. It is your duty to retaliate all the mischiefs upon them they have perpetrated against you. You are called upon by the ties of nature, and the great principles by which God governs the nations of the earth, to burn and destroy every thing that carries the name or country of Britain upon it. Humanity to Englishmen is treason against America. Is any man chilled with these sentiments? Let him recollect the burning of Charles-town, Norfolk, and Falmouth. Or if these are of too old a date, to rouse his resentments, let him view the smoke of Norwalk and Fairfield still ascending in the air.

But if the destruction of houses is too slight an injury to awaken his revenge, let him view the venerable Roseborough, receiving the bayonet in his breast upon his knees, praying for life. Let him see the gallant Yeates forsaken by a band of butchers, because no spot was left on his body with room enough to receive new wounds. Let him see the aged father of a family shot down by his fire-side. Let him see the lovely virgin, the pride and ornament of the village, dragged to the British or Hessian ravager. Let him see our sons and brothers thrown by hundreds out of jails and prison-ships, to be devoured by dogs and fishes. Let him listen to the cries of the wilderness, and see who's countries laid waste by the Indian savages, excited to war by British emissaries. Who is there, after all this, that talks of an alliance with Britain? An alliance with tygers and devils would be more natural. Our ancestors, who were driven from their shores, forbid it. The spirits of the heroes, who have fallen in fighting against them, forbid

it. The interests and happiness of our posterity forbid it. No—let us rather cherish our resentments. Let us instill them into the minds of our children; and let the first lessons we teach them be, that to love liberty and to hate Englishmen mean one and the same thing.

Say not, that the cruelties that have been perpetrated in America, have been committed by a few military butchers.—They have been practised by their whole armies, with but few exceptions, in every part of our country. They have been approved of by the King and Parliament of Britain. They are agreeable to the nation. Nay, more; the King, Parliament and nation first authorized them.—Cruelty to Americans is now part of the statute law of England. Our brave countrymen have been the subjects of a new species of game acts. They have been transported across the ocean at the pleasure of a capricious sea-monster; and the rattling of their chains in Newgate has been music in the ears of the whole British nation.

We are sometimes told of a St. Bartholomew's day in Paris. But has Britain crowded no jails, settled no new colonies, nor shed no blood in persecuting for conscience-sake? Let the memory of these things, in both nations, be buried in the ignorance of the ages in which they happened. But who can forget the ravages of Great Britain upon property and life in the East Indies? The foundations of ancient societies and governments were there torn up by the roots, and whole nations were exterminated in a few years by her desolating hand. Nor was this all. Lord Clive, the principal actor in these enormities, was received with open arms by the present King of Britain, and that load of guilt was formally cancelled by an act of the British legislature, which afterwards drove him to put an end to his life by cutting his throat.

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Much has been said of the excellency of the manufactures of Britain to induce us to sue for a treaty of commerce with them. Such of them as are valuable or necessary, may be had through the medium of other ports. But I believe the prejudices of our ancient connection with that island, have magnified and even created a great deal of that perfection we have been taught to admire so much in British goods. Such was our partiality in former times to the country of our ancestors, that we hardly smiled at the simplicity of an Englishman, when he boasted of the superior size and splendour of an English moon. Did we feel more of the true spirit of freedom and independence, we should talk more sparingly of renewing a trade with a people for articles which were once the badges of our subjection to them. We should view a piece of English broad-cloth as the tissue of our former chains, and even their delicious porter and cheese would appear as the poisons that lulled us into an ignorance of our strength and resources. Happily for us, we have learned to manufacture those things which are most essential to our independence; and as for those necessary or convenient articles, the manufactory of which would interfere with our agriculture, France is able to supply us with them at a cheaper rate than we were obliged formerly to import them from Great Britain; and what she cannot supply herself, she has enabled us to procure elsewhere, by opening to us all the ports upon the surface of the globe.

There was a time when we were told as a reason for cultivating a union with Great Britain, that her navy would protect us against the whole world. But how is the mighty fallen! Britain no longer triumphs as mistress of the ocean. By her rupture with America, she has lost those resources for her navy which con-

ducted her with so much glory thro' the late war. France has shewn herself in one instance equal, and in another superior to the once invincible navy of England. What may we not expect in the course of a few years, when the retreat or destruction of the British army on our coasts, shall give us an opportunity of putting forth our strength at sea, and uniting it with the present formidable navy of France? Let tyrants tremble at the prospect of the union of our flags; and let the nations of the earth rejoice in the repose they shall enjoy when France and America shall hold the balance of power on the ocean.

It has been remarked by civilians, that those alliances are always the most beneficial and durable which are formed between nations as *unlike* to each other as possible in religion, laws and manners. It is by means of this contrariety, and even opposition in the above articles, that a people acquire a national character. The religious prejudices in which we have been educated, and our predilection to republican forms of government of limited monarchy, secure us for ever from acquiring a fondness for the religion or absolute monarchy of France. Sweden has preserved her protestantism, and the cantons of Switzerland their liberties, in a long and intimate union with France. An alliance with Great Britain, by co-operating with our ancient habits, would soon have introduced among us the secular power of her church, and the splendour of her royal and aristocratical government. Her manners too, to which time and our former connection with her had in some measure reconciled us, would soon have been adopted by us, and we should in a little while have learned to eat and drink, and swear and quarrel like Englishmen. The sameness of language, which has been weakly urged as a reason for an alliance with Britain, would have served only to facilitate.

litate the progress of her moral and political vices among us.

Who knows to what extremities an alliance with Britain might lead this country? It would, besides corrupting our ideas of government and our manners, have opened every Senate and Council Chamber on the continent to the influence of British gold. Great Britain can never love us as allies. Our independence will be the lasting monument of her folly and wickedness. She can never brook to address us as United States. An alliance with her would enable a Minister, properly instructed in British arts of corruption, to reduce the once glorious and independent States of America in twenty years, to the degrading station of British colonies and plantations: Whose soul is not touched to the quick at the apprehension of such a calamity? Shall our patriots toil? Shall our heroes bleed for nothing? Shall Heaven work miracles for us in vain?—Yes. All the blood that has been shed, all the treasure that has been expended, and all the deliverances we have experienced, would be lost for ever to us; and to our posterity, in an alliance with Great Britain; for I believe it impossible, under our present circumstances, to form such a connection with her as would not destroy our independence, and reduce us once more to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to the weavers and porters of Great Britain.

Liberty was first courted in America under the shape of a constitutional union with Great Britain. When she refused to be wooed in that form, we addressed her in the shape of independence; but the coy maid refused to give us her hand, until she took sanctuary in the French alliance. Here she delights to unveil all her charms to her faithful votaries. It is impossible, therefore, to be a friend to liberty, without being

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a friend to our alliance with France. This is the touchstone of Whiggism. A Tory, and an advocate for an alliance with England, are now one and the same thing.

Friends and fellow citizens, be not deceived. There is often more danger in making a port, than in a long and tempestuous voyage. Great Britain has been taught at last, that neither the force of her arms, nor the arts of the Tories, are sufficient for the purpose of enslaving America. All her hopes, therefore, are centred in the ignorance, indiscretion, and treachery of the Whigs. As she once employed a certain class of Tories in exalting the praises of constitutional liberty, (as they were pleased to call it) at the expence of independence; so she now employs, it is to be feared, a certain class of Whigs, in extolling the advantages of our independence, at the expence of the French alliance. Let us beware of such men. Our liberties, our independence, and our treaties with France, must all stand or fall together. An enemy to the French alliance, therefore, is as much a traitor to the true interests of America, as the men who deserted our cause, and joined the British army upon the 4th of July, 1776.

To the ties of interest I might add here the more sacred ties of honour and gratitude, to induce us to prefer an alliance with France to an alliance with Great Britain. Who supported our drooping spirits in the gloomy winter of 1776? It was the Court of France. Who first acknowledged our independence, and entered into a most equal and honourable treaty with us? The Court of France. Who supplied us with arms, ammunition, and cloathing for our army? The Court of France. Who compelled our enemies to evacuate the metropolis of the continent? Who drew off the principal part of the enemy's

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my's ships from our coasts, and transferred the seat of the war from America to the West-Indies? Who has defeated Admiral Byron, and subdued near one half of the British Islands in the West-India ocean? In a word, Who has filled our harbours with ships, and our warehouses with merchandize? Who has given stability to liberty, property, and life in America? I answer, the fleets and armies of France. It is impossible for one nation to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another, than France has upon ours. To be unjust to our engagements with her, therefore, would reduce us to the lowest degree of infamy; and render the name of an American as base as the present war will make the name of a Briton throughout every corner of the world, and to the end of time.

Has Britain injured and oppressed us in the manner that has been described? Let us cultivate the French alliance, and by means of it co-operate with the God of justice in punishing her for her wickedness. Are liberty and independence dearer to us than life itself? Do we wish to establish a national character, unlike in every respect to modern Englishmen? Do we wish to preserve and transmit to posterity, our republican forms of government, and our pure and simple modes of worship? Do we wish to improve in science, and in all the arts of polished life? Do we wish for commerce and friendship with the whole world, Great-Britain excepted? Do we wish to deserve a character for honour, gratitude, and integrity? And above all, do we wish to kindle in the Old World the sparks of freedom, and to spread knowledge, virtue, and happiness from pole to pole? Let us, to obtain these great objects, CULTIVATE THE FRENCH ALLIANCE. They are all promised or secured to us by our union with France. Let us, therefore, cherish this union. Let us

forget that ever we were enemies. Let us honour the illustrious Prince, to whose wisdom and magnanimity we are so much indebted; and let us love and esteem the whole nation, who are now cheerfully lavishing their blood and treasure only to secure to us our liberty and independence. O! glorious alliance! The 6th of February, 1778, was a day memorable throughout the universe. Humanity, every where depressed and insulted, shed tears of joy when she heard that the treaty was signed between France and the United States. It was a day memorable in Heaven itself. The holy martyrs, who have fallen in defence of our liberties, then saw, for the first time, that they had not died in vain. The East-India seapoy, the West-India carib, and the African negro, who had been deprived of life by the lust of wealth and dominion of Great-Britain, rejoiced to see an end put to her depredations upon human nature by the union of France with America. May that DIVINE BEING, who united the force of these two nations, continue to preserve it under the direction of justice. May the throne of France never want a LEWIS the XVth! And may the Members of the American CONGRESS ever remember that *liberty*—not glory, and that *right*—not conquest, should be their only objects in all their negotiations.

LEONIDAS.

From the Pennsylvania Packet.

When a part only of the proceedings in Congress on a particular subject, is not only published, but also mis-stated; and especially when the part so published is of a secret nature, and for that reason no mention is made of it in the journals of Congress, there is the greatest reason to imagine that the publication is intended to answer some insidious purpose. The subjoined paper, which

is falsely filed, "A Report of a Committee of Congress," is of that nature; for the truth is, that Mr. Paca of Maryland, and the late Mr. Drayton of South Carolina, who actually signed the paper, were never appointed a Committee for that purpose; but officiously and without the knowledge of Congress, and therefore we may presume with some sinister view, took upon themselves to wait on Mr. Gerard, and from him * surreptitiously obtained the said paper, which one of the gentlemen read and laid it on the table, and there it rested and still rests without further notice.

As it appeared first in the New-York Journal, printed at Poughkeepsie, it seems as if the publication was intended to serve some private end in that State.—How far cabal and intrigue here may have had a share in the business, and whether the indirect management of Doctor Franklin and others, friends or partners in trade of Mr. Deane, drew such declaration, as is mentioned, from Count de Vergennes, I shall not now examine. I would only recommend it to the persons in the State of New-York, who elect the Delegates to Congress for that State, to enquire,

1st. Whether any, and which of their Delegates did urge in Congress that Mr. Deane should give a verbal narrative of his transactions in Europe instead of a written one, notwithstanding it was represented in opposition thereto, that a verbal narrative, in case he was guilty of the abuses he was suspected of, would leave him at

liberty to say and unsay, to explain away and evade matters, just as it might best suit the purpose of eluding public justice.

2d. Whether any, and which of their Delegates urged in Congress that Mr. Deane should be excused from answering questions which tended to criminate himself; a proposal which implies a conviction in the author and abettor of it, that abuses had been committed, and could have no other end than to screen the party from detection.

3d. Whether any, and which of their Delegates voted for the recall of Mr. Izard and Mr. William Lee; and immediately afterwards also voted for this very extraordinary motion, "*That those gentlemen be informed, that it is the sense of Congress that they need not repair to America.*" By which means, all enquiry and information relative to the merits and demerits of the several Commissioners, so far at least as an examination of those gentlemen would throw light on the subject, were entirely cut off.

4th. Whether any, and which of their Delegates were concerned with other persons in trade, or made proposals for that purpose which were refused.

5th. Whether any, and which of their Delegates ever shewed improper attention to Tories, and intermeddled in the parties and politics of this State.

6th. Whether any, and which of their Delegates communicated the aforesaid pretended report to the Printer of the New-York Journal; what his view in so doing might probably

P 3

* *Surreptitiously*, because at the time of their procuring Mr. Gerard's opinion, a question was pending before Congress "Whether Mr. Gerard should be applied to upon such an occasion?"—which was very properly opposed—This question had been moved by Mr. Paca, seconded by Mr. Drayton, who, after delivering at the table the subjoined paper, withdrew their first motion for enquiry.—Had Mr. Gerard been fairly apprized of these circumstances, he would not have made himself a party in the factious proceedings of interested and prejudiced individuals of Congress.

probably be; whether by holding up that testimony against Mr. Lee, he meant that people should from thence infer, that Mr. Deane, Mr. Lee's opponent, was entirely innocent, and his own conduct therefore, in supporting Mr. Deane, highly commendable;—whereas nothing is more clear than, although Mr. Lee may be a very ungracious Minister, that Mr. Deane may have been a very iniquitous agent; that while both of them may deserve contempt, their respective partizans are unworthy the confidence of a free and virtuous people. Men who will deliberately go unjustifiable lengths in supporting a servant of the public, must be actuated by motives that are incompatible with the public welfare. It seems highly probable, that if the honour and interest of our country had been duly attended to, that Mr. Lee would have been recalled, and Mr. Deane detained till he had rendered a satisfactory account of the vast sums of public money which have passed through his hands.

HONESTY.

The paper referred to above is as follows:

From the New-York Journal of August 9, printed at Poughkeepsie.

“ For the information of the good people of the United States of America, I send you by publication a report of a Committee of Congress made to that body on the 30th of April last. The information contained in this report being of the highest authenticity, it is evident that Mr. Lee could do this country no essential service as a Commissioner, either in France or Spain. What then could have induced fourteen gentlemen in Congress to vote for his continuance, (twenty-two being against it) and some of them to assert, that he was the properest person to represent these States at the Court of Madrid, is hard to conceive. But how they can

reconcile their conduct to their constituents, it is now become necessary for them to explain. Facts speak for themselves, and are placed in a clear light by the following report of the Committee of Congress, appointed for that purpose:

The under-signed Members of the Congress of the United States of North-America have the honour to inform the said Congress,

“ That upon good grounds, having been led to believe that the conduct of Arthur Lee, Esq. late one of the Commissioners representing these United States at the Court of Versailles, and now sole Commissioner to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid, was disgusting to these Courts, unconciliatory to their subjects, and prejudicial to the honour and interest of the said States.

“ They were astonished to hear an assertion made in Congress on the 15th inst, by an Hon. Member from Massachusetts Bay, as from the highest authority in America, that the said Commissioner is possessed of the confidence of the Court of Versailles; and since, another assertion, by another Hon. Member from the same State, that the said Commissioner is the most proper person to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid, assertions which, being made in the debates on foreign affairs, were made to influence Congress to continue the said Arthur Lee, Esq. as the public Minister of the said United States to the Court of Madrid at the expected negotiations for a general pacification, under the mediation of that Court.

“ That the under-signed, impressed with a conviction in such an important conjuncture, the Minister to represent the said States at the Court of Madrid, ought not to be disagreeable to that Court, nor the Court of Versailles, in faithful alliance with these States; and that the interest of the said States demanded that it should be precisely ascertained, whether or not the

the said Commissioner was disagreeable to the said Courts, for certain information upon the point, they have from the necessity of the case, been compelled to apply to the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, residing near Congress, as the highest source of information in America; that in consequence of such application, the Minister Plenipotentiary produced to the under-signed an original letter to him from the Count de Vergennes, Minister for foreign affairs at the Court of Versailles, dated the 29th of October, 1778, in which after having stated the intelligence which has been communicated to Congress, by the Minister Plenipotentiary, in February last, and after having assigned some reason for not having communicated that intelligence to the American Commissioners at Paris, the Count de Vergennes concludes in these terms, "Je vous avouerai d'ailleurs je craindre M. Lee et se auteur, besides I confes to you that I fear Mr. Lee and all those about him." — That the Minister Plenipotentiary added that this consideration induced the Court of Versailles to keep secret from the said Commissioner the intended sailing of the Count d'Estaing for America, until his fleet was ready to put to sea; that the said Commissioner by his conduct on several occasions, created the highest disgust in the Court of Versailles against him. That the Court of Madrid, in the closest connection with that of Versailles, entertained the same sentiments respecting the said Commissioner, not only on account of his conduct on those occasions, but because of his imprudent conduct in Spain; and, in a word, the Minister Plenipotentiary expressly declared, that he has every reason to think, that neither of those Courts have that confidence in the said Commissioner, which is necessary to give success to the negotiations of a foreign Minister. The under-signed having received such de-

cisive information from the Minister of France, with liberty to communicate to Congress, think it their indispensable duty to the United States, and to themselves, to lay the same explicitly before this Supreme Council of America; to the end that they may not be misled to continue the said Commissioner, as the representative of these United States, at a Court in the highest manner disgusted at his conduct, and at which, of consequence, his negotiations must be unsuccessful. But if, unfortunately, it should be disregarded, they will have the consolation to reflect, that in giving this information, they discharged their duty to the United States; and that having given it, they cannot justly be held responsible for the consequences of a measure but too likely to prove unconciliatory abroad, ruinous to the public finances at home, and an impediment to a speedy and honourable pacification, securing the Independence of the United States of North-America.

Signed by the

(Copy) Gentlemen of the
Committee.

Laid on the table, and read in Congress, April 30, 1779.

It should have been said: "Laid on the table, and improperly read in Congress, and then laid on the table again."

From the same.

An extract of a letter from Paris, dated May the 21st.

"It is not long since I felt, in common with every other well-wisher to the cause of liberty and truth, the obligations I was under to the author of Common Sense, for the able and unanswerable manner in which he has defended those principles. The same public motives I am persuaded induce him to address the public against Mr. Deane and his associates. The countenance and support which Deane has received is a melancholy presage

of

of the future. Vain, assuming, avaricious, and unprincipled, he will stick at no crime to cover what he has committed, and continue his career.

“ The impunity with which Deane has traduced and calumniated Congress to their face, the indulgence and even countenance he has received, the acrimonious and uncandid spirit of a letter concerning Mr. Paine's publications which accompanied a resolve sent to Mr. Gerard, are matters of deep concern here to every friend to America.”

By way of explaining the particular letter referred to in the above, the following note was added :

“ The letter here alluded to can be no other than that signed ‘ John Jay,’ dated January 13th, and published in Mr. Dunlap's paper of Jan. 16th. It is very extraordinary that Mr. Jay should write such a letter, because it contains the same illiberal reflections which Congress, as a body, had rejected from their resolve of January 12, as may be seen by any one who will peruse the proceedings of January last. Congress has since declined to give countenance to Mr. Jay's letter; for though he had a public authority for writing a letter to Mr. Gerard, he had no authority for the reflections he used; besides which the letter would be perfectly laughable were every circumstance known which happened at that particular time, and would likewise shew how exceedingly delicate and cautious a President ought to be when he means to act officially in cases he is not sufficiently acquainted with.”

Every person will perceive that the note which explains the letter referred to, is not a part of the letter from Paris, but is added by another person; and Mr. Jay, or any other gentleman, is welcome to know that the note is of my writing, and that the original letter from Paris is now in my possession. I had sufficient authority for the expressions used in the note, Mr.

Jay did not lay his letter to Mr. Gerard before Congress previous to his sending it, and therefore, though he had their order, he had not their approbation. They, it is true, ordered it to be published, but there is no vote for approving it, neither have they given it a place in their journals, nor was it published in more than one paper in this city, except Benjamin Towne's, tho' there were at that time two others. Some time after Mr. Jay's letter appeared in the paper, I addressed another to Congress, complaining of the unjust liberty he had taken, and desired to know whether I was to consider the expressions used in his letter as containing *their* sentiments, at the same time informing them, that if they declined to approve what he had written, I should consider their silence as a disapprobation of it. Congress chose to be silent; and consequently, have left Mr. Jay to father his own expressions.

I took no other notice of Mr. Jay's letter at the time it was published, being fully persuaded that when any man recollected the part he had acted, not only at the first but in the worst of times, he could but look on Mr. Jay's letter to be groundless and ungrateful, and the more so, because if America had had no better friends than himself to bring about independence, I fully believe she never would have succeeded in it, and in all probability been a ruined, conquered, and tributary country.

Let any man look at the condition America was in at the time I first took up the subject, and published Common Sense, which was but a few months before the declaration of independence; an army of thirty thousand men coming out against her, besides those which were already here, and she without either an object or a system; fighting, she scarcely knew for what, and which, if she could have obtained, would have done

done her no good. She had not a day to spare in bringing about the only thing which could save her, A REVOLUTION, yet no one measure was taken to promote it; and many were used to prevent it; and had independence not been declared at the time it was, I cannot see any time in which it could have been declared, as the train of ill-successes which followed the affair of Long-Island, left no future opportunity.

Had I been disposed to have made money, I undoubtedly had many opportunities for it. The single pamphlet, Common Sense, would at that time of day, have produced a tolerable fortune, had I only taken the same profits from the publication which all writers have ever done, because the sale was the most rapid and extensive of any thing that was ever published in this country, or perhaps any other. Instead of which I reduced the price so low, that instead of getting, I stand thirty-nine pounds eleven shillings out of pocket on Mr. Bradford's books, exclusive of my time and trouble, and I have acted the same disinterested part by every publication I have made. I could have mentioned those things long ago, had I chosen, but I mention them now to make Mr. Jay feel his ingratitude.

In the Pennsylvania Packet of last Tuesday some person has republished Mr. Jay's letter, and Mr. Gerard's answer of the 13th and 14th of January last, and though I was patiently silent upon their first publication, I now think it necessary, since they are republished, to give some circumstances which ought to go with them.

At the time the dispute arose, respecting Mr. Deane's affairs, I had a conference with Mr. Gerard at his own request, and some matters on that subject were freely talked over, which it is here unnecessary to mention. This was on the 2d of January.

On the evening of the same day, or the next, Mr. Gerard, thro' the mediation of another gentleman, made me a very genteel and profitable offer. I felt at once the respect due to his friendship, and the difficulties which my acceptance would subject me to. My whole credit was staked upon going through with Deane's affairs, and could I afterwards have written with the pen of an Angel, on any subject whatever, it would have had no effect, had I failed in that or declined proceeding in it. Mr. Deane's name was not mentioned at the time the offer was made, but from some conversation which passed at the time of the interview, I had sufficient reason to believe that some restraint would have been laid on that subject. Besides which I have a natural inflexible objection to any thing which may be construed into a private pension, because a man after that is no longer truly free.

My answer to the offer was precisely in these words, "Any service I can render to either of the countries in alliance, or to both, I even have done and shall readily do, and Mr. Gerard's esteem will be the only recompence I shall desire." I particularly chose the word *esteem*, because it admitted of no misunderstanding.

On the fifth of January, I published a continuation of my remarks on Mr. Deane's affairs, and as I have ever felt the highest respect for a nation which has in every stage of our affairs been our firm and invariable friend, I spoke of France under that general description. It is true I prosecuted the point against Mr. Deane, but what was Mr. Deane to France, or to the Minister of France?

On the appearance of this publication, Mr. Gerard presented a memorial to Congress respecting some expressions used therein, and on the 6th and 7th I requested of Congress

to

to be admitted to explain any passages which Mr. Gerard had referred to; but this request not being complied with, I, on the 8th, sent in my resignation of the office of Secretary to the Committee of foreign affairs.

In the evening I received an invitation to sup with a gentleman; and Mr. Gerard's offer was, by his own authority, again renewed with considerable additions of advantage. I gave the same answer as before. I was then told that Mr. Gerard was very ill, and desired to see me. I replied, "That as a matter was then depending in Congress upon a representation of Mr. Gerard against some parts of my publications, I thought it indelicate to wait upon him till that was determined."

In a few days after I received a second invitation, and likewise a third, to sup at the same place, in both of which the same offer and the same invitation were renewed and the same answers on my part were given: But being repeatedly pressed to make Mr. Gerard a visit, I engaged to do it the next morning at ten o'clock; but as I considered myself standing on nice and critical ground, and lest my reputation should be afterwards called in question, I judged it best to communicate the whole matter to an honourable friend before I went, which was on the 14th of January, the very day on which Mr. Gerard's answer to Mr. Jay's letter is dated.

While with Mr. Gerard I avoided as much as possible every occasion that might give rise to the subject. Himself once or twice hinted at the publications, and added that "he hoped no more would be said on the subject," which I immediately waved by entering on the loss of the dispatches. I knew my own resolution respecting the offer, had communicated that resolution to a friend, and did not wish to give the least pain to Mr. Gerard, by personally refusing

that, which, from him might be friendship; but to me would have been the ruin of my credit. At a convenient opportunity I rose to take my leave, on which Mr. Gerard said, "Mr. Paine, I have always had a great respect for you, and should be glad of some opportunity of showing you more solid marks of my friendship."

I confess I felt myself hurt and exceedingly concerned that the injustice and indiscretion of a party in Congress should drive matters to such an extremity that one side or other must go to the bottom, and in its consequences embarrass those whom they had drawn in to support them. I am conscious that America had not in France a more strenuous friend than Mr. Gerard, and I sincerely wish he had found a way to avoid an affair which has been much trouble to him. As for Deane, I believe him to be a man who cares not who he involves to screen himself. He has forfeited all reputation in this country, first by promising to give an "*history of matters for the people to know*," and then not only failing to perform that promise, but neglecting to clear his own suspected reputation, though he is now upon the spot and can any day demand an hearing of Congress, and call me before them for the truth of what I have published respecting him.

Two days after my visit to Mr. Gerard, Mr. Jay's letter and the answer to it were published, and I would candidly ask any man how it is possible to reconcile such letters to such offers both done at one and the same time, and whether I had not sufficient authority to say that Mr. Jay's letter would be truly laughable, were all the circumstances known which happened at the time of his writing it.

Whoever republished those letters in last Tuesday's paper, must be an idiot

ideot or worfe. I had let them pafs over without any other public notice than what was contained in the note of the preceding week, but the republishing them was putting me to defiance, and forcing me either to submit to them a fresh, or to give the circumstances which accompanied them. Whoever will look back to last winter, may see I had my hands full, and that without any person giving the least assistance. It was first given out, that I was paid by Congress, for vindicating their reputation against Mr. Deane's charges, yet a majority in that House were every day pelting me for what I was doing. Then Mr. Gerard was unfortunately brought in, and Mr. Jay's letter to him, and his answer were published to effect some purpose or other. Yet Mr. Gerard was at the same time making the warmest professions of friendship to me, and proposing to take me into his confidence, with very liberal offers. In short, I had but one way to get through, which was to keep close to the point and principle I set out upon, and that alone has rendered me successful. By making this my guide, I have kept my ground, and I have yet ground to spare, for among other things, I have authentic copies of the dispatches that were lost.

I am certain no man set out with a warmer heart, or a better disposition to render public service than myself, in every thing which laid in my power: my first endeavour was to put the politics of the country right, and to show the advantages as well as the necessity of independence; and until this was done, independence never could have succeeded. America did not, at that time, understand her own situation; and though the country was then full of writers, no one reached the mark; neither did I abate in my service, when hundreds were afterwards deserting her interest, and thousands afraid to

speak; for the first number of the Crisis was published in the blackest stage of affairs, six days before the taking the Hessians at Trenton. When this State was distracted with parties, on account of her Constitution, I endeavoured, in the most disinterested manner, to bring it to conclusion; and when Deane's impositions broke out, and threw the whole States into confusion, I readily took up the subject, for no one else understood it, and the country now see that I was right. And if Mr. Jay thinks he derives any credit from his letter to Mr. Gerard, he will find himself deceived; and that the ingratitude of the composition will be his reproach, not mine.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, September 15.

Wednesday last the General Assembly met here for the dispatch of business.

Message from the PRESIDENT, and SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, to the REPRESENTATIVES of the FREEDOM of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met.

Gentlemen of the Assembly,

It is with the greatest satisfaction we congratulate you, upon the various successes which have distinguished the period of your recess. While the most consummate bravery and discipline have marked the enterprises of our troops by land, glory and victory have attended those of our allies by sea; successes, which at once reflect the highest honour upon themselves and the respective nations, and afford the fairest prospect of speedy tranquility and peace.

When, to these happy events, we add the accession of another great and foreign power to the interests of America, and that the year has been crowned with a most plentiful harvest, we cannot but admire and acknowledge the favour and goodness of Providence. In short, nothing

seems

seems left us to wish, but a revival of that public spirit and virtue which shone with so much lustre in the early days of this contest, and which seems now necessary, for the restoration of public credit, and the relief of our suffering frontiers. To both these objects we must request your immediate and unremitting attention; and to this end shall now lay before you sundry resolutions of the Honourable the Congress for calling in large sums of the present emissions. We esteem ourselves happy in the reflection that no steps for the security of the exposed counties were omitted by us; the most seasonable orders for stationing a body of militia, and also raising five companies of rangers, were issued, and every supply required has been sent without delay. That the orders for the militia were not punctually complied with in some counties, and in others wholly neglected, is what we have great reason to lament, at the same time that we think it well deserving of serious enquiry, that due praise may be given to those who merit it. We cannot but deem such self-exemptions from public duty as tending to a criminal relaxation of the bonds of society, and a departure from the duties of a well regulated government. All the papers will now be laid before you, from which you will observe that, disappointed in the expected aid, the frontier inhabitants have formed themselves into companies and associations for defence, in the course of which expences have been contracted, which, if they appear in the same light to you as they have done to us, you will not hesitate to discharge, and thus encourage them to continue as a barrier to the most improved and settled counties. How far the revival and collecting the militia law, with its various supplements, into one compleat system, will tend to remedy the like evils in future, we

submit to your consideration. The necessity of supporting a well regulated militia, we think, is confirmed by every day's observation and experience; and while the enemy is receiving reinforcements, with the avowed purpose of desolating the country, we deem it a measure highly deserving your attention, as well as that of every friend to the freedom and interest of the State.

The generous resolutions of your Honourable House, at the last sessions, for the relief of the army and the fleet, and which we have executed with our best judgment and attention, have had the most happy effects in conciliating the affections and respect of those brave and valuable men, and cementing a friendship between the civil and military powers, highly honourable to both, and beneficial to all. We would recommend the cloathing them with the sanction of law, as a measure pleasing to them, and perfectly consonant to the views of the House. We conceive nothing now remains on this subject, but to make some early and suitable provision as a reward for their dangers, sacrifices and fatigues, to enable them to return to civil life with honour and advantage when their military services may be no longer necessary; and we hope a mode may be devised for this purpose, not oppressive or burthenome to the farmer or tradesman, and yet satisfactory to them. The honour reflected on the State by General Wayne and the troops of the Pennsylvania line, during this campaign, would have attracted our immediate acknowledgment, if the approach of your sessions had not inclined us to wait your concurrence, that the marks of our attention might be more proportionate to the service they have done and the glory they have acquired.

We also, Gentlemen, most earnestly recommend to you, to proceed in

in the great business of the proprietary estates, at least so far as to give the next assembly an opportunity to put the finishing hand to this important and necessary work. The experience of mankind, the practice of other countries and nations, the sentiments of the greatest writers on Government, and even our own observation during this great contest, in which the various principles that govern the human mind have been drawn forth into view and action, we think fully demonstrate, that neither the peace, liberty or safety of Pennsylvania can be deemed secure while this powerful interest, attached in all its branches to the powers we have injured and abandoned, is permitted to retain its full force and influence among us. At present the subject is disentangled from all other considerations of a public nature; should it, by delay, mingle itself with the negotiations of a general peace, we may long lament, and posterity will justly blame our indolence or timidity, which has lost the precious opportunity of rescuing this State from one of the appendages of its former bondage, and placing it on the same equal level of liberty, interest, tranquility, and independence with its sister States. The safety of the people is the supreme and pre-eminent law and bond of society, and when, as in the present case, this can be secured consistent with the rights of private justice, we should hold ourselves inexcusable, if we did not express our sentiments with freedom, and assure you, that the general expectation and voice of the people, so far as our knowledge extends, concurs with them.

The Constitution of this State, with a wisdom and foresight which does honour to its framers, having considered the education of youth as a matter of great importance to the interests of society and order of Government, we have been led to an

enquiry into the nature and government of those institutions which at present subsist. It is with concern we observe a general neglect of this great duty, both in town and country, while the growing attention of other States invites the youth from this, and must produce effects equally repugnant to public benefit and private convenience. The principal institution in this State, founded on the most free and catholic principles, raised and cherished by the hand of public bounty, appears by its Charter to have allied itself so closely to the Government of Britain, by making the allegiance of its Governors to that State a pre-requisite to any official act, that it might well have been presumed they would have sought the aid of Government for an establishment consistent with the Revolution, and conformable to the great changes of policy and government. But whatever have been the motives, we cannot think the good people of this State can or ought to rest satisfied, or the protection of Government be extended to an institution, framed with such manifest attachment to the British Government, and conducted with a general inattention to the authority of the State. The influence of a feat of learning, upon the peace and good order of Government, has, we think, been too fully exemplified in the country from which we have separated, to permit any well regulated State to neglect or overlook it. How far there has been any deviation from the liberal ground of its first establishment, and a pre-eminence given to some societies in prejudice to others equally meritorious, the former enquiries of your Honourable House will enable you to determine; for us it is sufficient to declare, that as learning or science are of no party or sect, we wish to see them promoted on the most liberal principles, giving to every denomination

nomination of Christians equal rights and privileges. As Corporations compose a species of internal Government, in all great changes they have been considered as objects of public attention and care, that their subordination, obedience, and support to the supreme and governing powers of the State might be secured and preserved. This is a just and necessary policy, we think worthy of imitation, as the object of the institution, whether civil, religious, or charitable, may at the same time remain inviolate.

The law for prohibiting the exportation of provisions having expired on the first instant, we thought proper to continue the embargo until the twentieth of this month, that in the interval your honourable House might take this subject into consideration, a subject of very great importance to the commercial as well as general interest of the State.

The public highways, Gentlemen, will also require your care and attention; the laws respecting them are expired by their own limitation, and the present condition of the roads is too well known to make it necessary for us to enlarge upon the duty and propriety of making a suitable provision on this head.

We must also recommend to your consideration the officers of Government: however generous or adequate the provision for their support, when called forth by you, or the people, to the discharge of public duty, you must be sensible that the accumulated prices of all the necessaries of life, since that time, must make their situation very distressing, and that instead of "a reasonable compensation, when called to public service, to the prejudice of their private affairs," which the Constitution declares to be a right, they must lose their private property, and sink into poverty and distress. As the people of this State have in every

period exhibited a noble and exemplary generosity in support of Government, it cannot be doubted they will, in this case, answer every just and reasonable expectation.

In conformity to the laws of this State, and your desire, we have proceeded to the sale of the confiscated estates, and have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the sums arising therefrom are so considerable, as to afford a great relief to the good people of the State from their public burthens; and that the ship which, under your resolves, we fitted out for defence of the trade of the State, has not only answered that important end, but has been so successful as, in a great measure, to compensate the expence of the undertaking.

Our anxiety to perpetuate and extend the blessings of freedom, and enlarge the circle of humanity, induce us to remind you of the bill for emancipating the children born of Negro and Mulatto parents. We wish to see you give the compleat sanction of law to this noble and generous purpose, and adorn the annals of Pennsylvania with this bright display of justice and public virtue.

Thus, Gentlemen, having laid before you a general state of our public affairs, nothing remains but to assure you of our cheerful concurrence and assistance, where requisite, to facilitate and promote the discharge of your public duties, and express our perfect confidence in your wisdom, prudence, and dispatch.

JOSEPH REED, President.

The following Memorial, prepared by the special Committee appointed at the last Town Meeting, for stopping the emissions, was on Monday last presented to Congress, being signed by the President and Council, in their private characters, the Speaker and several Members of Assembly, by the General Committee of the City and

and Liberties, and a very large and respectable number of the Citizens.

To the Honourable CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES of NORTH-AMERICA.

The ADDRESS and MEMORIAL of sundry inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, Humbly sheweth,

That whereas at the commencement of the present war, the country being then destitute of the proper forms and powers of Government, there appeared no other method, sufficiently expeditious and practicable, for raising the current supplies, than by striking money by this Honourable House, in such portions and at such periods as to them should seem meet and proper. The necessity gave countenance to the proceeding, and, convinced thereof, the whole country unanimously acquiesced.

But it is with concern, most Honourable Sirs, that we have seen the same measure pursued beyond the time which we conceive rendered it either necessary or expedient; the consequences of which have been, the impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed standard, the great and almost unfurmountable embarrassments in ascertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any sufficient certainty. Those who sell and those who buy are left without rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or their loss, and every species of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domestic, has been exposed to numberless and encreasing difficulties. The constant apprehension of further emissions has at all times anticipated the depreciation, and contracts in trade have, in order to preserve a balance with the emissions, been necessarily constructed to suit what the depreciation would probably be, rather than what it really then was. To all which we ought, in justice to our fellow citizens who are engaged in the military service of

their country, to add, that on them has the depreciation fallen with peculiar and multiplied inconveniencies. Neither does it form a small part of our concern that, in the course of more than four years, your constituents have never been made acquainted with the expenditures, or the uses to which they have been applied; all which, we apprehend, arises from the continuance of a practice at first justified by the necessity before mentioned, but now superseded by the establishment of constitutional and legal governments in the several States, we mean that of striking money at discretion, in preference to the calling on your constituents for the current supplies, and laying before them an estimate of the yearly expences. Neither can we help expressing our apprehensions, that the ease with which money was thus procured has introduced a remissness of enquiries into the reality of its application; all which we hope will in future be remedied by a systematical plan of œconomy, and a regular information of expences.

Altho', as a matter of right, we should be justified in conveying our instructions in a legal manner to our particular Representatives in this Honourable House, to forbid, on their part, the farther encrease of emissions, yet, as evils of such an intricate nature cannot be remedied in an instant, and as we are not moved to this address by any interested partiality to ourselves, or locally to the State we live in, but as friends and fellow-citizens with the whole community of the United States, we have therefore judged it most consistent with and most conducive to the general good, to make our application to this Honourable House at large, requesting in the most earnest, but at the same time most respectful terms, that Congress would be pleased, in the most decisive and explicit manner, to determine what the extent and quantity

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of the emissions shall be, and when and where they shall stop. Your constituents, feeling the justness of their cause, and satisfied that it is the will of Heaven that America shall be free, are not and will not be wanting in their portions towards the necessary supplies, and it is with the utmost pleasure we inform this Honourable House, that a laudable spirit is extending itself, for raising a revenue by subscription, in order to enable Congress to put a period to the inconveniences so extensively felt and so loudly complained of, by limiting and fixing the quantity of the emissions, and the time when they shall finally cease.

K E N T.

March 4, 1780.

This day was held, at Maidstone, a most numerous and respectable meeting of the county of Kent. Lord Mahon opened the business in a very spirited speech, in which he asserted, with great strength of argument, the undoubted right of the people to petition, and to assemble for petitioning, without which the right of petitioning would be nugatory. He declared that this right had not been denied by any Crown Lawyer, and might be exercised without the sanction of any Sheriff or Lord Lieutenant whatsoever. He concluded by proposing John Carlton, Esq. of Deal, for Chairman. This motion, notwithstanding it has always been usual for the persons who call the meeting to nominate the Chairman, was opposed, and Richard Hulfe, Esq. of Baldwyns, was proposed, in opposition to Mr. Carlton. After much altercation, the shew of hands being greatly in favour of Mr. Carlton, he took the Chair. Filmer Honeywood, Esq. then came forward, and in a most manly and constitutional speech, proposed a petition. He said it was not party measures. Sir

John Honeywood, who had never entered into any party, had authorised him to declare his full approbation of it. The Rev. Mr. Drake Brockman seconded the petition. Sir Horace Mann, after many professions of his integrity and independence; after declaring his resolution to oppose any thing which came from those with whom in Parliament he had generally acted, and his entire approbation of every œconomical measure, likewise expressed his high opinion of the probable effect of Mr. Burke's bill. He gave the highest encomiums on the ability and integrity of the author of that bill; but declared his apprehensions that the Committees which had been appointed in different counties might produce the most dangerous consequences. He therefore moved a petition to Parliament, which contained a general prayer for œconomy, and a disapprobation of the present Committees.

It was urged by the Duke of Dorset, Sir Edward Dering, Lord Lewisham, Mr. Evelyn, Mr. Burrell, Lord Dudley, Mr. Hulfe, Mr. Milles, Mr. Brooks, and others, that the petitions were dictatorial, and the associations tended to controul Parliament. Many of these gentlemen did justice to Mr. Burke's bill, and urged its admission as a proof of the independence of Parliament, and of the fair intentions of the Administration. The distress of the country, stated in Mr. Honeywood's petition, was denied; much stress was laid on the late success of Sir George Rodney, and unanimity in support of Government strongly recommended.

These arguments were very ably answered by Lord Mahon, Lord Radnor, Mr. Thomas Townshend, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Saxby, and Mr. Honeywood. The Duke of Dorset having asserted that influence was necessary for the preservation of the Constitution, the influence of the Crown, the influence of the Lords, and the influence of the Commons

Commons—Mr. Sawbridge made a most able distinction between prerogative and influence; and observed (which the other side could not but admit) that the plan of œconomy moved by Mr. Burke owed the support it had received to the petitions of the people.

On the Chairman proceeding to put the question, it was objected, by the friends to Sir Horace Mann's petition, that the real sense of the freeholders could not be collected, as there were many present who were not freeholders: they therefore proposed that the meeting should break up without coming to any decision, and the two petitions be carried about the county by their respective friends to be signed. After much altercation, this proposition, so absurd and unheard-of at any meeting, and so mischievous in its tendency, was over-ruled; and, on the question being put, Mr. Honeywood's petition was carried by a majority of at least four to one.

The Hon. John Jefferies Pratt then came forward, and after very handsomely expressing his father's and his own readiness to give up any emolument for the interest of his country, proposed a Committee for promoting the objects of the petition, by legal and constitutional means; he was seconded by William Daniel Master, Esq. of Mereworth. The party, then, who had supported the petition of Sir H. Mann, notwithstanding they had professed themselves the friends of decency and order, disturbed the peace of that meeting, whose sense they at first appeared so desirous to collect; and by a constant clamour that the meeting was dissolved, interrupted all farther debate. The motion for a Committee was then carried in the affirmative, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*, subject to the call of the Committee. The petition proposed by Mr. Honeywood was signed, as soon as the meeting was

over, by several hundreds of freeholders.

Mr. Polhill being indisposed, and not able to attend the meeting, sent the following letter to the gentlemen at Maidstone:

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, assembled at Maidstone.

"Gentlemen,

"Presuming the intention of the meeting at Maidstone, is to petition Parliament, to enquire in what manner the public money has hitherto been spent; to recommend an exact and strict frugality in the future disposal of it; to reduce all places, with exorbitant salaries, within reasonable bounds; and so far as is consistent with humanity, with national justice and gratitude, to suppress or lessen all useless places and unmerited pensions; I take this public opportunity of declaring my sincere and full consent to, and approbation of, such measures, pursued on legal and constitutional grounds.

As I cannot but conceive, that every saving, consistent with the honour and dignity of the Crown, and with justice to individuals, which at this present time can be made by Parliament, and thrown into the public stock, must in a war of such immense expence, so uncertain in point of duration, and of a nature so serious and extensive, be of the utmost service, both to Prince and people.

"And that such measures, if adopted by Parliament, and carried into execution with wisdom and moderation, may, in the end, prove of the most beneficial consequence to these kingdoms.

"I am, Gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLES POLHILL."

Cheapstead, March 4, 1780.

COMMITTEE of the County of KENT.

St. Alban's Tavern, April 5, 1780.

Received and read the following letters from the Earl of Shelburne, and John Crewe, Esq. to Lord Viscount

count Mahon, Chairman of the Committee:

My Lord,

I beg of your Lordship to do me the honour of communicating my best thanks to the Kent Committee, for the very handsome and interesting manner in which they have been pleased to make mention of my present conduct in Parliament. The obliging concern they have done me the honour to express for my health, can only tend to encrease and confirm the wish I flatter myself I have felt to devote my life and services to the public interest. If there is any thing to be added, to make me more touched with the testimony of the Committee, it is the consideration of the ancient dignity of the county which has appointed it, and of your Lordship's being its Chairman.

I have the honour to be, with great regard and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,
and most obedient servant,

SHELBURNE.

Berkley-square, Mar. 27, 1780.

My Lord,

I should have acknowledged the honour of your Lordship's letter sooner, had I not been out of town, permit me to trouble your Lordship with presenting my best respects to the gentlemen of the Committee of Kent, and assuring them that I have a high sense of the honour conferred upon me by their approbation.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most
obedient humble servant,

J. CREWE.

Philiberts, Mar. 31, 1780.

Resolved unanimously, That the said letters be published, with the resolves of this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That R. Barham, Esq. John Hinde, Esq. George Morgan, Esq. and Richard Tylden, Esq. be added to this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee do adjourn, to meet at this place on Saturday the 22d day of this month, to take into consideration the report made by the Deputies at the last meeting of this Committee; and that all the members of this Committee be earnestly requested to give their attendance on that day.

MAHON, Chairman.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of this Committee, holden at the St. Alban's Tavern, on Saturday, April 22, 1780, the Chairman informed the Committee, that the petition which had been approved of by the General Meeting of the county, held at Maidstone, on the 4th day of March last, had been presented to the House of Commons on the 6th instant, by the Hon. Charles Marham, and that it contained the names of THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county; and that the counter petition which had been moved at the General Meeting, *in opposition to the said petition*, had been also presented to the House of Commons, on the 6th instant, and that it contained only ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY names.

Received and read the following letters from Edmund Burke, Esq. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and the Hon. C. J. Fox, Chairman of the Westminster Committee, to Lord Viscount Mahon, Chairman of this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the said letters be published, with the resolves of this Committee.

My Lord,

You will be so good as to convey my most respectful acknowledgements to the Committee of the county of Kent, for their favourable acceptance of my humble, but well-meant endeavours, in a plan of reformation.

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It is a distinction of which I must ever be sensible, to be named with the worthy gentlemen who have merited their approbation, upon still better grounds. I have the honour to be, with the highest regard and esteem,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

Charles-street, St. James's-
square, April 8, 1780.

My Lord,

I have the honour of your Lordship's letter, transmitting to me the approbation of the Committee of the county of Kent of my conduct in the House of Commons.

The best answer I can give to your Lordship, and those respectable gentlemen, is to assure them that I shall steadily persevere in those principles which have procured me so distinguishing an honour.

The House of Peers have done *that* for the Minister which he was ashamed or afraid to do himself, and rendered my feeble endeavours to serve my country ineffectual—a bad preface of their future intentions, when reforms of greater consideration may come before them.

Nothing but a firm union of the friends to freedom and the constitution can preserve our sinking liberties; I trust *that* will prevail against that corrupt influence which has so long operated to the disgrace and ruin of this country.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem, and with my most grateful and respectful acknowledgements to the gentlemen of the Committee,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

PHILIP JENNINGS CLERKE.

April 14, 1780.

My Lord,

I have the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the proceedings in
VOL. IX.

Westminster-hall on the 6th instant, in which you will observe, that the form of the association adopted by the city of Westminster is nearly similar to that of the county of York. There never was a time when union was more necessary than the present; as the only hopes of those who wish to defeat the wishes of the people are professedly founded upon supposed disagreements among the true friends of this country.

I should long ago have transmitted to your Committee, lists of the members who have voted in the late important question, but have been unable to procure any on which I could depend. That which was printed in the news-papers was, to my own knowledge, very incorrect. I cannot close my letter without informing you, that the three following resolutions were agreed to by the House of Commons on the 6th instant:

“ That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

“ That it is competent to this House to examine into, and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the Civil List revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do.

“ That it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House, from the different counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom.”

The numbers who voted for them were 233, against them 215; so that in one of the fullest houses that we have ever known, a complete approbation has been given to the sentiment of the petitions, with a promise to attend to their prayers; how that promise will be performed, it is our duty to watch; if we persevere in

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our exertions, I think there is little or no doubt of obtaining our objects; but if we are lulled into security by success, it is but too probable that the Representatives of the people may relapse into their former inattention to their constituents.

I am, my Lord, with great respect, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

St. James's-street, April 10, 1780.
Lord Viscount MAHON, Chairman
of the Committee of the County of Kent.

Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Committee be given to the Honourable C. J. Fox for the communication of the resolutions of the city of Westminster, and for the manly and very excellent sentiments contained in the above letter to the Chairman of this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th instant, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee feels particular satisfaction in observing, that this excellent motion of John Dunning, Esq. has received *additional strength* (instead of being defeated, as it was intended) by the amendment, moved by Henry Dundas, Esq. Lord Advocate for Scotland, expressing (That not only the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, but even) that it is necessary to declare it.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for having moreover moved, That it is competent to this House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in

every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for having moved, the same day, that it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an effectual and immediate redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House from the counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those Peers who voted, and particularly to those who protested, against the rejection of the Contractors' Bill, in the House of Lords, on the 14th instant.

Resolved unanimously, That John Honeywood, Esq. be added to this Committee.

Resolved, (with two dissentients) That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the following propositions do deserve the steadiest and warmest support of the friends of the constitutional liberty of this country, and that they are highly conducive to the restoring the independence of Parliament, and to the securing the freedom and rights of the people, viz.

1st. The economical reform requested by the petitions of the people; that plan of strict and rigid frugality, now indispensibly necessary in every department of the State; that most important regulation for reducing the unconstitutional influence of the Crown.

2dly. The proposition for obtaining a more equal representation in Parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred Members to be chosen, in a due proportion, by the several counties of the kingdom of Great Britain.

And 3dly. The proposition for Members of the House of Commons

to be elected to serve in Parliament for a term not exceeding three years.

Resolved, (with one dissentient) That it is the opinion of this Committee; that the said propositions are highly fit to be submitted to the consideration of the county of Kent at large.

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee do adjourn, *sine die*, to the St: Alban's Tavern, in London, subject to the call of the Chairman, upon application of any three of the Members of this Committee:

MAHON, Chairman.

King's Head, Gloucester, March 25, 1780.

At a meeting of the Committee for supporting the Gloucestershire Petition, held this day;

This Committee having received from the General Meeting of Deputies appointed by several petitioning counties; cities; and towns, a copy of their resolves,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Sir William Guise, Sir William Codrington, Barts. and Charles Barrow, Esq. the Deputies from this Committee to the General Meeting of Deputies, for their faithful execution of the important trust reposed in them; and their temperate and judicious conduct in support of the opinions of the Committee:

Resolved, That as we think all national reform should, if possible, originate from the representatives of the people; and that, therefore, it is incumbent on the elective body, to adopt every constitutional means of obtaining a representation on which they can rely, we conceive that no step will be so conducive to this end, as the association of all free and independent men to support such candidates only, at all future elections, whose principles or conduct are known to be such as will promote the objects of the reform proposed

by the Petitioners; and by discountenancing expences at elections, and such candidates who shall be found to employ corrupt means to gain the suffrages of the people.

Resolved, That we are determined to persevere unremittingly in support of the petition, and of such legal and constitutional measures as will tend to restrain the undue influence of the Crown, and that that be a principal object of a general union and association.

Resolved, That obtaining a law for taking the suffrages of the people in such a mode as to prevent both expense in elections, and the operation of undue influence therein, is necessary towards securing the freedom of Parliament, and that our members be requested to support such measures in Parliament as tend to so desirable an end.

Resolved, that our members be requested to promote a diligent examination into all the branches of the receipt, expenditure, and mode of keeping and passing accounts of public money, in order to obtain the plan of reform requested by the petitions of the people.

The Committee is adjourned to the King's-Head, in Gloucester, to the 18th of April next, by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the gentlemen are earnestly requested to attend on particular business.

J. W. JEPSON, Secretary.

At the adjourned General Meeting for the county of Gloucester, held at the Boothall, in the city of Gloucester, on Tuesday the 18th of April, 1780.

Sir G. O. PAUL, Bart. in the Chair.

Whereas as a General Meeting held at the Boothall in this city, on the 25th of January last, a petition addressed to the Honourable the House of Commons of Great-Britain was agreed to, and afterwards signed by a most respectable body of the free-

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holders of this county, stating the dangerous and exhausted state of the kingdom, and complaining of the profuse expenditure of public money, and that the Crown had thereby acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, might prove dangerous to the liberties of the people; and that as the petitioners conceived the care of the national purse was by the Constitution entrusted to the custody of that Honourable House, they therefore prayed effectual and immediate redress of the abuses complained of, and that the produce of the taxes might be turned from unnecessary and corrupt purposes, to the use of the state.

And the said petition having, in compliance with the request of this Meeting, been presented to this Honourable House by the representatives of this county, Sir William Guise, Bart. one of the representatives, made his report of the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the petitions, and stated the votes of Parliament upon the different questions agitated therein.

This meeting, therefore, considering the great importance of the questions already carried in favour of their just petitions, are desirous to testify a grateful sense of the conduct of those independent men, who have so nobly stood forth in defence of the dearest interests of their country, in full confidence, that persevering with vigour in the same laudable principle, they will not, by future inattention to the trust reposed in them, frustrate the hopes of a grateful people.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Dunning and Thomas Pitt, Esqrs. for the well-directed motions made by them in the House of Commons, on the 6th day of April, establishing the justice and propriety of our petition, and whereby the House have given a pledge to the people of their intentions to persevere to a full

correction of their grievances; and that the Chairman be requested to communicate the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the meeting be given to those worthy Members of the House of Commons who have attended to the just petitions of the people; trusting they will proceed with zeal, firmness, and judgment, till all such reformation is obtained as is consistent with public liberty, and the distinct constitutional rights of each branch of the legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Right Hon. Colonel Barre, Sir George Savile, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Baronets, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Crew, for the different motions made by them in favour of the requests of the petitions.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, since the last meeting, be read: and the same being read, are approved of by this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the report of the Committee to this meeting be read.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting doth most heartily and unanimously join with the Committee in declaring their entire and zealous approbation of the legislature of this country, as placed in the free and independent concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, in preference to every other mode of civil government; and anxiously wish its blessings may be continued to the latest posterity in its constitutional purity. But apprehending this form of legislation to be at present essentially vitiated by the treasure and offices of the community being employed by the executive to influence the legislative authority; by the inequality of representation; by the ruinous expence of election, and by septennial Parliaments. They, therefore, declare their concurrence in the following resolutions

tions of the Committee, tending in the most constitutional manner to promote the reform requested by the petitioners.

I. That in order to establish national œconomy on a solid basis, all such bills should be supported in Parliament, as tend to regulate the manner of making public contracts, the mode of keeping and passing public accounts, to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, sinecure places, and unmerited pensions.

II. That they consider the equalizing the representation as indispensibly necessary towards restoring the Constitution to its original purity, and therefore do most earnestly recommend to the immediate attention of the Legislature, the taking the same into consideration.

III. That they conceive there arises great obstruction to the true spirit of representation, in the ruinous expences of elections, whereby men of old and respectable families, of approved principles and abilities, are frequently deterred from offering their services, and (opulence becoming indispensable) the representation falls a prey to men without any other pretensions, to the ruin of the morals and industry of the people, and to the subversion of every just motive for determining their choice: they therefore recommend to the attention of the Legislature, the forming a law or laws for taking the suffrages of the people in such mode as to prevent both expence at elections, and the operation of undue influence therein.

IV. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that shortening the duration of Parliament will tend to its independency.

Resolved unanimously, That the Members for the county be requested to promote all such bills as they conceive will tend to the attainment of the above-mentioned object.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting, taking into consideration

the resolutions of the House of Commons in favour of the petitioners, and desirous of shewing a confidence in the representatives of the people, postpone entering into an association, in confidence that the prayers of the petitions will be fully granted.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen who composed the Committee, for their attention in conducting and supporting the petition, and for their report made this day.

Resolved unanimously, That the same gentlemen do continue a Committee of Correspondence, with powers as before, and that they do meet this evening at the King's-Head, and adjourn themselves from time to time as they shall think fit.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who (foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences) have uniformly opposed the coercion of America to unconditional submission, and that they be entreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing (and not to despair of effecting) a speedy re-union with that country, on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting sensibly regret the rejection of the Contractors' Bill by the House of Lords on the 14th instant, as tending to disappoint the expectations of the petitioners; and that the thanks of this meeting be given to the forty-one Lords who supported the above bill, and thereby shewed their attention to the wishes of the people expressed in their petitions to the House of Commons.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir William Guise, Bart. for his attendance on this meeting, for his report made this day, and for his unremitting zeal in promoting every object of the petitioners, and that they declare their
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entire approbation of his parliamentary conduct on all questions respecting the nation in general, and the particular rights and interests of his constituents.

Resolved unanimously, That the letter received by the Chairman from William Bromley Chester, Esq. be now read.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Bromley Chester, Esq. for his polite letter now read, and for seconding the motion made by Sir William Guise, for bringing up the petition.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir William Codrington, Bart. Charles Barrow, James Martin, and Winchomb Henry Hartley, Esqrs. for their independent conduct in Parliament, and exertions in favour of the requests of the people.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir G. O. Paul, Bart. for his steady, temperate, and very proper conduct as Chairman, and for the great support he has given to the petition of this county; and that he be desired to continue Chairman of the General Meeting.

That this meeting doth adjourn, *sine die*, subject to the call of the Committee, upon giving ten days notice in the Gloucester Journal, and some London evening paper or papers.

G. O. PAUL, Chairman.

HUNTINGDON COMMITTEE.

March 30, 1780.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be added to this Committee: Henry Pointer Stanly, Esq. Rev. Mr. Pery, Rev. Mr. Favell, Rev. Mr. Manning, Rev. Mr. Devie.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the fullest freedom of debate is essentially necessary in Parliament for the discus-

sing the great and arduous affairs of these kingdoms.

That the late attacks on the persons of the Honourable Charles Fox and the Earl of Shelburne; on pretext of offence given by words spoken in Parliament, in the freedom of debate, are highly reprehensible, and deserve the indignation of every friend of liberty and true lover of his country.

That the most sincere congratulations of this Committee be presented to the Earl of Shelburne on his recovery from the late wound he received in consequence of his supporting with becoming spirit the public cause of his country.

That the Chairman be directed to write a letter to his Lordship, acquainting him with these resolutions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those Members of Parliament who proved themselves the sincere friends of their country, by their constitutional vote in the House, on the 22d day of March, against granting any new taxes before the grievances complained of in the petitions of the people of England had been taken into consideration.

That the thanks of this Committee be given to Dr. Jebb, George Thornhill, Esq. and the Rev. Mr. Sherrard, the Members deputed from the Committee, to the General Meeting of Deputies, for the diligent and able discharge of their duty.

That this Committee will unremittingly persevere in support of the petitions, and of such measures as may tend to reduce the unconstitutional influence of the Crown.

That in order to forward such salutary purposes, it is the opinion of this Committee, that a general Association on legal and constitutional grounds is necessary.

R. BERNARD, Chairman.

April

April 18, 1780.

At a meeting the most numerous ever known in the County-hall, at Huntingdon, the following Form of Association was unanimously agreed to, and subscribed by the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders there present:

Whereas the trade and manufactures of this kingdom have been greatly diminished; the price of land fallen; the national debt has been exorbitantly increased, and the public burthens grievously augmented by the annual imposition of new and additional taxes; and whereas it appears to us, and it has been resolved after mature deliberation by the House of Commons, "That the influence of the Crown is increased, increasing, and ought to be diminished." And whereas in times of national difficulty and redress, a just redress of grievances can only be expected from a free and uncorrupted Parliament, and measures tending in a legal and peaceful way, to restore the freedom of Parliament cannot be effectually supported but by a general union of independent men throughout the kingdom.

We, whose names are underwritten, considering that nothing can more directly tend to alleviate the public burthens, and to restore the freedom of Parliament, than an economical reform in the expediture of public money; and being further convinced that frequent elections are agreeable to the spirit of the Constitution, and the best security which the people can have for the integrity of their representatives.

And considering also, that the representation of the people in Parliament is apportioned without any regard to numbers, or property, inso-much that decayed and indigent boroughs, return as many members as the largest and most opulent counties, whence support may be obtained for the measures of any Administration, though contrary to the general sense of the nation,

We do declare our assent,

1st, To the economical reform requested by the petitions of the people, as the most adequate means to reduce that influence of the Crown, which the House of Commons have declared has encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished.

2d, To the shortening the duration of Parliaments.

3d, To the proposition for obtaining a more equal representation of the people.

And in order more effectually to promote that reformation, which we conceive essential to the public welfare, we do resolve jointly and severally, to support these necessary regulations to the utmost of our power, by every measure which may be perfectly agreeable to law and the Constitution.

After which the following resolutions were moved, and unanimously agreed to, viz.

Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence be appointed a Committee of Association, and be empowered to add to their number, and to send Deputies to meet the Deputies from the other Associations; and to take all such legal and constitutional measures as to the Committee shall appear most expedient for promoting the objects of this Association.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the prosecution of the war in America, is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain, having no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby to encrease the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted betwixt the arms of both, and can be productive of no good whatever, but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British Empire.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting

meeting be given to the 233 Members for their resolutions in the House of Commons on the 6th day of April.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Peers who honoured the meeting by their attendance and support.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Earl Ludlow, the independent and constitutional Representative of this county.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, and to the Committee.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

ROB. BERNARD, Chairman.

D E R B Y, *March 30, 1780.*

At a meeting of the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, called by Nigel Boyer Gresley, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Derby, and held this day at the County Hall, the following petition to Parliament was produced and read:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Derby,

Sheweth,

That the many burthens which your petitioners, and the kingdom in general, now labour under, would be less grievous, were they not attended with the mortifying reflection, that the grants of Parliament are shamefully misapplied, and have been enormously increased by extravagant and unmerited pensions, sinecures, and inefficient places; which serve to no purpose, but to lessen the respect and independence of Parliament, and to deprive Government, in a considerable degree, of the powers of carrying on the war against our natural enemies with the necessary vigour.

The decrease of our commerce,

the fall of rents, the distress of our manufacturers, are evils which every individual must feel, who is not lost to all sense of his own situation, and to all feeling of the common calamity; and those evils, we apprehend, can only be remedied by a careful attention to the management of the public treasure.

Your petitioners therefore appealing to the justice of this Honourable House, do most earnestly request (both for the relief of the subject and the security of the constitution) that effectual measures may be taken, that the supplies granted by Parliament, may be faithfully applied to the national advantage; and to such purposes only for which they were granted; that such regulations may take place as shall bring the public expenditure, and all unreasonable contracts, to a speedy and strict account; and that an effectual plan may be adopted for the reduction of all exorbitant emoluments, and the abolition of all sinecure places, and unmerited pensions; that the present and all future Ministers may by such means be deprived of the power of improper influence, fatally detrimental to the interests of the people.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

And the above petition having been twice read in different parts of the County Hall, in order that every freeholder might hear and understand what was offered to his consideration, it was

1. Resolved, That the petition now read is unanimously approved of by this meeting,

2. Resolved also unanimously, That the Right Hon. Lord George Cavendish, and the Hon. Mr. Curzon, Representatives of this county, be desired to present the petition.

3. Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended by this meeting

to every freeholder of this county, who is a friend to that constitution established by the care and prudence of his ancestors to subscribe this petition.

4. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Sheriff, for his readiness in complying with the requisition made to him.

5. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, and to Earl Ferrers for honouring this meeting with their presence and countenance.

6. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. Lord Richard Cavendish, the Right Hon. Lord George Henry Cavendish, the Right Hon. Lord George Cavendish, the Right Hon. Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Right Hon. Lord John Cavendish, and Daniel Parker Coke, Esq. for their attendance at this meeting, and for their support of the great object of this petition in Parliament.

7. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Rutland, his Grace the Duke of Portland, the Right Hon. Lord de Ferrars, Sir Robert Burdet, Bart. Edward Sacheverel Pole, Esq. Hugo Meynell, Esq. and Thomas Thoroton, Esq. for signifying (by letter or otherwise) their approbation of this meeting.

8. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to F. N. C. Mundy, Esq. for his attention to the wishes and desires of the freeholders of this county in promoting this meeting.

9. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen who made the requisition to the Sheriff.

10. Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of this day be published in both the Derby Journals, and in such other public papers as

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the Chairman shall think proper, authenticated under his hand.

11. A motion was then made, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those Members of the House of Commons, who have hitherto supported Mr. Burke's bill; which motion was carried by a great majority.

(Signed) NIGEL B. GRESLEY.

C A M B R I D G E.

At a meeting of the Committee of the county of Cambridge, held at the Rose Tavern in Cambridge, on Saturday the first day of April, 1780, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1st. Resolved, That the Form of Association agreed to by the Committee of the county of York, and adopted at the general meeting of the said county, held the 28th of March last, and communicated to the Chairman of this meeting by the Clerk of the said Committee, be taken into consideration at the adjourned meeting of this Committee, on Friday next at twelve o'clock in the forenoon.

2d. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that petitions to Parliament are the ancient and undoubted right of the people of England. That every method taken to represent the present peaceable and constitutional petitions of the people, as originating in disaffection to the Constitution, or tending to promote dissention in the State, is a daring violation of that right and an unmerited calumny on the intentions of those who have supported them.

3d. Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those Members of the House of Commons who voted in support of Sir George Savile's motion for the producing of the pension list, and against the amendment made by Lord North, which tended to defeat the same.

4th. Resolved, That the thanks
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of this Committee be given to those Members of the House of Commons who voted in support of that clause of Mr. Burke's bill for the abolition of the Board of Trade.

5th. Resolved, That the particular thanks of this Committee be given to those Members of the House of Commons who supported that clause in Mr. Burke's bill which tended to abolish the Treasurer of the Chamber, the Board of Green Cloth, &c. &c. as this Committee doth, upon the most mature deliberation, reprobate the idea that Parliament hath no constitutional authority to regulate in any case whatever the expenditure of the Civil List.

6th. Resolved, That the Chairman of this Committee be requested to express to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne the great concern which this Committee felt at the danger to which a life so valuable as his Lordship's has lately been exposed, in consequence of his manly support of the rights of the people in Parliament, against the undue influence of the Crown and the extravagant profusion of the public money.

7th. Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Sir George Savile, Edmund Burke, Esq. the Right Hon. Isaac Barre, Esq. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, John Dunning, and John Crewe, Esqrs. for the several motions made, and the bills brought into Parliament by them this Session.

8th. Resolved, That the following Gentlemen be added to this Committee, viz.

John Radcliffe, Esq. Nicholson Calvert, Esq. John Gifford, Esq. Mr. John Markin, Mr. Samuel Wells.

RUTLAND, Chairman.

At a meeting of the Gentry, Clergy, and Freeholders of the

county of Cambridge, held by adjournment at the Shire Hall in Cambridge, on Monday the 10th day of April, 1780, the Chairman of the Committee delivered to the Chairman of the Meeting the following paper, which was twice read:

Whereas the Committee appointed at the last county meeting for effectually promoting the object of the petition to Parliament then agreed to, and for preparing a plan of association on legal and constitutional grounds, to support that laudable reform, and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, have received authentic information that the general allegation of the said petition, and of many other petitions, from various counties, cities, and boroughs, respecting the influence of the executive power over the representatives of the people, hath been taken into consideration, and admitted by the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, as just and well founded: And whereas the said Commons have resolved, that the increased and increasing influence of the Crown (or in words to that effect) ought to be diminished.

And whereas this very important resolution of the said Commons, was followed by other resolutions tending to a laudable reform in the expenditure of public money, and to establish the independence of Parliament on the most lasting foundations; the Committee taking these and other circumstances into their most serious consideration, and being desirous of shewing all proper respect to the deliberations, and of placing a due reliance on the discretion and integrity of the representatives of the people, do for these reasons decline, for the present, proposing any plan of association, sincerely trusting that the House of Commons having made so noble a beginning, will be animated with a zeal to persevere, in deserving

deserving the highest confidence, and the warmest thanks of their constituents and fellow-subjects. The Committee are thoroughly sensible that, from the vicissitudes incident to all human establishments, the civil constitution of this country hath suffered, in the course of less than a century, some change, and that it doth at present stand in need of some reform; but whether that reform may be best accomplished by recurring to triennial parliaments, by disfranchising the lesser boroughs, by increasing the number of the knights of the shires, by regulating the expenditure of the public money, or by other means, they do not at present think proper to declare their opinion, being persuaded that the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having signified their inclination to make a reform, do not stand in need of being instructed in the way of doing it. The Committee being actuated by the most unfeigned regard for the Constitution of their country, feel a satisfaction which cannot be expressed in hoping that the representatives of the people, called upon as they are by the voice of the people, will unite in healing our internal divisions, by confirming our confidence in their integrity; will consent as zealously in protecting the prerogative of the Crown from all attempts to lessen it, as in protecting the representation of the people, from that corrupting influence which forebodes the ruin of the Constitution, and which they in their wisdom have already solemnly resolved ought to be diminished.

A motion being then made, and the question put, that an association be for the present deferred, it was unanimously resolved in the affirmative. After which

A motion being made and the question put, it was

Resolved unanimously, That the

sincerest thanks of this General Meeting of the county of Cambridge be given to the 233 Members of the House of Commons, who composed the majority on the three following resolutions of that House on the 6th instant.

1st, That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the Crown has encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished.

2d, That it is competent to the House of Commons to examine into, and to correct the abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do.

3d, That it is the duty of the House of Commons to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented from the different counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the prosecution of an offensive war in America, is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united vigorous and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby to increase the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted betwixt the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever; but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those worthy members of both Houses of Parliament, who, foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences, have uniformly opposed the coercion of America; and that they be entreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing, and not

even yet to despair of effecting a reunion with that country, on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting be adjourned, *sine die*, subject to the call of the Committee; and that the Committee be adjourned, *sine die*, subject to the call of the Chairman of the Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Lord Duncannon, Chairman.

After which, the Meeting was adjourned by the Chairman, *sine die*.

DUNCANNON, Chairman.

Guildhall, London, Monday the 3d of April, 1780.

Committee of Common Council for corresponding with the Committees appointed or to be appointed by the several counties, cities, and boroughs in this kingdom.

Resolved, That this Committee doth approve and adopt the following plan of association of the county of York, held on the 28th of March last, to be by this Committee proposed to the Court of Common Council: R I X.

[*Plan of Association the same as that of York.*]

K E N N E T T, M A Y O R.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Friday the 7th day of April, 1780.

Notice having been taken by a Member of this Court of the danger the life of the Earl of Shelburne had been exposed to, in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in Parliament, the following letter was unanimously agreed to:

My Lord,

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, take the earliest opportunity of their meeting to congratulate your Lordship on your recovery.

This city feels a peculiar degree of gratitude and affection to your

Lordship, on account of the constant assistance which you have afforded her, whenever the property or privileges of this Corporation have been attacked, or her motives misrepresented; but in the present compliment she only joins with the public in expressing anxiety for the preservation of a most valuable life, endangered in consequence of a parliamentary exertion of public virtue.

The noble and manly proof which your Lordship has given, in your letter to the county of Wilts, of your decided concurrence in the undoubted right of the people to shorten Parliaments, and the necessity of a more equal representation, cannot but increase our regard, esteem, and confidence; and your Lordship, in your further prosecution of those great constitutional objects, may depend on the most firm and determined support from the city of London.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to John Dunning, Esq. for having moved, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th instant, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for having moved, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th instant, "That it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House from the counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom."

K E N N E T T, M A Y O R.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday the 13th day of April, 1780.

Mr. Remembrancer, acquainted this Court, that he had waited on the Earl

Earl of Shelburne with a letter agreed to on the 7th instant, and on John Dunning, Esq. and Thomas Pitt, Esq. with the thanks of this Court, agreed to the same day; that he had since received their answers, which he laid before the Court, and the same were severally read as follow :

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I esteem myself highly honoured by the distinction conferred upon me by your letter of the 7th instant. The line of my life has been always devoted to the public. The support of the City of London is the most honourable incentive I am capable of feeling, as well as the strongest preservative against despondency.

The proposals for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and towards equalizing the representation, now before the public, will certainly meet my zealous concurrence, whenever they shall appear to be the public sense. My principles do not lead me to influence the political opinion of any man or body of men; but I have considered it as an indispensable duty to omit no occasion of declaring my own in the most explicit manner at this juncture.

My opinion of the right of the people is unalterable. I am farther convinced of the present expediency of both proposals. The obstinate and artful opposition of Ministry to every substantial proposition, who persist in devoting means entrusted for very opposite purposes, to this pernicious one, has occasioned such fluctuating divisions, as preclude any system, or the hope of any plan of substantial reform being carried into fair execution, some interposition is therefore necessary; and as it is universally acknowledged that the approaching election has a considerably influence on the members who now support the petitions of the people, and as the county members are understood to have voted, for the most part, uniformly on the same side, nothing appears to my mind so natural or so

reasonable as to follow where those principles lead, by desiring that Parliaments may be shortened, an equitable addition or substitution be made of county members, which may be appointed to be chosen by districts, or in some other mode, to render all undue influence nugatory. And it must be highly satisfactory to every lover of quiet, as well as of the Constitution, to reflect that so wise has been the original framer of our government, as to furnish from within itself these principles, by recurring to which every fundamental may be secured without risking any novelty whatever, and a free Parliament obtained, through whose medium alone we can recover our weight in Europe, avert fresh calamities from abroad, and without further delay fix on some adequate plan for restoring union throughout our distracted empire, as far as past insatiation will admit.

I earnestly pray, that God may dispose the minds of every part of the Constitution speedily to acquiesce under the public sense, and beg leave to assure you, that I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration and respect,

My Lord and Gentlemen,
your obliged and faithful
humble servant,

SHELburne.

*Shelburne-house, April 12, 1780.
To the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and
Common Council of the City of London.*

SIR,

I am to desire the favour of you to convey to the Court of Common Council my acknowledgments of the honour they have done me by their unanimous resolution, importing their thanks to me for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons, "that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Be so good as to assure them of the just sense I entertain of the value

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of their approbation of any part of my public conduct; and upon the present occasion, to congratulate them in my name on the success of the motion, by which the House of Commons ought to consider itself as pledged to follow the principle they have established to its proper conclusions. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

Lincoln's-Inn,
April 11, 1780. J. DUNNING.

To the Remembrancer of the City of London.

SIR,

I am very sorry I was absent from home when you gave yourself the trouble of calling upon me this morning, to communicate to me the resolution which passed in the Guildhall, on the 7th instant, relative to the proposition, I thought it my duty to move in the House of Commons on the preceding day.

I beg you will express the high sense I entertain of the honour done me, in so flattering a testimony, from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City of London. The weak exertions of an unconnected individual are greatly overpaid in having attracted the attention and approbation of so respectable a body.

I am, with great regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Oxford-Street,
April, 10, 1780. THOMAS PITT.

To Peter Roberts, Esq. Remembrancer of the City of London.

Ordered, that the said letter to the Earl of Shelburne, and his Lordship's answer; and the thanks to John Dunning and Thomas Pitt, Esqrs. with their answers, be printed in the public papers. RIX.

KENNET, MAYOR.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday, the 13th day of April, 1780.

The Committee appointed by this Court, the 10th of February last, to

correspond with the Committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, in this kingdom, did this day deliver into this Court a report in writing, under their hands, with a Form of Association annexed, which were read in these words:

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

We whose names are subscribed your Committee, appointed by this Honourable Court, the 10th of February last, to correspond with the Committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the several counties, cities, and boroughs in this kingdom, do certify; that having received a letter from Mr. William Gray, jun. clerk to the York Committee, inclosing a Form of Association, agreed to by the said Committee, the 28th of March last, to be recommended to the general meeting of the County of York: Your Committee have taken such Plan of Association into consideration, and having made some alterations therein do approve and adopt the same as altered, which plan they have hereunto annexed; and your said Committee beg leave to recommend the same to this Honourable Court, as the most proper and eligible plan that can be laid down for the purpose therein intended; and further, your Committee are of opinion that copies thereof should be circulated throughout the kingdom; and that the citizens of London in particular be invited to subscribe their names to such plan, which should be left at some convenient place or places for that purpose.

And your Committee further beg leave to recommend to this Honourable Court a resolution which they have lately come to, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that annual Parliaments, or more often if need be, are the unalienable right of the

the people of England; and ought to be obtained in preference to any longer period." All which we submit to this Honourable Court, this 14th day of April, 1780.

William Saxby	Bras Crosby
John Withers	James Townsend
Josiah Donford	John Sawbridge
G. Bodley	J. Kirkman
William Hurford	N. Forster.

Resolved unanimously, That this Court doth agree with the Committee in their said report, and approve and adopt the Form of Association therein recommended.

Resolved unanimously, That the Town-clerk do subscribe the said Form of Association, for and in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Resolved unanimously, That the said Form of Association be recommended to the citizens of the City of London, as a proper and necessary plan for them to subscribe and enter into, for effecting the salutary purposes mentioned in such association; and that it be left at the Town-clerk's office, to give the said citizens an opportunity of signing the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Court be given to those worthy members of both Houses of Parliament, who foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences, have uniformly opposed the coercion of America, and that they be intreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing, and not even yet to despair of effecting a re-union with that country, on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

A Member presented to this Court an extract of a letter from the late Earl of Chatham, to the late Earl of Temple, dated April 17, 1774, which was read, and ordered to be entered in the Journal of this Court, as follow:

" Allow a speculator, in a great

chair, to add, that a plan for more equal representation, by additional *Knights of the Shire*, seems highly reasonable; and to shorten the duration of Parliaments not less so. If your Lordship should approve, could Lord Lyttelton's caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law.—*Si quid novisti rectius istis caudius imperiti.*"

Resolved unanimously, That the Committee appointed the 10th of February last, for corresponding with the Committees appointed or to be appointed by the several counties, cities, and boroughs in the kingdom, be continued as a Committee of Association, to carry on the necessary correspondence, and promote, by every legal means, the objects of such Association.

Ordered, That all the foregoing proceedings be signed by the Town-clerk, and published in the public papers.

Rix.

*Star and Garter Tavern, Pall Mall,
London, April 4, 1780.*

The Committee met this day pursuant to the call of the Chairman and two other members, agreeable to the resolution of the last meeting.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Montagu and Henry Lovibond Collins, Esq; be added to this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman of this Committee be desired to acquaint the Earl of Shelburne of the high sense which this Committee entertains of the very manly support that his Lordship has given in Parliament to the cause of the people upon all occasions, and particularly in this session of parliament; to express to his Lordship the great

great concern that this Committee have lately felt at the danger to which so valuable a life has been exposed, in consequence of the very spirited and faithful discharge of his duty as a Peer of Parliament, and the satisfaction which they now feel in the prospect of his Lordship being preserved to his country in this important crisis of public affairs.

Received the report of the Deputies appointed by this Committee to confer with Deputies of other Committees of different petitioning counties, cities, and towns: and received also the plan of association which was unanimously resolved by the last General Meeting of the county of York. Resolved to postpone the consideration of those objects to Saturday next the 8th day of this month.

Resolved, That this Committee do adjourn to meet at this place on Saturday next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and that all the members of this Committee be earnestly requested to attend on that day.

JOHN SEARLE, Chairman.

DEVONSHIRE.

Castle of Exeter, April 4, 1780.

At a Meeting of the Committee, this day held, according to the resolutions of the County Meeting of the 28th of January last, they came to the following resolutions:

That Sir John Pole, Sir Frederick Lemon Rogers, and Sir Jacob Wolfe, Barts. be, at their own request, withdrawn from this Committee.

That the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Courtenay, the Right Hon. Lord Fortescue, Sir George Yonge, Bart. Sir William Moleworth, Bart. Robert Palke, Esq. John Dunning, Esq. Richard Hippisley Cox, Esq. Edward Pearce, Esq. Richard Hall Clarke, Esq. Mr. Edward Manley, Mr. Thomas Huckell Lee, John Bullock, Esq. Richard Pering, Esq. John Lethbridge, Esq. and Charles Webster, Esq. to be added to the Com-

mittee, and that seven of the Committee shall form a quorum, and that their acts shall be considered as the acts of the Committee, and that they shall be empowered to add to their number, and to adjourn from time to time, as they shall see occasion for so doing, and to correspond with the Committees of other counties or cities, as occasion shall require.

That the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Courtenay be appointed Chairman of the Committee.

That obtaining a law for taking the suffrages of the people, in such a mode as to prevent both expence in elections, and the operations of undue influence therein, is necessary towards securing the freedom of Parliament.

That it is proper, that a diligent examination should be made into all the branches of the receipt, expediture, and mode of keeping and passing accounts of public money, in order to obtain the plan of reform, requisited by the petitions of the people.

That we think it expedient, that there be sent to the House of Commons, in addition to the present representatives of counties, a number of Members, not less than one hundred, to be chosen in a due proportion, by the several counties of the kingdom of Great Britain.

That the thanks of this Committee be given to Edmund Burke, Esq. for the very salutary and meritorious plan, submitted by him to the House of Commons, on the eleventh of February last.

That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have moved and given their concurrence and support to the motions made and bills brought in to prevent the profuse expediture of public money, and to reduce the undue influence of the Crown.

That this Meeting do present their congratulations

congratulations to the Earl of Shelburne, on his recovery; and to express the great concern which they have felt for the danger to which he has been lately exposed, in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in Parliament.

That it be recommended to such Gentlemen of this County, who are Members of the House of Commons, that they do give the most diligent attendance to their duty in Parliament, upon the important business now depending, and particularly to the several bills moved by Mr. Burke for a public reform; to the bill moved by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke for excluding contractors from Parliament; and that by Mr. Crewe, to exclude certain revenue officers from voting at elections of Members to serve in Parliament; and that they use their utmost endeavours to lessen the expenditure and misapplication of the public money, and to shorten the duration of Parliament.

That the Honourable Mr. Fortescue, Sir George Yonge, Bart. John Dunning, John Chichester, Richard Coffin, James Hamlyn, Walter Radcliffe, and John Short, Esqrs. or any three of them, who shall be in London, be deputed from this Committee, to confer from time to time with such Members, as may be deputed from other Committees, upon the most effectual mode of supporting the objects of the Petitions, on legal and constitutional grounds, and of restoring the due freedom of Parliament.

That the Memorial and Resolutions of the Deputies of the several Committees, who have met in London, be printed in the Sherborne and Exeter news-papers, and in separate papers, to be distributed throughout the county.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Honourable Mr. Fortescue and John Chichester, Esq. for the assistance they have given to the

objects of the petition, by the attendance on the Meetings of Deputies in London.

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to John Short, Esq. for his great attention and assiduity in forwarding the objects of the petition.

That Mr. J. Stoodly, the younger, of Exeter, be appointed Secretary to the Committee.

That the Resolutions of this day's Meeting be printed.

That the Committee do meet again on Tuesday, the second day of May next, precisely at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the Castle of Exeter.

By order of the Committee,

COURTENAY, Chairman.

Castle of Exeter,

April 4, 1780.

WESTMINSTER.

King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-Yard,

April 5, 1780.

The following letter was laid before the Committee:

Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Sir Cecil Wray, Mr. Brand Hollis, and Dr. Jebb. The honourable mention and approbation given by the Westminster Committee to his conduct in Parliament, and their late obliging expressions concerning his health, affect him in a very sensible manner. He begs permission to say he was still more flattered, when he found them communicated to him by a deputation of Gentlemen, for whose character, zeal, and honourable intentions he has been used to bear so high a respect; he begs that they will have the goodness to assure the Committee, as his best return to their attentions towards him, that his services and life will always remain devoted to the public, and that he has no other aim and wish than to persevere in a conduct which has merited their thanks.

Berkeley-Square, March 28.

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Resolved,

Resolved, That this Committee do adjourn untill to-morrow morning precisely at ten o'clock.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

April 6, 1780.

Honourable C. J. Fox, in the Chair.

Resolved, That the Form of Association agreed to by the Committee of Correspondence, be submitted to the adjourned General Meeting of the City and Liberties of Westminster, be now read.

[*The Form of Association and six first resolutions are similar to those agreed upon at the York meeting.*]

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the Committee to take the most effectual measures for supporting the election of the Hon. Charles James Fox, the Chairman of this Meeting, at the ensuing General Election.

Resolved, That the inhabitants paying taxes to Government, who live in the suburbs of the city and liberties of Westminster, viz. in such streets, squares, or places, as are adjacent to or in the neighbourhood of the said city and liberties, and not within the city or liberties of London, be admitted to accede to this association.

Resolved, That Major Cartwright be added to the Committee.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman.

Resolved, That this Meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

King's Arms Tavern, April 18, 1780

Resolved, that the thanks of this Committee be given to the Hon. Charles James Fox, for his conduct as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, and that he be requested to take the chair of the Committee of Association.

It appearing to this Committee, among other grievances established by those acts which prolonged the duration of parliaments beyond their constitutional period, that it is a hardship both on the constituent and re-

presentative body that no member, however desirous, can vacate his seat in Parliament, or however unable he may become to attend his duty and execute the trust reposed in him, without having recourse to the subterfuge of applying for a nominal place; and it appearing that the Minister's power, in most cases, to grant or refuse such application, forms a part of that unconstitutional influence of which the petitions of the people complain, and which Parliament has "now declared ought to be diminished."

Resolved, That the Hon. Charles James Fox, Chairman of this Committee, be requested to prepare and bring into Parliament, as speedily as possible, a bill to enable any member of the House of Commons to vacate his seat by such mode as shall seem best, so that a writ for a new election may be issued in consequence.

Resolved, That such members of this Committee, as are Members of Parliament, be earnestly requested to support the above-mentioned bill.

Resolved, That it appears to this Committee, that the resolutions of the House of Commons on the 6th of April, viz. "That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the crown has increased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished:" "That it is competent to that House to examine into and correct abuses in the expediture of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of that House so to do;" and "That it is the duty of that House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to that House from the different counties, cities and towns of this kingdom;" form a solemn pledge to the constituents, that they will, unremittingly persevere in procuring solid and substantial redress to the various grievances of the people of England.

Re-

Resolved, That a Sub-Committee be appointed, consisting of nine persons, to consider of and form upon constitutional grounds such proper plan for taking the suffrages of the people at the election of their representatives in Parliament, as may prevent as much as possible bribery and undue influence in the electors and elected.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Chairman for his letter to the Chairmen of the several Committees, and that he be requested to print the same.

Resolved, That this Committee do meet on every Tuesday.

King's-Arms Tavern, April 18, 1780.

The copy of the letter sent by the Chairman of this Committee to the Chairman of the several Committees in this kingdom, and which he was requested to print, is the same with that sent by him to Lord Mahon, Chairman of the Kent Committee, for which see page 305.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for the several salutary and constitutional motions made by him in the House of Commons, asserting the right of that House to controul the expenditure of the public revenue in all its branches, tending to the immediate redress of the grievances complained of in the petitions of the people, to diminish the corrupt influence of the Crown, so fatally prevalent in that House, and to restore the freedom and independence of Parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th instant, that it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an effectual and immediate redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Lords, who voted against the rejection of the contractors bill; a law judiciously devised, and prudently adopted by the Commons of Great Britain, in compliance with the just prayer of their constituents, as tending to reduce the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and in some measure to restore the independence of Parliament.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to David Hartley, Esq. for a bill brought by him into Parliament for excluding certain placemen from the House of Commons.

Resolved, That copies of the Form of Association, agreed to by the General Meeting of this city and liberties do lie at the following places, to receive the signature of such of the inhabitants of this city and liberties, and of the suburbs thereof, as shall think proper to sign the same.

Brawn's-Head, Bond-Street,
King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-Yard,
Westminster,

Free Mason's Tavern, Great-Queen-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

Resolved, That this Committee do adjourn to Tuesday next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

S U R R E Y.

St. Alban's Tavern, April 7, 1710.

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman be desired to acquaint the Earl of Shelburne with the strong sense that this Committee entertains of the manly support which his Lordship has always given to the cause of the people; and, at the same time, to express the great concern which they have lately felt at the danger to which so valuable a life has been exposed, in consequence of the faithful and spirited discharge of his duty as a Peer in Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to

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John Dunning, Esq. for his constitutional support of the rights of the people at all times, and particularly for having brought into immediate consideration their petitions.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the 233 Members of the House of Commons who composed the majority on the three following resolutions of that House on the 6th instant, viz.

1st, That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the Crown has encreased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

2d, That it is competent to the House of Commons to examine into, and to correct the abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenue, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of the house so to do.

3d, That it is the duty of the House of the Commons to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a general union amongst those persons who have shewn themselves friends to public œconomy, and the reduction of the unconstitutional and enormous influence of the Crown, is absolutely necessary towards forming a plan of association to carry the objects of the petition into effect.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the best and most likely method of preserving union among the friends of this country is that of considering the avowed object of their petitions, for eradicating the cause of corruption, originating in the undue influence of the Crown, and establishing public œconomy, as the first and immediate object of their consideration and pursuit.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. John Smith Budgen, and James Trecothick, Esqrs. for their faithful and able conduct as Deputies to the General Meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That a plan of association be prepared to be submitted to the County Meeting, at Epsom, on Friday the 14th instant.

A plan of such association was prepared accordingly.

FRANCIS VINCENT, Chairman, ASSOCIATION agreed to by the General Meeting of the County of SURREY. Held at Epsom, on Friday the 14th Day of April, 1780.

[*The Plan of Association and 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th Resolutions are the same with those of York.*]

5. Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who, foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences, have uniformly opposed the coercive measures against America, and that they be intreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing, and not even yet despair of effecting a re-union with that country, on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

7. Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. and James Scawen, Esq. Representatives in Parliament for this county, for their diligent attendance in Parliament, and faithful support of the petition of this county.

8. Resolved, That it be an instruction of this Meeting to the Committee now appointed, to endeavour, as soon as may be convenient, to procure a general deputation from all such petitioning bodies as shall have associated for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the national grievances, to be held in the city of London; such deputation having full power and authority from their respective

spective Committees to consult and determine upon a general union in such constitutional measures as shall to them appear necessary for the attainment of the object.

9. Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Gentlemen who composed the Committee for this county, for the diligence and wisdom with which they have conducted the important business referred to them by the General Meeting of the county.

10. Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman.

11. Resolved, That this Meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

FRANCIS VINCENT, Chairman.

E S S E X

Chelmsford, April 8, 1780.

Whereas there hath been this day transmitted to this Committee, from the general meeting of Deputies, appointed by the several petitioning counties, cities and towns, a copy of their resolves, containing propositions for a General Plan of Association, and also a Memorial justifying the said propositions.

Resolved unanimously, That this Committee are of opinion that the said resolves are formed upon good policy for bringing all the said petitioning counties, cities, and towns, and others which have not petitioned Parliament for a redress of national grievances, into that well compacted union, which cannot fail of giving success in the end to the prayers of the people, by repairing the injuries which this Constitution hath suffered, and by eradicating from it that dangerous influence of the Crown, which hath nearly sapped its foundations.

And whereas it is requested by the said meeting of Deputies, that this, as well as any other Committee, would take the most effectual means for circulating their said memorial through the kingdom, by which they

trust all men will be impressed with the propriety of those measures which they have proposed.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. R. Muiltman Trench Chiswell, Esq. and Richard Baker, Esq. the Deputies from this Committee to the general meeting of Deputies, for their faithful execution of the important trust reposed in them, and their temperate and judicious conduct in support of the opinions of the Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the most sincere congratulations of this Committee be presented to the Earl of Shelburne, on his recovery from the late wound he received in consequence of his supporting with becoming spirit the public cause of his country.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Luther, Esq. our worthy Representative in Parliament, and to the 233 other Members, including the Teller, for the votes they gave in the House of Commons, on Thursday the 6th of April, upon the Resolution moved by John Dunning, Esq. "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

ROBERT SMYTH, Chairman.

S U S S E X

St. Alban's Tavern, April 8, 1780.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to William Frankland, Godfrey Webster, and Harry Packham, Esqrs. the Deputies from this Committee to the General Meeting of Deputies, for their faithful execution of the great trust reposed in them, and for their wise and prudent conduct in supporting the resolutions of this Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Earl of Shelburne, for animadverting in the House of Peers on the

improper

improper appointments lately made in the new raised levies ; and to congratulate his Lordship on the preservation of a life, rendered by his public services so valuable to his country.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons on Thursday the 6th inst. " That the influence of the Crown has encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished."

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for promoting the petitions of the people, by the following motion, which he made on Thursday last, viz " That it is the duty of the House of Commons to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom."

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Earl of Effingham for furthering the petitions of the people by a motion he made in the House of Peers for a list of pensions held by Peers.

Resolved unanimously, That the Members of this Committee be requested to attend the General Meeting of this county, to be holden at Lewes, at ten o'clock on Thursday next, the 13th instant.

By order of the Committee,
W. FRANCKLAND, Chairman.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE COMMITTEE.

*Star and Garter, Pall Mall,
April 10, 1780.*

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons on Thursday the 6th instant " that the influence of the Crown has encreased, is encreasing, and ought to be diminished "

Resolved unanimously, That the

thanks of this Committee be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for having moved in a Committee of the House of Commons on Thursday the 6th instant, " That it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petition presented to the House from the counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom "

Resolved unanimously, Whereas during the present expensive and unfortunate war, the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of this kingdom, have been greatly diminished: the public burthens grievously augmented by the annual imposition of new and additional taxes; the national debt enormously increased, and the undue influence of the Crown extended to an alarming degree, by those very circumstances which threaten the utter impoverishment of this country; and whereas in these times of national difficulty and distress, a just redress of grievances can only be expected from a free and uncorrupted Parliament and measures tending in a legal and peaceful way, to restore the freedom of Parliament, cannot effectually be supported but by a general union of independent men throughout the kingdom,

We, whose names are underwritten, considering an œconomical reformation in the expenditure of public money, to be a most essential and necessary measure, for restoring the freedom of Parliament; considering also, that measures may be taken for securing upon a permanent system, the independency of Parliament,

We do declare our assent to the œconomical reform requested by the petitions of the people, that plan of strict and rigid frugality now indispensibly necessary in every department of the state, that most important regulation for reducing the unconstitutional influence of the Crown,

Therefore we do pledge ourselves to keep in view, the great and alarming grievances

grievances stated in our petition to the House of Commons, and to unite in all legal methods of restraining the increased influence of the Crown, and we declare it to be our opinion, that the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 6th of April, form a basis, upon which may be founded measures leading to a diminution of the undue influence of the Crown, and the material reform of the public expenditure. We do therefore in all confidence and earnestness hope and expect, from the wisdom of Parliament, such measures as may alleviate the many miseries, under which we labour, and may restore the harmony, dignity, and happiness of this distracted country; and in order that we may contribute our efforts to support that system of independence in Parliament, upon which alone our hopes of attaining these great ends can be founded, we do engage to support, at the next and every future election within this county, such candidates only as we shall be convinced, from their known integrity and attachment to the constitution, will support these great and essential objects of public reform.

Upon the fullest and most serious conviction of the necessity of these measures, and with the most solemn determination of transmitting to our posterity that birthright of freedom, founded on the Constitution which we received from our ancestors, we do unite to the support of these great and constitutional objects, and engage ourselves to them by the very tie which can be the most binding upon Englishmen.

That this Committee do adjourn the 13th inst. at eleven o'clock, to the County-hall at Aylebury, then to report the proceedings at the general county meeting.

JOHN SEARE, Chairman.

HERTFORD, April 17, 1780.

At the adjourned general meeting of the county of Hertford, held this

day at the Shire-house in the town of Hertford, the following plan of Association was agreed to:

A S S O C I A T I O N.

Whereas a petition, agreed on at a general Meeting of this County, on Monday the 17th of January last, praying for an æconomical reform in the expenditure of public money, and for a reduction of the influence of the Crown, has been presented to the House of Commons, in the names of the Freeholders of this county, and no effectual redress has yet been obtained of the abuses therein stated.--

We, the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, and Freeholders of the said county, considering the various arts which have been used by the enemies of our happy Constitution, to misrepresent our motives and conduct, in promoting the said Petition, do thus publicly declare our entire and zealous approbation of the legislature of this country, as placed in the free and independent concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, and that we most anxiously and sincerely wish the blessing of this form of legislature may be continued to our latest posterity. And, seeing the necessity of a speedy reformation of the abuses and grievances mentioned in the said petition, do agree to unite and associate ourselves, and to encourage all other land-owners of this country to associate with us, for the purpose of obtaining a bill or bills to diminish the increased and increasing influence of the Crown, to correct profusion in the expenditure of the public money, to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and passing public accounts, to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, to reform the abuses of sinecure places and pensions unmerited by public service, and to limit the number of placemen sitting in Parliament.

And in order more effectually to promote this salutary plan of public reformation, we do jointly and separately

rately resolve unremittingly to persevere in supporting, to the utmost of our power, these and all other regulations necessary for obtaining the objects proposed in the said petition; and we testify the same by our signatures respectively.

After which the following resolutions were moved, and unanimously agreed to :

1. Resolved nem. con. That a bill to establish greater equality in the representation of the people in Parliament, by allowing the several counties of the kingdom of Great Britain to elect in a due proportion one hundred knights, at least, in addition to the present number, may tend to promote the said reform.

2. Resolved nem. con. That a bill to shorten the duration of Parliament to a term not exceeding three years, may tend to promote the said reform.

3. That this meeting will discountenance all corrupt and unnecessary expences at any future elections, as such discouragement will promote in a considerable degree the freedom of election, which must immediately tend to secure the independence of Parliament.

4. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that carrying on a war against North America is most evidently a measure, which by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain; and has no other effect upon America, than to continue and thereby to encrease, the enmity which has so long, and so fatally subsisted between the two countries, can be productive of no good whatsoever,—but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire.

5. That the Committee heretofore appointed, be a Committee of Associa-

tion, and that nine gentlemen of the Committee, or more, be empowered to act as a Committee; to add to their number, and to take such legal and constitutional measures, as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the objects of the association.

6. That it be an instruction of this meeting to their Committee now appointed, to endeavour to procure, as soon as may be convenient, a general deputation from all such petitioning bodies as shall have associated for the purpose of obtaining redress of the national grievances, to be held in the city of London or Westminster; to compare their several plans of association, and to consult upon a general union in such constitutional measures, as to them shall appear necessary for the attainment of the above objects; subject to such further instructions as the General Meeting of this county may think fit to give.

7. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to George Jennings, Esq. the Chairman.

8. Resolved unanimously, That George Jennings be appointed Chairman of the Committee of Association.

9. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Plumer and Tho. Halsey, Esqrs. the representatives of this county, John Radcliffe, Esq. the member for the town of St. Alban's, Lord George H. Cavendish, Sir A. Hume, Bart. Wm. Baker, George Byng, Esqrs. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Bart. and the Right Hon. T. Townshend, members of the Committee, assembled by the General Meeting of this county, for their steady and decided support of the rights and petitions of the people both in and out of Parliament.

That this meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

GEORGE JENNINGS, Chairman.

D E N B I G H.

March 29, 1780.

The petition and resolutions of the county of Denbigh.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled :

We the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the county of Denbigh, (whose names are under-written) think it our duty as Britons, and in compliance with the general sense of the whole kingdom, to petition the Honourable the House of Commons to enquire, with all diligence and fidelity, into the disposal of those enormous sums, which in virtue of the trusts reposed in them by the people, they have lately granted, or shall grant in future to Government.

The universal calamities which not only affect the public, but find their way into every private family, even at this distance from the seat of Government, are a proof how little we are able to support the weight of Ministerial profusion, which every year grows heavier, and is more severely felt. We, therefore, most strongly make it our request and petition to this Honourable House, as to the upright representatives of their fellow citizens, to abolish all sinecures, to retrench all unmerited pensions, to sink all unnecessary places, and to reduce all exorbitant salaries and perquisites, that in our state of national poverty, what is left of the public revenue may be frugally managed.—We own, too, we have a motive in this petition beyond the views of œconomy. We wish to lessen, by all possible means, those funds of corruption, which good Ministers never want, and which only make bad men more worthless and dangerous.—We wish that our representatives may secure to themselves the confidence of the people, by having no interest separate from theirs.—And we flat-

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ter ourselves that our petition has a just title to the approbation of this Honourable House, since by granting it, they will vindicate their own integrity, and qualify themselves for those great disinterested views and measures which may possibly become necessary to save our country.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Resolved, That the petition now produced, is approved of by this meeting.

Resolved, That Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. the representative for this county, be requested by the Chairman to present the same, and to give it his support.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. for the votes he has given in favour of Mr. Burke's bill.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those noblemen and gentlemen who have, in both Houses of Parliament, opposed the increase of the public burthens, and supported the independence of the representatives of the people, particularly to the Right. Hon. the Earl of Shelburne, Sir George Savile, Bart. Edm. Burke, John Crewe, Esqrs. and Col. Barré, for the motions they have made in conformity with the prayer of the petition.

Resolved, That no Committee be at present appointed in this county, but (to shew we are not the less anxious for the attainment of the main objects we pray for) Resolved, That our representative be farther requested to report to the Chairman, the success of our petition, and that this meeting be adjourned to the first of May next, to receive such report.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, and also to the gentlemen who signed the request to the Sheriff, and

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the advertisement for convening the county.

Signed, by order of the meeting,
THOMAS KYFFIN, Esq. Chairman.

M I D D L E S E X.

At the adjourned General Meeting of the county of Middlesex, held at Hackney the 11th of April, 1780,

JAMES TOWNSEND, Esq. in the Chair.

A motion being made, and the question put,

1. Resolved unanimously, That the following Form of Association, prepared by the Committee, be now read.

[*Form of Association, and five first resolutions, the same as those of York.*]

6th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Wilkes and Thomas Wood, Esqrs. representatives in Parliament for this county, for their diligent attendance in Parliament, and faithful support of the petition of this county.

7th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Shelburne for animadverting in the House of Peers on the improper appointments lately made in the new raised levies, and to congratulate his Lordship on the preservation of a life rendered by his public services so valuable to his country.

8th. Resolved unanimously, That it be an instruction of this meeting to the Committee now appointed to endeavour, as soon as may be convenient, to procure a deputation from all such petitioning bodies as shall have associated for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the national grievances to be held in the city of London: such deputation having full power and authority from their respective Committees to consult and determine upon a general union in such constitutional measures as shall

to them appear necessary for the attainment of the above object.

9th. Resolved unanimously, That the members for this county be instructed to take the most proper measures (whenever there shall be a probability of doing it with effect) for impeaching and bringing to justice, the Ministers who, with the most unconstitutional and arbitrary views, have extended corruption and undue influence beyond the example of all former times, have alienated the affections of one part of the British dominions from the other; and have loaded this heretofore happy country with taxes the most intolerable and oppressive.

10th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen who composed the Committee for this county, for the diligence and wisdom with which they have conducted the important business referred to them by the General Meeting of the county.

11th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman.

12th. Resolved unanimously, That this meeting be adjourned, subject to a call by the Committee of Association.

JAMES TOWNSEND, Chairman.

S O M E R S E T.

April 11, 1780.

The adjourned meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Somerset, held this day at Wells,

PHILIP STEPHENS, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting do approve of the resolutions of the Committee, assembled at the Swan Inn, Wells, on the 28th of March last; and in order more effectually to promote the laudable plan of public reformation, by our joint assistance in a pacific way, we do associate for that express purpose,
and

and we do hereby testify the same. And we do resolve jointly and separately, to support these necessary regulations to the utmost of our power, by every measure that may be perfectly agreeable to law and the Constitution. More particularly we do resolve, and do mutually and most solemnly engage, that, until a reasonable reform in the expenditure of public money hath been obtained, and until regulations for returning, at least, one hundred additional county Members to Parliament, and and for shortening the duration of Parliament to a term not exceeding three years, have been established by law, we will support with our votes and interest no candidate whatsoever at the next General Election, or at any future election, to represent this county, or any other county or place in Parliament, from whose known integrity and attachment to our free Constitution, and his assent to these constitutional improvements declared by signing this Association, or in such other mode as to each candidate may seem most eligible, we shall not be first fully satisfied that he will give his utmost support in Parliament to the following propositions, or to such part of the reform proposed thereby as shall not be then accomplished.

1st. For one or more bills to correct profusion in the expenditure of public money, to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and passing public accounts, to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, and to reform the abuses of sinecure places and pensions, unmerited by public service.

2d. For a bill to establish greater equality in the representation of the people in Parliament, by allowing the several counties in the kingdom of Great Britain, to elect, in a due proportion, one hundred Knights, at least, in addition to the present number.

3d. For a bill to shorten the duration of Parliaments to a term not exceeding three years.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevented this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue and thereby increase the enmity which had so long and so fatally subsisted betwixt the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever; but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire.

Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the Committee appointed by this meeting to consider of and form upon legal and constitutional grounds, a proper plan for the detecting and bringing to justice all persons who at the ensuing General Elections shall either give or receive bribes for votes for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and that such plan, when settled and agreed upon, be communicated to other associated bodies.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those worthy Members of the House who have attended to the just petitions of the people; humbly requesting that they will proceed therein with equal zeal, firmness, and judgment, until they shall have finally concluded upon some general well regulated system of reformation, equally consistent with, and friendly to, public liberty and justice.

Resolved unanimously, That John Cox, Esq. and Mr. Samuel Stuckey, be added to the Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the
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Committee be a Committee of Association, and that fifteen or more of them be empowered to act as a Committee, and to take such legal and constitutional measures as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the objects of this association.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Philip Stephens, Esq. the Chairman of the Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to R. H. Coxe, Esq. for his attention to this Meeting, and for his conduct in Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Edward Phelips, Esq. for his conduct in Parliament, on the 6th of April instant.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting be adjourned "sine die" subject to the call of the Committee.

PHILIP STEPHENS, Chairman.

B E D F O R D, *April 22, 1780.*

At the adjourned General Meeting of the county of Bedford, held this day at the Sessions House at the town of Bedford, the following resolutions were moved and agreed to:

1st. Resolved unanimously, That this meeting has great satisfaction in observing, that the petition of this county, together with those of the several other petitioning counties, cities, and boroughs, hath been taken into consideration by the Honourable the House of Commons, and admitted by them as just and well-founded, in their resolutions of the 6th instant, viz.

"That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

"That it is competent to this House, to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenue, as well as in every

other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do.

"That it is the duty of this House, to provide as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House from the different counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom."

2d. Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting does consider the above recited resolutions of the House of Commons, as forming a solemn pledge to the constituents; that they will, unremittingly, persevere in their endeavours to procure solid and satisfactory redress to the various grievances of the people of England.

3d. Resolved, That the Committee appointed at the last General Meeting, be continued, with power to add to their number, and to prepare a plan of association upon legal and constitutional grounds, if deemed expedient and necessary, and to submit the same to the county, at the next General Meeting.

4th. Resolved unanimously, That this meeting will discountenance all corrupt and unnecessary expences at any future elections; as such discouragement will promote in a considerable degree the freedom of election, which must immediately tend to secure the independence of Parliament.

5th. Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Meeting, that shortening the duration of Parliaments would tend to restore the freedom and independence of Parliament.

6th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those Lords and Commoners, who in their respective Houses of Parliament have proposed and supported measures tending to the immediate redress of the grievances complained of in the petitions of the people.

7th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Upper Ossory for his uniform and upright conduct in Parliament, and his spirited endeavours to promote the wishes of this county.

8th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Manchester for his attendance at the county Meeting, and for his upright, able, and spirited conduct in Parliament.

9th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Lord St. John for his letter to the Earl of Upper Ossory read at the last meeting, for his attendance here this day, and for his upright conduct in Parliament.

10th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord Ongley for the support he has given in Parliament to the petition of this county.

11th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Samuel Whitebread, Esq. and Sir William Wake, Bart. for the support they have given in Parliament to the petition of this county.

12th. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Gery, Esq. the Chairman.

13th. Resolved unanimously, That this meeting be adjourned subject to the call of the Committee.

WILLIAM GERY, Chairman.

Resolved by the Committee, that the Hon. Mr. St. John, Charles Anderson Pelham, Esq. Richard Reynolds, Esq. Edward Green, Esq. and Jeremy F. Palmer, Esq. be added to this Committee.

WILLIAM GERY, Chairman.

WESTMINSTER COMMITTEE.

*King's Arms Tavern, Palace-yard,
Westminster, April 25, 1780.*

Resolved, That the rejection of the contractors bill, by the House of

Lords (more especially as it appears that a majority of the hereditary Members of that House, gave their votes in support of it) is a clear proof of the determination of his Majesty's Ministers to preserve in its full extent that unconstitutional influence of the Crown, which the House of Commons have declared ought to be diminished, and to prevent that redress of the grievances of the people which the House of Commons have acknowledged it to be their duty immediately and effectually to provide.

Resolved, That any Minister who shall presume to advise his Majesty to prorogue or dissolve Parliament, until the House of Commons shall have fulfilled their promise to the people of diminishing the influence, and correcting the other abuses complained of in the petitions, is, and ought to be considered as an enemy to the liberties of his country.

Resolved, That if any additional burdens are laid upon the subject before Parliament shall have fulfilled in some essential points the solemn promise they have given to provide redress for the abuses of influence complained of, there will be immediate reason to apprehend that promise is meant to be evaded, and the petitions of the people finally to be rejected.

Resolved, That the Members of Parliament belonging to this Committee be requested to attend the bill which is to be brought into Parliament by the Secretary at War, "to continue for a time to be limited, the provisions of an act made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act for repealing an act made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, an act for the more easy and better recruiting of his Majesty's land forces and marines, and for substituting other and more effectual provisions in place thereof."

Resolved, That this Meeting do ad-

adjourn to Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock at noon.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

E. S. S. E. X.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county of Essex, held on Tuesday the 25th day of April, 1780, by adjournment from the last General Meeting, at the Shire-hall, in Chelmsford, the following form of Association, agreed to by the Committee, was recommended to by the General Meeting.

[Plan of Association the same as that of York.]

A motion being made and the question put,

Resolved, with only four dissentient voices, That this form of Association be adopted by this meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, that the Committee of Correspondence be appointed a Committee of Association, and be empowered to add to their number, and to take such legal and constitutional measures as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the object of this association.

Resolved unanimously, That it be an instruction of this meeting to the Committee now appointed, to endeavour, as soon as may be most convenient, to procure a general deputation from all such petitioning bodies as have associated for the purpose of obtaining a redress of national grievances, to be held in the cities of London or Westminster, such deputation having full power and authority from their respective Committees to compare their several plans of association, and to consult and determine upon a general union, in such constitutional measures as shall to them appear necessary for the attainment of the above object.

Resolved unanimously, That it be

recommended to the Committee appointed by this Meeting, to consider of, and form, upon legal and constitutional grounds, a proper plan for the detecting and bringing to justice all persons who at the ensuing General Election shall either give or receive bribes for the election of members to serve in Parliament, and that such plan, when settled and agreed upon, be communicated to other associated bodies.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting sensibly regret the rejection of the contractors bill by the House of Lords, on the 14th instant, as tending to disappoint the expectations of the petitioners, and that the thanks of this meeting be given to the forty-one Lords who supported the above bill, and thereby shewed their attention to the wishes of the people expressed in their petitions to the House of Commons.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to John Luther, Esq. for his unremitting zeal in promoting every object of the petitioners, and that they declare their entire approbation of his Parliamentary conduct on all questions respecting the nation in general, and the particular rights and interests of his constituents.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks be given to Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. (Chairman of the Committee), Richard Muilman Trench Chiswell, and Richard Baker, Esqrs. for the able and faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them as deputies to the General Committee held in London. And that the thanks of this meeting be also given to the Committee appointed on the 24th of January last, for their attention and pains in forwarding the object of the petition.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman of this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting

Meeting be adjourned, subject to a call of the Committee of Association.

R. MUILMAN TRENCH CHISWELL
Chairman of the Meeting.

B E R K S.

At the adjourned general meeting for the county of Berks, held at the Town-Hall, in Abingdon, on Tuesday the 25th day of April, 1780,

JOHN GRANT, Esq. in the Chair,
Whereas at a General Meeting, held at the said Town-Hall on the 31st of January last, a petition addressed to the Honourable House of Commons of Great Britain was agreed to, and afterwards signed by a very numerous and respectable body of the freeholders of this county, stating the dangerous and exhausted state of this kingdom, and complaining of the profuse expediture of public money, and that the Crown had thereby acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, might prove dangerous to the liberties of the people; and that as the petitioners conceived, the care of the national purse was by the Constitution intrusted to the custody of that Honourable House, they therefore prayed effectual and immediate redress of the abuses complained of; and that the produce of the taxes might be appropriated to the uses of the State.

The said petition was, in compliance with the request of the said meeting, presented to the said Honourable House, by the representatives of this county.

The meeting, therefore, considering the great importance of the questions already carried in favour of their just petitions, are desirous to testify a grateful sense of the conduct of those independent men, who have so nobly stood forth in the defence of the dearest interests of their

country, in full confidence that persevering with vigour in the same laudable principle, they will not by future inattention to the trust reposed in them, frustrate the hopes of a grateful people.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Dunning and Thomas Pitt, Esqrs. for the well directed motions made by them in the House of Commons on the 6th day of April, instant, establishing the justice and propriety of the petitions, and whereby the House have given a pledge to the people of their intentions to persevere, to a full redress of their grievances, and that the Chairman be requested to communicate the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence since the last meeting be read!

The same being read, are approved of by this meeting:

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen who composed the Committee, for their attention in conducting and supporting the petition, and for their report made this day.

Resolved unanimously, That the same gentlemen do continue a Committee of Correspondence, with powers as before.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Shelburne, for animadverting in the House of Peers, on the improper appointment lately made in the new-raised levies, and also to the Honourable Charles James Fox, for his spirited and constitutional conduct; and that a deputation from the Committee be appointed to wait on them respectively, and to congratulate them on the preservation of their lives, rendered by their public services so valuable to this country.

Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting having taken into their consideration the resolutions of the House of Commons in favour of the petitioners, which resolutions have been passed since the meeting of the Committee, wherein they recommend an association to be entered into: this meeting, in consequence of such resolutions, being desirous to manifest a confidence in the representatives of the people, do, for the present, postpone entering into the association, on a firm reliance that the prayers of their petition will be fully granted.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting do declare most sincerely their entire and zealous approbation of the legislature of this country, as placed in the free and independent concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, in preference to every other mode of Civil Government, and anxiously wish its blessings may be continued to the latest posterity, in its constitutional purity; but apprehending this form of legislation to be at present essentially vitiated, by the treasure and offices of the community being employed by the executive, to influence the legislative authority; by the inequality of representation; by the ruinous expence of election, and by septennial Parliaments; they therefore declare their concurrence in the following resolutions of the Committee, as tending in the most constitutional manner to promote the reform requested by the petitioners.

1. For one or more bills to correct profusion in the expediture of the public money, to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and passing public accounts, to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, and to reform the abuses of sinecure places, and pensions unmerited by public service.

2. For one or more bills for ob-

taining a more equal representation in Parliament, by such methods as shall appear most likely to promote the independence of Parliament, and consonant to the principles of the Constitution.

3. For a bill to shorten the duration of Parliaments, to a term not exceeding three years.

Resolved unanimously, That the Members for this county be requested to promote all such bills as they conceive will tend to the objects before mentioned.

Resolved unanimously, That the American war, originating from the corrupt influence of the Crown, and the ill-grounded assertions of the King's Ministers in Parliament, is the cause of the present calamitous situation of this country.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure, which by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain; and has no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby to increase the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted betwixt the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever, but by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire.

Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the Committee appointed by this meeting, to consider of and form upon legal and constitutional grounds, a proper plan for the detecting and bringing to justice all persons, who at the ensuing General Election shall either give or receive bribes for votes for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and that such plan when settled and agreed upon, be communicated

communicated to the Committees of counties.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting highly disapproved the rejection of the Contractors Bill by the House of Lords, on the 14th instant, as tending to continue that undue influence in the House of Commons, to extirpate which is a principal object of the petitions of the people; and that the thanks of this meeting be given to the forty-one Lords, who supported the above bill, and thereby shewed their attention to the wishes of the people, expressed in their petitions to the House of Commons.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those worthy Members of the House of Commons, who have attended to the just petitions of the people, trusting they will proceed with zeal, firmness, and judgment, till all such reformation be obtained as is consistent with the public liberty and the distinct constitutional rights of each branch of the legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Honourable Isaac Barré, Sir George Savile, and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Barons; Edmund Burke, John Crewe, and David Hartley, Esqrs. for the different motions made by them in the House of Commons in favour of the requests of the petitioners.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Elwes and Winchombe Henry Hartley, Esqrs. for their unremitting zeal, in promoting every object of the petitioners, and for their steady and constitutional conduct in Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to General Smith for his steady, temperate, and very proper conduct, as Chairman of the Committee, and

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for his unremitting attention in supporting the petition of this county. That this meeting desire to express their concern for the ill state of his health, which has prevented his attendance this day.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the people of England have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right to an annual election of their representatives, as well as to an adequate and equal representation, founded upon stronger grounds than that of any act or acts of Parliament; and that the attainment of these important constitutional objects, is the most effectual expedient, for restoring and securing the independence of Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That the letters from the Right Honourable Lord Craven, Winchombe Henry Hartley, Esq. and Colonel Miles, addressed to the Chairman of this meeting, and now received, be respectively read:

And the same being read, are approved of by this meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord Craven, Mr. Hartley, and Colonel Miles, for the free communication of their sentiments expressed in such letters.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Grant, Esq. High Sheriff of the county of Berks, for his ready acceptance of the Chair on this day, and the propriety of his conduct therein.

Resolved unanimously, That the Committee do sit at the New Inn, in Abingdon immediately.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting do adjourn *fine die*, subject to the call of the Committee, upon giving ten days notice in the Reading and Oxford Journals, and in one or more of the London papers.

X x

DORSET.

D O R S E T.

Dorchester, April 25th, 1780.

At the adjourned general meeting of the county of Dorset, held in the Shire-Hall, a report of the progress of the Committee of Correspondence was made by the Chairman, who then left the Chair, but was unanimously requested to resume it. A Committee of Association was then appointed and the following terms of association agreed to, and signed by all present :

A S S O C I A T I O N.

Whereas a petition agreed on at a general meeting of this county on Tuesday the 27th day of January, 1780, praying for an economical reform in the expenditure of public money, has been presented to the House of Commons, in the names of the freeholders of this county, and no effectual redress has yet been obtained of the abuses therein stated,

We the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the said county, considering the various arts which have been used by the enemies of our happy Constitution, to misrepresent our motives and conduct in promoting the said petition, do thus publicly declare our entire and zealous approbation of the legislature of this country, as placed in the free and independent concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, and that we most anxiously and sincerely wish the blessing of this form of legislature may be continued to our latest posterity; and seeing the necessity of a speedy reformation of the abuses and grievances mentioned in the said petition, do agree to unite in such just and legal means as may be necessary for the obtaining a bill or bills to diminish the increased and increasing influence of the Crown, to correct profusion in the expenditure of the public money, to regulate the manner of making all public contracts, and the mode of keeping and passing public ac-

counts, to reduce exorbitant emoluments of office, to reform the abuses of sinecure places and pensions unmerited by public service, and to limit the number of placemen sitting in Parliament.

And whereas we cannot but think that the unhappy state to which this once flourishing country is now reduced, has, in a great measure, been owing to the rash and imprudent contest so long and so unprosperously pursued with North America,

It is resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who, foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences, have uniformly opposed the coercive measures against America, and that they be entreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing, and not even yet to despair of effecting, a re-union with that country on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the House of Commons for the kind attention they have shewn to the petitions of the people in unanimously passing a bill for the exclusion of contractors from a seat in that House; but at the same time they cannot help expressing their great mortification and disappointment on hearing that the other House have frustrated their good intentions, and thrown a damp on the hopes of the people, by passing a negative on it.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the people of England have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right to an adequate and equal representation, as well as an annual election of their representatives, founded upon stronger grounds than that of any act or acts of Parliament; and that the attainment of these important constitutional objects is the most effectual expedient for restoring and securing the independence of Parliament.

Resolved,

Resolved, That it be an instruction of this meeting to our Representatives in Parliament, Humphry Sturt and George Pitt, Esqrs. to use their best endeavours to procure an act for obtaining a more equal representation in Parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred members, to be chosen in a due proportion by the several Counties of the kingdom of Great Britain.

Resolved, That it be an instruction of this meeting to our representatives in Parliament, Humphry Sturt and George Pitt, Esqrs. to use their best endeavours to procure an act for shortening the duration of Parliament, to a term not exceeding three years.

Resolved, That the Committee appointed by the last General Meeting, together with Earl Temple, Earl Spencer, Viscount Althorp, Mr. Brand Hollis, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Sidney, Hollis Poy, Mr. Randall, Mr. J. Chaffey, Dr. Tucker, Mr. James, Rev. Mr. Storey, Mr. White, Mr. Way, Mr. Gollop, Dr. Gollop, Mr. Cozens, and Mr. Shirley, be a Committee of Association, and that nine or more be empowered to act as a Committee to add to their number, and to take such legal and constitutional measures as to them shall appear most expedient for promoting the objects of this Association.

Resolved, That in order to remove any prejudices which may have been imbibed respecting the intentions of this meeting, the gentlemen present think it their duty to declare, that they do not, nor ever did mean to promote the reform requested in their County Petition of the 27th of January, by any other mode than that of peaceable demeanor, constitutional loyalty, and respectful attention to the legislature; and that it was and is their only endeavour, by promoting integrity and economy in every department of Go-

vernment, to apply the whole of the revenue to the necessities of the state, to restore dignity to the Crown, independence to the legislature, and confidence to the people. Upon these principles, and these alone, they hope and wish to meet the concurrence and support of all virtuous and independent Englishmen.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir George Savile, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Crewe, for their several bills brought or motions made in Parliament, and for their strenuous support of the cause of the people.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman for his diligence and attention, and for his readiness to accept the chair again.

Resolved, That this meeting be adjourned, *sine die*, subject to the call of the Chairman.

Dr. PARRY, Chairman.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE COMMITTEE
Southwell, April 27, 1780.

Resolved, That the Rev. Edward Otter, the Rev. Robert Barker, the Rev. George Holt, and Mr. Samuel Heywood, be added to this Committee.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Edmund Burke, Esq. for the very judicious plan proposed by him in Parliament for reducing the unconstitutional influence of the Crown.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to John Dunning, Esq. for his motion in Parliament, that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. As also for having further moved, that it is competent to the House of Commons to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil revenues, as well as in every other branch

of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of that House so to do.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Thomas Pitt, Esq. for his motion in favour of the petitions, and that it is the duty of the House of Commons to attend the same.

Resolved, That these thanks be communicated by the Chairman to Edmund Burke, John Dunning, and Thomas Pitt, Esqrs.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those Lords who voted in favour of the bill excluding contractors from the House of Commons, and protested against the rejection of the said bill.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to all those Members of the House of Commons who have, by their proceedings in Parliament, pledged themselves as the friends of the people, and of the petitions in which the people are so essentially interested.

Resolved, That the public declaration lately made, that it could not be proved, that the petition of this county was signed by one hundred freeholders, and that the whole number of freeholders in the county do amount to upward of 4000, appears to this Committee to contain assertions not founded in fact, and to have been evidently made with an intent to depreciate the petition of this county, deceive Parliament, and mislead the people.

Resolved, That the Secretary do forthwith transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. Counsel to the Board of Ordnance.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the Nottingham Journal, and in two London papers.

The nobility, clergy, gentlemen, and landholders, of the county of Nottingham, are desired to meet at

the Moot-Hall in Mansfield, on Friday the 19th of May next, agreeable to the adjournment at their last general meeting.

And the Committee are summoned to meet at the Swan Inn, Mansfield, at six o'clock of the afternoon of Thursday the 18th of May next.

GEORGE DONSTON, Chairman.

Nottingham, May 2, 1780.

CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY.

At a full meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously passed, viz.

That an equal representation is the right of the people, and essential to the very idea of a representative body.

That annual Parliaments are the old constitutional usage of Parliament, the true law of the land, and the best security which can be furnished for the virtuous conduct of Parliament, and for its independence on every power whatsoever, unless that of the people alone.

That the present inequalities in the representation of the people, and the continuance of Parliaments beyond a single session, are altogether a departure from, and a corruption of, the usage and law of Parliament.

That to recover Parliament to its constitutional character by a more equal representation, and the return of annual Parliaments is no romantic object, but worthy of a free people to demand, as it is within their power to obtain, and is alone adequate to their wishes.

That the holding any place, pension, or contract, at the disposal of the Crown, unless perhaps in some few instances, which may be expedient for the public business, and not dangerous to the public safety, is absolutely incompatible with a seat in the House of Commons.

That it is unworthy of the people of England in their present state of discontent

content and alarm, to desist from that vigorous but legal prosecution of the reform contained in the preceding resolves; and that every thing which is essentially short of this, is, but a mere temporary expedient, not affording even the promise of a permanent good to these kingdoms.

That no candidate to represent the town of Nottingham, or any county, town, or borough whatever in Parliament, who does not adopt the sentiments, and pledge himself by the honour of a man, and of a Briton, for the recovery of the rights of the people, as expressed by the preceding resolves (or so much of them as can be obtained) deserves, or shall receive our vote or interest in any application for a seat in Parliament.

That the above are our firm resolves, we adopt the reform expressed therein in all its extent; but if in all its extent it should be impracticable, we will thankfully receive so much of it as can be procured, and join our fellow citizens in the pursuit of any part of so desirable an object.

That the thanks of this society be conveyed to Major Cartwright for his judicious and manly conduct in every thing which affects the liberties of the people, and that this society will be happy to give him every expression of their esteem and gratitude which shall be in their power.

S. HAYWOOD, Secretary.

York-Tavern, May 3, 1780.

At a meeting of the Committee of Association of the county of York.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the forty-one Lords who supported the Contractors bill on the 14th of April, and thereby shewed their attention to the wishes of the people, expressed in their petitions to the House of Commons.

Resolved, That the rejection of the above bill by the House of Lords (more especially as it appears that a majority of the hereditary Members of that House gave their votes in support of it) is a clear proof of the determination of his Majesty's Ministers to preserve, in its full extent, that unconstitutional influence of the Crown, which the House of Commons have declared ought to have been diminished, and to prevent that redress of the grievances of the people, which the House of Commons have acknowledged it to be their duty immediately and effectually to provide.

Resolved, That any Minister who shall presume to advise his Majesty to prorogue or dissolve Parliament, until the House of Commons shall have fulfilled their promise to the people of diminishing the influence, and correcting the other abuses complained of in the petitions, is, and ought to be considered as an enemy to the liberties of his country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those Members of the House of Commons who voted in support of the bill brought in by Mr. Crewe for preventing revenue officers from voting at any future election.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be added to this Committee:

Samuel Shore, Esq. Norton; John Shore, Esq. Sheffield; T. Rawson, Esq. Wardes-End; Jackson, Esq. Wath; J. Foljambe, Esq. Rotherham; Joseph Clay, Esq. Bridge-Houses; G. Woodhead, Esq. Sheffield; Sir John Ramsden, Bart. Byrom; Thomas Sayer, Esq. Halifax; Rev. Mr. Cookson, Miffield; Philip Saltmarsh, Esq. Saltmarsh; Thomas Leech, Esq. Bradford; Edmund Lodge, Esq. Willow-Hall; Richard Milnes, Esq. Flockton; Thomas Hays, Esq. Aislaby; Edward Wormley, Esq. Riccall; Thomas Cotton, Esq.

Esq. Heigh-Hall; William Barnes, Esq. Emfay-Kirk.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be given to those members of both Houses of Parliament, who (foreseeing and forewarning their country of the consequences) have uniformly opposed the coercion of America to unconditional submission; and that they be intreated to use their wisdom in accomplishing (and not despair of effecting) a speedy re-union with that country on beneficial, just, and honourable terms.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the present Sub-Committee to prepare a plan for preventing the expense of voters at elections.

Resolved, That the present Sub-Committee shall have power to call a General Meeting of the freeholders of this county by advertisement as soon as the present Parliament shall be dissolved, without any previous meeting of this General Committee.

JAMES NORCLIFFE, Chairman.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, January 3, 1780.

Captain Marshall, of his Majesty's ship Emerald, arrived late last night from Captain Fielding, with an account of his having fallen in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships, under convoy of the Admiral Count Byland, with a Squadron of five ships and frigates of war.

Captain Fielding desired permission to visit the merchant ships, which was refused. Upon sending his boats to visit them, they were fired at; upon which he fired a shot a-head of the Dutch Admiral, who returned a broadside; Captain Fielding did the like; and then the Dutch immediately struck their colours. Such of the merchant ships as had naval stores on board were stopt; and the Dutch Admiral was told, that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. He ac-

cepted the former, and saluted, but declined the latter; and is coming, with the ships that were under his convoy, to Spithead.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 10, 1780.

Captain Clerk, of his Majesty's sloop the Resolution, in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated the 8th of June, 1779, in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, Kamschatka, which was received yesterday, gives the melancholy account of the celebrated Capt. Cooke, late commander of that sloop, with four of his private mariners, having been killed on the 14th of February last at the island of O'why'ho, one of a group of newly discovered islands, in the 22d degree of North Latitude, in an affray with a numerous and tumultuous body of the natives.

Captain Clerke adds, that he had received every friendly supply from the Russian Government; and that as the companies of the Resolution and her consort the Discovery were in perfect health, and the two sloops had twelve months stores and provisions on board, he was preparing to make another attempt to explore a northern passage to Europe.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 22, 1780.

Rear Admiral Parker, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, in his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Barbadoes the 16th of October last, has transmitted a list of the prizes that had been taken by the Squadron under his command, of which the following is a copy.— And Captain Keeler of the Actæon, (one of the Rear-Admiral's Squadron) in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at St. Lucia the 29th of October, relates, That being a few days before with the Cornwall, on a cruise off the Island of Martinique, they saw

saw two sail, the one in chase of the other, the latter of which, by signal from the former, was known to be an enemy; that they stood athwart her in order to cut her off from the island; and that soon afterwards she struck to the Proserpine of 28 guns, (the frigate that was in pursuit of her) and proved to be the Alcmena, one of the Count d'Estaing's Squadron, of 30 guns and 220 men, without a gun being fired on either side.

An Account of prizes taken by the ships and vessels employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, under the command of HYDE PARKER, Rear-Admiral of the Red.

1779. August 30. French Flute Le Compan, bound from Martinique, laden with sugar, 20 guns, 140 men.

September 22 and 23. French ship Le President Le Berthun, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 550 tons, 30 guns, 160 men.

Ditto. French ship La Managere, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 600 tons, 30 guns, 160 men.

Ditto. French ship L'Hercule, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 550 tons, 30 guns, 160 men.

Ditto. French ship Le Marechal de Brissac, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 400 tons, 22 guns, 150 men.

Ditto. French ship Le Juste, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 200 tons, 10 guns, 35 men.

Ditto. French ship La Cherie, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with provisions, &c. 180 tons, 8 guns, 35 men.

Ditto. French ship La Jeanne Henriette, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, with merchandize, 160 tons, 2 guns, 30 men.

September 14. French polacca Ca-

tharine, from Marseilles to Martinique, with wine, oil, candles, &c. 100 tons, 4 guns, 27 men.

Sept. 22 and 23. French schooner La Lezarde, from Martinique to Bourdeaux, with sugar, cocoa and coffee, 50 tons, 12 men.

Ditto. American schooner Count d'Estaing, from New London to Martinique, with lumber, &c. 90 tons, 22 men.

September 25. French ship Chauvigny, from Cayenne to Cape François, with firewood, brick, &c. 550 tons, 18 guns, 52 men.

Ditto. French snow St. Jaque, from Cayenne to Cape François, with firewood, brick, &c. 250 tons, 18 guns, 40 men.

September 8. American schooner Sally, from Marblehead to Gaudaloupe, with lumber, 60 tons, 6 men.

September 16. American schooner Nancy, from Salem to Gaudaloupe, with fish and lumber, 40 tons, 5 men.

September 29. American brig Fair, from Charles Town to St. Martin's, with rice and tobacco, 120 tons, 15 men.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 22, 1780.

Rear Admiral Gambier, in his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Plymouth, the 19th inst. gives an account of the arrival of Mr. William Jones, master's mate of the Pearl, in the Amista Spanish prize, by whom he learns, that on the 7th inst. Admiral Sir George Rodney, with the fleet under his command, in lat. 42. 9. long. 12. 28. fell in with a Spanish fleet of nineteen transports from Bilboa, bound to Cadiz, laden with provisions and naval stores, under the convoy of a 64 gun ship and five frigates; the whole of which, excepting one transport, he took; that they are now on their way to England, under proper convoy; that the vessel which he has brought in has cables of 24 inches, and all sorts of cordage on board; and that the frigates

gates also are chiefly laden with cordage.

Extract of a letter from Capt. GOOD-ALL, of his Majesty's ship Valiant, to Mr. STEPHENS, dated at St. Helen's, Jan. 19, 1780.

The Seaforth arrived here last night, and brought in with her the two following Dutch galliots, burthen about one hundred and eighty tons each, first from Hamburg, and last from the Texel, for Brest.

De Jaffrow Anna, Garben Ages, master, laden with ships knees, standards, &c. and 15886lb. of copper in sheets, for sheathing.

Le Vrow Catharine, Peter Hansen, master, from the same place to Brest, and with a similar cargo. They are both sent into Spithead.

From the LONDON GAZETTE. Admiralty-Office, Feb. 12, 1780.

Captain Thompson, of his Majesty's ship the America, arrived late last night with a letter from Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy:

Sandwich, at Sea, January 9, 1780, latitude 41. 42. longitude 14. 25.

Cape Finisterre E. N. E. 76 leagues.

SIR,

Yesterday, at day-light, the squadron of his Majesty's ships under my command descried twenty-two sail in the north-east quarter; we immediately gave chase, and in a few hours the whole fleet were taken.

They proved to be a Spanish convoy which sailed from St. Sebastian's the 1st of January, and were under the protection of seven ships and vessels of war belonging to the royal company of Carraccas, viz.

The Guipuscoano, of 64 guns and 550 men.

The San Carlos, of 32 guns and 200 men.

The San Rafael, of 30 guns and 155 men.

The Santa Teresa, of 28 guns and 150 men.

The San Bruno, of 26 guns and 140 men.

The Corbetta San Fermin, of 16 guns and 60 men.

The San Vicente, of 10 guns and 40 men.

Part of the convoy was loaded with naval stores and provisions for the Spanish ships of war at Cadiz; the rest with bale goods belonging to the royal company.

Those loaded with naval stores and bale goods I shall immediately dispatch for England, under the convoy of his Majesty's ships the America and Pearl; those loaded with provisions I shall carry to Gibraltar, for which place I am now steering; and have not a doubt but the service I am sent upon there will be speedily effected.

You will likewise please to acquaint their Lordships, that as I thought it highly necessary to send a 64 gun ship to protect so valuable a convoy, I have commissioned, officered and manned the Spanish ship of war of the same rate, and named her the Prince William, in respect to his Royal Highness, in whose presence she had the honour to be taken. She has been launched only six months, is completely fitted for war, and much larger than the Bienfaisant, Capt. Macbride, to whom she struck.

I beg leave to congratulate their Lordships on this event, which must greatly distress the enemy, who I am well informed are in much want of provisions and naval stores.

I have the honour to be,

With great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

G. B. RODNEY.

List of Merchant Ships under convoy of the armed Ships mentioned in the foregoing Letter.

Nuestra Señora de L'Ores, laden with flour.

San

San Francisco, with ditto.
 La Concepcione, with ditto and wheat.
 San Nicholas, with wheat.
 San Jeronemo, with ditto.
 Divina Providentia, with flour.
 San Gibilan, with ditto.
 San Pacora, with ditto.
 San Lauren, with French wheat.
 La Providentia, with flour and wheat.
 La Belona, with flour.
 Esperanza, with French ditto.
 Le Cidada de Mercia, with naval stores.
 Le Armistad, with ditto.
 San Michael, with anchors and cables.
 Le Fregatte de Bilbao, with tobacco.

St. James's, Feb. 12.

Letters received this day from Mr. Fitz-Herbert, his Majesty's Resident at Brussels, bring a confirmation of the signal success of his Majesty's fleet under the command of Admiral Sir George Rodney, on the 16th of last month, near the Straits Mouth.

The Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Juan de Langara, made a running fight, the circumstances of which are not yet particularly known. That squadron consisted of eleven sail of the line, three of which, the St. Genaro, St. Justo, and Minorca, separated before the engagement; the San Juliano, San Eugenio, San Augustino, and San Lorenzo, are arrived at Cadiz in a very shattered condition; the San Domingo blew up during the action; and the Phoenix, Princessa, and Diligent, were taken. The Phoenix is an eighty gun ship; all the others seventy.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 28, 1780.

Captain Edward Thompson, of his Majesty's ship Hyæna, arrived early this morning from Gibraltar, with dispatches from Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, of which the following are copies and extracts:

VOL. IX.

Sandwich, Gibraltar Bay. Jan. 27, 1780.

[Duplicate, the original of which is not yet arrived.]

SIR,

It is with the highest satisfaction I can congratulate their Lordships on a signal victory obtained by his Majesty's ships under my command, over the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Juan Langara, wherein the Spanish Admiral and the greatest part of his squadron were either taken or destroyed.

Having received repeated intelligence of a Spanish squadron, said to consist of fourteen sail of the line, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, I gave notice to all the Captains, upon my approaching the said Cape, to prepare for battle; and having passed it on the 16th in the morning with the whole convoy, at one P. M. the Cape then bearing north four leagues, the Bedford made the signal for seeing a fleet in the S. E. quarter; I immediately made a signal for the line of battle a-breast, and bore down upon them; but before that could be well effected, I perceived the enemy were endeavouring to form a line of battle a-head upon the starboard tack; and as the day was far advanced, and unwilling to delay the action, at two P. M. I hauled down the signal for a line of battle a-breast, and made the signal for a general chase, to engage as the ships came up by rotation, and to take the lee-gage, in order to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports.

At four P. M. perceiving the headmost ships very near the enemy, I made the general signal to engage and close; in a few minutes the four headmost ships began the action, which was returned with great briskness by the enemy. At forty minutes past four, one of the enemy's line of battle ships blew up, with a dreadful explosion; every person perished. At six P. M. one of the Spanish ships

Y y

struck.

struck. The action and pursuit continued with a constant fire till two o'clock in the morning, at which time the *Monarca*, the headmost of all the enemy's ships, having struck to the *Sandwich*, after receiving one broadside, and all firing having ceased, I made the signal, and brought to.

The weather, during the night, was at times very tempestuous, with a great sea, which rendered it difficult to take possession of, and shift the prisoners of those ships that had surrendered to his Majesty's arms.— It continued very bad weather the next day, when the *Royal George*, *Prince George*, *Sandwich*, and several other ships, were in great danger, and under the necessity of making sail to avoid the shoals off *St. Lucar*; nor did they get into deep water till the next morning, when, having joined the convoy, and made *Cape Spartel*, I dispatched two frigates to *Tangier*, to acquaint his Majesty's Consul with our success, that Great Britain was again mistress of the Straits, and desiring him to hasten a supply of fresh provisions for the garrison.— At sunset we entered the Gut.

The gallant behaviour of the Admirals, Captains, officers and men, I had the honour to command, was remarkably conspicuous:— They seemed actuated with the same spirit, and were anxiously eager to exert themselves with the utmost zeal to serve his Majesty, and to humble the pride of his enemies. I may venture to affirm, though the enemy made a gallant defence, that had the weather proved but even moderate, or had the action happened in the day, not one of their squadron had escaped.

Inclosed I send a list of the Spanish squadron, as likewise of his Majesty's ships, with the damage they received.

I have the honour to be,

With great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

GEO. BRYDGES RODNEY.

Philip Stephens, Esq.

A List of the Spanish Fleet under the command of Don Juan de Langara.

[Duplicate.]

Phoenix.---Don Juan de Langara, Admiral, Don Francisco Malgarefo, Captain, 80 guns, 700 men, taken and brought into Gibraltar.

San Augustin.---Don Vizonte Dos, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, escaped.

San Genaro.---Don Felix Terado, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, escaped.

San Justo.---Don Josef, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, escaped, very much damaged.

San Lorenzo.---Don Juan de Araoz, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, escaped, very much damaged.

San Julian.---Marques de Medina, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, taken, the officers shifted, and a Lieutenant with 70 seamen put on board, afterwards went on shore.

San Eugenio.---Don Antonio Dumonte, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, taken, the officers shifted, but drove ashore on the Breakers, and lost.

Monarca.---Don Antonio Oyarvide, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, taken, and brought into Gibraltar.

Princessa.---Don Manuel de Leon, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, taken, and brought into Gibraltar.

Diligente.---Don Antonio Abornoz, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, taken, and brought into Gibraltar.

San Domingo.---Don Ignacio Mendezable, commander, 70 guns, 600 men, blown up in action.

Sta. Getrudie.---Don Anibal Casfoni, commander, 26 guns, 250 men, escaped.

St. Rosalia.---Don Antonio Oriega, commander, 28 guns, 250 men, escaped.

G. B. RODNEY.

Return of the killed and wounded, &c.

[Duplicate.]

Ships Names. Killed. Wounded.

Sandwich — —

Prince George 1 3

Royal

Ships Names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Royal George	—	—
Resolution	—	—
Bedford	3	9
Montagu	—	—
Marlborough	—	—
Ajax	—	6 Fore
top mast shot away, 4 guns dis-		mounted.
Alfred	—	—
Defence	10	21 Masts
and yards much damaged.		
Edgar	6	20
Cumberland	—	1
Culloden	—	—
Invincible	3	4
Monarch	3	26 Fore
top mast shot away.		
Terrible	6	12 Main
top gallant mast shot away.		
Alcide	---	--- Main
top mast shot away.		
Bienfaisant	---	--- Mi-
zen top mast shot away.		
	32	102

Return of Officers killed.

Lieut. Charles Henry Strachan,
marines, Edgar.

Return of Officers wounded.

Lieut. Forrest, Ajax, since dead.
Lieut. Forbes, Edgar.
Master of the Terrible.

G. B. RODNEY.

*Extract of a letter from Sir GEORGE
BRYDGES RODNEY to Mr. STE-
PHENS, dated on board the Sand-
wich, Gibraltar-bay, the 28th of
January, 1780.*

[*Duplicate, the original of which is
not yet arrived.*]

Since my letter of yesterday, giving their Lordships an account of the action with the enemy's squadron, and my entering the Gut with the fleet and convoy at sun-set on the 18th, I must desire you will please to acquaint them, that having no person on board the Sandwich acquainted with the Bay of Gibraltar, I ordered Rear Admiral Digby to lead in, and sent two frigates a-head to give

notice to the garrison of our approach. The weather proved very bad, and the current so strong, that most of the fleet were drove to the back of the rock. The Sandwich and many of the ships did not arrive in the Bay till yesterday. All the transports and victuallers are unloading, and every dispatch shall be used to put his Majesty's future commands into execution.

*Extract of a letter from Sir GEORGE
BRYDGES RODNEY to Mr. STE-
PHENS, dated Gibraltar-bay, 4th
of February, 1780.*

As the wind continued to blow hard westerly, I thought it forwarding his Majesty's service to make sure of the convoy's arriving safe at Minorca, by sending three copper-bottom ships of the line to see them in safety off that island, where I am sure they must have arrived before this time, as the wind has continued to blow hard westerly ever since they failed.

*Sandwich, Gibraltar-bay, Feb. 7,
1780.*

SIR,

I must desire you will please to acquaint their Lordships, that every attention possible has been paid to the Spanish Admiral and his officers; they are all extremely desirous of returning to Spain upon their parole of honour; but as I am informed that a great number of his Majesty's subjects are now prisoners in Spain, I have declined giving them an assurance till the British subjects are released; and having received yesterday, by the Shrewsbury from Lisbon, a letter from his Majesty's Consul General in Portugal, acquainting me, that he had released 626 Spanish prisoners; and though frequent promises had been made, he had not as yet received one in return. This letter from Sir John Hort has confirmed me in the resolution I had before taken, not to release any prisoners, but upon the Spaniards delivering up all the British subjects

subjects at present in Spain, and then only man for man.

However gratifying or convenient it may prove to individuals, the great and general line of hostility is never to be forgot: in vain we may conquer, if unconditional promissory notes can forthwith put new arms into the enemy's hands, and they openly avail themselves of the British generosity, without making a just return, and detain the British seamen in their prisons.

The great anxiety of the Spanish Admiral and his officers to return, is such, and their assurances that my officers and seamen, that had boarded their ships, and were forced on shore near Cadiz, should be forthwith restored, as likewise all other British subjects having been delayed upon frivolous pretences, I sent this morning the note I have the honour to inclose for their Lordships perusal to the Spanish Admiral, and have not a doubt but it will touch their feelings, and convince them that no delay must be made.

I flatter myself that I shall have their Lordships approbation in my endeavours to release a thousand good seamen, who may do considerable service to their King and country.

I am, Sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

G. B. RODNEY.

Philip Stephens, Esq.

Gibraltar, Feb. 6, 1780.

Admiral Rodney presents his compliments to St. Don Juan de Langara, and will have great pleasure in complying with his desire relative to the release of the three friars belonging to Capuchin's mission, for the province of Cumanna, if those friars are in the fleet.

The Admiral, whose inclination is ever to alleviate the misfortunes of war, by shewing every respect and attention to those brave men who have done their duty to their King

and country, is under the necessity of informing St. Don Juan de Langara, that the release of himself and the Spanish officers intirely depends upon Spain's immediately releasing all the British prisoners now in her power. And an equal number of prisoners will be returned for those sent by Spain.

Humanity obliges the Admiral to offer those prisoners who are now sick, if they may be received by the Spanish General; but this shall be the last time unless an exchange takes place.

Don Juan de Langara presents his respects to his Excellency Admiral Rodney, and returns thanks for his offer of releasing the three ecclesiastics, whose President's memorial was transmitted to him.

He observes what his Excellency says respecting the Spanish officers release; also what relates to the sick, on which subject he can only inform his Excellency, (as he has done before through Admiral Digby) that he has written to Spain, communicating what was imparted to him by that gentleman, and believes he will very shortly have an answer, of which he will give notice to his Excellency.

The Spanish General again repeats his respects to his Excellency Admiral Rodney.

Gibraltar, Feb. 6, 1780.

Extract of a letter from Sir GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY to the Earl of SANDWICH, dated Gibraltar-bay, Feb 7, 1780.

I have the sincere satisfaction to assure your Lordship, that the five Spanish men of war are as fine ships as ever swam; they are now compleatly refitted, manned, and put in the line of battle, and I will answer for them will do their duty as English men of war, should the enemy give them an opportunity.

St. James's, Feb. 28.

The Right Hon. General Elliot,
Governor

Governor of Gibraltar, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough; dated January 28, 1780, and received early this morning, gives an account, that the additional regiment, together with the several stores of provisions, ammunition, and money, convoyed by the fleet under the command of Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, were then landing with all expedition; by which the garrison will be compleatly relieved, and that fortrefs put in a state of perfect security from the enemy.

A friend of Capt. MACBRIDE's publishes the following interesting papers.

In consequence of the signal for the general chace, on the evening of the 16th, about four o'clock got within reach of the stern-chace guns of the enemy, which they plyed as we advanced, but to little effect. At a quarter before five, being then about half a cable distant from one of them, she began with her quarter guns upon our bow; by some accident took fire, and instantly blew up. Had this awful event taken place a few minutes later, we must have shared her fate; it was impossible to avoid the wreck, great part falling athwart us, but we passed through it without any damage. Many small pieces fell on board, which wounded three men. The sails and rigging being wet with the rain, and at the instant a shower, it prevented the fiery matter that hung upon them taking effect. The sea was so agitated that it filled the decks with water; as the ship sailed into the chaos at the rate of nine knots an hour, it was impossible to distinguish if any of the unfortunate were upon the wreck. The aforementioned ship was the St. Domingo, of 70 guns and 600 men. Continued the pursuit, and between eight and nine, came up with one of the enemy's ships that had been engaged with the Defence. Found her mizen mast gone and fire slack. Upon re-

ceiving two or three fires from us, the main top mast went over the side. Our mizen top mast being shot away, and rigging out, the ship fell off and passed her, got her round again, and closed her as soon as possible. Advancing to her in a position in which we might have been much annoyed, was surprized at receiving no fire. I kept ours and hailed her; our heads being different ways, passed each other before we could get any reply. When got round to her again, and hailed her, I was answered that the Admiral did not intend to fight any more. I ordered them to haul down their ensign, and that I should send a boat on board, which was done; it returned with Don Francisco Melgáry, her Captain, from whom I found it was the Phoenix, of 80 guns, and 700 men. Don Juan de Langara, the Commander in Chief, having his flag on board, was wounded. What has been their real loss have not yet been able to learn. During the night the weather grew worse; when day broke, the condition of so large a ship a perfect wreck, no other ship in sight, and a gale of wind, I felt myself in a very interesting situation; with great risque I got about 100 men on board. The gale encreasing, was obliged to lay to for the day and night. In the morning it moderated so that boats could pass; but having the small-pox on board the Bien-saisant, and near 700 prisoners on board the Phoenix, I was unwilling to introduce an infection among them, which induced me to make the proposal which is enclosed to Admiral Langara: it was accepted with thanks, and executed with the utmost delicacy. Their conduct convinced me that my ideas of the honour of the Spanish officers were well founded; for, after the matter was settled, they assisted in refitting and navigating the ship to Gibraltar-bay.

Bien-saisant,

Bienfaisant, at San, Jan. 18, 1780.

"The small-pox being on board of his Majesty's ship *Bienfaisant* (of a malignant kind) the feelings of a British officer cannot allow him to introduce an infection even amongst his enemies. From this consideration, and the very gallant defence made by Admiral Langara, and his officers, Captain Macbride consents that neither officers nor men shall be removed from the *Phoenix*, taken by his Britannic Majesty's ships *Defence* and *Bienfaisant*. Admiral Langara being responsible for the conduct of his officers and men; and in case that we fall in with any Spanish or French ships of war, he will not suffer Lieutenant Thomas Louis, his officer, to be interrupted in conducting and defending the ship to the last extremity, agreeable to his orders. And if, meeting with superior force, the ship should be retaken, and the *Bienfaisant* fight her way clear, Admiral Don Juan de Langara, his officers and men, are to hold themselves prisoners of war to Captain Macbride, upon their parole of honour (which he is confident with Spanish officers is ever sacred.) Likewise, if the *Bienfaisant* should be taken, and the *Phoenix* escape, the Admiral Don Juan de Langara, his officers, &c. will no longer be prisoners, but freed immediately. In short, they are to follow the fate of the *Bienfaisant*. Signed

JOHN MACBRIDE.

JUAN IG. DE LANGARA."

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 26.

Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships in North America, hath in his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated Sandy Hook, December 17, 1779, transmitted a list of captures and recaptures made by the Squadron under his command, of which the following is a copy, viz.

A list of the captures and re-captures made by his Majesty's ships and vessels of war, under the command of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, and condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of New York, between the 24th day of August and 20th of November, 1779.

By the *Virginia*. Brig *Mars*, Joseph Ellingwood master, taken off George's Bank, bound from Beverley to Cape François, laden with tobacco and slaves.

By ditto. Brig *Betsy*, William Thomas master, off Cape Arm, from Salem to Hispaniola, with lumber and fish.

By the *Camilla*. Brig *Chance*, John M'Kay, master, taken out of Cape Cod, from St. Eustatia to Connecticut, with salt.

By the *Galatea*. Schooner *Fly*, Bentley master, taken off Cape Cod, from Newbury, with lumber and fish.

By the *Daphne*. Armed Schooner *General Maxwell*, Moses Griffin, master, taken near Sandy Hook, on a cruise.

By the *Galatea*. Schooner *Hawke*, Enoch Thomas master, taken near Cape Cod, from Boston to Martinico, with fish and lumber.

By the *Daphne*. Armed Schooner *Modesty*, John Catton master, taken near Sandy Hook on a cruise.

By the *Galatea*. Ship *London*, (recapture) taken near Cape Arm, with rum and sugar,

By the *Virginia*. Name of ship and master unknown, taken off Cape Cod, with provisions.

By ditto. Schooner *Boston*, William Cooper master, taken off Cape Cod, from North Carolina to Boston, with tar and turpentine.

By the *Roribuck*. *Snow Le Juene François*, taken off Newfoundland, with sugar, cotton and coffee.

By the *Renown*. Armed Ship *Unity*, Jer. Pearson master, taken 36 N: from Newbury to St. Croix, with rum, salt, cotton, tea, &c.

By

By the Delaware. Armed Sloop Harlequin, Joseph Hurd master, taken in lat. 37 40. N. on a cruize.

By the Perseus. Schooner Peggy, John Francis Brechard, master, taken 25 leagues from Cape Henry, from Baltimore to Bayenne, with lumber.

By ditto. Armed Ship America, (recapture) Anthony Shoemaker, master, taken off the Cape of Virginia.

By the Solebay. Ship Badger, (recapture) taken on the high seas, a transport with Hessian troops.

By the Roebuck. Schooner Orient.

By ditto. Armed Sloop Revenge.

By the Galatea. Armed Brig Saratoga, James Munro, master, taken on the high seas on a cruize.

By the Solebay. Polacre Pateline, Jean Lewis Guirard, master, taken in Rappahonnock river, with tobacco.

By the Daphne. Armed Schooner Eagle, David Brooks master, taken in lat. 36. 10. N. on a cruize.

By ditto. Schooner Nancy.

By a ship commanded by Andrew Barclay Esq. Brig Sally, — Bland's master.

MARIOT ARBUTHNOT.

Europe, Sandy-Hook

Dec. 16, 1779.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, March 4, 1780.

Captain Robert Sutton, late commander of his Majesty's ship the Sphynx, arrived on the 1st instant from the Leeward Islands, with dispatches from Rear Admiral Hyde Parker to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts and copies:

Extract of a letter from Rear Admiral

HYDE PARKER to Mr. STEPHENS, dated *Princes Royal, Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, Dec. 9, 1779.*

[Duplicate, of which the original is not yet received.]

My last to you, of the 6th of October, acquainted you with my arrival at Barbadoes, with the squadron of his Majesty's ships under my command.

On the 24th of October the Astor, on and Proserpine came into Carlisle bay, with the Alceme frigate, of 28 guns, commanded by Captain de Bonneval: she was chased by several ships, but struck to the Proserpine. From the capture of this ship I first learned with certainty, that the Count d'Estaing was gone with all his fleet to America.

Inclosed I send a list of prizes taken since my last.

An account of prizes taken by his Majesty's Squadron under my command, since my last.

1779. Aug. 30. By the Boreas, after a smart engagement of 20 minutes, in which the Boreas had 4 men killed, and 5 wounded. French frigate Le Compas, 20 guns, 140 men, from Martinique, laden with sugar.

Sept. 8. By the Rover sloop. American schooner Sally, 60 tons, 6 guns, 6 men, from Marblehead to Guadaloupe, with lumber.

— 16: By ditto. American schooner Nancy, 40 tons, 5 guns, 5 men, from Salem to Gaudaloupe, with fish and lumber.

— 16. Proserpine. A French sloop, from Grenada to Eustatius, with rum, sugar, and coffee.

— 17. By ditto. French sloop St. Vincent's, from Dominique to Eustatius, with rum, sugar and coffee.

— 20. By ditto. Spanish schooner Señora Socana, from Barcelona to Eustatius, with provisions.

— 21. By ditto. Schooner Maria Magdalena, from Margarita to Martinique, with fish.

— 29. By the Surprize sloop. American brig Fair, 120 tons, 15 men, from Charles-Town to St. Martin's, with rice and tobacco.

Oct. 4. By the Proserpine. French sloop Liberty, from Grenada to Martinique, with bottles.

— 5. By ditto. French sloop Alexander, from Grenada to Eustatius, with rum, sugar, and coffee.

— 7. By ditto. French sloop Le

Le Superbe, from Eustatius to Gaudaloupe, with bale goods, wine and provisions.

Oct. 29. By the Surprize and Rover. French ship St. Jean, from Cape François to Old France, with sugar coffee and cotton.

—— 21. By the Actæon, Prof. erpine, and Cornwall. French frigate Alcmena, 28 guns, 200 men, from St. Domingo to Old France.

—— 29. By the Deal Castle and Barbadoes. A French sloop with naval stores, &c.

—— 29. By ditto. A French sloop, with sugar and coffee.

—— 29. By the Preston. An American sloop, with tobacco, &c.

Dec. 1. By the Boreas. French ship Conqueror, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundries, provisions, &c.

—— 1. By ditto. French post-ace Lovely Maria, from Marseilles to Martinique, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral HYDE PARKER to Mr. STEPHENS, dated Princess Royal, Gross Islet Bay, St. Lucia, December 23, 1779.

Captain Sutton not having yet left the squadron, gives me an opportunity to add a supplement to my letter of the 9th instant, and to desire you will inform their Lordships, that on the 18th instant, between eight and nine in the morning, the Preston being between Martinico and St. Lucia, to windward, made the signal for a fleet; which was no sooner observed on board the Princess Royal, than a signal was thrown out for the ships under my command to slip their cables, and to chace to windward. The Captains were then assembled at a court martial; and as the ships were in a course of fitting, some lay on the heel, others had their sails un- bent, and from all of them great numbers were employed on shore in wood- ing, and watering. Under these cir- cumstances the alertness and dispatch with which the ships put to sea, was

surprizing even to me; who am no stranger to the activity and briskness of the English officers and seamen. As the squadron stood over for Port Royal, the enemy's ships were discovered to be a convoy. Before four in the afternoon nine or ten of them ran themselves on shore on the island of Martinico, and were set on fire by our boats, either immediately or the next morning. About the same time I observed the Boreas engaged with the French frigate in Port Royal Bay, a French Rear Admiral, with two other other 74 gun ships, slipped their cables, and bore down upon him, which obliged the Boreas to sheer off. This dextrous manœvre saved their frigate, and some of their mer- chant ships. The French Admiral hauled his wind in good time, and kept plying for the road. The ships a-head of the Princess Royal at this time were the Conqueror, Albion, Elizabeth, Vigilant, and Centurion, but the Conqueror a-head and to windward of the rest. About five this ship got within distance of the French Rear Admiral, who began to canno- nade. The steadiness and coolness with which on every tack the Con- queror received the fire of these three ships, and returned his own, working his ship with as much exactness as if he had been turning into Spithead, and on every board gaining consid- erably on the enemy, gave me infinite pleasure: the rest of the ships shewed no less eagerness to get into the ac- tion. Towards sun-set, the Albion had got well up to second the Con- queror, and the other ships were in action, but as they had worked not only within the danger of the shoals of this bay, but within the reach of the bat- teries from whence were fired both shells and shot, I called them off by the night signal at a quarter before se- ven. It was with inexpressible con- cern I then heard that Captain Wal- ter Griffith was killed by the last broadside.—The service cannot lose

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a better man or a better officer. The Conqueror had three men killed and eleven wounded; the damage done to the ship is not very considerable, nor I believe to any of the other ships, as I have had no report from them. They are cruizing under Commodore Collingwood off the Point of Salines. We have taken nine sail of this convoy which came from Marfeilles under the convoy of the Aurora about the middle of October; I judge that, including the frigates, they were twenty-six in number; four more had lost company, and are yet expected, rather at St. Lucia than Martinico. All of the French ships, except those who were engaged, were in the carenage, I believe in ill condition, and many of their crews in the hospital.

On the 20th, standing with seven ships over to St. Lucia, late in the evening, I received a letter from Sir Henry Calder, informing me that three large ships were seen that afternoon from the Morne steering to the northward, supposed to be part of Mons. la Motte Piquet's Squadron returning from Grenada. As I judged this intelligence very probable, Rear Admiral Rowley was immediately detached in the Suffolk, with the Vengeance, Magnificent, and Stirling Castle, in pursuit of them.

P. S. I am well assured the Sphynx is retaken by the Proserpine, after a smart action; but, as I have had no letters since that time from Commodore Hotham, I cannot give their Lordships the particulars.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral HYDE PARKER to Mr STEPHENS, dated Princess Royal, Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, January 2, 1780.

SIR, The delay of the merchant ship, on which Captain Sutton is embarked, furnishes me with the opportunity, and Admiral Rowley's return with the occasion, of my writing you a third letter, that you may in-

form their Lordships of the success of his cruize, which I do by transmitting a copy of his letter to me.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
H. PARKER.

Philip Stephens, Esq

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Rowley to Rear-Admiral HYDE PARKER, dated Suffolk, at sea, off Mount Fortune, Jan. 1, 1780.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that in pursuance of your order of the 20th of December last, I proceeded with the ships named in the margin*, in pursuit of the three ships which you had got intelligence of.

On Tuesday the 21st, at eight A. M. three strange sail being discovered from the Suffolk's mast head in the north west, I ordered the signal to be made for a general chase, which being obeyed with the greatest alacrity, I had the satisfaction by noon of finding we gained upon them very fast.

On Wednesday the 22d, at three P. M. they hoisted French colours, but soon after hauled them down again: at five, having come well up with the chase, which I could now plainly perceive were French frigates, I fired a shot at them, which was returned. At half an hour past six, the Magnificent exchanged several shot with one of the frigates, which after a chase of fourteen hours, I had the pleasure to see strike to her. She proved the La Blanche frigate, of 36 guns, and 212 men, commanded by Mons. Gallisoniere.

At eleven La Fortune Frigate, of 42 guns, and 247 men, commanded by the Chevalier Marigny, struck to the Suffolk after a chase of eighteen hours. The Vengeance on my lee quarter having come up with the La Blanche, took charge of her, and exchanged the prisoners, &c. while the Stirling Castle and Magnificent continued the chase to leeward

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* Suffolk, Stirling Castle, Magnificent, Vengeance.

leeward after the third ship, which they came up with and took, after a chase of thirty-six hours, on Thursday the 23d ult. at three P. M. She proved the La Ellis, of 28 guns, and 68 men, commanded by Monf. Fonteneaux.

From the information of the officers belonging to the frigates before-mentioned, I learn that they left Savannah on the 1st of November last, arrived at Grenada the 6th of December, left that place the 9th, arrived at St. Vincent's the 15th, from whence they sailed the 19th, and were on their passage to Martinique.

On our passage in lat. 16 deg. 36 min. I fell in with a French schooner from Martinique to America, which was taken by the Stirling Castle. In lat. 15 deg. 36 min. I also fell in with the Young Frow Isabella, a sloop from Grenada, bound to St. Eustatia, but having only Americans on board, she was detained as prize by the Suffolk. On the 28th, the Vengeance also took a small schooner, laden with fish for Margaritta, bound to Martinique.

The readiness and alertness with which the captains, officers and seamen obeyed the signals on this occasion, were such as to merit every thing I can say in their favour.

Princess Royal, Jan. 2, 1780.

List of Prizes taken by the Squadron since my account of the 9th ultimo.

1779. Dec. By the Porcupine. Frigate Sphynx, retaken.

Dec. 18. By the squadron. French brig Le Mara Jenette, bound from Marseilles to Martinique, laden with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship La Anonyme, 260 tons, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship La Marianne, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French brig

Le Lazare, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship Le Concorde, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship Le Herieux Jean, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship L'Etoile La Mar, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship Le Jean Louis, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 18. By ditto. French ship La Mitie, from Marseilles to Martinique, with sundry kinds of merchandize.

— 22. By the Suffolk. French frigate La Fortune, 1100 tons, 42 guns, 247 men, from Grenada to Martinique.

— 22. By the Magnificent. French frigate La Blanche, 36 guns, 212 men, from Grenada to Martinique.

— 23. By ditto. French frigate La Ellis, 28 guns, 68 men, from Grenada to Martinico

— 25. By ditto and Stirling Castle. An American schooner, from Martinique to America, with melasses, gunpowder, rum, sugar, &c.

— 27. By the Suffolk. American sloop Young Frow Isabella, 20 tons, 10 men, from Grenada to St. Eustatius, with rum, sugar, cotton, indigo, &c.

— 28. By the Vengeance. Margaritta schooner Volante, 15 tons, 6 men, from Martinique to France, with fish.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-office, March 6, 1780.
Lieutenant Oakes, of his Majesty's ship the Prince George, arrived yesterday in the forenoon, with dispatches.

patches from Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney and Rear-Admiral Digby to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts:

Extract of a Letter from Sir GEORGE BRIDGES RODNEY to Mr. STEPHENS, dated on board the Sandwich, at sea, the 15th of February, 1780.

Please to acquaint their Lordships, that on the 13th instant I left the bay of Gibraltar, with his Majesty's fleet under my command; the Marlborough, Invincible, and Defence arrived the same day, after conducting the victuallers and store ships to Mahon; during their passage to and from that island, they had not met with or heard of any of the enemy's ships cruising in those seas. In the evening his Majesty's ship the Triton joined me in the Gut, after having conducted the convoy and the money he was charged with safe into the Port of Mahon, where he had remained two days, and then proceeded to join me with the governor's dispatches: he reports to me, that every thing in that island was in perfect security and order.

Their Lordships will please to observe, by the correspondence between the Spanish Admiral, the General who commands the Spanish forces before Gibraltar, and myself, that I had given orders for the embarkation of Monsieur Langara to take place for England, upon the English prisoners not being delivered up.

On the morning of the intended embarkation, the Spanish General sent notice, that the English prisoners were on their way to St. Roch; that he had received positive orders from his sovereign to treat them with the highest respect and attention; that the court of Madrid were truly sensible of the humanity and urbanity with which their officers and men had been treated; directing him and the Viceroy of the province, and all his Catholic Majesty's officers,

to treat the English officers with the greatest civility and kindness.

The Spanish Admiral, after having sent me his letter acquainting me with his extreme ill state of health, and the dangerous condition of his wounds not then healed, as likewise the General of the Spanish army's letter to him of that morning, wherein he mentioned the express orders of his Catholic Majesty, relative to the treatment and respect he was to shew the British officers on his receiving them at St. Roch, and conducting them to Gibraltar; I thought it a most proper time to add to that generous treatment, which had made so great an impression on the court of Madrid and the Spanish nation, by releasing the Spanish Admiral and the Spanish officers upon their parole of honour, signed by the Admiral and all the Spanish officers.

None of the common prisoners had been released, but such as were wounded or extremely sick, for which receipts were given; all the others, except 500, which are left at Gibraltar to be exchanged for British subjects, are now on board the fleet on their passage to England.

Extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral DIGBY to Mr. STEPHENS, dated on board the Prince George at sea, the 2d of March, 1780.

Their Lordships will receive herewith Sir George Rodney's dispatches, with a journal of the proceedings of the fleet since it has been put under my command; by which they will see, that I sailed from Gibraltar the 14th of February with Sir George Rodney, who kept me with him till the 18th instant, when he made the signal for separating, and parted company immediately, leaving me with the command of the fleet and Spanish prizes, except such ships as were ordered to proceed with him to the place of his destination. Nothing material happened till the 23d, about

one o'clock, when we fell in with a French convoy, consisting of two sixty-four gun ships, two large store-ships armed en flutte, a frigate, and about thirteen sail of vessels bound to the Mauritius: they were so much on their guard, that before we could see them from the deck, except one, and of that only the head or her top-sails, they made sail from us: the signal for a general chase was made immediately, and the Resolution had the good luck to come up with the Prothée, of 64 guns and seven hundred men, about one o'clock in the morning, and took her without losing a man. She is commanded by Monsr. Chilot, who I find was the commanding officer of the expedition: the whole convoy are, on the King's account, loaded with warlike stores and troops, the Prothée and Ajax, both of 64 guns, have money on board, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The Marlborough has taken a snow with warlike stores, and the Apollo, who parted company in chase the morning we saw them, has also taken one. The Invincible, Bienfaisant, and Triton have just now joined with another small prize of the same convoy; the rest must have borne away in the early part of the evening: there were several hours that even the headmost ships did not see any of them.

3d March, three o'clock.

We have just made Scilly; I therefore dispatch the Apollo to Plymouth to give their Lordships the earliest intelligence of the arrival of the squadron under my command.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE.
Extra of a letter from Vice-Admiral
Sir PETER PARKER, Commander
in Chief of his Majesty's ships at
Jamaica, to Mr. STEPHENS, dated
at Port Royal, January, 1780.*

The 25th of November a considerable body of Spaniards invested St.

Fernando de Omoa; and on the 28th the garrison and crew of the Porcupine were so reduced by a pestilential disorder, which raged amongst them, that it became necessary to evacuate the fort, after having spiked the guns, and embarked the ammunition and stores.

The 8th instant, the Salisbury, commanded by Capt. Inglis, brought in here a Spanish private ship of war, of 50 guns, named St. Carlos, commanded by Juan Antonio Zavaletta, from Cadiz, bound to Omoa, laden with brass cannon, shot, musquets, and other military stores, for the fort. Capt. Inglis has shewn good conduct and becoming spirit, as well before as during the action. Inclosed is his letter, giving an account of the action.

The 27th of November last, the Penelope sent in a Spanish guarda costa, of 10 guns and 75 men, named the Hermosa Mariana.

Captain Luttrell has taken possession of the island of Rattan for his Majesty.

Salisbury, off Port Royal,

SIR, *Jan. 8, 1780.*

On the 12th of last month, at day-break, being then off Porto de Sall, (in the Bay of Honduras) we saw two sail to the westward, the one a large ship, the other a sloop, to which we gave chase, it being then light breezes. After different manœuvres, and the strange ship making some private signals through the day, at six in the evening we got pretty near, when she hoisted a Spanish ensign and pendant. At half past six we fired some shot, which were immediately returned; and continued closing, with a constant fire on both sides, till past eight o'clock, when her main-mast went over-board, and she surrendered. Her mizen-mast also went during the night.

She proved to be the Saint Carlos, of fifty guns, 38 twelve pounders; sixteen of which are brass, 12 six pounders;

pounders, and three hundred and ninety-seven men; a private ship of war, commanded by Don Juan Antonio Zaveletta, from Cadiz, bound to Port Omoa, having on board 12 twenty-four pounders, brass cannon, a quantity of shot and shells, five thousand stand of arms, &c.

The sloop made off in the night.

In the action there were four men killed on board the Salisbury, and fourteen wounded, five of which died of their wounds; Mr. Miller, the master, was much wounded, but is in a fair way of recovery.

The Salisbury suffered much in her sails and rigging, which was immediately set about repairing; as also in putting the prize into as good a state of sailing and defence as circumstances would admit of, under the command of Lieutenant Haynes, first Lieutenant of the Salisbury.

Since that time we have been beating up for Jamaica, which we have attained with some trouble; and have the pleasure to inform you, that, throughout, this service has been carried on with a proper and spirited exertion of both officers and ship's company.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CHARLES INGLIS.

Sir Peter Parker, Knt.

*Vice-Admiral of the
Blue, &c. &c.*

*From the LONDON GAZETTE.
Admiralty-Office, March 18, 1780.
Extract of a letter from the Right
Honourable Lord LONGFORD, Cap-
tain of his Majesty's ship the Alex-
ander, to Mr. STEPHENS, dated
Spithead, March 16, 1780.*

On the 11th instant, being to the westward of Scilly, we gave chase to a large frigate in the S. E. quarter, and after eighteen hours chase got within half gun shot of her; at daylight in the morning of the 13th, she hoisted French colours, and we fired chase guns at each other for

two hours. When we had got nearly along side her, my fore-mast, without being struck, or any part of the rigging cut, and without wind, went over the side: I found it quite rotten. The Courageux continued the chase, and about noon, after firing a great number of shot, came up with and took her. She proved the Monsieur privateer, of Granville, of forty guns, twelve and six pounders, and three hundred and forty-two men, commanded by Jean de Bechet. She had been eight days from L'Orient, and taken nothing: She is a fine frigate, almost new, 134 feet on the gun deck, and I hope will be found fit for his Majesty's service.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,
Admiralty-Office, March 25.*

Captain Byron, of his Majesty's ship the Proserpine, arrived the 21st instant, in the evening, with dispatches from Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker, with whom he parted the 24th of last month off Antigua.

The Admiral mentions the safe arrival of Sir Hyde Parker, in the Phoenix, at Barbadoes, with General Vaughan and the troops, and the trade under his convoy; and that it was his intention to accompany Sir Hyde, with the troops, and trade bound to Jamaica, as far on their way as Antigua.

The Admiral adds, That Monf. Le Motte Piquet, having slipped out of Fort Royal Bay in Martinico, with seven sail of the line and one frigate, he divided his squadron, putting nine ships under the command of Commodore Collingwood, and reserving an equal number to himself, and immediately put to sea in pursuit of the enemy. The Commodore's division got sight of them on the 8th of February, and immediately gave chase, but had the mortification to see them escape, under favour of a breeze along shore, into the

the road of Basse Terre in Guadeloupe, where they sheltered themselves under cover of the fort. The Commodore continued to cruise between that island and Martinico, with a view of intercepting *Monf. Le Motte Piquet*, if he should attempt to return to Fort Royal.

Admiralty-Office, March 25.

Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships at Jamaica, has transmitted to Mr. Stephens, in his letter of the 2d of December last, a list of prizes taken by the Squadron under his command, between the 25th of May and 14th of November last, of which the following is a copy :

1779. May 25. By the *Charon* and *Glasgow*. Schooner *Jessroy Esther*, 55 tons, 11 men, John Van Linnop, master, Jacob Lopez Pinha, owner, from Aux Cayis to Curacoa ; taken on their passage from Europe, laden with 36 hogheads of sugar, 6 casks of taffia, and 1 barrel of indigo.

July 6. By the *Charon*. A sloop, 20 tons, taken 4 leagues to leeward of Cape Nicholas, with 40 casks wine, 23 cheese, 6 dozen prunes, and 12 dozen bags corks.

— 15. By the *Punch*, tender to the fleet. Brigantine *La Julie*, Antoine Deleague, master, Morgan and Mather, of New Orleans, owners, from New Orleans to Hispaniola, taken 8 leagues from Cape François, with planks and shingles.

— 21. By the *Janus*. Ship *Felicity*, otherwise *Live Oak* (recapture) with lumber.

— 30. By the *Punch*, tender to the fleet. Schooner *Polly*, 30 tons, 6 men, Ebenezer Later, master, George Goldfox, owner, from New London to Guadeloupe, taken off Porto Platt, with fish and lumber.

October 2. By the *Ruby* and Squadron. *Polacca La Hardie*, 200 tons, 4 men, 4 guns, Jaques Dubeg,

master, De Gordie, Bourdeaux, owner, from Bourdeaux to Cape François, taken off Cape François, with flour.

— 10. By the *Punch*, tender to the fleet. A schooner, 80 tons, 2 guns, and 8 swivels, taken near Porto Platt, in ballast.

— 14. By the *Pallas* and fleet, in company with the *Hercules* privateer. Ship *St. Miguel*, taken 3 or 4 leagues from Porto Platt, with sugar and cotton.

— 15. By the *Ruby* and fleet. Ship *Le Harmonie*, 280 tons, 33 men, 6 guns, Peter Monpoly, master, *Monf. Dronau*, of Nantz, owner, from Cape François to Nantz, taken four leagues from *Monti Christi*, with 200 hogheads sugar, 20,000lb. coffee, 12 hogheads indigo, and 80,000lb. cotton.

— 16. By ditto. Schooner *Frow Judith*, 20 tons, 14 men, Alonzo Delvada, master, *Monf. Henriques, Cohen, and Co.* owners, from Cape François to Curacoa, taken in sight of Porto Platt, with coffee, indigo, and money.

— 18. By ditto. A sloop, 70 tons, 7 men, from North America to Cape François, taken three leagues to windward of Cape François, with onions, staves, herrings, and mackrell.

— 20. By ditto. Ship *Le Gideon*, 240 tons, 31 men, Guillaume Guion, master, Chaulett, and Co. of *Marseilles*, owners, from Martinique to *Marseilles*, taken three leagues from *Monti Christi*, with 268 hogheads of sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and cassia.

— 25. By the *Galatea*. Privateer schooner *La Leveretto*, Jean Reung, master, M. Malenon, of *Port-au-Prince*, owner, taken eight leagues N. W. of Cape Donna Maria, on a cruise of three months.

— 26. By the *Bristol*. Brig *Venus*, 80 tons, 7 men, 2 guns, Henry Branston, master, James Swan, and Co.

Co. owners, from Boston, with lumber.

— 31. By the Niger and fleet. Ship Confrance, 25 men, 14 guns, Jean Baptist Hamin, master, Dan. Rofs, and Co. owners, from Grenada to Curacoa, taken in lat. 11. 44. N. with sugar, coffee, &c.

— By ditto. Ship Rachael and Betsy, Le Touzi, master, Dan. Rofs, and Co. owners, from Grenada to Curacoa, taken in lat. 11. 44. N. with sugar, coffee, &c.

— By the Penelope and ditto. Brig Penelope, 9 men, William Scallion, master, Dan. Rofs, and Co. owners, from Grenada to Curacoa, taken in lat. 11. 14. N. with sugar, coffee, &c.

— By ditto. Snow Ariadne, 9 men, Jean Patterson, master, Dan. Rofs, and Co. owners, from Grenada to Curacoa, taken in lat. 11. 14. N. with sugar, coffee, &c.

November 6. By the Niger. A sloop from Port-au-Prince to Curacoa, taken in lat. 15. 7. N. with sugar.

— 13. By the Punch, tender to the fleet. Brig St. Lewis, 95 tons, 1 man, 10 guns, from Port-au-Prince to Curacoa, taken at Caymittes, with sugar and coffee.

— 14. By the Penelope. Guarda Costa sloop La Hermosa Mariana, 76 men, 10 guns, from Porto Rico on a cruize, taken in Mona Passage.

P. PARKER.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, April 1, 1780.

Extract of a letter from Major-general CAMPBELL, to Lord GEORGE GERMAIN, dated Pensacola, December 15, 1779

What a grievous mortification must it be to me to have to relate to your Lordship, for my Sovereign's information, the conquest of the Western part of this province, by the arms of Spain, in consequence of

their early intelligence of the commencement of hostilities. Having in my dispatches of the 14th of September prepared your Lordship for the events which have followed, I shall refer for particulars to Lieutenant-colonel Dickson's letter to me of the 20th of October from New Orleans, to the articles of capitulation between him and his Excellency Don Bernarado de Galvez, Governor of Louisiana, at Baton Rouge, the 21st day of September, to the list he furnishes of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, and to a paper containing the reasons assigned by him for preferring Baton Rouge for a post, whereto to make a stand, as comprising all the additional intelligence that appears to be requisite of this unfortunate disaster.

I cannot help observing that facts have demonstrated, that Spain had predetermined on a rupture with Great Britain long before the declaration made on the 16th day of June last by their Ambassador at the Court of London; had laid their plans, and prepared all their Governors abroad for such an event; and it would appear had even fixed on the day, or at least nearly the time, on which it was to take place; for we are here informed that war was declared at Porto Rico in a few days after the 16th of June. English vessels are known to have been carried into the Havannah as prizes in the beginning of August last. And from New Orleans I have the Governor's own acknowledgement of his being apprized of the commencement of hostilities on the 9th day of August last: but how much earlier his intelligence of that event really was is uncertain. However that be, it is now incontrovertibly known that he has long ago been secretly preparing for war. That having previously collected the whole force of the province of Louisiana, the independency of America was public-ly

ly recognized by beat of drum at New Orleans on the 19th day of August, and every thing being in readiness for that purpose, he immediately marched against our forces on the Mississippi; and he so effectually succeeded by the capture, by stratagem, of a King's sloop in Lake Pontchartrain, by the seizure of a schooner in the river Mississippi on her way with rum and provisions for Manchack, and of six other small vessels on the lakes and in the river Amit. One of these last with troops of the regiment of Waldeck, and another with provisions, and by preventive precautions in stopping any communication of intelligence of his movements being sent to this place; that he had nearly effected the reduction of the western part of this province before we at Pensacola were apprized, or had the smallest communication of his having commenced hostilities; the information of that event having only reached me on the 14th of September, as intimated to your Lordship in my letter of that date; and Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, it appears, was forced to capitulate on the 21st day of that same month.

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant-colonel DICKSON to Major-general CAMPBELL, dated New Orleans, October 20, 1779.

S I R,

I send by Lieutenant Wilson, for your information, a copy of a journal which I kept ever since the commencement of hostilities with the Spaniards. The dangerous and disagreeable situation I was in ever since that period will be fully related to you by him, and I hope will in every particular justify me, by convincing you that I have used my utmost efforts, even to the last minute, against a great superiority of forces, with every other advantage an enemy could desire. I send by Lieutenant Wilson the capitulation in English, as proposed by me to his Excellency

Don Bernardo de Galvez, and the original one in the French language, as finally concluded on between us. The terms are honourable to the troops and favourable to the inhabitants, and I hope will meet with your full approbation. Engineer Graham, who has obtained leave from his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez to go to Pensacola on private business, was very useful to me in drawing up the terms of capitulation, and since our arrival here, on many occasions, from his perfect knowledge of the French language.

It is with pleasure I assure you that all the officers and men under my command behaved exceedingly well, and did every duty they were ordered with great cheerfulness and exactness. Lieutenant Wilson and the detachment of the Royal Artillery, as well as the additional gunners, distinguished themselves particularly the day the enemy offered their batteries against the redoubt.

I must, in justice to his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, say, that the officers and soldiers, who are prisoners of war at this place, are treated with the greatest generosity and attention, not only by the officers, but even the Spanish soldiers seem to take pleasure in being civil and kind to the prisoners in general.

I am, &c.

ALEX. DICKSON,

Lieut.-Col. 16th reg. of foot.
Articles of Capitulation agreed upon, and granted, between his Excellency Don BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, his Catholic Majesty's Governor and Commander in Chief of the province and forces of Louisiana, and ALEXANDER DICKSON, Esq. Lieutenant-colonel of the 16th regiment of infantry, and Commander of the troops of his Britannic Majesty upon the Mississippi, &c. for the garrison and district of Baton Rouge in West Florida.

Article I. The garrison shall not be made prisoners of war, nor oblig-
ed

ed to engage not to bear arms for a certain time.

Art. II. But they shall go out with all the military honours, arms, baggage, horses, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, colours flying, two pieces field artillery, with their ammunition for 50 rounds, and 36 rounds for the infantry.

Art. III. The garrison shall be conveyed as soon as possible, under a good escort and convoy, to Pensacola, in Spanish vessels, either by the Balise, or the lakes, as it may be thought proper; and the troops shall be furnished with good and wholesome provisions for the passage, at least for three weeks, the vessels and provisions being first examined and searched by Commissaries appointed for that purpose by Lieutenant-colonel Dickson; and the charges and expences shall be repaid on the debarkation of the troops at Pensacola.

Art. IV. His Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez shall provide the troops with a vessel of one hundred tons burthen, or with two large boats, which shall not be searched; and, in case of a want, with as many more as shall be found necessary for conveying the wounded and sick, which shall be able to undergo the fatigues of the voyage: and the other sick and wounded that cannot be conveyed immediately, shall be permitted, as soon as they are able, to join their regiments; and, in the mean time, his Catholic Majesty shall furnish them with every assistance of which they may stand in need.

Answer. The superiority of the troops under my command, as well as of arms, ammunition, and provisions, together with the knowledge I have of the bad situation in which the troops and the fort of Baton Rouge must be, from which all communication is cut off, having taken

every vessel coming from Pensacola with troops and provisions, as well as the armed vessel West Florida, which was their only protection, and from which vessels there are already in town more than 150 prisoners of war: and this will not permit me to accede to the proposition of not making prisoners of war the British troops which are in the fort at Baton Rouge. I therefore positively require their surrendering themselves prisoners of war; but considering the honourable defence made by Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, his officers, and troops, they shall go out with drums beating, pieces charged, and colours flying, 500 paces from the fort, where they shall deliver the arms and colours to the troops under my command, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be exchanged at the pleasure of the King my master; engaging, at the same time, that they shall be treated with respect, and all possible humanity. The field officers shall be permitted to wear their swords. The fort at the Natchez, as depending on this, shall be evacuated and delivered up to me; and the garrison shall have the liberty to retire to Pensacola, Jamaica, or such other place under government of his Britannic Majesty, as they shall judge proper. What is contained in the above is to be considered as an answer to the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th articles.

Art. V. All the baggage and other effects, belonging to the officers, soldiers, and other persons of the garrison, shall remain their property, and be sent with them.—
Granted.

Art. VI. In case any soldiers or other armed persons, shall be found in the garrison, who have before been in the service of his Catholic Majesty and have absented themselves without leave, that matter shall not be examined into, but they

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shall

shall enjoy the terms of the capitulation in as ample a manner as the others.—Granted.

Art. VII. Every person that shall have borne arms in this garrison, shall be treated as part of the garrison, whether they are engaged in any military corps, or occupy any employ under his Britannic Majesty, or not. Being considered as part of the garrison, they shall be prisoners of war, reserving to myself the right to grant liberty (to those who are not soldiers) or to enlist them if I think proper.

Art. VIII. All the negroes that shall be found in the garrison shall be delivered to their masters, as also all the slaves taken or retaken since the commencement of hostilities between the crowns of Spain and Great-Britain in these environs.—Granted.

Art. IX. The inhabitants of this district shall be under the same laws, and enjoy the same privileges and immunities of religion and judicature, and shall have the same magistrates as they had under the English government, at least till the peace shall be re-established.—Granted in every point that shall not be contrary to our laws, until the decision of the King my master is known.

Art. X. The inhabitants shall, in like manner, be kept in full and entire possession of all their effects and slaves, and, in short, of every thing that belongs to them.—Granted.

Art. XI. All the cattle and other provisions taken from the inhabitants for the troops of his Catholic Majesty shall be paid for, without deduction, according to the established price of such articles in Louisiana.—Granted, provided they shall produce sufficient proof.

Art. XII. All the inhabitants who shall prefer quitting the country or district, in order to establish themselves in some part of the dominions

of his Britannic Majesty, shall be provided with a passport for their persons, families, and effects, and they shall be permitted to remain undisturbed, or obliged to take the oath of fidelity to his Catholic Majesty.—Granted, in respect to the liberty of retiring; but they shall be obliged to take the oath of fidelity during their residence in the jurisdiction of his Catholic Majesty.

Art. XIII. The effects, moveable and immoveable, whether of military or other persons absent or present, shall remain their property, and they shall have the right to sell or dispose of them, as they shall judge proper.—Granted.

Art. XIV. There shall not be the least insult offered to the troops of the garrison by the besiegers; and the savages, mulattoes, and negroes, shall be particularly prevented from infringing this stipulation.—Granted.

Art. XV. No papers, whether public or private, shall be seized, searched, or examined under any pretence whatever.—Granted.

Art. XVI. Under the above-mentioned conditions and regulations, Lieutenant-colonel Dickson will deliver up to his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez the redoubt of Baton Rouge, with all the cannon now mounted upon the parapets of the redoubt, and those that may be found belonging to it, which shall, with all the remaining ammunition, &c. except what has been expressed in the 2d article, be put into the possession of such officer as his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez shall send for that purpose, by the officer commanding the royal artillery of his Britannic Majesty in that post.

Lieutenant-colonel Dickson will, in like manner, deliver up to his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, or to the commissaries he shall please to send for that purpose, all the provisions and other effects belonging to his

his Britannic Majesty, which are in the garrison.

At the time of the stipulation of the convention, the barrier or post of the garrison shall be delivered up to the besiegers, and their centinels shall relieve the centinels of the garrison with all the military honours.

N. B. In respect to the 9th article, the inhabitants of this district, in taking the oath of fidelity to his Catholic Majesty, during the present war, that is to say, for the time that is granted them to quit the country, shall be exempt from bearing arms, at least against their natural and primitive Sovereign his Britannic Majesty. And, in respect to the 12th article, his Excellency the Governor of Louisiana shall permit the inhabitants of the town of New Orleans and province of Louisiana, and the merchant vessels which are in the ports, to convey the English inhabitants, with their effects, to the destination they shall prefer.

I accept the propositions granted by his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, which are stipulated in the French language, having no interpreter of the Spanish language in the fort. Baton Rouge, the 21st of September, 1779.

(Signed) ALEX. DICKSON, Lieutenant-colonel, 16th reg. foot, commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops on the Mississippi, &c. in West-Florida.

(Signed) B. de GALVEZ:

N. B. The inhabitants of the district of the Natchez shall in like manner enjoy the same right and privileges granted to those of this district by the capitulation: and moreover the permission to wear their swords is granted to all the officers without exception.

(Signed) B. de GALVEZ.

(Signed) ALEX. DICKSON, Lieutenant-colonel, 16th reg. foot, commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops on the Mississippi, &c. in West-Florida.

Copy of Lieutenant-colonel DICKSON'S reasons for removing to Baton Rouge.

Baton Rouge Redoubt, Sept. 22, 1779.

The various reports, seemingly well founded, that the rebels were in force above, and meditated in a short time an invasion of this part of the country, made it necessary without delay to fix upon some spot where works might be thrown up, and fortifications erected, so as to prevent, if possible, the troops under my command, and the country I was sent to protect, from falling into the hands of the enemy. The situation of Many chac was unanimously condemned, and the fort there considered as indefensible against cannon. Accordingly, on the 30th day of July, 1779, agreeable to my own sentiments, and those of the engineer and other officers I consulted on this occasion, it was determined to take post at Mess. Watts and Flower's plantation, at Baton Rouge, the situation of which, and large quantity of cleared ground, pointing it out as the only place where I could have a reasonable prospect of accomplishing the intent of my command. I accordingly sent engineer Graham with a letter addressed to the inhabitants, requesting them to co-operate with me in throwing up a redoubt on that place, with which they cheerfully complied.

Having intelligence which I could depend upon, on the 3d day of September, that his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, was approaching in force to attack me, and that the redoubt at this place was in pretty good forwardness, it was determined in a council of war to remove the troops, artillery, and stores, as soon as possible, to the redoubt, which was accordingly done. On the 12th day of September the redoubt was invested, and early in the morning of the 21st, a battery of heavy cannon was opened against it; and after an incessant fire on both sides, for more than three hours, I found myself

self obliged to yield to the great superiority of his artillery, and to surrender the redoubt to his Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, who commanded the troops of his Catholic Majesty.

I am confident I should not have been able to have made so good a defence at Manchac, and of course to have procured such favourable terms for the troops under my command, and the country I was sent to protect.

On account of the redoubts being erected thereon, Governor Galvez, considering the plantation of Mess. Watts and Flowers as belonging to the King, has accordingly taken it; and unless Government shall make them a recompence, by reason of their loyalty and readiness to promote the protection of the country, they will lose a very valuable property; I therefore most strongly recommend them to Government for a generous satisfaction.

(Signed) ALEX. DICKSON,
Lieutenant-colonel, 16th reg.
of Foot.

I do hereby certify, That having been consulted by Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, when it was reported that the rebels were coming down for to attack his Britannic Majesty's possessions on the Mississippi, it appeared to me, that in our actual circumstances, nothing better could be done than to erect a field redoubt in the clearing of Mess. Watts and Flower's, who had been generous enough to offer the use of the land provisionally for that purpose; and that hearing that the Spanish forces under Don Bernardo de Galvez were coming to attack us, that it appeared to me that nothing else was left but to make our stand in the said field redoubt, the Stockade Fort at Manchac being untenable against cannon.

(Signed) J. J. GRAHAM,
Assistant-Engineer,

Return of the different detachments of his Majesty's troops, prisoners at New Orleans, and the posts where taken.

At Baton Rouge. Royal artillery. 1 Second Lieutenant, 1 Corporal, 1 Bombardier, 3 Gunners, 5 Matrosses.—16th regiment, 1 Lieutenant-colonel, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter-master, 1 Surgeon, 7 Serjeants, 6 Drummers, 120 rank and file.—Corps 60th regiment. 1 Lieutenant, 4 rank and file. Waldeck regiment. 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Surgeons Mates, 8 Serjeants, 6 Drummers, 3 servants, 176 rank and file.—Independent company. 1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 1 Serjeant, 14 rank and file.—Garrison Staff. 1 Commissary, 2 assistant Surgeons.

At Manchac. 16th regiment, 1 Serjeant, 4 rank and file. Corps 60th regiment. 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 11 rank and file.—Independent Company. 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 4 rank and file.

At Thompson's Creek. 16th regiment. 1 Serjeant, 4 rank and file.—Waldeck regiment. 1 rank and file.

At River Amit. Corps 60th regiment. 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 7 Rank and file.—Independent Company. 1 rank and file.

Store Ship, River Mississippi. 16th regiment. 1 rank and file.

On the Lakes. 16th regiment. 2 rank and file.—Waldeck regiment, 1 Captain, 4 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 4 rank and file.

Return of the killed and wounded.

Royal Artillery. 1 rank and file, wounded.—16th regiment. 1 rank and file, killed; 1 ditto, wounded; 7 dead since prisoners.—60th regiment. 1 Ensign, killed.—Waldeck regiment. 1 Ensign, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Surgeon's mate, 2 Serjeants, 19 rank and file, dead since prisoners.—Ensign Brook, 3d battalion, 60th regiment.

ment, Ensign Nolting, Waldeck regiment, killed.--Lieutenant Leonard, Waldeck regiment, died since prisoner, on his way to New Orleans.— Note, 1 officer, 1 serjeant, and six private men, being very slightly wounded, and always fit for duty, not included in the above.

(Signed) ALEXANDER DICKSON,
Lieutenant-colonel 16th regiment
of foot.

A true Copy. JAMES CAMPBELL,
Major of Brigade,

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

At the Court at St. James's, the
17th of April, 1780.

P R E S E N T,

The KING's Most Excellent MA-
JESTY in Council.

Whereas since the commencement of the war in which Great-Britain is engaged by the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, repeated Memorials have been presented by his Majesty's Ambassador to the States-General of the United Provinces, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty; to which requisition, though strongly called upon in the last Memorial of the 21st of March, their High Mightinesses have given no answer, nor signified any intention of complying therewith: And whereas by the non-performance of the clearest engagements, they desert the alliance that has so long subsisted between the Court of Great-Britain and the Republic, and place themselves in the condition of a neutral power, bound to this kingdom by the treaty, every principle of wisdom and justice requires that his Majesty should consider them henceforward as standing only in that distant relation in which they have placed themselves: His Majesty therefore having taken this matter into his royal consideration, doth, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, judge it expedient to carry into im-

mediate execution those intentions which were formerly notified in the Memorial presented by his Ambassador on the 21st of March last, and previously signified in an official verbal declaration, made by Lord Viscount Stormont, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to Count Welderer, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Republic, nearly two months before the delivery of the aforesaid Memorial: For these causes, his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council doth declare, that the subjects of the United Provinces are henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states not privileged by treaty; and his Majesty doth hereby suspend, provisionally, and till further order, all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties now subsisting between his Majesty and the Republic, and more particularly those contained in the Marine Treaty between Great-Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, Dec. 1-11th, 1674.

From a humane regard to the interests of individuals, and a desire to prevent their suffering by any surprize, his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, doth declare, that the effects of this his Majesty's order shall take place at the following terms, viz.

In the channel and the north seas, 12 days after the date hereof.

From the channel, the British seas, and the north seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, either in the ocean or Mediterranean, the term shall be six weeks from the aforesaid date.

Three months from the said Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator.

And lastly, six months beyond the said line or equator, and in other parts

parts of the world, without any exception or other more particular description of time and place.

STEPH. COTTRELL.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, April 26, 1780.

Extract of a letter from Sir HENRY CLINTON, Knight of the Bath, to Lord GEORGE GERMAIN, dated Head Quarters, James Island, South-Carolina, March 9, 1780. Received by the Swift Packet, Capt. NICHOLS, from New York.

My last dispatch, No 83, will have informed your Lordship, that the Admiral and I only waited positive information concerning Count d'Estaing's fleet to put to sea. Intelligence of their having quitted the coast arrived late in December, and the troops having been some time embarked, the Admiral was enabled to sail the 26th.

I will trouble your Lordship with no other particulars of a very tedious voyage in uncommon bad weather, than to mention, that in our losses of transports the lives of the crews have been saved; that only one ship is missing, having on board a detachment of Hessians, and supposed to have bore away for the West Indies; but that we have to regret the total loss of an ordnance ship, which foundered at sea, and of much the greater part of the horses brought for cavalry or other public uses.

It was judged best to proceed by a second navigation from Tybee to North Edisto, and from thence to pass to John's and next to James Island. By a bridge over Wappoo Cut, we have from this last gained the banks of Ashley-river.

My intention is to pass to the neck of Charles-Town as soon as possible. The enemy, I find, have collected their whole force to that place. This is said not to exceed 5000 men at present; but reinforcements are daily expected.

In the mean time, as the rebels have made the defence of Charles-Town their principal object, I have determined on my part to assemble in greater strength before it, and with this view have called immediately to this army a corps I had left in Georgia. They will pass the Savannah-river, and join me by land.

The force afloat at Charles-Town is four rebel and one French frigate, with an old 60 gun ship, and some brigs and galleys.

Although our long voyage and unavoidable delays since have given the rebels time to fortify Charles-Town towards the land, a labour their number in negroes has greatly facilitated; yet, confiding in the merit of the troops I have the honour to command, in the great assistance I have from Earl Cornwallis, and the further co-operation of the navy, I entertain great hopes of success.

I cannot close my letter without expressing how much I am obliged hitherto to Admiral Arbuthnot for the assistance given me through Capt. Elphinstone, who as yet has been chiefly employed in the naval transactions immediately relative to the army. This gentleman's unremitting attention to us, from his so ably and successfully conducting the transports into North Edisto to this hour, with the great benefit I have derived from his knowledge of the inland navigation of this part of the coast, merit my warmest thanks.

P. S. Since the above a reinforcement is arrived in Charles-Town, said to consist of 2000 men from the northern army.

[TRANSLATION.]

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-general KNYPFAUSEN to Lord George GERMAIN, dated New-York, March, 27, 1780.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that since General Clinton's departure from hence on the 26th of December last, we have had the longest

longest and most severe winter that was ever remembered: All was continent, and horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys from one island to another, and it is only since the 20th of February that the rivers and streights have been navigable.

The rebels thought to avail themselves of this easy communication, and threatened an attack upon Staten Island, where there was about 1800 men under the command of Brigadier-General Sterling, who were pretty well intrenched. For this purpose General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-Town, sent a detachment of 2700 men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived on the island early in the morning of the 15th of January, our advanced posts having retired upon their approach. They formed the line, and having made some movements in the course of that day, withdrew in the night, after having burnt one house, pillaged some others, and carried off with them about 200 hundred head of cattle. The day of their arrival on the island I embarked 600 men to attempt a passage, and support General Sterling, but the floating ice prevented their success, and obliged them to return. I imagine that the appearance of these transports, with troops on board, which they could see towards the close of the day, induced them to make this sudden retreat; as they could not tell what success they might have. Some prisoners were made in their retreat.

Some days after an advanced post which they had at Newark, consisting of one company, was surprized and taken by a detachment from hence and from Paulus Hook, under the command of Major Lum; and the same day General Sterling sent another detachment under Lieute-

nant-colonel Boskirk, who surprized the piquet guard at Elizabeth-Town, and made two Majors, two Captains, and 47 men prisoners of war. Both these enterprizes were effected without any loss on our side. Some time after General Matthew sent a detachment of guards and provincial horse, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Northen, to attack a post at John's House upon the White Plains. This did not succeed entirely to his wishes, but the rebels, who were posted in a house, were however attacked and dislodged, with the loss of 40 men killed and 97 made prisoners, among whom were one Lieutenant-colonel, one Major, and five inferior officers. We had three killed and fifteen wounded.

In the night of the 22d of this month we partly surprized and took a rebel post in the Jerseys, consisting of 250 men, of whom we made only 65 prisoners, owing to two embarkations, one from Kingsbridge under Lieutenant-colonel Howard, not arriving at the appointed time. Our loss upon this occasion was very inconsiderable. Captain Armstrong of the 42d regiment is wounded. By the little enterprizes during the winter, as far as we can ascertain, we have made 320 prisoners, and killed about 65 of the enemy.

By the intelligence I have been able to get, General Washington's army at Morris-Town consists of about 500 men, besides militia. There has been a great desertion among them. Tired of the war, and dissatisfied with the depreciated value of their money, a general discontent pervades the whole army.

Extract of a Letter from Major-general PATTISON to Lord George GERMAIN, dated New-York, Feb. 22, 1710.

The intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow, which began here about the middle of December,

ember, shut up the navigation of this port from the sea, within a few days after Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet, with the troops under the Commander in Chief, had taken its departure from Sandy-Hook. The severity of the weather increased to that degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with this city by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. We could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. The passage in the North river, even in the widest part from hence to Paulus Hook, 2000 yards, was about the 19th practicable for the heaviest cannon, an event unknown in the memory of man; and very soon after provisions were transported upon sleighs, and a detachment of cavalry marched from New-York to Staten Island, eleven miles upon the ice. The East river to Brooklyn on Long Island was also for many days blocked up.

Thus circumstanced, my Lord, this city was laid open on many sides to an attack from an enterprising enemy; and notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempt they made upon Staten Island, on the 14th of January, it was nevertheless strongly reported that General Washington was meditating a great stroke upon New-York, with his whole force by different attacks; and though the undertaking would have been too daring and unwarrantable, yet the repeated intelligence we had received of the many preparations they were making for that purpose, forbids the absolute disbelief of such a plan's being under contemplation: therefore, having received in November last an address, signed by the principal inhabitants, in behalf of themselves and their fellow citizens, to put themselves in military array, I thought it a favourable occasion to put their professions to the test, and of adding in the present instance to the security of the

city and garrison, which the Commander in Chief was pleased to honour me with the care and command of, as well as establishing in future such an internal defence, as to make a garrison of less strength sufficient in general for its protection. I consulted with General Tryon upon the expediency of this measure; and as he entirely concurred in my opinion, I did not hesitate (having taken the sense too of some of the most principal citizens) to issue a Proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants, from 17 to 60, to take up arms. The cheerfulness and alacrity with which it was universally complied, exceeded all expectation; and in the space of seven days after the Proclamation, we had the pleasure to see 40 companies, from the six wards of the city enrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2660, many of the most respectable citizens serving in the ranks of each company. Above 900 hundred purchased arms at their own expense, and the whole were desirous of doing the same, if there had been a sufficient number of firelocks for sale; but that not being the case, it was necessary to supply the deficiency from the King's stores. I ordered them however to be issued as a loan, and upon condition of each Captain's becoming responsible, under his hand to the storekeeper, for returning to him when called upon the number he received, or to pay 36s. for each stand of arms, if required. The officers appointed to these companies are persons of known well-affected principles.

The laudable spirit and ardour being happily raised, quickly diffused itself among all orders of men. The several public departments vied with each other who should be most forward in offering me their services as volunteers. I readily accepted the offer, and formed them into companies

panies accordingly. The old volunteer companies likewise augmented their numbers, and in a very few days I reviewed them all together, under arms, most of them clothed in uniform at own their expence. General Knyphausen, General Tryon, and all the General officers were present, and expressed the highest satisfaction at so respectable a body of men. The return, which I have the honour to enclose, will shew your Lordship the number of these new associated companies, with the effectives of each. I have besides received a memorial from fifty gentlemen of the city, offering to form them into a troop of cavalry, to mount, clothe and arm themselves at their own expence, and to serve, if called upon, either on York or Long-Island.

The very meritorious and distinguished zeal which the officers of the royal army have testified upon this singular occasion, demands my most grateful acknowledgment. The several Captains, Edgar, Brenton, Osborne, Ardesoif, and Aplin, whose ships were fast locked up, personally offered me their services, to act with all their seamen on shore; and Capt. Howe, as commanding the whole, signified to me officially by letter the desire of all the officers to serve under my orders, as commandant, in any manner that could be most useful. These handsome offers were most gratefully embraced, and a circular redoubt near the East-river, with 8 twelve pounders and 1 nine pounder, was made over to their charge; and as a compliment due, it was immediately called the royal navy redoubt. The number of seamen, about 350, were immediately divided into 10 companies, each commanded by a Lieutenant of a man of war. Two of them have mounted daily in this redoubt, and were to be reinforced by five more in case of an alarm. The other three companies were then to repair to a post the

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most suitable for them, upon a height covering the King's dock-yard, which was also defended by the company formed from the artificers of the yard, under the command of the naval storekeeper as Captain.

The sailors belonging to the victuallers, transports, small craft, and private trade, armed with pikes, and under the direction of Capt. Laird, the agent, were destined to guard and protect the whole chain of wharfs and shipping, from the ship-yard to the lower battery, at the other extremity of the town.

The several Captains of militia, desirous of making it permanent and as useful as possible, have readily agreed to, and subscribed many regulations for the good government of it, for fining delinquents, absentees from any parade, or from their tour of duty on the city watch; for keeping in repair and good condition their arms, ammunition, &c. They are likewise out every Saturday, and the volunteer companies every Sunday, in order to be trained and instructed in the use of arms. I have appointed Mr. Amiel, who served for 12 years as an officer in the 60th regiment, to act as major of brigade to this corps of militia, with an assistant under him; both of whom are to be paid out of the city funds.

The rigour of the frost is now happily abated, and we are flattered with the prospect of a compleat thaw; so that all ideas of an attack are now at an end. Indeed it was much to have been wished they had made one, as we were so well prepared to repel it to their cost. We already learn, that the recent display of loyalty here, with the great acquisition of force it produced, has had effects upon the friends of government, without the lines, as well upon the enemy, who have been apprehensive of an attack being intended upon their main force at Morris-Town. It has probably too contributed to the great defecti-

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on which has lately prevailed amongst their troops in the Jerseys, upwards of 160 having come over within these few weeks, and enlisted here with the recruiting parties of our provincial corps.

Present strength of the armed force at New-York, exclusive of the King's troops of the garrison, the 19th of February, 1780.

OLD COMPANIES.

New-York rangers (cloathed) 1 company. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 4 non-commissioned officers, 109 privates. Total 107.—New-York highlanders (cloathed) 1 company. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 4 non-commissioned officers, 100 privates. Total 107.—New-York volunteers (clothed) 7 companies. 7 Captains, 15 Lieutenants, 18 non-commissioned officers, 405 privates. Total 455.

NEW ASSOCIATED COMPANIES.

New-York marine artillery, cloathed, one company. 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 non-commissioned officer, 95 privates. Total 98.—Commisariat loyal volunteers, cloathed, 2 companies. 2 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 6 non-commissioned officers, 195 privates. Total 207.—Ordnance volunteers, artificers, cloathed, 1 company. 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 4 non-commissioned officers, 63 privates. Total 71.—Ordnance volunteers, seamen, 3 companies. 3 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 8 non-commissioned officers, 149 privates. Total 166.—Engineer volunteers cloathed, 1 company. 1 Captain, 6 Lieutenants, 9 non-commissioned officers, 118 privates. Total 134.—Quarter-Master-General's volunteers, 1 company. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 non-commissioned officers, 50 privates. Total 56.—Barrack-Master-General's volunteers, 1 company. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 4 non-commissioned officers, 84 privates. Total 91.—King's Dock-yard volunteers, 3 companies. 3 Captains 4 Lieutenants, 6 non-commissioned officers,

148 privates. Total 161.—City militia, 40 companies. 40 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 160 non-commissioned officers, 2382 privates. Total 2662.

Total of companies embodied 62.

Royal navy acting on shore. 5 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 340 privates. Total 355, seamen from the transports, navy victuallers, small craft, New-York pilots, and private ships, armed with pikes. 5 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 1119 privates. Total 1129.

Total Captains 72. Lieutenants. 139, Non-commissioned officers 237. Privates 5348. Total 5766.

A troop of 60 light cavalry, formed from the artillery horse department, to act as occasion may require, armed with sabres and pistols, and cloathed at their own expence, commanded by Captain Scott, New-York marine artillery, formed from the Marine Society, established by royal charter.

(Signed)

JAMES PATTISON. M. G.

*Admiralty-Office, April 29, 1780.
Extract of letter from Captain DRAKE,
of his Majesty's ship Ruffel, to Mr.
STEPHENS, dated New-York,
March 29, 1780.*

Although I have not any thing particularly interesting to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of, yet I should think it improper to suffer a paquet to depart from this port without desiring you to acquaint their Lordships, that I have left Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot off Charles-Town bar the 8th instant, his flag on board his Majesty's ship the Roebuck: he had in company the Renown, Romulus, Blonde, Perseus, Camilla, and Raleigh, all prepared to pass the bar that morning, had not a fog prevented it. The Richmond arrived two days before off Tybee, with a convoy. The transports were moving

moving from North Edisto, where they landed the troops, to Stono; when I left it, the troops were on James's Island.

The rebel frigates within the bar were placed, viz. the Bricole, Providence, Boston, Ranger, with two galleys off Sullivan's Island, four others, and three galleys off the town. I arrived here, with his Majesty's ship under my command, the 21st inst. being directed by the Vice-Admiral to take on me the command of this port.

My joining the Admiral off Stono, from Tybee, but just before he moved towards Charles-Town bar, and my immediate departure from thence to come here, would not allow me to give their Lordships any further particulars respecting the operations intended to be carried on.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty-Office, May 16, 1780.

Extract of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir PETER PARKER, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Mr. STEPHENS, dated on board the Salisbury, Port Royal Harbour, April 7, 1780.

The 15th ult. the Pallas sent in a Spanish storeship, of 20 guns, laden with 2000 quintals of gunpowder, and some ordnance, intended for the garrisons on the Spanish main.

The 25th of last month the Janus arrived, much damaged in her rigging and hull, with an account from Capt. Cornwallis, that, on the 20th past, in the morning, off Monti Christi, he fell in with four sail of French ships of the line and a frigate, with a number of merchant ships under their convoy. Our ships, consisting of the Lion, of 64, Bristol, of 50, and Janus, of 44 guns, formed the line a-head, and were chased by the French, who came within gunshot at five o'clock in the evening, and a running fight was maintained during the whole night; the

enemy not chusing to go alongside of our ships, though they had it in their power. The morning of the 21st was calm, and the Janus being near, the French Commodore kept up a constant and well-directed fire, which obliged him to take the advantage of a light air of wind to sheer off, with the loss of her mizen-topmast, and fore-top-gallant-mast. The Lion and Bristol towed with their boats to the assistance of the Janus, which brought on a general firing for two or three hours; the remainder of the day was employed by the enemy in repairing their damages, and just before sun-set, they made sail again after our ships, but did not come within gunshot the whole night; soon after daylight on Wednesday morning, the 22d, Captain Cornwallis saw three sail to the leeward, which he imagined and afterwards found to be the Ruby, and the Niger and Pomona frigates. The French immediately hauled their wind, and Captain Cornwallis chased them for five hours, but they declined the combat, notwithstanding the Janus was disabled, and Captain Cornwallis had only two 64 and one 50 gun ship to oppose to four sail of the enemy's line of 74 guns each, under the command, as I have been informed, of M. de la Motte Pipuet. The names of the French ships are the Annibal, Hero, Vanqueur, Diadem, and Amphitrite frigate. The French fired so injudiciously, that there were only twelve men killed and wounded in our three ships. The marked conduct and intrepidity of Captain Cornwallis, and all the officers and men under his command, will, I flatter myself, give entire satisfaction to their Lordships. Captain Cornwallis expresses himself much obliged to Captain Pakenham, (now acting in the Bristol, in the room of Captain Caulfield, sick on shore) for his great attention and diligence during the whole of the action, and also

all the officers and seamen of the three ships, who behaved with the greatest spirit and good order; Capt. Glover, he said, was very ill, and died on Tuesday morning, in the very hour he so ardently wished to see.

Hague, April 5. The Prince Galitzin, Envoy Extraordinary from the Empress of Russia, having received an express from his Court, on the 3d instant, his Excellency immediately after held a conference with the President of the States-General, to whom he remitted, from the part of his Sovereign, a memorial, of which the following is a translation:

“ High and mighty Lords,

“ The under-written Envoy Extraordinary from her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, has the honour to communicate hereby a copy of a declaration, which the Empress his Sovereign has made to the different powers actually at war. Your High Mightinesses will undoubtedly look upon this communication as a particular mark of her Imperial Majesty's attention for this Republic, equally interested in the reasons which have given rise to this declaration. He has moreover orders to declare, in the name of her Imperial Majesty, that, as much as she desires to maintain, during the present war, the most perfect neutrality, as much will she be jealous to maintain, by the most efficacious means, the honour of the Russian flag, and the security of commerce, and navigation of her subjects, and will not suffer the least infringement or molestation from any of the belligerent powers. That, in order to avoid, on this occasion, all misunderstandings, or false interpretations, her Imperial Majesty has thought proper to specify, in her declaration, the limits of a free commerce, and what is to be understood by contraband, that if the definition of the first is founded on the most simple and clear notions, and fully

and most explicitly determined by the law of nature, that of the last is taken literally by her Imperial Majesty, from the treaty of commerce between Russia and Great-Britain; that by these means her Imperial Majesty proves incontestibly her good faith and impartiality towards all parties, and consequently may expect that all the other commercial powers will be the more expeditious to accept her way of thinking concerning neutrality.

“ Your High Mightinesses views her Imperial Majesty's under-written Envoy Extraordinary to invite your High Mightinesses to make a common cause with her in so far as this union may serve to protect commerce and navigation, in observing at the same time the most exact neutrality, and to signify unto them the measures her Imperial Majesty has taken in consequence thereof.

“ The like invitation has already been given to the Courts of Copenhagen, of Stockholm, and of Lisbon, in order that, by the united care of all the neutral maritime powers, the navigation of all the neutral trading nations may be established and legalized, and a system adopted, founded upon justice, and which by its real advantage may serve for rules for future ages.

“ The under-written Envoy Extraordinary makes not the least doubt that your High Mightinesses will take her Imperial Majesty's invitation into immediate consideration, and that they will concur with her in making without delay a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded upon the same principles as that of her Imperial Majesty, and that they will explain themselves at the same time concerning the protection of their commerce and navigation, and of the nature of contraband, conformable to the express terms of their particular treaties with the other nations.

“ The

“ The under-written Envoy Extraordinary has moreover the honour to assure your High Mightinesses, that if, in order to establish upon a solid foundation a system as glorious as it is advantageous to the welfare of the navigation in general, they should be inclined to begin a negotiation with the above-mentioned neutral powers, so as to establish a particular convention on this subject, her Imperial Majesty will be glad to take a part in it.

“ Your High Majesty may easily perceive the necessity of moderating their resolutions upon subjects so important as they are advantageous to humanity in general. The under-written Envoy Extraordinary begs the favour of a speedy answer. At the Hague, the 3d of April, 1780.

(Signed) DIMITRI PRINCE DE
GALLITZIN.

A DECLARATION of her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of Russia, to the Courts of London, of Versailles, and of Madrid.

“ The Empress of Russia has so well manifested the sentiments of justice, of equity, and of moderation, by which she is animated, and has given such convincing proofs, during the course of the war which she sustained against the Ottoman Porte, of the strict regard she has for the rights of neutrality, and liberty of commerce in general, that she may fairly appeal to the testimony of all Europe. This conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality which she has manifested during this present war, might have inspired her with the just confidence, that her subjects would likewise peaceably enjoy the fruit of their industry, and of the advantages belonging to all neutral nations. Experience has however proved the contrary:—nor these considerations, nor the regard

due and prescribed by the universal law of nations, have prevented her Imperial Majesty's subjects from being often molested in their navigation, and retarded in their operations, by the ships and privateers of belligerent powers.

“ These vexations offered to the liberty of commerce in general, and to that of Russia in particular, are of such a nature as to excite the attentions of Sovereigns and of all neutral nations. Her Imperial Majesty finds herself under the obligation of freeing herself therefrom by all means compatible with her dignity, and the welfare of her subjects: but before she means to come to any serious measures, and in order sincerely to prevent all new misunderstandings, her Imperial Majesty has thought just and equitable to expose to the eyes of all Europe, the principles which she has adopted for her conduct, and which are the most proper to prevent all future disagreement. Her Imperial Majesty does this with so much the more confidence, as she finds these principles consigned in the laws of the primitive people; which all nations have a right to claim, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate, without violating the laws of neutrality, and without disowning the maxims which they have adopted themselves, in their different treaties and public engagements. They are contained in the following points:

I. That neutral ships shall enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers.

II. That all effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers shall be looked upon as free, on board such neutral ships, except only such goods as are stipulated contraband.

III. That her Imperial Majesty, for the proper understanding of this, refers

refers to the articles X. and XI. of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligations to all the other belligerent powers.

VI. That in order to determine what characterizes a port blocked up, that denomination shall not be granted, but to such places, before which there are actually a number of enemy's ships stationed near enough, so as to make its entry dangerous.

V. That these principles shall serve as rules in the judicial proceedings and sentences upon the legality of prizes.

Her Imperial Majesty, in manifesting those principles before all Europe, at the same time declares, that she is firmly resolved to maintain them, and in order to protect the honour of her flag and the security of commerce and navigation of her subjects against whomsoever; in consequence whereof, she has given an order to fit out a considerable part of her naval forces. This measure has, however, no influence on the strict and rigorous neutrality which her Imperial Majesty is resolved religiously to observe, and which she shall observe as long as she shall not be provoked and forced to depart from those principles of moderation and perfect impartiality. It is only in this extremity that her fleet will be ordered to act wherever her honour, interest, and necessity shall require.

" In giving this formal assurance with all the frankness so congenial to her character, her Imperial Majesty cannot but expect that the belligerent powers, sensible of the sentiments of justice and equity with which she is animated, will contribute to the accomplishment of her salutary views, which tend so manifestly to the welfare of all nations and to the advantages even of those at war; that in consequence thereof, they will provide their courts of admiralties, their officers and commanders, with pro-

per instructions analogous and conformable to the principles here above-mentioned, and drawn from the primitive code of peoples, and so often adopted in their own conventions.

Petersburg, Feb. 26, 1780.

(Signed)

CATHARINA.

And lower,

By order of her Imperial Majesty,

(Signed)

PANIN.

A few days ago, Count de Vergennes, Minister and Secretary of State for the foreign department, sent a rescript to the Russian and other foreign Ministers residing at this Court, containing his Majesty's answer to the declaration of the Empress of Russia, which is as follows:

" The war in which the King finds himself engaged, having no other object than his attachment to the principles of perfect liberty at sea, his Majesty could not but with great satisfaction behold the Empress of Russia adopting the same principles, and at the same time expressing a firm resolution to maintain them. What her Imperial Majesty claims from the belligerent powers, is nothing else than the rules prescribed to the French navy; the execution whereof is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

" The freedom of commerce of neutral ships, restrained only in a very few cases, is the direct result of the law of nature, the safe-guard of nations, the relief even of those who are afflicted by the calamities of war. The King has therefore been always desirous to procure, not only to the subjects of the Empress of Russia, but also to those of all other States that have adopted a strict neutrality, the liberty to navigate the seas on the same conditions, as are mentioned in the declaration, to which his Majesty is hereby giving an answer.

" The

“ The King flattered himself with having made a great step towards the general welfare, and with having prepared a glorious æra for his reign, in fixing, by his example, the rights which all belligerent powers might and should acknowledge as belonging to neutral ships. His hopes have not been decreased, since the Empress of Russia, in adopting the strictest neutrality, has declared herself for the same system, which the King maintains at the price of the blood of his people; and as she claims the same rights which his Majesty wishes to make the foundation of a maritime code of law.

“ If it was necessary to issue French orders, that the ships of her Imperial Majesty’s subjects might not be under any apprehension of being interrupted in their navigation by any of the King’s subjects, his Majesty would be very ready to issue them; but the Empress of Russia will undoubtedly rely upon his Majesty’s dispositions, which are consigned in the different regulations that have been published. They do not depend upon circumstances; they are founded upon the law of nations; and they are becoming a Prince who is happy enough to find always in the general prosperity, the measure of that of his kingdom. The King only wishes, that her Imperial Majesty would more explicitly fix the nature of merchandizes, which shall be reputed contraband in times of war, and give more precise rules for the form of clearances and other papers wherewith the Russian ships shall be provided.

“ With this precaution, his Majesty is well assured, that no accident whatever will happen, which might make him repent, to have rendered, as much as lay in his power, the condition of the Russian navigators as advantageous, as it is possible in time of war. Other happy circumstances have already convinced both

Courts at several times, of what consequence it is to explain themselves with frankness and sincerity upon their respective interests.

“ The King is happy in having an opportunity to express to her Imperial Majesty, his sentiments upon a point so interesting to Russia, and all the commercial powers of Europe. And he applauds the more sincerely the principles and views which direct the Empress of Russia, as his Majesty takes part in the sentiments and motives which have engaged that Princess to adopt measures, from which solid advantages will undoubtedly result, not only to her subjects, but also to all nations.”

Versailles, April 25th, 1780.

Answer to the Declaration of the Empress of Russia to the Court of Great-Britain; sent to the British Envoy at Petersburg, the 13th of April, 1780.

“ During the course of the war, wherein his Britannic Majesty finds himself engaged, through the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, he hath constantly manifested his sentiments of justice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct. His Majesty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure respecting Great-Britain, and conformable to the clearest principles generally acknowledged as the laws of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties subsist, and agreeable to the tenor of his different engagements with other powers, those engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual stipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

“ Strongly attached to her Majesty of all the Russias, by the tie of reciprocal friendship and common interest, the King, from the commencement of these troubles, gave the

most

most precise orders respecting the flag of her Imperial Majesty, and the commerce of her subjects, agreeable to the laws of nations, and the tenor of the engagements stipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he shall adhere with the most scrupulous exactness.

“ The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmost care will be taken for their strictest execution.

“ It may be presumed not the least irregularity will happen; but in case any infringement, contrary to these repeated orders takes place, the Courts of Admiralty, which in this, like all other countries, are established to take cognizance of such matters, and in all cases do judge solely by the laws of nations, and by the specific stipulations of different treaties, will redress every hardship in so equitable a manner, that her Imperial Majesty shall be perfectly satisfied, and acknowledge a like spirit of justice which she herself possesses.”

Hague, April 28th. The deliberations of the different provinces, which compose the Republic, have continued all last week without interruption; and all their advices and opinions have been unanimous and uniform upon the three important objects which formed the subject of their deliberations; namely: 1. The succours, claimed by Great-Britain; 2. The convoy to be granted to the trading ships of this Republic; and 3. The invitation of the Empress of Russia, to accede to an armed neutrality. The respective States of the seven Provinces have all been of opinion: 1. That it is necessary for their High Mightinesses to excuse themselves from furnishing the succours claimed by Great-Britain; 2. To grant convoys and to protect effectually all trading ships bearing the flag of this Republic; whatever may

be their cargoes, excepting only such goods as are properly expressed in the treaties, to be deemed contraband; and 3. To accept with gratitude the invitation of the Empress Russia, and to enter, as soon as possible, into a negotiation upon that subject, with Prince de Gallitzin, Envoy Extraordinary from her Imperial Majesty, in order to carry these propositions speedily into execution.

The next object of importance which is to occupy the different States, is the affair of the attack of our convoy under the command of Count Byland, by the English Commodore Fielding. The States of the Province of Holland and West Friesland, have already come to a spirited resolution upon that subject, which they have laid before the States General, and which seems to meet the concurrence of the States of the other Provinces. It is in substance as follows:

“ That their High Mightinesses can by no means content themselves with the answer given by Lord Stormont, on the 16th of March, to the just representations of their High Mightinesses, of the violence committed upon their convoy, especially as that answer seems to retort upon them, by forced arguments, all the blame of what has passed, and to represent their officer, in contradiction to plain truth, as having been the aggressor. That their High Mightinesses, as well to justify themselves in the eyes of all Europe, as to convince, if it is possible, Great-Britain, have though necessary, finally, to represent, that the naval stores, not being contraband goods, according to the express tenor and letter of the treaties, their visitation and detention, by express orders, especially under the protection of their High Mightinesses flag, is a direct attack upon the said flag, as well as upon their independence and their sovereignty.”

vereignty. That for what concerns the allegation made by Lord Stormont, of the treaty of 1764, concerning the searching of suspicious merchandizes, the very contrary of what he advances, appears most evidently upon a simple perusal of the said treaty. That the nature of a convoy, rendering all visitation unnecessary, the articles V. and VI. of the said treaty, are manifestly confined to particular vessels, from which however, nothing more can be required, than the exhibition of their clearances, and from those destined from any of the enemy's ports, the producing of their passports. That therefore the conduct of Commodore Fielding, approved by his Majesty, implies an open violation of the said treaty. That consequently neither the orders of their High Mightinesses, nor the behaviour of the officer charged with their execution, can be deemed the least infringement of the said treaties, nor any hostilities having been committed on their part; but Commodore Fielding, in execution of his orders, having employed the force of arms against the convoy of this Republic, there exists not the least motive of complaint on the part of his Majesty; but on the part of their High Mightinesses, there is the greatest reason and most just motive to complain, and to insist (as their High Mightinesses do insist in the most serious manner) upon a becoming satisfaction and reparation, as well upon an immediate release, without any forms of further process, of all ships and their cargoes, that were under the convoy of this Republic, and which are now detained by force, against the express tenor of the treaties, and condemned by the Judge of the Court of Admiralty, with the same injustice as they have been attacked by Commodore Fielding, taken and conducted into the English ports.

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That conformable to these principles, Count de Welden will be charged to give an answer to Lord Stormont, and to proceed farther in this affair.

A M E R I C A.

The following is the report of a Committee of the Commons of the Province of Massachusetts; agreed upon by a Committee, and laid before the Convention of Delegates, assembled at Cambridge, September 1. 1779; and continued by adjournment, to the 28th day of October following.

To the Honourable the Convention of Delegates from the several towns in the State of Massachusetts, appointed for the forming a new Constitution of Government for the said State.

Gentlemen,

Your Committee, in pursuance of your instructions, have prepared the draught of a new Constitution of Government for this State, and now make report of it; which is respectfully laid before you for your consideration and correction.

In the name of the Committee,

JAMES BOUDIN, Chairman,
A Constitution or Form of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Preamble.

The end of the institution, maintenance and administration of Government, is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquility, their natural rights, and the blessings of life: and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the Government, and to take measures necessary for their prosperity and happiness.

The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals:

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it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a Constitution of Government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as for an impartial interpretation and a faithful execution of them, that every man may, at all times, find his security in them.

We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the goodness of the Great Legislator of the Universe, in affording us, in the course of his Providence, an opportunity of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprize; and of forming a new Constitution of Civil Government for ourselves and posterity; and devoutly imploring His direction in so interesting a design, do agree upon, ordain, and establish, the following Declaration of Rights, and frame of Government, as the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

A Declaration of the rights of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights: among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting their property: in fine, that of seek-

ing and obtaining their safety and happiness.

II. It is the right, as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God *in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience*; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

III. Good morals being necessary to the preservation of civil society; and the knowledge and belief of the being of God, his providential government of the world, and of a future state of rewards and punishment, being the only true foundation of morality, the legislature hath therefore a right, and ought, to provide at the expence of the subject, if necessary, a suitable support for the public worship of God, and of the teachers of religion and morals; and to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon their instructions, at stated times and seasons: provided there be any such teacher, on whose ministry they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

All monies, paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the instructors in religion and morals, shall, if he requires it, be uniformly applied to the support of the teacher or teachers of his own religious denomination, if there be such

* How different this, from the base and wicked misrepresentations made for twenty years past by the church missionaries that were in that country, viz: that the Dissenters had nothing so much at heart as to extirpate episcopacy from the continent of America, and by such their misrepresentations contributed largely to induce the British Ministers to begin and to continue the infernal war now raging in that country, — perhaps to the ruin of this.

such, whose ministry he attends upon: otherwise it may be paid to the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct where he usually resides.

IV. The people of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent state; and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right, which are not, or may not hereafter, be by them expressly delegated to the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

V. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several Magistrates and Officers of Government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

VI. No man, nor corporation, or association of men, having any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public; and this title being in nature neither hereditary, nor transmissible to children, or descendants, or relations by blood, the idea of a man born a magistrate, law-giver, or judge, is absurd and unnatural.

VII. Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honour, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men: therefore the people alone have an incontestible, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government; and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity and happiness require it.

VIII. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a

right, at such periods, and in such manner as may be delineated in their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections.

XI. All elections ought to be free; and all the male inhabitants of this commonwealth, having sufficient qualifications, have an equal right to elect officers, and to be elected for public employments.

X. Each individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expence of this protection; to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary: but no part of the property of any individual can, with justice, be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people: in fine, the people of this Commonwealth are not controulable by any other laws, than those to which their constitutional representative body have given their consent.

XI. Every subject of the Commonwealth ought to find a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or character: he ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial; promptly, and without delay; conformable to the laws.

XII. No subject shall be held to answer for any crime or offence, until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally, described to him: he cannot be compelled to accuse himself, or to furnish evidence against himself; and every subject shall have a right to be fully heard in his defence, by himself or his council, at his election; to meet the wit-

nesses against him face to face, to produce all proofs that may be favourable to him; to require a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the country, without whose unanimous consent, or his own voluntary confession, he cannot finally be declared guilty, or sentenced to the loss of life, liberty, or property.

XIII. In criminal prosecutions, the verification of facts in the vicinity where they happen; is one of the greatest securities of the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.

XIV. No subject of the Commonwealth shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his Peers or the law of the Land.

XV. Every man has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his houses, his papers, and all his possessions. All warrants, therefore, are contrary to this right, if the cause or foundation of them be not previously supported by oath or affirmation; and if the order in the warrant to a civil officer, to make search in suspected places, or to arrest one or more suspected persons, or to seize their property, be not accompanied with a special designation of the persons or objects of search, arrest or seizure; and no warrant ought to be issued but in cases and with the formalities prescribed by the laws.

XVI. In all controversies concerning property, and in all suits between two or more persons, the parties have a right to a trial by a jury; and this method of procedure shall be held sacred; unless in causes arising on the high-seas, and such as relate to mariners wages, the legislature shall hereafter find it necessary to alter it.

XVII. The people have a right to the freedom of speaking, writing and

publishing their sentiments: the liberty of the press therefore ought not to be restrained.

XVIII. The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defence. And as in time of peace standing armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in an exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

XIX. A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government: the people ought, consequently, to have a particular attention to all those principles, in the choice of their officers and representatives; and they have a right to require of their law-givers and magistrates, an exact and constant observance of them, in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of the Commonwealth.

XX. The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body by the way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and the grievances they suffer.

XXI. The power of suspending the laws, or the execution of the laws, ought never to be exercised but by the legislature, or by authority derived from it, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the legislature shall expressly provide for; and there shall be no suspension of any law for the private interest, advantage, or emolument, of any one man or class of men.

XXII. The

XXII. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in either house of the legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any accusation or prosecution, action or complaint, in any other court or place whatsoever.

XXIII. The legislature ought frequently to assemble for the redress of grievances, for correcting, strengthening, and confirming the laws, and for making new laws as the common good may require.

XXIV. No subsidy, charge, tax, impost, or duties, ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people or their representatives in the legislature.

XXV. Laws made to punish for actions done before the existence of such laws, and which have not been declared crimes by preceding laws, are unjust, oppressive, and inconsistent with the fundamental principles of a free government.

XXVI. No man ought in any case or in any time, to be declared guilty of treason or felony by any act of the legislature.

XXVII. No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail, or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

XXVIII. In time of peace, no soldier ought to be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war such quarters ought not to be made, but by the civil magistrate in a manner ordained by the legislature.

XXIX. No person can in any case be subjected to law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service, but by the authority of the legislative.

XXX. It is essential to the preferation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property, and

character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws, and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. It is therefore not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people, and of every citizen, that the judges should hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well; and that they should have honourable salaries ascertained and established by standing laws.

XXXI. The judicial department of the state ought to be separate from, and independent of the legislative and executive powers.

[We are in hopes in a short time to lay before our readers the whole frame of the Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of which the foregoing is not more than a quarter part.]

Extracts from the American papers.

Sept. 6. A few days since a house and lot in Beaufort, now in the possession of the British forces, were sold here for thirty thousand dollars. A transaction similar to this at an early period of the Roman state, when their city was invested by Hannibal, has been transmitted to posterity with the plaudits of ages, as a memorable and singular instance of magnanimity, and confidence in the success of the future exertions of the Commonwealth.

Boston, Nov. 18. The advantage, says a correspondent, of the revolution that has taken place in America, to all the lovers of liberty in Europe, must be immense. It seems to be a dispensation of Heaven, favourable to them, as well as to the inhabitants of these states. America is now become an open asylum to all that are oppressed by the old corrupt governments in Europe. The subjects of the latter will be disposed to emigrate to us, as they feel their situation

situation at home growing uneasy by the weight of arbitrary power, and all the ill administration of government. We shall afford an happy relief to those who come over to us, and no inconsiderable one to those who remain behind; in as much as those governments, and particularly that of England and Ireland, for fear of losing their people, will relax the reigns of power, and invite their remaining at home by indulging their love of liberty in some instances, and lightening their burdens. We are therefore not only fighting for our own cause, but for the cause of human kind in general, and particularly for that of our former fellow subjects in Britain and Ireland. Millions will bless the wisdom, the fortitude, and perseverance, that have nobly effected this resolution, who never will live in America; at the same time it must give a particular relief to the blessings of liberty enjoyed by the subjects of these States, that the purchase of them for ourselves must be of such essential advantage to distant regions. This, in the impartial estimation of mankind, must give a particular brilliancy to the success of our arms, and enroll the names of those men whose wisdom and fortitude have principally effected so happy a change, among the most illustrious heroes, and the greatest benefactors to mankind.

Boston, Nov. 21. There seems no spirit in Britain sufficient to preserve their constitution, and overthrow the present Administration; Lord North and his colleagues still stand upon firm ground. It makes a free republican of America smile, to see the slavish adulation that is paid by the Britons, to a who has brought their nation to the brink of ruin. That nation is too far enslaved ever to expect a restoration of her liberties. Despotism is completely established there, as it was in Rome under all the forms of a

free government. The admirers of liberty have only to hope for an happy retreat in the Free States of America. Here they will soon emigrate with their wealth, strengthen our Republic, and exult with us in the enjoyment of the rights of human nature.

The Committee in London for raising and applying subscriptions for the relief of American prisoners, gave notice last winter, that they had sufficient money in hand; but the war continuing beyond expectation, they began last March to call upon the public again for new subscriptions, which are very readily made. While Britain, as a nation, has carried on the war in America with the greatest inhumanity, it ought to be acknowledged that many individuals have exhibited a compassion and liberality to our countrymen that does honour to human nature.

Trenton, Nov. 24. At a joint meeting of the Legislative Council and General Assembly of this State, on Wednesday last, the Hon. John Fell, William Ch. Houston: Esqrs. and Doctor Thomas Henderson, were elected Delegates to represent this State in Congress, the ensuing year, to commence the first day of December next.

By his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON, Esq. Governor of the State of New-York, General and Commander in Chief of all the militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same.

A PROCLAMATION.

L. S. Whereas it has been represented, that several persons have of late plundered the inhabitants of Long-Island, and other places near the lines, in the power or possession of the enemy; and whereas the Senate and Assembly of this State, by their concurrent resolutions of the 1st and 2d of October instant, have requested me to issue my Proclamation, forbidding the same:

I do therefore by these presents,
strictly

strictly forbid all persons whomsoever, to plunder the inhabitants of Long-Island, or of any other place in the possession of the enemy, within this state; and I do also strictly forbid all persons, subjects of this State, to plunder any inhabitant or inhabitants, of any other of the United States, within the power of the enemy, hereby declaring, that if any persons shall so offend against the laws of nature and the rights of war, he or they so offending shall be punished to the utmost rigour of the law: of which all officers, civil and military, within this State, and all others concerned, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly: And I do hereby particularly and earnestly request the officers commanding near the enemy's lines, within this State, to take and secure all offenders against the tenor hereof, and cause them to be sent to the Board of Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in this State.

Given under my hand and the Privy Seal of the said State, at Kingston, in Ulster County, the fourth day of October, in the fourth year of the Independence of this State, and in the year of our Lord 1779.

GEORGE CLINTON.

By his Excellency's command,

STEPHEN LUSH, Secretary.

From the Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, Dec. 8.

G E O R G I A.

To his Honour GEORGE WALTON, Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief of the said State.

We the Representatives of the freemen of Georgia, in Assembly met, beg leave to inform your Honour of your unanimous election to the office of Governor of this State.

The firm confidence we repose in your abilities and steady attachment to the Independence of our country, give us full assurance, that, under your administration, a perseverance in those exertions, which have hi-

ther to characterized the faithful councils of this country, will take place. Sir, we have consigned to your care, a sacred trust, the government of a people who have bled freely in the cause of the confederate alliance, and are determined to seal the attempt of redeeming this country with the blood of all, rather than submit to the detested and abominable yoke of British rule.

WILLIAM GLASCOCK, Speaker.

To the Hon. the Speaker, and the rest of the Members of the Assembly of the State of Georgia.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,

I am thankful for the honour of your appointment, and polite address, of yesterday; but I had been hopeful, from the late afflictions with which it has pleased Heaven to visit me, that I should not have been required, at this time, to take an active station in your affairs; nor would any thing but the situation of the state, calling for the assistance of every man, induce me to accept it. Relying upon your faithful support, I shall use my best efforts to enforce the laws for the safety and welfare of the people.

On your part much may be done.

—The constitution, and the laws, call for a vigorous support, to prevent, otherwise, unavoidable anarchy. A representation at Congress is most essentially necessary; the well-being of our state, the existence of its Independence, and the balance of suffrage upon questions determinable by inevitable interest, all depend upon it: Nor is the restoration of credit to our paper circulation less important. The enemy, exhausted, by great exertions, may choose to risk all in one concluding effort the ensuing winter; and therefore it is incumbent to make the most speedy and effectual preparations for the safety of the state. A corps of horsemen to watch the motions of the enemy, and the Indians, and sufficient to keep out the thieves from both, should immediately be raised.

Decisive measures should be pursued against the unhappy, but dangerous few, who will live amongst us, and yet love our enemies! my late situation gave me an opportunity of seeing, that, by persons of this description, the councils of the state are betrayed. By our laws, it is already criminal to correspond with, or send intelligence to the enemy; but some certain and effectual mode of detection might be pointed out and authorized.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,

I have learned a lesson in captivity.—The enemy keep no terms with those they stile rebels: let us profit by the example, and hold none with those who publicly or secretly adhere to the cause of the.

Artful and insidious as they are, let us be no longer imposed upon, but effectually put disaffection out of countenance. For the attainment of the great object of the war, our citizens have bled freely, and sacrificed every ease and comfort. Your enemies confess them to have been brave, and to have contended for their country like freemen; and we know that all our councils have been uniformly leading to present safety and permanent independency. Hitherto sustained by your own virtue, there is no doubt but that, in your present distresses, Congress will support you. Let us not therefore despair, but cheerfully bear every present ill, rather than admit an idea of a partial accommodation with the enemy. Real services from our most illustrious and most friendly ally, are complete proofs of the sincerity of his intentions; and the junction of Spain and Sweden in the war are new pillars to the Independency of America, which no earthly powers, in my judgment, can shake.

G. GEORGE WALTON.

G E O R G I A.

By his Honour GEORGE WALTON,
Esq. Governor and Commander in
Chief of the said State,

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Members of Assem-

bly having met at Augusta, and organized the constitutional form of government of the state; and having, by a resolution of the 27th instant, recommended it to me to notify the same to the people at large: I do therefore issue this my Proclamation, declaring the laws of the state to be in full force, and requiring obedience to them. And I do further enjoin all Magistrates and others to be watchful and diligent in preventing any abuses of the laws: and all officers, civil and military, appointed by the state, and who are now absent from it, are required to give their attendance at this place forthwith, to discharge their respective duties.

Given under my hand and seal at Augusta, this 29th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1779, and in the fourth year of the Independency of America.

G. WALTON.

By his Honour's command,
SAMUEL STIRK, Sec.

In Congress, January 24.

Resolved, That to express the veneration of the United States for their late General, Richard Montgomery, and the deep sense they entertain of the many signal and important services of that gallant officer, who, after a series of successes, amidst the most discouraging difficulties, fell at length, in a gallant attack upon Quebec, the capital of Canada, and for transmitting to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism; conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death, a monument be procured from Paris, or any other part of France, with an inscription sacred to his memory, and expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements. And that the continental treasurers be directed to advance a sum not exceeding 300l. sterling to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, (who is desired to see the resolution properly executed) for defraying the expence thereof; *Virtus in suavis virtus!*



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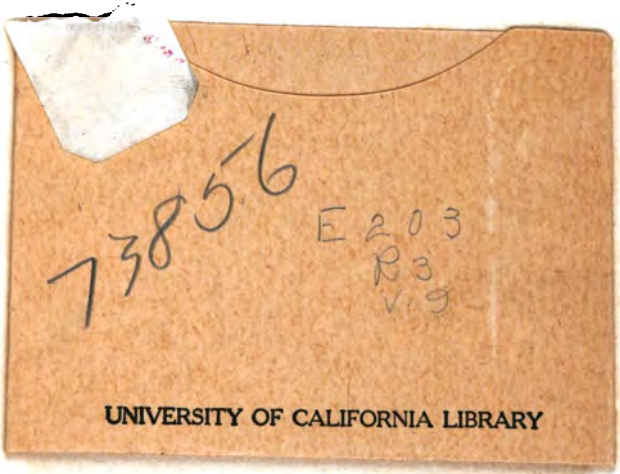
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